Pacific Studies

Vol. 26, Nos. 3/4-Sept./Dec. 2003

PACIFIC STUDIES

A multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study of the peoples of the Pacific Islands

SEPTEMBER/DECEMBER 2003

Anthropology
Archaeology
Art History
Economics
Ethnomusicology
Folklore
Geography
History
Sociolinguistics
Political Science
Sociology

PUBLISHED BY
THE PACIFIC INSTITUTE
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY–HAWAI'I
IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER

EDITORIAL BOARD

Articles and reviews in *Pacific Studies* are abstracted or indexed in *Sociological Abstracts, Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts, America: History and Life, Historical Abstracts, Abstracts in Anthropology, Anthropological Literature, PAIS Bulletin, International Political Science Abstracts, International Bibliography of Periodical Literature, International Bibliography of Book Reviews, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Anthropoligical Index Online,* and *Referativnyi Zhurnal.*

PACIFIC STUDIES

Editorial Policy: *Pacific Studies* is published quarterly by The Pacific Institute, Brigham Young University–Hawai'i #1979, 55–220 Kulanui Street, Lā'ie, Hawai'i 96762, http://www.byuh.edu/academics/thepacificinstitute/pacstudy.htm, but responsibility for opinions expressed in the articles rests with the authors alone.

Subscription rate is US$40.00 yearly, payable to The Pacific Institute. Articles submitted to the editor must not be submitted elsewhere while under review by *Pacific Studies* and should be the original typewritten copy, completely double-spaced (including quotations, references, and notes). Authors may write to the editor for a style sheet and information on computer-disk submissions. Books for review should also be sent to the editor.

The Pacific Institute (formerly The Institute for Polynesian Studies) is an organization funded by Brigham Young University–Hawai'i. The Institute assists the University in meeting its cultural and educational goals by undertaking a program of teaching, research, and publication. The Institute cooperates with other scholarly and research institutions in achieving their objectives. It publishes monographs, produces films, underwrites research, and sponsors conferences on the Pacific Islands. Further information on the activities of the Institute may be obtained by writing to the editor.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper and meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

ISSN 0275–3596

Volume 26 September/December 2003 Numbers 3/4

CONTENTS

Articles

Offshore Gambling in Pacific Islands Tax Havens
ANTHONY B. VAN FOSSEN 1

Celebrating Mother's Day in a Melanesian Village Church
DEBORAH VAN HEEKEREN 33

The Church as Embodiment and Expression of Community on Ujelang and Enewetak, Marshall Islands
LAURENCE MARSHALL CARUCCI 55

"Where Will You Sleep Tonight? The Samo Longhouse, A Metaphor of Spatial and Social Structure
R. DANIEL SHAW 79

Reviews

Andrew Strathern, Pamela J. Stewart, Laurence M. Carucci, Lin Poyer, Richard Feinberg, and Cluny Macpherson, *Oceania: An Introduction to the Cultures and Identities of Pacific Islanders*
(JUDY FLORES) 107

Ron Crocombe, *The South Pacific*
(EUGENE OGAN) 110

Sean Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists: O Measina a Sāmoa*
(TERI SOWELL) 112

Books Noted

John Overton and Regina Scheyvens, eds., *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Experiences from the Pacific*
(NORMAN S. WRIGHT) 115

Recent Pacific Islands Publications: Selected Acquisitions, May 2002–March 2003
RILEY M. MOFFAT 119

Contributors 127

PUBLISHED 11/2006

PACIFIC STUDIES

Vol. 26, No. 3/4 Sept./Dec. 2003

OFFSHORE GAMBLING IN PACIFIC ISLANDS TAX HAVENS

Anthony B. van Fossen
Griffith University

This article analyzes offshore (including Internet) gambling in Oceania—particularly its uneven development in Vanuatu, the Cook Islands, Norfolk Island, and Palau. Offshore gambling's evolution and future prospects are examined in terms of tensions between (1) the drive by entrepreneurs and regional tax-haven promoters to increase the volume and variety of gambling among the array of services that Pacific Islands tax havens provide and (2) the growing moves by metropolitan countries to curb tax avoidance and evasion, economic loss, money laundering, and other forms of crime and deviant behavior associated with offshore gambling.

PACIFIC ISLANDS TAX HAVENS and offshore financial centers offer a range of attractive offshore gambling services to clients around the world,[1] but they are often resisted or attacked by metropolitan governments. Although offshore betting enterprises in Oceania frequently operate by telephone and fax, their evolving Internet activities allow far greater powers of action and a new system of laissez-faire and low-tax betting that threatens to undermine metropolitan gambling regulation and taxation systems.

The chief obstacle to the development of Pacific Islands offshore gambling has come from metropolitan governments. There has always been at least some social opposition to gambling and even the most permissive of metropolitan states have set boundaries. But promoters of offshore betting (particularly in its new Internet form) attempt to escape these limitations and vastly expand the availability of gambling (bringing it into the home). The advent of the Internet has allowed businesses in offshore financial centers to create online casinos, bingo games, and lotteries and the World Wide Web has made offshore sports betting the fastest growing of all forms of gambling (Thompson 2001:355–367). Critics have blamed offshore Internet

gambling for expanding opportunities for organized crime as well as extending the pervasiveness and severity of social problems such as theft, workplace and family abuse, divorce, depression, and suicide. Critics fear that offshore sports betting is corrupting organized athletics and that video casinos are nurturing the most addictive form of gambling and creating a detached environment that does not curb gambling beyond one's means. As one prominent opponent of offshore Internet gambling, the Republican U.S. Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona, has put it, "Virtual casinos [are the] hardcore cocaine of gambling" (U.S. Senate 1999:2). Kyl fears that "children can wager with Mom's credit card—click a mouse and bet the house" (*BNA Washington Insider*, 29 July 1997) and points out that "experts have testified that youth gambling will soon rival drug abuse as the biggest problem facing our children" (*Reason*, January 2000). Since 1997 Kyl has sponsored anti–Internet gambling legislation that supplements the federal Wire Act (which already bans offshore telephone betting). Anti–Internet gambling bills have passed both houses of the U.S. Congress with heavy bipartisan support, only to die before differing Senate and House versions can be reconciled. American anti–Internet gambling bills continue to target offshore financial centers as well.[2]

While Americans furnish almost 70 percent of global Internet gambling revenues (*Financial Times*, 25 July 2002), the U.S. public expresses stronger opposition to it than to any other form of gambling. Only 20 percent of Americans approve and 75 percent disapprove of "legalized gambling or betting using the Internet," according to a 1999 Gallup Poll (Mason and Nelson 2001:82). Offshore Internet gambling brings together four things that make many people uneasy: the Internet, gambling, credit cards, and offshore tax havens. The United States has led a prohibitionist crusade against offshore (particularly Internet) gambling. The country's official report to its Congress recommends complete prohibition (National Gambling Impact Study Commission 1999). The current focus of this prohibitionist effort is on enjoining domestic banks, financial institutions, and credit-card companies from engaging in transactions with offshore gambling firms.

On the other hand, defenders of offshore and Internet gambling assert the right of individuals to make their own choices. Supporters propose limited regulation—only enough to minimize criticism of the industry, strengthen consumer confidence, and present the image of Internet gambling as wholesome entertainment. They concede some light governmental regulation and minimal taxation might possibly be involved. These defenders consider moves toward prohibition as attempts to shore up the powers and monopoly rents of big metropolitan governments, which unjustifiably weaken the sovereignty of tax-haven countries that have enacted laws facilitating offshore betting. Proponents view these metropolitan vested interests as concocting

side has, on occasion, been subverted from within—in unexpected ways. The largest Internet casino in Vanuatu was closed by massive credit-card frauds perpetrated on it by some of its Indonesian clients. Various state and local governments in Australia have, at times, formed alliances with offshore promoters in Vanuatu in ways that diverted many millions of tax-revenue dollars from Australia. The development of offshore gambling in the Pacific Islands has therefore been affected by a variety of contingencies.

Offshore gambling in the Pacific Islands has followed a pattern of uneven development, concentrated in Vanuatu and, to a far lesser extent, the Cook Islands, Norfolk Island, and Palau, with the region's other offshore financial centers having little or no involvement.[3] Most gaming ventures in Oceania have risen and fallen rapidly—initially raising great expectations, which have usually been quickly dashed. Despite this history, entrepreneurs and investors continue to be drawn to offshore gambling opportunities in the region. Certain ventures have been more successful than others: it is noteworthy that the most profitable (the Number One Betting Shop in Port Vila) brought existing onshore Australian clients offshore to Vanuatu in 1993 (before returning onshore to the Northern Territory in 2002). Yet even a strong preexisting onshore history and presence were not enough to guarantee the viability of Crown Casino's Vanuatu online casino, which opened in January 2002 but was unable to develop strong onshore-offshore synergies before closing in May 2003. Operations that are more purely offshore—with relatively little onshore credibility or history—have been equally unsuccessful, despite early optimism.

Pioneering Ventures in Vanuatu

Offshore gambling in the Pacific Islands began in 1989 with Vanuatu's private Great World Lottery. With actor Omar Sharif as its figurehead, the lottery was aimed at American and Australian gamblers and promised a lump-sum prize of US$20 million, tax-free in Vanuatu. Although at one time the venture employed twenty clerks and typists to sell six million tickets at US$20 each and was negotiating with the government in Port Vila for an exclusive license for (at least) lotteries, the company never succeeded in the way that had been proposed. Offshore gambling in Vanuatu simply receded into obscurity for several years before being revived, in a dramatic manner.

In 1993 the reemergence of offshore gambling in Vanuatu was accomplished by a number of men who had been accused of a variety of crimes and misdemeanors in Australia and the South Pacific. Relocating offshore was an attractive option for these bookmakers. Tax minimization and tricks of the trade that might bring prosecution in the metropole could be quite acceptable and profitable in Vanuatu.

outrageous "horror stories" to create unrealistic fears. For example, supporters contend that the frequently reported vision of a minor in the United States using a parent's credit card to gamble the family into bankruptcy ignores the facts that a parent cannot be liable for any more than US$50 of a child's credit-card debt and that gambling debts are voidable and unenforceable in many parts of the United States and other countries (see Loscalzo and Shapiro 2000:14).

Defenders of offshore gambling contend that their most powerful critics are claiming to be worried about the welfare of gamblers but in fact are only concerned with increasing the bettors' gambling costs through high taxes and heavy expenses incurred to travel and stay at expensive onshore casinos. Gambling taxes and the land-based gambling companies' high overheads and hefty profits are taken directly from gamblers. According to offshore-gambling defenders, offshore financial centers are increasingly providing strong competition to this old onshore system of "bilking" clients. In their opinion, Internet gambling benefits the "consumer": it is cheap, easy, and takes place at home, a more salubrious environment than land-based gambling facilities with their noisy, smoke-filled rooms and bars. Defenders also maintain that by creating a competitive market, offshore Internet gambling will contribute to making payoffs larger and more trustworthy. According to these defenders, offshore Internet gambling cannot be stopped. The Internet's architecture was designed to frustrate the interdiction of messages—which are broken up, sent along unpredictable routes, and reassembled only at the final destination. No matter how easily legislation passes to prohibit offshore Internet gambling, enforcing the ban is impossible. This scenario has Internet gamblers forming a growing political constituency in favor of such gaming, creating pressure for legitimation (and access to courts and legal remedies to resolve disputes) and opposing excessive regulation and taxation. Defenders contend that in the end, gambling will be treated as an ordinary business operating in freely competitive markets—and much of it will be done in offshore financial centers and over the Internet. According to them, Internet gambling is only the latest and most advanced form of offshore gambling—and the one that metropolitan governments generally find the most threatening (Bell 1998, 1999a, 1999b; Cabot 2002; Dean 2000; Paul 2001; Post 1998; Schneider 1998).

Uneven Development

The historical trajectory of offshore gambling in the Pacific Islands has been principally defined by conflicts between offshore promoters and their clients, on one hand, and onshore metropolitan governments, on the other. Yet each

The first company to receive a bookmaking license was Number One Betting Shop, which began operating in May 1993 and for a time used a location in the Victorian country town of Yarrawonga as an Australian office. Number One was established by Tommy Carroll, a former Queensland bookmaker who had moved to Port Vila after unsuccessfully attempting to open a substantial SP ("starting price" or illegal fixed-odds betting) business on a remote island off the coast of the Northern Territory. Number One handled bets for horse racing and sports (mostly rugby league and Australian Football League). Most significantly, Allan Tripp had a substantial interest in Number One. Tripp had reputedly been one of the biggest SP bookmakers in Australia and he had been convicted numerous times. He was mentioned frequently in the Costigan Report on Australian organized crime (centering on the Painters and Dockers Union) in the early 1980s (Costigan 1984:48–55). Tripp became the official head of Number One in July 1995, when Carroll left to establish his own gambling operation (including twenty poker machines) on the northern island of Espiritu Santo. Warnings from the Australian government to Vanuatu's about the probity of the Number One operation had little effect on the willingness of the finance minister, Willy Jimmy, to license the operation.

The second license was issued to Chung Corporation, a private, Brisbane-based company, which started operating in Vanuatu in August 1993. It was headed by Christopher Chung, who was born in Tahiti and had lived in Vanuatu and New Caledonia before moving to Australia, where he became a naturalized citizen. Chung had criminal convictions (which he did not disclose to the Vanuatu government) for procuring prostitutes to work in New Caledonia and for illegally exporting contaminated seafood from Australia.

A third license was granted to the Vanuatu and Pacific Islands International Totalisator Agency Board (VITAB),[4] in which a prominent role was played by Peter James Bartholomew (a Melbourne racing identity who was the brother-in-law of Allan Tripp). Bartholomew (like Tripp) also featured in the Costigan Report, and both Bartholomew and Tripp were sons-in-law of Jack Dow, who was reputed to have been an important SP bookmaker (Costigan 1984:48, 51). Bartholomew had been arrested twice but not charged in relation to illegal gambling activities.

Vanuatu laws freed the bookmakers from metropolitan regulation and taxation as well as shrouding their activities in secrecy. These laws also enhanced the powers of some Vanuatu politicians. The Betting (Control) Act No. 1 won assent on 19 February 1993 and took effect shortly after, on March 8. The law gave the minister of finance, then Willy Jimmy, considerable power over the industry, including approving and revoking totalizator and bookmaking licenses and otherwise regulating the industry. The penalty for breaching

the secrecy of bookmaking operations was a fine not exceeding VT500,000 (equivalent to US$4,150 in 1993) or a prison sentence of two years or both (Vanuatu 1993:16). The bookmaking firms helped to shape the legislation that defined their powers of action, for example, the provisions giving them 10.8 percent of the turnover (total bets) and the Vanuatu government only 1.08 percent (p. 8).

These three Vanuatu-registered bookmaking firms approached Australian totalizer agency boards—TABs—proposing that Vanuatu should be their nearby low-tax portal to tap a large, rapidly expanding, and unsatisfied Southeast Asian betting market. Two agreements were approved: of Chung Corporation with Victoria's TAB and of VITAB with the TAB of the Australian Capital Territory.

Opening in Port Vila on 1 May 1993, by mid-1994 Chung Corporation had an annualized turnover estimated at A$50 million (US$38 million). Chung was also negotiating with the New South Wales TAB and had discussions with the Queensland TAB, although the latter was at the time prohibited by law from operating offshore and had been requesting changes in legislation to enable it.

The former prime minister and former leader of the right-wing faction of the Australian Labor Party, Bob Hawke, was a major shareholder in VITAB. Hawke helped to negotiate an agreement between it and the Australian Capital Territory Totalisator Agency Board (ACTTAB), allegedly to facilitate betting by foreign gamblers (particularly from Hong Kong and Singapore) through the territory. A connection with VITAB was supposed to raise the chronically unprofitable ACTTAB from the smallest to the largest TAB in Australia, producing substantial revenues for the ACT government. VITAB projected minimum turnover as A$20 million for the first year, A$50 million for the second year, and A$60 million for the third. VITAB commenced operations on 18 January 1994.

The (conservative) Liberal Party opposition successfully attacked the VITAB deal in the ACT's parliament, leading to the contract's termination in April 1994, effective as of July 18. Similar pressure from the Labor Party opposition in Victoria resulted in VicTAB's termination of its contract with Chung Corporation on 17 May 1994. On 10 August 1994 VITAB settled its lawsuit against ACTTAB for breach of contract—receiving A$3.3 million (US$2.5 million). During the half-year in which it operated with ACTTAB, VITAB's profits were about A$1.5 million (US$1.2 million); turnover was A$7.5 million (US$5.8 million), which was accelerating until the agreement foundered.[5]

Persistent questioning by Paul Osborne, an independent member of the ACT Legislative Assembly, about the A$3.3 million settlement with VITAB eventually led to an inquiry by prominent Sydney barrister Richard Bur-

bidge between June and December 1997. Burbidge concluded that the real beneficial ownership of VITAB had been obscured behind a number of smokescreens, including Vanuatu and British Virgin Islands offshore shell companies: VITAB and the Number One Betting Shop (across the hall from one another in Anchor House, Port Vila) were virtually the same operation. According to Burbidge, certain members of VITAB (including Bartholomew and Tripp) were aware of the fraud, which consisted of (1) the illusion that VITAB was to tap into some allegedly lucrative Asian gambling market to increase Australian tax revenues,[6] (2) the concealment of its true purpose of channeling Australian bets through the tax haven of Vanuatu, and (3) the hiding of the identity of some of the real principals of VITAB, who might not be able to satisfy probity tests.

Burbidge concluded that while certain people at VITAB and ACTTAB were engaged in elements of fraudulent misrepresentation, other VITAB shareholders (including former Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who held 11 percent of VITAB's stock) were not aware of the deception. Yet all but one of the shareholders in VITAB were revealed to have been clients of Tripp (who was also a major shareholder in VITAB) and the Number One Betting Shop. The bulk of VITAB's turnover arose from Number One and from two other professional bookmakers, Zeljko Ranogajec and his associate David Walsh, who together held 20 percent of VITAB's shares. Expert opinion contended that 87 percent of VITAB's turnover had come from an SP bookmaking operation.[7]

In 1993 the Queensland TAB had strongly criticized its rivals in Victoria and the ACT for "pursuing growth at any price" by entering into agreements with offshore TABs in Vanuatu (*Courier-Mail,* 27 November 1993). Nonetheless, in 1994 the Queensland parliament passed laws to allow the state's TAB to accept business from TABs in offshore financial centers and negotiations were soon started with interests in Vanuatu (*Courier-Mail,* 2 November 1995).

Bob Gibbs, a powerful member of the right-wing faction of the then-ruling Queensland Labor Party government, played a prominent part in negotiating with the Vanuatu company. The Queensland TAB was like the TABs of Victoria and New South Wales, and unlike ACTTAB, in being large enough not to have to pool its bets with any other TAB. After both Victoria and the ACT terminated their relationships with Vanuatu-based TABs, in December 1995 the Queensland TAB quietly reached a five-year agreement with a new Vanuatu-based company, Asia Pacific Totalisators, of which 10 percent was owned by former Prime Minister Bob Hawke. As with VITAB, the flamboyant Sydney stockbroker and investor Michael Bastion was a shareholder.[8] Two of Asia Pacific directors, Con McMahon (the major shareholder and chief executive officer) and Michael Dowd (also a shareholder), both former book-

makers, had also been heavily involved in VITAB. The Queensland Criminal Justice Commission was said to have done a complete probity check of Asia Pacific Totalisators. Additionally, the contract granted an extensive range of termination rights to the Queensland TAB, including the right to void the agreement if the agency believed that more than 10 percent of Asia Pacific's bets were originating in Australia.

Asia Pacific Totalisators started operating in March 1996 and paying fees on a sliding scale to the Queensland TAB for merging its pools in a satellite-based system. Within six months the company was reported to have a growing turnover of about A$250,000 (US$200,000) a week. Queensland estimated that its TAB's profits from the agreement for the first year could exceed A$1 million (US$800,000) on an initial investment of about A$200,000 (US$160,000) in the joint venture, which was seen as introducing new and previously untapped funds into the betting pools. The Queensland TAB claimed that Asia Pacific Totalisators had a non-Australian telephone-betting client base, principally in Asia. Officials from other state TABs, however, contended that it was very difficult to monitor business going to the tax and secrecy haven of Vanuatu (Totalisator Administration Board of Queensland 1997; *Courier-Mail*, 22 December 1995; *Sun-Herald* [Sydney], 11 February 1996; *Sunday Mail* [Brisbane], 6 October 1996).

Allan Tripp's Number One Betting Shop, which had an estimated annual turnover of about A$15 million (US$10.5 million) in its first full year of operation in 1993–1994, grew spectacularly in its offshore base of Port Vila. From 1998 to 2000 Number One's turnover grew at a compound rate of 72 percent per year—from A$176.6 million (US$108.4 million) in 1998 to A$328.7 million (US$214.9 million) in 1999 and then to A$525.6 million (US$291.2 million) in 2000. In 2000 the turnover topped the reported revenues of all licensed bookmakers combined in either of Australia's largest states—New South Wales (A$497.5 million, US$275.6 million) or Victoria (A$369.6 million, US$204.8 million)—and Number One had become the second-largest bookmaking operation in the world (the biggest being Victor Chandler's in the Gibraltar offshore financial center). Number One's reported trading profits (untaxed in Vanuatu) were A$2.6 million (US$1.6 million) in 1998, A$12.1 million (US$7.9 million) in 1999, and A$9.3 million (US$5.2 million) in 2000 (*Herald Sun*, 3 March 2000; *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 2 May 2001; Sportingbet.com, media release, 15 March 2001).

In March 2001 Tripp's Number One operation (with its twenty-nine employees and five thousand active Australasian customers as of 2000) was acquired by Sportingbet.com PLC.[9] In January 2002 Number One moved to Australia's Northern Territory after the government there agreed to lower the turnover tax for bookmakers from 1 percent to 0.33 percent—far lower

than the tax in any Australian state. The move "onshore" opened previously unavailable advertising channels, permitted people in New South Wales and Victoria to bet with the company lawfully,[10] and presented an image of better regulation and increased legitimacy than when the operation was offshore (*Herald Sun,* 21 February 2002; Sportingbet PLC, media releases, 15 March 2001, 26 June 2002; *Sydney Morning Herald,* 2 May 2001). Nevertheless, the onshore location also subjected it to greater tax and other pressures, the most threatening being the growing hostility of the racing heads of the six Australian states and moves by some of those ministers to cut the Northern Territory out of betting pools unless taxes were raised and bookmakers there were forced to make substantial contributions to the racing industry (*Canberra Times,* 6 March 2002; *Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 7 August 2002; *Northern Territorian,* 22 February 2002; *Sydney Morning Herald,* 21 February 2002). It is therefore conceivable that bookmaking operations that have moved back onshore to favored sites such as the Northern Territory may flee offshore once again if there is a serious threat to their special onshore privileges (*Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 19 February 2003).

Sportingbet is itself incorporated in the Channel Islands offshore financial center of Alderney. An important competitor, the highly successful Internet- and telephone-based Dial-A-Bet, remains in Vanuatu. It is worth remembering that Number One was created by Tommy Carroll (with assistance from Allan Tripp) after he fled to Vanuatu from the Northern Territory. Furthermore, recent Australian attempts to restrict Internet gambling have led to threats by Lasseters Casino in Alice Springs to move its existing Internet operations from the Northern Territory to Vanuatu (*Northern Territorian,* 2 April 2001).

While revenues flowing to Internet gambling sites around the world were growing dramatically, competition also increased as more sites emerged. Starting with sports betting in early 1995, offshore bookmakers such as Number One supplemented telephone betting with Web pages that presented a wide variety of alternatives. Many gamblers made the transition from telephone betting to Internet gambling, with an increasing tendency to use credit cards rather than checks or wire transfers (Balestra 2000:18–19). Still, almost all Internet sports and race gambling operations, no matter how Web-based, continue to take bets by telephone as well, and it would be more accurate to term their activities "long-distance wagering" (Rose 2000).

The Cook Islands

On 18 August 1995 the world's first online casino appeared. Internet Casinos Inc. was developed for only US$1.5 million and operated from the Caribbe-

an offshore financial center of the Turks and Caicos Islands (Janower 1996). Another of this initial wave of small-capitalization Internet casinos opening in offshore financial centers was Casinos of the South Pacific (CSP), which arose in the Cook Islands. Although there has been confidence in the prospects for Internet casinos among offshore promoters in the Cook Islands, Norfolk Island, Palau, and Vanuatu, online casino ventures in the Pacific region have so far been less than fully successful.

When CSP launched real-money wagering (initially accepting only Swiss francs) in the Cook Islands on 16 May 1997, the company faced the common problem of brand recognition in an industry where no well-known land-based casino in the world had yet established an online site that accepted real-money bets. This situation represented opportunity for small, lightly capitalized companies such as CSP and its associates. Torrey Pines Nevada, which held rights to 80 percent of CSP's net revenues, changed its own domicile to the Cook Islands in June 1997 and in January 1998 merged into Netbet, another Las Vegas–based company traded on the over-the-counter stock exchange. With six hundred shareholders and a mere US$3 million in assets, Netbet was in turn 32 percent owned by another over-the-counter company, United Casino Corporation.

The ease of entry into Internet gambling for companies with so little capital created intense competition, with a large number of failures. The relatively low level of equity in companies such as CSP meant that they were in a poor position to withstand adversity. Bad news could be particularly damaging in an industry where casinos in Caribbean offshore financial centers had disappeared from the Internet after failing to pay out winnings, feeding concern that OFCs registered virtual casinos but did little to prevent fraud.

Nevertheless, the low taxes and fees that CSP was required to pay in the Cook Islands gave it some advantages over competitors, even those based in the laissez-faire offshore gambling center of Antigua in the Caribbean, where seventeen offshore Internet gambling sites were each required to pay at least US$100,000 at the outset for an operating license (*Economist,* 13 December 1997). Vanuatu currently charges US$75,000 as an application fee, along with an annual fee of US$50,000, 0.1 percent of gross turnover, and 2.5 percent of the operation's gross profit after excess bandwidth charges and bad debts have been deducted (*Republic of Vanuatu Official Gazette,* 9 February 2003). But in the Cook Islands CSP incorporated as an international (offshore) company that was structured to pay no tax whatsoever to the government (other than an annual US$1,500 registration fee), despite the fact that it had a substantial onshore presence in Rarotonga and an investment of well over US$1 million in its Web sites there. The Cook Islands general public discovered the situation and became indignant

about it in March 1997; until as late as May, CSP's response was that its clients were offshore and thus the company should be treated as an offshore (untaxed) entity. As this position became increasingly untenable politically, CSP agreed in June 1997 that it should remit some (unspecified) percentage of its income to the Cook Islands treasury (*Cook Islands News*, 15 March, 22 May, 19, 27 June 1997).

Later, a somewhat similar (but locally unpublicized) situation arose when Cbet.com (Cook Islands) Ltd., a subsidiary of Exbet.com and an affiliate of Toronto Stock Exchange–listed International Pursuit Corporation, received tax exemption from the Cook Islands government in February 2000. That April, Cbet began operating a patent-pending financial betting system where clients from around the world made fixed odds, tax-free bets on major stock indexes. Allowing bets as small as a dollar by nonprofessional investors, the Rarotonga-based Web site (www.cbet.co.ck) accepted credit-card payments via the Bermuda offshore financial center—the Bank of Bermuda being the major player in the Cook Islands offshore banking industry (International Pursuit Corporation, media releases, 31 March, 7 April, 24 May, 29 June 2000).

Despite a promising start (CSP received US$15 million in bets in its first two weeks of full operation in January 1998 and ranked fifth in turnover among the world's online casinos), the company was soon beset by problems from which it could not recover. In the United States, the State of Wisconsin targeted CSP for allowing residents to gamble on its Rarotonga-based site. State and local governments have traditionally controlled legal gambling in America, but Wisconsin Attorney General James Doyle, a Democrat who launched the suit against CSP, had chaired a working group of the National Association of Attorneys General, which in 1996 made the unusual recommendation that action on the federal level was necessary to control Internet gambling. Most state Attorneys General did not think that American states (individually or collectively) were capable of dealing with the problem without national action against offshore sites, which would involve amendments to the federal Wire Act (Modisett 2002). Usually American states resist the federalization of crime (which takes power away from the states), but in this case they recommended it. The original Kyl bill (introduced in the Senate on 19 March 1997)[11] grew out of the recommendations of Doyle's working group. Doyle became a leader of the crusade against Internet gambling, working closely with Kyl and frequently testifying before the U.S. Congress (U.S. House of Representatives 2000b:40–44, 2000c:19–20; U.S. Senate 1997:7–12, 1999:6–9).

Doyle even showed a videotape of the CSP Web site to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism, and Government Information

on 28 July 1997, emphasizing that the operation was located in the "exotic" Cook Islands (U.S. Senate 1997:7–12, 8). "Gambling on the Internet is much like the Wild West, and foreign jurisdictions have become the hideouts of the bandits," Doyle contended (U.S. House of Representatives 2000b:43). The primary goal of his crusade was to warn American Internet users about the dangers of online gambling and to make clear that bettors could not turn to their state and federal governments for help if they lost money to unscrupulous operators or found that their financial information was being used in harmful ways (U.S. Senate 1999:6–9).

In May 1998 Netbet, which operated CSP, agreed in a consent decree to refrain permanently from accepting wagers from Wisconsin and to provide all of its Internet gambling records to the state for two years. CSP also agreed that its Web site would display in bold type the following statement: "Participation in this Internet gaming site, through registration, opening of an account or placing wagers, by persons physically located within the state of Wisconsin is unlawful and may subject the player to prosecution" (Kelly 2000:160; *Wisconsin v. Net Bet, Inc.*, No. 97-CV-2520, 6©, 9 [D. Wis. May 6, 1998, consent decree, injunction and judgment] at 6[e] at 3, 4).

Worse still, CSP became a target in a landmark lawsuit concerning offshore Internet gambling. California plaintiff Cynthia Haines brought a countersuit against her credit-card providers when these companies sued her for failing to repay US$70,000 that she had lost in gambling with offshore operations. Haines claimed that the companies' claims were void since gambling debts were unenforceable in California and the credit-card companies should not have provided accounts to offshore online casinos, which were not proper legal entities in the United States because offshore Internet-casino gambling was (according to her) unlawful. Providian National Bank of San Francisco, which had supplied her MasterCard and Visa card, settled out-of-court with her, forgiving all her gambling debts and paying her attorneys' fees of almost US$225,000, in October 1999.[12] This settlement encouraged other disgruntled gamblers to sue their credit-card providers (Hammer 2001). Some gamblers claimed not only that their debts could not be collected but also that all money already paid to credit-card companies for their offshore Internet gambling should be refunded to them (Philippsohn 1999:333). After only two years of full operation in the Cook Islands, CSP closed and eventually sold its equipment to an Internet casino in the offshore financial center of Costa Rica.[13]

Despite these problems and growing international pressures against Internet gambling (especially from the U.S. state and federal governments), the global volume of online wagering continued to grow dramatically (Balestra 2000).

Norfolk Island

As problems increased for CSP in the Cook Islands, Norfolk Island—an external territory of Australia—enacted laws permitting the registration of offshore gambling operations. Norfolk Island's tax haven had reportedly for a long time been a convenient place to register commercial entities used by illegal SP bookmakers operating from Queensland's Gold Coast in relation to races in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, and Adelaide (*Sunday Mail* [Brisbane], 10 October 1993), but its orientation toward building its own offshore gambling enterprises emerged only in 1997. In December 1997 the Norfolk Island legislature passed two bills that received assent from the Australian government in April 1998 and allowed the licensing of offshore gambling via the Internet, telephone, and other telecommunications—the most substantial legislation ever proposed to revive Norfolk's offshore financial center, which had been subjected to persistent debilitating pressures from the Australian government since the mid-1970s (van Fossen 2002). Norfolk called for a low tax on Internet sports wagering: not more than 0.5 percent (Cabot 2001b:40).

By January 1999 the Australian Media Company Proprietary Ltd. (AMC), a privately held company incorporated in Norfolk Island, had signed an exclusive memorandum of understanding with the island's government. This memorandum concerned worldwide delivery of interactive home gambling via telephone, the Internet, and a satellite pay-television channel with programs that would be produced in Sydney. The Nevada-based software development company New Directions Publishing Corporation (NDP) licensed its gambling technology in return for royalties. Internet service providers from around the world were to link into AMC through Norfolk, which was seen by the island's promoters as destined to become a major offshore financial center in the Australasian region.

In May 1999 NDP purchased 50 percent of the International Building and Investment Society (IBIS), an established New Zealand building society (savings and loan association) that was to assist AMC with online banking and be transformed into an innovative Internet financial-services provider. The next month AMC received permission to conduct all forms of offshore gambling from the Solomon Islands, which, despite the country's political troubles, advanced the process of uniting AMC, NDP, and IBIS to create an offshore world of Internet gambling and online banking. Soon Visa reached an agreement with the group to form an electronic money system where its cards would allow high levels of financial privacy for those who did not want their payments or gambling proceeds to go through conventional metropolitan bank accounts.[14] As CEO and Chairman Peter Michaels of NDP put it,

"Our aim is to provide on-line services enabling people access to banking and investment facilities in some of the South Pacific off-shore and tax-free safe havens from anywhere in the world. We will now be seeking to establish office representation for the Savings and Loan (Building Society) in Australia and elsewhere in the South Pacific" (Professional Public Relations, Sydney, media release, 7 May 1999)

The online casino issue led Norfolk Island to more intense conflicts with Canberra. On 29 March 2000 Norfolk issued its first virtual casino license to uBET.com, a subsidiary of the U.S. company Silicon Gaming, and hoped to see it operating within six months. The casino was optimistically projected to generate over A$2.5 billion in betting from gamblers around the world who would be drawn to Silicon Gaming's highly innovative multimedia technology, boosting the Norfolk Island government's revenue by well over 700 percent—to at least A$100 million annually. Norfolk Island wanted new revenues to improve its roads, hospital, and other infrastructure. The Australian federal Commonwealth Grants Commission estimated that about A$85 million was needed to bring these up to the standards of the rest of Australia and had threatened to act to introduce income taxes on the island to raise the necessary funds.

Norfolk's move was seen to be in direct defiance of advice from the Australian communications minister, Senator Richard Alston, who was pushing for a moratorium on new online casino operations. At the time Australian public opinion was beginning to turn against gambling, and increasing pressure for a global prohibition on Internet gambling was coming from the United States. On 9 June 2000 Alston, who was reported to be angry, flew to Norfolk for discussions about the growth of problem gambling in Australia and to emphasize the federal government had ample constitutional power to halt any attempts on the island to defy a moratorium.

Norfolk officials complained that the problems of Australian gamblers were irrelevant since Norfolk interactive casino licenses prohibited bets to be taken from Australian or New Zealand players, and the federal government had not fulfilled its previous promises to consult with the island's government on the proposed prohibition. But the islanders conceded that they had little choice but to comply with a moratorium—no matter how nonsensical it was. On 28 July 2001 the Australian parliament (overriding the states and territories that have traditionally had jurisdiction over gambling) passed legislation (the Interactive Gambling Act 2001) and made it unlawful for online casinos based in Australia to accept bets from residents in Australia and other jurisdictions with similar laws. It also prohibited Australian online casino operations unless they had existed before 19 May 2000. But the legislation resulted from compromises with minority parties in the Australian

parliament and it exempted telephone betting and most forms of Internet gambling: on horse, harness, greyhound, and sporting events as well as lotteries (Vuaran 2002).

The Norfolk Island Gaming Authority issued three bookmakers' licenses for betting on races. One went to uBET.com. The second was obtained by Australian Online Casino. Both companies were licensed to conduct sports betting and wagering in addition to their Internet casinos (Nettleton 2002:449). The third license was granted to World Wide Totalisators Pty. Ltd., operated by Tom Burns, former Queensland Labor Party deputy premier, and Mike King, Norfolk's chief minister from 1994 to 1996. World Wide Totalisators had reportedly made an agreement to link its Norfolk Island offshore terminals with the Queensland TAB (*Sydney Morning Herald,* 20, 21 June 2000). Norfolk had complied with the letter, but not with the spirit, of the Australian federal government's initiatives.

The problems for offshore gambling development on Norfolk have been less matters of entrepreneurial drive or consumer demand than of the perspective of the Australian federal government. There is obvious (but frustrated) potential for development when a well-known and substantial company such as Jupiters (which operates large land-based casinos in Queensland) has had to delay the introduction of its proposed Norfolk-licensed online casino, Jupiters.com, until Australia removes regulatory and legislative obstacles (Australian Associated Press, 1 December 2001).

Palau

In August 2000 Palau's National Congress passed controversial legislation enabling offshore Internet gambling. Passage occurred at the end of the legislative session, without public notice or hearings. President Kuniwo Nakamura signed the bill into law on 22 August 2000 despite strong community opposition, especially from churches and women's groups. Nakamura justified allowing offshore gambling by claiming that Palauans would be barred from using the sites and that the initiative would help Palau attract other Internet businesses.

Palau's initial offshore gambling venture was oriented primarily toward offering Internet versions of the pinball-like *pachinko* game, whose total gambling payouts in Japan rival all the money won in the casinos of the United States (Thompson 2001:202–205). Midtech, a company closely associated with a local politician and offshore promoter, Delegate Alan Seid, received an exclusive *pachinko* concession and entered into agreements with Japanese interests to construct an offshore gambling Web site (*Tia Belau,* 5 August 2000).

In October 2000 Palau signed another exclusive contract, allowing Paragon Investments International, a company registered in the British Virgin Islands offshore financial center, to provide an offshore Internet digits lottery game. On 21 December 2000 all of Paragon's officers and directors were British, with the exception of an Australian general manager, but later Paragon's Web site indicated that its vice-chairman was the Palauan presidential adviser Johnson Toribiong.

Promoters promised that the concessionaires would pay millions of dollars each year to the Palau government in fees and a 4 percent tax on gross receipts after payouts to winners, although the operators would be exempt from any other taxes. Paragon had agreed to pay US$2.5 million a year as a minimum to the Palau government after it began to operate. After almost two years, however, the company still had not commenced operations and had paid only US$25,000 (on 20 October 2000). Paragon was also accused of violating British laws by offering its shares at five pounds each to U.K. investors without issuing a proper prospectus and by advertising for British agents to promote its lottery, although promoting an overseas lottery is illegal in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, Midtech's chairman, Alan Seid, who had left the legislature and been defeated in his bid to become Palau's vice president, presented the company's first payment to the government (of US$125,000) on 20 May 2002 and forecasted that revenues to the government from the Internet gambling operation would increase to between US$5 million and US$10 million a year (*Guam Business,* December 2002; *Tia Belau,* 5, 26 August, 2, 28 October 2000, 25 May, 21 September 2002).

Another type of offshore gambling was also creating controversy in Palau. A proposal to allow the remote island of Angaur to offer gambling to foreigners was becoming an important political issue in the country. Palau's national legislature, Angaur's politicians, local referendum voters, and fifteen of Palau's sixteen state governors had endorsed the proposal. Promoters emphasized that Angaur had few other options for making money and that gambling could be combined with beautiful beaches and World War II relics to provide attractions for a tourism industry (*Palau Horizon,* 6 April 2001).

Opponents claimed that a casino on Angaur would bring environmental damage, drugs, prostitution, foreign workers, organized crime, money laundering, harm to families, and severe problems for the gamblers themselves. Furthermore, critics claimed the bill's provisions that excluded Palauan citizens from gambling, while allowing tourists, nonresident workers, and other expatriates to do so, violated rights to equal protection in Palau's constitution—foreigners should deserve the same protection from the harmful effects of gambling as Palauans.

Most Palauan critics oppose both offshore and onshore varieties of gambling, and foes mobilized effectively to defeat a number of pro-gambling candidates and incumbents (including Alan Seid) in the 2000 election. The new president, Tommy Remengesau Jr., strongly opposes gambling. In contrast to his predecessor, who had signed the offshore Internet gambling bill into law two years earlier, Remengesau in late 2002 referred the bill allowing gambling by foreigners back to Palau's legislature, saying he would not sign unless it was substantially amended. In January 2003 he called for a referendum on whether the government should allow gambling, if only by foreigners (*Palau Horizon,* 10 May, 27 September 2002; Radio Australia, 29 January 2003; *Tia Belau,* 9 June 2001, 14 May, 19 October 2002).

Vanuatu's Internet Casinos

Operating from Vanuatu's offshore financial center, My Casino Ltd. started as one of the "digger.coms," Australian mining companies that used backdoor listings on the Australian Stock Exchange to reinvent themselves as technology enterprises after gold prices declined and the mania for Internet stocks began. Euroz, Perth's "float factory," had transformed Western Minerals into Adultshop.com, Livingstone Resources into Webspy, and Abador Gold into My Casino[15]—all companies having as a central director and significant shareholder the Swiss banker Hans-Rudi Moser. My Casino operated an Internet casino and an online sportsbook in Port Vila as well as owning a company that had established an Internet banking facility for them based in the Channel Islands offshore financial center of Guernsey, where it liaised with Barclays Bank. My Casino claimed not to target Australia and not to accept bets from the United States, but instead to concentrate on Southeast Asia and northern Europe.

Despite trading for the first time on "Black Monday" (17 April 2000), My Casino shares went as high as A$1.15 (US$0.71), almost six times the initial offering price of A$0.20 (US$0.12) at which 34,410,000 new shares had been sold to the public in the period between Abador Gold's suspension from the Australian Stock Exchange in December 1999 and its relisting as My Casino. The renamed company was listed on the Australian, Berlin, Frankfurt, and Stuttgart stock exchanges and issued a total of 104,943,890 quoted and 65,600,000 restricted (unlisted) shares.

My Casino handled A$22 million (US$13 million) in betting turnover in May 2000 and A$36 million (US$22 million) in June, spurring managing director Gordon McIntosh to reportedly claim that My Casino was the "world's most successful online gambling company" (*Australian,* 4 July 2000, p. 4) and that "no other online gaming competitor . . . has been able to match or

exceed our turnover performance" (*West Australian*, 4 July 2000, p. 31). For July 2000 its reported revenues rose to A$50 million (US$30 million). My Casino in Port Vila was apparently accounting for over 20 percent of all global Internet gambling revenues, estimated at US$1.485 billion for 2000 (Nua Analysis 2002). My Casino's management expected to convert 5 percent of its turnover into profits—a higher profit margin than land-based casinos with higher cost structures.

However, in late July and early August 2000 the company admitted that "uncleared" credit-card transactions totaled A$7.8 million (US$4.8 million) and that it would temporarily disable credit-card processing to deal with fraudulent and suspect transactions. Yet the management continued to report optimism about future prospects and on 11 August 2000 its shares closed at A$0.66 (US$0.39), over three times the recent public offering price.

More than a month passed before My Casino resumed credit-card processing, which it did on 6 September 2000. By September 12 its shares had fallen to A$0.33 (US$0.18). The final blow occurred after its disabled computers were reactivated: a software fault led to the casino's loss of A$560,000 (US$310,000) in two and a half hours of baccarat play.

In May 2001 My Casino announced plans to close its Internet gambling sites based in Vanuatu, admitting that it had lost more than A$4.4 million (US$2.2 million) by accepting bets charged to more than one thousand false and stolen credit cards and paying winnings to other accounts. Ironically, in April 2000 Vanuatu Telecom had requested that My Casino provide credit-card processing for its telephone accounts.[16] Offshore Internet gambling sites are particularly vulnerable to hacking since they contain a great deal of credit-card information and are located in offshore financial centers that often lack the technological sophistication of metropolitan data centers (*International Gaming and Wagering Business*, October 2002).

In July 2001 My Casino announced plans to sell its Vanuatu Internet gambling assets (including computer equipment and two licenses, for Internet sports betting and casino gambling) to Southern Equity Ltd. for stock worth A$300,000 (US$150,000). The deal was conditional, though, on Southern Equity's acquisition of WaterhouseBet, which was controlled by the colorful, Sydney-based Waterhouse racing family. WaterhouseBet owned a chain of ten Grant's Waterhouse betting shops in Fiji—with a monopoly, a turnover of over A$6 million (US$3 million) a year, and former coup leader Sitiveni Rabuka as its chairman. The Waterhouse family was to control between 50.04 percent and 66.96 percent of the resulting entity, depending on future profitability. Business growth was supposed to come primarily from Asia, especially Hong Kong. The previous month Robbie Waterhouse, who was to become a director of the new firm, had won a seventeen-year battle to regain

his bookmaker's license after he and his father, Bill, had been warned off racetracks indefinitely by the Australian Jockey Club in 1984 for their part in the Fine Cotton horse-substitution scandal at Eagle Farm racecourse in Brisbane.

By mid-October 2001 the deal had collapsed. Robbie Waterhouse blamed the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States and the resulting stock-market decline and uncertainty for Southern Equity's failure to raise the necessary capital. On 10 May 2002 My Casino changed its name to Euraust (*The Age,* 5, 21 July 2001; *Asia Pulse,* 19 October 2001; *Australian,* 5 July 2001; *Australian Financial Review,* 5 July 2001; *Courier-Mail,* 5 July 2001; *West Australian,* 4 July 2002). On 26 February 2003 Euraust shares were trading at A$0.019 (about one U.S. cent).

Although the purely online My Casino was crushed by credit-card fraud, a subsequent Vanuatu-based venture was later viewed as pointing to the future of Internet casinos in the Pacific Islands and the world. In January 2002 Kerry Packer's large and successful Crown Casino of Melbourne established one of the world's first cash-collecting Internet gambling Web sites owned by a major casino. Crown escaped Australia's restrictive measures by locating its online casino in Vanuatu.[17] This was regarded as signaling a structural change in the global offshore casino industry: providing a for-cash betting site with unparalleled credibility and possibly starting a process that would sweep away a number of small and more-dubious operators. Crown had a strong brand and a partnership with the innovative Australian slot-machine manufacturer Ainsworth Games Technology (*International Gaming and Wagering Business,* April 2002) and with Microsoft; these alliances were seen as allowing it to gain a substantial market share for a minimal investment (see Cabot 2001a). Crown's Vanuatu operation was accessing the company's large database in Melbourne to target high-rolling Asian players (*International Gaming and Wagering Business,* August 2002) in an industry where the costs of customer acquisition were high (*Financial Times,* 7 November 2002). Well-capitalized and premier-brand casinos that could present the image of honesty and integrity were often viewed as having the potential to make extraordinary profits—in the range of 10 percent of turnover (McGuigan 1998).

The richest (and arguably the most powerful) man in Australia, the media magnate and billionaire Kerry Packer, controlled Crown Casino and this placed pressure on the Australian government to adopt a softer line on Crown's offshore operations in Vanuatu. Packer was an avid bettor, with a long-standing inclination to use offshore financial centers for tax minimization and little sympathy for onshore governments' restrictions on gambling, one of his favorite activities (Barry 1993:431–444, 466–486). Packer had

the capacity to make his views known through his company, Publishing and Broadcasting Ltd. (PBL),[18] which owned Australia's most popular television network (Channel Nine), numerous mass-circulation magazines, and Crown Casino. Packer and his son, PBL Chairman James Packer, were actively involved in shaping Crown's Vanuatu site, receiving daily reports on it. Onshore governments' attitudes toward the offshore realm are sensitive to the structure of onshore power—and ambivalent compromises may result, as when the Howard government (which had halted new Internet-casino development in Australia and its external territory of Norfolk Island) did not criticize Crown's move to Vanuatu.[19] Crown contended that its Vanuatu Web site did not accept monetary bets from Australia, New Zealand, or the United States; instead, Crown's online casino was apparently oriented toward Asia, where the company had strong brand recognition (*International Gaming and Wagering Business*, April 2002). In Port Vila Crown's venture was seen as signaling a new era. As A$30 million (US$15 million) of equipment for Crown's operation was being installed on a leased floor in Vanuatu's National Provident Building, Geoffrey Sheehan, the head of Interactive Gaming Consultants Ltd., Vanuatu's Internet gambling regulator, stated that "we're at the coalface of a new industry . . . it will fundamentally change the economy of Port Vila" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 June 2001, p. 4).

Crown's online venture in Vanuatu was viewed as marking a new stage of evolution and a new maturity of approach. In this case a substantial, settled, well-capitalized, and land-based offline casino was providing a base of credibility for development of an associated offshore Internet gambling site. Crown had the additional advantage of a strong casino brand in an industry characterized by unfamiliar names and inadequate marketing (Dandurand 1999).

The optimism about Crown's Vanuatu venture was to prove unfounded. In 2003 Crown and the other two reputable names that had entered the Internet-casino industry closed their online sites: Crown in Port Vila, in May (reporting losses of more than A$5.6 million [US$3.6 million] for the most recent six months); and Kerzner (Sun) International and MGM Grand, both operating in the Isle of Man offshore financial center, in January and June, respectively. None lasted a full two years. All cited heavy losses, intense competition from less "regulated" offshore operators, an unsupportive international political and legal environment, and problems involved in rejecting as many as 70 percent of potential customers who approached them, that is, anyone who had connections with the United States or other countries where laws, public officials, credit-card companies, or banks had made collection of payments precarious. Nevertheless, though officers in these three substantial firms saw Internet gambling's short- to medium-term prospects

as bleak, they forecasted that in the longer term it would become quite profitable (Interactive Gaming Council, media release, 11 June 2003; *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* 30 January 2003; Pacnews, 12 May 2003).

Future Scenarios

Gambling has been legalized and commercialized on a grand scale only since the late 1960s (McMillen 1996:1) during a period that has been characterized as oriented around post-Fordist and postmodern "flexible accumulation" (Harvey 1989). The demand for gambling has increased in those metropolitan countries (such as the United States and Australia) where Fordist-Keynesian expectations of job security, full employment, and rising standards of living have been the most weakened; where class polarization, insecurity, and downward mobility have been the most pronounced; and where people have become increasingly convinced that luck (not only hard work or insight) determines whether one can become rich (Brenner and Brenner 1990:88–90). Gambling "sells hope" and acts as a conservative "safety valve" in a time of economic uncertainties, declining real opportunities, and social strains (Smith 1998).

Nevertheless, it was only when the public was persuaded that legal gambling involved voluntary taxes (and could be used to reduce personal and property taxes) that onshore gambling promoters became successful in the United States (Roberts 1997:606–607) and other countries. As a result of the government's increasing dependence on gambling taxes, public officials have often become gambling promoters. Gambling was legitimized and the general public's resistance was further reduced through convincing people that some gambling taxes were being earmarked for schools, hospitals, sporting facilities, or other areas that were generally supported (Smith 1998). But, if gambling is increasingly done in offshore tax havens, a lack of local benefit may alter public attitudes toward gambling in general.

Just as workplaces have moved from large city-center buildings to suburban malls, and now into the home, so permitted gambling has been evolving on a similar path—with the result that it is coming closer to where people live. Under these circumstances, criticism and public policy debates are likely to become more pronounced. Internet and other forms of offshore gambling may become the center of continuing controversy as the ability to wager becomes more commonplace in the home and erodes the profits of land-based onshore gambling operations, at the same time drawing money away from restaurants, cinemas, and other "legitimate" local businesses. It is also possible that Internet technology will make gambling too accessible, too stimulating, and too disruptive to the extent that American ambivalence

toward permitted gambling will turn into hostility, though this does not seem likely at the present time (Eadington 1999:190–191). Rose (1991) contends that gambling in the United States rises and falls in periodic waves, and he forecasts that the current wave will bring nationwide prohibition on gambling in about 2029 after a general reassertion of conservative morality and a "devastating deluge of public scandals" (p. 74) involving compulsive and child gambling, suicides, cheating by gambling operators, winners not being paid, official corruption, the bribery of athletes, and perhaps the rigging of a major sporting event such as the World Series or the Olympics. However, the effects such a prohibition (if it occurs) would have on offshore financial centers are contestable: the Internet may have technological abilities that allow offshore gambling operators to avoid land-based restrictions (Rose 2000).

While prohibitionist sentiments are strong in the United States, which plays a dominant role in establishing global norms and criminal laws, global prohibition regimes can be undermined by weak or dissident states. There are few international prohibition regimes and even fewer global ones. Although newness makes Internet gambling more vulnerable to prohibition (since it has not yet developed powerful constituencies or been integrated into key social functions), it is also not generally seen around the world as very dangerous—which explains why prominent prohibitionists such as U.S. Representative James Leach of Iowa have attempted to connect it to activities that are more widely condemned, such as money laundering and terrorism (U.S. House of Representatives 2001a:21–22, 2001b:5–6, 15, 2001c:4–8; see also Rose 2002; van Fossen 2003). The indictment of leading figures of Vanuatu's offshore financial center on charges of money laundering in relation to a lottery may make offshore gambling in the Pacific Islands more amenable to this type of criticism.[20] Yet even almost-universal moral condemnation of an activity (for example, prostitution) does not necessarily result in a global regime to prohibit it (Nadelmann 1990).

The defenders and opponents of offshore gambling differ about how effective any prohibition regime can be. At the center of the dispute is the credit card, used to open 90 percent of Internet gambling accounts and an area of controversy since the Cynthia Haines case. Prohibitionists point to the fact that political pressure on a Visa executive to defend his company's business dealings with offshore Internet gambling operations before a U.S. Congress hearing on 12 July 2001 (U.S. House of Representatives 2001a:25–27, 155–168) led credit-card companies to become very restrictive. As a result the credibility of offshore gambling enterprises suffered, since the American card-issuing banks increasingly refused to allow cardholders to charge wagers or, worse yet, refused to accept credit back on gambling—meaning that offshore gambling operations could not pay winnings or refunds in

an efficient and timely way. Even promoters of offshore Internet gambling (e.g., Schneider 2002; Sinclair 2002) admitted that operations that depended heavily on U.S. customers faced declines of between 50 percent and 80 percent in their revenues during the second half of 2001. By October 2001 most major credit-card-issuing banks in the United States disallowed the offshore gambling transactions of their clients (*International Gaming and Wagering Business,* October 2001). This crisis resulted in a number of operations being offered for sale, given back to their software suppliers, or being acquired by larger firms.

Many promoters regard these setbacks as limited (e.g., Cabot 2002:517). Their view is that credit cards (while convenient for customers and the standard medium for conducting online business) have always been a temporary expedient until better monetary-transfer instruments are developed for Internet gambling. Credit cards are undependable because gambling debts are unenforceable in many common-law countries (as reflected in the Haines case) and because credit-card companies are subject to political pressures. Many of the most successful offshore Internet gambling operators pioneered moving customers away from credit-card transactions to debit- and cash-based transactions (Sinclair 2002). Defenders of offshore gambling claim that the moves by some credit-card companies to refuse Internet gambling transactions led some American gamblers to deposit and leave substantial sums in OFC bank accounts rather than try to send the money back to the United States (*Wired,* 23 September 2002). Balestra forecasts that worldwide Internet gambling revenues will continue their steady and spectacular growth—from US$4.45 billion in 2002 to US$10.69 billion in 2005—despite the problems with U.S. credit-card companies and banks (2002:37). Furthermore, respected outside observers note that certain operations continue to be extremely profitable; for example, Costa Rica's leading offshore site for multiplayer poker (paradisepoker.com) was reported to have annual net profits of over US$100 million in 2001–2002 (*Financial Times,* 7 November 2002).

Conclusion

Pacific Islands offshore financial centers have been at the forefront of developing offshore (including Internet) gambling, which has been plagued by a legitimacy deficit. Offshore gambling is illegitimate to the degree that such wagering is not generally supported, accepted as appropriate, or able to justify its right to existence. The Internet has vastly expanded the possibilities, but most people have not been socialized to see this as desirable and Internet gambling has not had an opportunity to build popular acceptance (see Mezias

and Boyle 2002). Thus Internet gambling has become a prominent target for metropolitan politicians and public officials, especially in the United States. Within U.S. political circles the legitimacy of Internet gambling is so low that attacks on it are far more likely to be radical (advocating prohibition) than reformist (favoring regulation), with a number of American states having already enacted prohibition. The movement of Internet gambling operations to OFCs in the Pacific Islands and elsewhere, where they achieve some distance from metropolitan policing and prosecutors, has acted to consolidate an image of these tax havens as centers for disreputable activities, places where operators and clients go to escape legal and ethical obligations. Recent actual or threatened sanctions against Internet gambling and Pacific Islands OFCs (van Fossen 2003) and the frequent failures of Internet gambling operations in Pacific Islands tax havens have tended to weaken the perceived legitimacy of both. The strong moral crusade against offshore Internet gambling (especially in the U.S. Congress) has threatened the financial transactions and credit-collection systems of these operations as a whole; prior to attracting political attention the use of credit cards, checks, and other noncash payments in the business had been relatively unproblematical. The current legitimation crisis of offshore gambling in Pacific Islands tax havens will be difficult to resolve. And this crisis is likely to result in further economic turmoil for the industry, the companies within it, and the Pacific Islands tax havens that host them, at least in the short and medium term.

In the longer term, promoters contend that offshore gambling (which is still in its infancy) will become ever more pervasive as it matures and the Internet expands and deepens. Prohibitionists believe offshore gambling will be stifled by preventing onshore agents (such as banks and credit-card companies) from assisting it, especially in its new and threatening Internet form. In either case, the fate of offshore gambling in the Pacific Islands is increasingly a crucial test for the viability of a new kind of minimal social unit: a single individual at a home computer withdrawing from conventional society to risk money in private communications with virtual sites in small and distant islands.

NOTES

All exchange rates between currencies are based on the average for the particular year.

1. *Offshore gambling* is the process through which foreigners play a game of chance for money or other stakes with a company that is registered in a tax haven. Increasingly, offshore gambling takes place over the Internet. A *tax haven* is a jurisdiction that allows residents or foreigners to minimize tax payments. An *offshore financial center* is a tax-haven jurisdiction that has at least one significant institution primarily engaged in accepting de-

posits and investment funds, and where intentional government policy is oriented toward attracting the business of foreigners by creating legal entities and structures or facilitating immigration, naturalization, residence, or the acquisition of passports to allow foreigners to minimize taxes, regulation, loss of assets, unwanted financial disclosure, and forced disposition of property. All offshore financial centers are tax havens. Not all tax havens are offshore financial centers (e.g., the Federated States of Micronesia and Pitcairn Island are tax havens but not offshore financial centers).

2. "What this bill is primarily directed at are the 1,400 offshore sites that are illegal, unregulated, untaxed, and sucking over $2 billion a year out of the country" (U.S. Representative Robert Goodlatte, Republican of Virginia, a leading sponsor of anti–Internet gambling bills, in U.S. House of Representatives 2002:43).

3. Niue's ambition to become an offshore Internet gambling site (encouraged by Canadian businessman Michael Hillman, who had an exclusive license to operate Niue's online casino, sportsbook, and state lottery) was frustrated when the New Zealand government prevented the Niue government from using its consulate in Auckland as the prime computer-server site (*Niue Economic Review,* April, July 1998). In 2003 the Nauru government received a proposal to give a ten-year monopoly over its offshore financial operations (including offshore gambling) to AFCON, a consortium including the lawyer Nic Petroulias, a former senior official with the Australian Taxation Office then facing fraud charges (Radio Australia, 3 March 2003). Nauru's OFC has a reputation problem, even in offshore gambling circles, not least because it was reported to be the registered home for rogue telephone companies that were hijacking the connections of Web surfers to Internet betting sites. The victimized gamblers did not realize until they received their bills that very large amounts of their money were being funneled into the hijackers' offshore bank accounts (Dow Jones International, 6 April 2003).

4. A *totalizator agency board* or *TAB* adds up (totalizes) all bets and pays winners a relatively fixed percentage of total revenues, leaving the remainder for taxes, administration expenses, and profits.

5. An example of this acceleration was VITAB's A$3.1 million (US$2.4 million) in turnover for the five weeks between 22 May and 25 June 1994, which might have constituted 30 percent of ACTTAB's total turnover for that period (Burbidge 1997: annexure t).

6. Although not noted by Burbidge, it appeared strange, in view of the supposed Asian clientele of Vanuatu's totalizator operators, that Vanuatu's laws stated that totalizator bets could be accepted only in vatu (the national currency) and Australian dollars (Vanuatu 1993:6).

7. *The Age,* 25 April 1993, 19 April 1994; *Australian,* 18 May, 16 June, 2, 12 August 1994; *Australian Financial Review,* 26 November 1993, 15 April, 17, 19 May, 27 June 1994; Burbidge 1997; *Canberra Times,* March–August 1994, passim, also 4, 13 December 1997; *Sydney Morning Herald,* 21, 23 February, 18 June 1994.

8. In March 2000 Bastion climbed out of his penthouse apartment and plunged six floors to his death. At least A$50 million (US$31 million) that Bastion had been managing for 354 investors was missing (including A$1 million for Allan Tripp). From December 1995 to May 1998 Bastion had been a director of Mansaw, a commercial property developer

in Melbourne; Peter James Bartholomew was also a Mansaw director (*Sydney Morning Herald,* 29 April 2000).

9. In March 2001 Sportingbet acquired Number One from VITC, a trust company whose chief beneficiaries are Tripp's family, for a package of cash, shares, and other payments worth up to £39.8 million (Sportingbet.com, media release, 15 March 2001).

10. New South Wales and Victoria had responded to the competition from Vanuatu by enacting laws that prohibited their residents from betting with bookmakers who were not licensed in Australia. These laws were widely regarded as ineffectual.

11. Kyl first proposed prohibiting Internet gambling in an amendment to the Crime Prevention Bill of 1995 (Rose 2000). This failed and he later formulated his prohibitionist program in freestanding bills.

12. Even though it was not a party to the litigation, Cryptologic Inc., a leading supplier of Internet gambling software, paid most of the settlement. The company claimed that the settlement of the Haines case out of court meant that it could set no precedent (Hugel and Kelly 2000:139).

13. *The Age* (Melbourne), 28 July 1997; Casinos of the South Pacific, media releases, 29 January, 27 May 1997; *Dominion* (Wellington), 17 June 1997; *Economist Intelligence Unit Report,* 15 December 1997; *Interactive Video News,* 26 May 1997; *International Accounting Bulletin,* 27 February 1997; *International Gaming and Wagering Business,* April 1997; *Internet Week,* 30 June 1997; NBC 1997; Netbet Inc., media releases, 18 August, 26 December 1997, 15, 30 January 1998; *Pacific Islands Monthly,* June 1998; Torrey Pines Nevada Inc., media releases, 16, 20, 27 May, 17 June, 29 July 1997; United Casino Corp., media releases, 27 June, 4 October 1996, 14 February 1997.

14. *Australian,* 4 March 1999; Australian Media Company Pty., media release, 21 July 1999; New Discoveries Publishing Corp., media releases, 12 January, 23 February, 1, 3 March, 9, 30 April, 7, 19 May, 14, 30 June 1999.

15. A backdoor listing occurs after a listed shell company with negligible assets is acquired, renamed, and used for new enterprises, thereby avoiding laws that require a prospectus to be issued for a new stock offering. Of these "digger.coms," Webspy provides real-time Internet monitoring and management, services designed to detect employees chatting online or accessing gambling, pornography, personal investment, or shopping sites at work—leading causes for disciplinary action and termination (Webspy, media release, 22 May 2002). Adultshop.com sells sexually oriented materials online.

16. Australian Associated Press, 28 March, 12 September 2000; *Business Review Weekly,* 11 May 2001; *Herald Sun,* 15 August 2001; My Casino, media releases, 14 April, 28 July, 4 August, 6, 12 September 2000; Reuters, 15 October 1999; *Shares,* August 2000; *Sydney Morning Herald,* 22 February 2000, 4, 12 May 2001; *West Australian,* 18 April, 4 July, 12 August 2000, 4 June 2002.

17. In May 2002 Pacific Star Resorts proposed a similar onshore-offshore venture. It planned to raise A$35 million (US$19.3 million) in a public float to develop a new Vanuatu cyber-casino to be aligned with its acquisition of the new five-star, seven-story, sev-

enty-five-room Grand Hotel Casino in Port Vila. The intention was to expand into sports betting and lotteries. However, the company failed to reach the minimum subscription of A$6 million (US$3.3 million) in its fund-raising effort, which was not underwritten. The A$6 million was seen as the minimum required to establish the online gambling facility, exclusive of the hotel acquisition. Charles Blunt, a former member of the Australian parliament who led the federal National Party from 1989 to 1990, chaired Pacific Star Resorts (*Australian Financial Review,* 25 May 2002; *Gold Coast Bulletin,* 29 July 2002). Other purely online Vanuatu gambling ventures have had difficulties with initial public offerings. Gamble.com.au, which operates an Internet casino in Port Vila and also planned to target cricket, hockey, and soccer betting in India and Sri Lanka, did not succeed in its A$16 million (US$8.8 million) float of 25 percent of the company, which was intended to gain a listing on the Australian Stock Exchange by June 2000. The float failed despite a well-known management team and support from prominent Melbourne businessmen and Clubs Victoria, an association of more than five hundred sports clubs, which owned 5 percent of the shares before the float (*The Age,* 21 March 2000, 26 June 2001). Two attempts to list on the Australian Stock Exchange by a company that held online gambling licenses in both Vanuatu and Norfolk Island also failed. After the November 2000 float of Australian On-line Casino was unsuccessful, it changed its name to Leisure & Gaming Corp. but could not raise the A$4 million (US$2 million) it sought in October 2001 (*The Age,* 15 October 2001; *Australian Financial Review,* 12 October 2001).

18. The Packer family's Consolidated Press Holdings owned 37.8 percent of PBL on 20 September 2001 (Anonymous 2001:414).

19. Richard Alston, the Howard government's communications and information technology minister, was extremely moralistic when he acted to ban new Internet-casino operations in Australia. In relation to Crown's proposed move to Vanuatu, however, he said, "We have always made it plain that it is not a matter for Australia to make moral judgments about what happens elsewhere" (Reuters, 29 May 2001).

20. In early December 2002 two leading figures in the Vanuatu OFC, Thomas Montgomery Bayer and Robert Murray Bohn, were among seventeen people indicted by a grand jury in Memphis, Tennessee, for their alleged involvement with offshore gambling operations that took money disproportionately from elderly Americans who bought lottery tickets they never received. Bohn, the head of Vanuatu's flag-of-convenience registry (van Fossen 1992), was arrested and imprisoned in New Orleans. The headquarters of the offshore lottery-ticket operation (which was led by Canadians from Vancouver) moved frequently and assumed more than thirty corporate names. The U.S. investigation started when victims began telephoning operators of the IDM lottery enterprise in the OFC of Barbados to complain but called the Caribbean country's FBI legal attaché office (which had a similar number) by mistake. The offshore lottery operation (in its various incarnations) received more than US$100 million since it started in 1989. Bayer said that the U.S. charges (including money laundering, racketeering, conspiracy, and mail fraud) arose from the association of his Vanuatu-based European Bank, of which Bohn is CEO, with the Barbados-based IDM during the mid-1990s. In February 2003 Bohn was granted bail, which required him to stay in the United States. Bayer and Bohn contended that they were innocent but the damage to the reputation of Vanuatu's offshore financial center could continue for years, as the case was not expected to be heard until 2004 at the earliest

(*Commercial Appeal* [Memphis], 6 December 2002; *Globe and Mail*, 10 December 2002; *Lloyd's List International*, 10 December 2002; Pacnews, 10 February 2003; Radio New Zealand International, 16 January 2003).

REFERENCES

Anonymous
2001 *Huntley's Shareholder*, volume 1. Sydney: Huntley's Investment Information.

Balestra, Mark
2000 *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Online Gambling*. Indianapolis: Macmillan.
2002 Internet Wagering: A Look Ahead at Online Industry. *International Gaming and Wagering Business* 23 (7): 1, 36–37.

Barry, Paul
1993 *The Rise and Rise of Kerry Packer*. Sydney: Bantam.

Bell, Tom W.
1998 Letter to the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary. February 2. In U.S. House of Representatives 2000a:20–23.
1999a Internet Gambling: Popular, Inexorable, and (Eventually) Legal. *Cato Policy Analysis* No. 336. March 8. Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute.
1999b Gambler's Web: Why Online Betting Can't Be Stopped and Why Washington Shouldn't Bother Trying. *Reason* 31 (5): 24–31. October.

Brenner, Reuven, and Gabrielle A. Brenner
1990 *Gambling and Speculation: A Theory, a History, and a Future of Some Human Decisions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burbidge, Richard
1997 *Board of Inquiry Report into Matters Relating to the Contractual Arrangements Between ACTTAB and VITAB and Other Matters*. Report to the Chief Minister, Australian Capital Territory Government. December. Canberra: ACT Government.

Cabot, Anthony
2001a An Introduction. In *The Internet Gambling Report IV: An Evolving Conflict Between Technology, Policy, and Law*, edited by Anthony Cabot, 1–4. Las Vegas, Nev.: Lionel Swayer and Collins.
2001b Can Gambling Work on the Internet? In *The Internet Gambling Report IV: An Evolving Conflict Between Technology, Policy, and Law*, edited by Anthony Cabot, 25–40. Las Vegas, Nev.: Lionel Swayer and Collins.
2002 Where From Here? In *The Internet Gambling Report V*, edited by Mark Belestra and Anthony Cabot, 511–517. St. Charles, Mo.: River City Group.

Costigan, Frank
1984 *Royal Commission on the Activities of the Federated Ship Painters and Dockers*

Union. Final Report, volume 4: *SP Bookmaking.* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Dandurand, Lawrence
1999 A Global Market Analysis of Casino Gambling on the Internet. *Gaming Research and Review Journal* 4 (2): 17–37.

Dean, Lisa
2000 Testimony of the Vice President for Technology Policy of the Free Congress Foundation. In U.S. House of Representatives 2000c:38–40.

Eadington, William R.
1999 The Economics of Casino Gambling. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13 (3): 173–192.

Hammer, Ryan D.
2001 Does Internet Gambling Strengthen the U.S. Economy? Don't Bet On It. *Federal Communications Law Journal* 54 (1): 103–127.

Harvey, David
1989 *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Hugel, Paul, and Joseph Kelly
2000 The Internet, Gaming, RICO and Credit Cards. *Gaming Law Review* 4 (2): 135–145.

Janower, Cynthia R.
1996 Gambling on the Internet. Paper, Boston: Boston Consulting Group.

Kelly, Joseph M.
2000 Internet Gambling Law. *William Mitchell Law Review* 26 (1): 117–177.

Loscalzo, Theresa E., and Stephen J. Shapiro
2000 Internet Gambling Policy: Prohibition Versus Regulation. *Villanova Sports and Entertainment Law Journal* 7 (1): 11–27.

Mason, John Lyman, and Michael Nelson
2001 *Governing Gambling.* New York: Century Foundation Press.

McGuigan, Philip P.
1998 Internet Gambling. *Computer Law & Security Report* 14 (2): 112–115.

McMillen, Jan
1996 Introduction. In *Gambling Cultures: Studies in History and Interpretation,* edited by Jan McMillen, 1–5. London: Routledge.

Mezias, Stephen J., and Elizabeth Boyle
2002 *Organizational Dynamics and Creative Destruction: Entrepreneurship and the Emergence of Industries.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Modisett, Jeffrey A.
2002 The States and Gaming: A Brief Look at the Past, Present, and Future Through the Eyes of a Former Attorney General. *Gaming Law Review* 6 (3): 197–206.

Nadelmann, Ethan A.
1990 Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society. *International Organization* 44 (4): 479–526.

National Gambling Impact Study Commission
1999 *Final Report.* June. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

NBC
1997 Interview of Jim Brewer, chief financial officer of United Casinos Corporation, by Christine Bushey. NBC Television, New York City. May 23.

Nettleton, Jamie
2002 Australia. In *The Internet Gambling Report V,* edited by Mark Belestra and Anthony Cabot, 431–450. St. Charles, Mo.: River City Group.

Nua Analysis
2002 Internet Survey. http://www.nua.ie/surveys. October 22.

Paul, Ron
2001 Statements by U.S. Representative Ron Paul (Republican-Texas). In U.S. House of Representatives 2001d:16.

Philippsohn, Steven
1999 Landmark Cases in Internet Gaming. *Gaming Law Review* 3 (5): 329–333.

Post, David G.
1998 Gambling on Internet Laws. *American Lawyer* 20 (7): 95–98.

Roberts, Mike
1997 The National Gambling Debate: Two Defining Issues. *Whittier Law Review* 18:579–609.

Rose, I. Nelson
1991 The Rise and Fall of the Third Wave: Gambling Will Be Outlawed in Forty Years. In *Gambling and Public Policy: International Perspectives,* edited by William R. Eadington and Judy A. Cornelius, 65–86. Reno: Institute for the Study of Gambling and Commercial Gaming, University of Nevada at Reno.
2000 Gambling and the Law: The Future of Internet Gambling. *Villanova Sports and Entertainment Law Journal* 7 (1): 29–53.

2002 Politics and the Law of Gambling. *Gaming Law Review* 6 (4): 293–294.

Schneider, Sue
1998 Testimony to the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee of the Judiciary. February 4. In U.S. House of Representatives 2000a:42–48.
2002 The Market—An Introduction. In *The Internet Gambling Report V,* edited by Mark Belestra and Anthony Cabo, 47–60. St. Charles, Mo.: River City Group.

Sinclair, Sebastian
2002 Some Bumps in the E-Gambling Road. In *The Internet Gambling Report V,* edited by Mark Belestra and Anthony Cabo, 61–75. St. Charles, Mo.: River City Group.

Smith, Julie
1998 *Gambling Taxation in Australia.* Sydney: Australian Taxation Research Foundation.

Thompson, William N.
2001 *Gambling in America: An Encyclopedia of History, Issues, and Society.* Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO.

Totalisator Administration Board of Queensland
1997 *Annual Report 1996.* Brisbane: TAB Queensland.

U.S. House of Representatives
2000a *Internet Gambling Prohibition Act of 1997: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, One Hundred Fifth Congress, second session, on H.R. 2380, February 4 and June 24, 1998.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
2000b *Internet Gambling Prohibition Act of 1999: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, second session, on H.R. 3125, March 9, 2000.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
2000c *Internet Gambling Prohibition Act of 1999: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Telecommunications, Trade, and Consumer Protection of the Committee on Commerce, House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, second session, June 15, 2000.* Serial No. 106-150. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
2001a *Financial Aspects of Internet Gambling: Good Gamble or Bad Bet? U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, Committee on Financial Services, July 12, 2001.* Serial No. 107-34. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
2001b *H.R. 556—The Unlawful Internet Gambling Funding Prohibition Act and Other Internet Gambling Proposals: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit of the Committee on Financial Services, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundred Seventh Congress, 1st session, July 24, 2001.* Serial No. 107-37. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
2001c *Unlawful Internet Gambling Funding Prohibition Act and the Combating Illegal*

Gambling Reform and Modernization Act: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, One Hundred Seventh Congress, 1st session, on H.R. 556 and H.R. 3215, November 29, 2001. Serial No. 47. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

2001d *Unlawful Internet Gambling Funding Prohibition Act: Report Together with Dissenting Views (To Accompany H.R. 556).* Committee on Financial Services, Serial No. 107-339, Pt. 1. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

2002 *Combatting Illegal Gambling Reform and Modernization Act: Report Together with Dissenting Views (To Accompany H.R. 3215).* Committee on the Judiciary, Serial No. 107-591. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS21707.

U.S. Senate

1997 *The Internet Gambling Act of 1997: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism, and Government Information of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, One Hundred Fifth Congress, 1st session, on S. 474, a Bill to Amend Sections 1081 and 1084 of Title 18, United States Code, July 28, 1997.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

1999 *Internet Gambling: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism, and Government Information of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, 1st session, March 23, 1999.* Serial No. J-106-8. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

van Fossen, Anthony B.

1992 *The International Political Economy of Pacific Islands Flags of Convenience.* Nathan, Qld.: Griffith University.

2002 Norfolk Island and Its Tax Haven. *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 48 (2): 209–224.

2003 Money Laundering, Global Financial Instability, and Tax Havens in the Pacific Islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 15 (2): 237–275.

Vanuatu

1993 The Betting (Control) Act No. 1 of 1993. *Republic of Vanuatu Official Gazette,* March 8.

Vuaran, Dennis

2002 The Banning of Internet Gambling in Australia: The Interactive Gambling Act 2001. *Gaming Law Review* 6 (3): 207–212.

CELEBRATING MOTHER'S DAY IN A MELANESIAN VILLAGE CHURCH

Deborah Van Heekeren
University of Newcastle
Ourimbah, Australia

Christianity dominates village sociality in the Hula villages of Papua New Guinea's southeastern coast to the extent that the United Church has appropriated and indigenized the Western custom of setting aside a day to celebrate motherhood. In the process Mother's Day has been transformed into an expression of local Christian values to which women should aspire. In many ways the events that take place invert gender roles, but we also find that certain things are always left to women. The events related here, through the perspective of the United Church Women's Fellowship (UCWF), also comment briefly on Adventism in Irupara and invite reflection on the particularities of local history.

THE IDENTIFICATION of Mother's Day as a religious ritual does not immediately evoke associations with the gender rituals most often celebrated in Melanesian anthropology. Nevertheless, in the mundane setting of the village church, anthropological inquiry reveals a great deal about local gender roles. The Mother's Day celebration held in Irupara village, viewed from the perspective of the United Church Women's Fellowship, draws attention to the role of Christianity in the construction of gender identity and gender relations. The celebration also reveals that church fellowship groups contribute to stratification among women, thus inviting reflection on the historical circumstances in which this is situated.

More than a decade ago, John Barker wrote that "most anthropologists still regard Christianity as a foreign intrusion and continue to pursue the fading vestiges of uncontaminated traditional religions" (1992:165). While

Pacific Studies, Vol. 26, Nos. 3/4—Sept./Dec. 2003

Christianity in Melanesia is increasingly given attention in anthropological literature, it continues to be constructed in terms of conflict and social change. The practice of Christianity—its lived reality—has not to date been taken seriously as a subject for anthropological study.[1] Barker also drew attention to the fact that "Melanesians have had very different experiences of Christianity. By the 1980s, for example, many peoples on the coast had been active Christians for a century while many interior peoples were still in the process of receiving an introduction to the religion" (ibid.:153).

This article results from anthropological research carried out during 2001 in Irupara village on Papua New Guinea's southeastern coast, where the villages have been Christianized for more than a century. It is indicative that this particular part of Melanesia has been largely overlooked by anthropologists, a fact that I attribute mainly to its reputation for long-term Christianization and accompanying deficit of those things that have traditionally attracted anthropologists. Here, local identity and sociality is inextricable from Christian experience. I therefore take the Christian experience as the starting point for my research, which draws on my relationship with the Iru-ale United Church Women's Fellowship (UCWF) into which I became incorporated.

The Hula women with whom I came to spend the most time were those who, like myself, had grown-up children, or were younger women in their early twenties who had not yet married. Those with small children simply could not afford the time to socialize.[2] To contextualize my relations with the fellowship I offer the following information. At the time of my fieldwork I was forty-five years of age with three grown children. I had no grandchildren and was "divorced" in the sense that village women understand the term; that is, I did not have a male partner living in my house. These are the matters that most concerned the Hula women and about which they openly questioned me. It was also important that my Christian identity—Roman Catholic—afforded a degree of neutrality in my relationships with members of both the United Church (UC) and the Seventh-day Adventists (SDA).

A Christian History and Identity

Iru-ale Emmanuel United Church draws its congregation from two western Hula villages, Irupara and Alewai. The main village of Hula, from which this group of people derives its name, is about 110 kilometers east of Port Moresby. The Hula people first encountered Christianity in the early contact period of the London Missionary Society (LMS). The society came to dominate the southeastern coast, having been granted rights to work in the area in 1890 under the colonial administration's "spheres of influence" policy. In

1976 a commemorative plaque was erected in the center of Hula village to mark the hundredth anniversary of the society's arrival.[3]

Alewai village is adjacent to the western end of Hula and is small in comparison to its neighbor. Contrary to the LMS missionizing strategy, which was to establish a church in every village even if they were close together (Oram 1971:118), it has remained, in the physical sense, a village without a church. Alewai has strong ties with Irupara village, which lies about a fifteen-minute walk west along the beach. When these villages were first settled about two hundred years ago, Kopi Kila Kana, the daughter of one of Irupara's founders, married Kwamala Wari, a son of the founder of Alewai. She managed to persuade him to move to her village although this was not the custom. A close relationship between the two villages, initially built on family connections and trade and warfare alliances, was solidified with the establishment of the first LMS church in Irupara around 1922. During the period prior to World War II the LMS consolidated its position, with the church taking control of most aspects of village sociality (Oram 1968a:259).

By 1945 Adventism was also firmly established in Irupara and the first Seventh-day Adventist church was built there. The village became denominationally divided, causing problems for families, who were being split, and for the management of village life generally.[4] Today Irupara is known to its inhabitants as "the village with two Sabbaths," that is, Saturday for members of the Adventist church and Sunday for those belonging to the United Church (which succeeded the LMS in 1968). Congregants of each church respect the practices of the other and village and family tensions are sensitively managed. Although people say that Irupara is half-SDA and half-UC, the United Church has always relied on its Alewai congregation to supplement support of the village church in Irupara, known as Iru-ale. The two villages come together regularly for worship and Bible study and, after the formation of the United Church, to participate in the church fellowships.

Full membership in the United Church is achieved through a second baptism, which designates the recipient as *ekalesia*. *Ekalesia* pay levies to the church council and, if male and married, are eligible to become deacons. In return the church may call upon the services of *ekalesia* at any time. The demands are high. UC services are held on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday mornings; there is a general meeting held once a month, after the Friday morning service; and Bible study takes place on Sunday afternoons. Many members are also heavily committed to fellowships. Additionally, there are the matters of supporting the pastor and providing maintenance for his house, the church, and the grounds. As part of these duties the UC women also keep a garden for the pastor and his family.

United Church Fellowship

All the fellowships are based on the same organizational structure, which, in keeping with UC principles, is designed to be democratic. The men meet on Fridays, the women on Wednesdays, and the youth on Thursdays. Some younger women attend both women's and youth fellowships. And some are also Sunday school teachers.[5] Each fellowship group has its own committee made up of a chairperson, a secretary, a treasurer, and a vice-chair. The pastor's wife also serves on the women's fellowship committee, representing the opinion of the church in most matters.

Fellowship members are divided into "foursquare" groups. These groups define the fellowship's aims: devotion, recreation, education, and service (both community service and church maintenance). Each foursquare group has its own committee. The subgroups also meet at regular times outside of the general fellowship program. Although not explicitly stated, fund-raising is another dominant aspect of fellowship activities. The fellowship is levied annually by the United Church Council and the subgroups are called on to make contributions. The Iru-ale women's fellowship also raises money for its own projects and to help other church bodies such as the Sunday school.

At the weekly meetings the groups take responsibility, on a rotating basis, for conducting the devotion that takes place at the commencement of each gathering and for organizing activities appropriate to the aims of each section. For example, the recreation group might arrange for an afternoon of sporting activities; when the education group takes its turn, a handicraft afternoon might be held. The fifth week in the rotation is given over to a general meeting conducted by the committee. Apart from the activities mentioned, the meetings are characterized by an apparent formality that seems to overshadow the purely social aspects of the gathering. It is perhaps a formality born of Christian reverence but also strongly resembles classroom protocol and the trappings of Western bureaucracy.

The women wear a blue and white uniform and usually carry an exercise book (or something similar) to take notes on various items of discussion. They also make financial contributions that are carefully recorded and cross-checked. As well as making contributions to the fellowship fund, which currently aims to provide money to build a storeroom under the existing church to house sewing machines and other equipment, the women also donate small coins to assist the church in its charity work. These donations are placed into three powdered-milk tins that occupy the committee's table each week. The contents of each tin go to designated areas and the women are conscientious about distributing their small offerings evenly. There is also a roll call at each meeting.

The details noted above begin to suggest the sense of importance that characterizes the women's attitude to participation in the fellowship. It is more than merely a social outing. It is a forum in which individual women acquire status. The structure of the fellowship, based on the foursquare groups with their own committees, allows a substantial number of women to experience the responsibility of leadership. Those who do not exhibit the necessary qualities—for example, public-speaking skills or the confidence to undertake fellowship offices—are provided with tuition in the more intimate environment of the subgroup meetings, which are held in the homes of committee members. Women who can speak and read English or Motu—the nearest Austronesian language into which the Old Testament has so far been translated—are highly regarded in the fellowship. One senior woman explained to me that God had given her the ability to speak English. She had had no schooling and had picked up the language from attending church services and fellowship meetings where a number of English prayers and hymns are usually included.

Not all UC women attend the fellowship and some attend only intermittently. Some simply cannot afford to. Others feel they cannot spare the time. I also heard that the domination of the fellowship by the old women is a deterrent to some of the younger ones, who feel they have no voice. Age and the ability to speak out publicly are certainly the main ingredients for influence. Another is connection to the church hierarchy: wives and daughters of pastors, past or present; and deacons' wives, who are deaconesses in the church, also enjoy high status in the fellowship.

Over a two-month period in Irupara I attended seven UCWF meetings and a significant number of church services and related activities. I was first invited to the meetings by an influential old widow after being introduced to a number of village women at a Sunday morning service. My close companion and instructor in the ways of the fellowship was Elizabeth Rupa, the wife of the eldest brother in the family who were my hosts in the village. As I attended the meetings as Eli's friend, I became part of the recreation group to which she belonged. I always felt that my presence was welcomed, but despite attending meetings regularly and paying my small contributions, I was never added to the roll. And the fact that, not having the equivalent of the blue and white uniform, I was dressed differently than the rest of the group also seemed to mark my participation as temporary.

It should be noted that although the family I stayed with were members of the United Church, I also made connections with the SDA villagers. I was never expected to give exclusive allegiance to either group; rather, my presence appeared to facilitate greater than usual social interaction between members of the two churches. This is particularly evident in the account

of Mother's Day, which follows. There was, nevertheless, some evidence of competitiveness expressed by UC members when I first began associating with a number of young SDA women. This dissipated once I joined the UC fellowship and it came to pass that I developed a much deeper involvement with Iru-ale Emmanuel United Church.

The fellowships are formed along gender lines that reflect church and village sociality. One reason the United Church has been viewed, by certain commentators (see Firth 1975:348), as being compatible with local tradition is because it has maintained a separation between men and women. There exists, however, an unspoken contradiction between this "traditional" practice and the idea of the Christian nuclear family, which is also evident in the UC's organizational structure. For instance, only married men are eligible for election as deacons.

Although women participate equally in the church services, with deacons' wives enjoying the same status as their husbands and sharing the right to conduct services, which they do with great flair and success, men and women continue to sit on opposite sides of the church during services. The church committee is chaired by a male, men continue to fill most important public positions—church leaders are often village leaders—and, when in mixed company, men speak first. The ethnographic account of Mother's Day at Iru-ale church that follows draws attention to certain ideas about women's roles that have emerged in the context of village Christianity. In the concluding section of this essay I will attempt to locate these ideas in a traditional and historical framework with a view to assessing the changes that have taken place in women's lives since the arrival of the London Missionary Society.

Mother's Day in Irupara

Mother's Day is celebrated on the same Sunday in Papua New Guinea as it is in Australia and the United States, the second Sunday in May. At Iru-ale it is an important event in the church calendar, as is Father's Day.[6] In their recent book, *Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea,* Gewertz and Errington note that Mother's Day is now nationally publicized in the media "both as a time to express material appreciation (often through the gift of a domestic appliance) and as a time to express sentimental appreciation for a mother's affective centrality in a nuclear family's often inward looking emotional economy" (1999:71). They relate their observations to an increasing tendency towards individualism and elitism brought about by capitalism. This trend is not so much evident in the village, however, where communal attitudes persist. Although some families choose to celebrate Mother's Day privately and so return to their homes after the church service, the majority of the Iru-

ale UC congregation join in the community feast that takes place after the Sunday morning service. While Mother's Day is presented as a celebration of women, it also sets out the ideals to which women living in a Christian village should aspire.

The preparations for the Mother's Day service began a week before it was to take place, when the men held a meeting in the church grounds immediately following the Sunday service. As the men were to be solely responsible for conducting the service the following week, they needed to plan their presentation carefully. This was done with a great deal of secrecy and a good dose of excitement. It was already evident that the women were looking forward to the treat. My host had been charged with organizing the service and I was recruited to give a short presentation on "Mother's Day in Australia" at the end of the service, following his own account of the origin of Mother's Day in the United States, which I think had been extracted from an article in one of the national newspapers.

The following week I prepared a brief outline of the way Mother's Day might proceed in Australia: children's attempts to make breakfast, the kinds of gifts one might expect, and so on, and emphasized the fact that it was meant to be a holiday for hard-working mothers. It was arranged that Kila, Eli's husband, would translate my English into Hula. At this stage I had mastered only a few simple greetings in the vernacular, but I agreed to a suggestion that it would be an appropriate gesture to include what little I knew as an introduction to the presentation.

When Mother's Day arrived I had been in Irupara only three weeks. My attendance and participation in the UC service played an important part in establishing my relationship with the church and therefore with the fellowship and the village, as these are, in many respects, shared identities. Mother's Day, as celebrated in Iru-ale church, is unique. Like many village events it centers on feasting and the distribution of food. Unlike most occasions when this takes place, however, the food is provided by the men.

I awoke that Sunday feeling quite homesick. But the mood disappeared shortly after breakfast when my SDA friends Tani, Meena, and her aunt Bernice appeared at the house with a bouquet of native plants and a freshly picked hibiscus for my hair. We went to the verandah at the front of the house, where they explained that they wanted to sing me a song they had been rehearsing. Their gesture provided an instant remedy despite the melancholy of the tune. The song had been given to them by Meena's adopted cousin when she came to visit during the university's semester break. It was titled "Dedication Song for Mothers" and was both mournful and Christian.

Impressed with both the kindness of the girls' gesture and the appropriateness of the song, my host promptly invited them to attend the UC service

and to perform the song for the congregation. I was delighted at the prospect of their company, as was he. It was certainly shaping up to be a very entertaining service—a credit to the men who were organizing it. The girls hurried home to change into church-worthy clothing. By the time they returned, Eli was also at the house, though without her husband, Kila, who remained at home with the flu. Eli was mildly concerned about finding someone else to translate my presentation.

Our group walked the short distance from house to church soon after 9:30 A.M. We stopped at the pastor's house to arrange for another man to act as translator, then made our way to the church where we found ourselves a place at the front, on the left-hand side. As noted earlier the men usually sit on the left (facing the altar) and the women on the right. But today the women were honored by being given the front section of the church, with those males who weren't participating in conducting the service finding places at the rear. For my SDA companions this was the first time they had ever been inside Iru-ale Emmanuel United Church.

This was only the third Sunday service I had attended in Irupara, but it was obviously something out of the ordinary. Apart from changes in the conventional seating arrangements and the underlying idea that today the males were the hosts and the women the guests, the general format of the service was considerably different. The church had been abundantly decorated with palm fronds, sprouting coconuts, and red hibiscus. The opening songs were provided by the Sunday school choir, assembled at the front of the church, and were contemporary hymns, rather than the *peroveta* (prophet songs) usually initiated by the women. The women were dressed in their very best. By the time the male band of service conductors proceeded into the church, the building was filled to capacity.

The entry procession of churchmen, which began the service proper, was led by my host. He made the introductory prayers and commentary in Hula and then invited me to come forward and make my presentation. I was startled, having understood that this would not take place until the service's end. When I inquired later about the change of program I was told that my item had been "bumped" forward so as not to keep all those who had come to hear me waiting too long. This episode marked the beginning of my engagement with church politics.[7]

The deacon appointed to translate proved to be something of a comedian and added to my confusion. Already baffled by the change in arrangements, I began my introductory greetings in Hula. Before I could catch my breath to nervously plough through the English part of the oration, our clever translator offered the audience an English version of my Hula greeting. It was a great joke, which everyone seemed to enjoy, but I was too confused to fully

appreciate it at the time. My brief contribution to the service was followed by the introduction of my three SDA companions, who were welcomed formally to the service. They then performed their song for an appreciative UC congregation. Tani confided later that they had enjoyed the service immensely because the SDA church does not allow the incorporation of secular celebrations into its services. They also enjoyed the more traditional singing style that the UC has maintained.

Another aspect of the Mother's Day service that made it unique was that it was as much a memorial to the dead mothers of the congregation as it was to honor the living. Debra McDougall has observed that the United Church in villages in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands also celebrate Mother's Day: "One interesting feature of the service is that all attendees wear a white flower if their mother is alive and a red one if she has died. There is also a special procession where a white flower arrangement and a red one are carried in and put on the altar by two women (one whose mother is alive and one whose mother is deceased)."[8] The UC does not tend to employ deliberately symbolic images as part of its mode of practice. This also held for most aspects of Mother's Day. For example, when I asked if the sprouting coconuts that lined the church walls stood for anything, I was told that they were only decoration. Yet to me they were full with suggestions of roundness, fertility, and womanhood—the things that a Western consciousness might associate with Mother's Day. But palm fronds, hibiscus, and sprouting coconuts are common objects in Irupara that are readily available and usefully serve the purpose of decoration.

There were, however, two wreaths in the church that day that bore great significance. The first hung centered on the wall directly behind the altar. It was a deep green palm frond that reached almost to the ceiling. The outer edge of one side was lined with red hibiscus, the other side tied with a row of black knots. The flowers represented living mothers and the knots, dead ones. The other wreath hung low around the pastor's neck, over his pristine white shirt. This one was made of betel nut and mustard. Towards the end of the service, the neck wreath was presented to a female congregant whose mother had recently passed away. At this point the pastor made a speech in honor of the dead mothers. He wept loudly during the oration and, following the custom at mortuary gatherings, was joined by many others.

Betel nut and mustard are traditional offerings made to dead ancestors to ensure their goodwill. The custom mirrors the sociality of ordinary life in that whenever Hula people gather, whether for an important feast or more mundane engagement, betel nut is shared (though SDA Hula are not permitted to chew betel nut). The neck wreath worn by the pastor was not symbolic in the same sense as the palm-frond wreath. The sharing of betel nut "stands

for" nothing but is highly suggestive: it is a real link between the living and the living, and between the living and the dead. The latter point is important because the Hula do not openly acknowledge the corporeality of ancestors, as they did prior to Christianization, yet the gesture described above—performed by a pastor—implies otherwise.

For many, Mother's Day was a reminder of loss. There were those who mourned for the dead and those who remembered women who had left long ago. There were also those whose mothers were so far away they could but hope to see them again. Moved by the morning's service, Meena made a point during the afternoon of visiting her mother, who had remarried and moved to Alewai village. Tani particularly felt the loss of her mother. She told me her mother had left when she was three weeks old and she had seen her only once since then—when she was sixteen. Raised by her paternal grandparents whom she called mum and dad, Tani regrets not knowing her mother. Her mother remarried and has seven other children. Her father also remarried and has three more children but that wife also left him. He then raised those children on his own. At age twenty-four, Tani has already married and divorced, but she does not have any children, fortunately, it seems, for divorced women and single mothers have little chance of remarrying in the village. Marriageable men are advised by senior relatives to find young brides who have not been connected with other males.

The general views of the community on women's roles were expressed in the sermon delivered by the pastor and reiterated throughout the service by the other men. The central theme was the responsibility mothers have for the well-being of the family. Bad mothers cause problems for the family in the same way that Eve, "the number one mother," caused problems for God's children. A bad mother is one who neglects her family or leaves them. Leaving is often the only course of action available to a woman who finds herself in a difficult marriage.[9] And women frequently leave. This is the real threat to family life, as social organization is patrilineal and a wife is obliged to leave her children behind.

A village household without a woman to look after it is considered to be socially bereft and invokes sympathy from other villagers. The household in which I was staying comprised four males: a father and his three sons. The mother had long ago left and remarried. The eldest daughter had married and moved away, and another daughter was in Port Moresby working. The women's fellowship, as part of its community-service program, would visit this male-only household every few months and do some cleaning. This was much more frequent while I was there.

For people living in the Hula villages, a woman's garden is an important aspect of her identity. The garden continues to be seen as the primary source

of sustenance despite the increase in consumption of town food. In local terms, having a productive garden is better than money in the bank. The perceived value of a woman lies in her ability to nourish her family through the production of food and also to provide for herself and her husband in their old age through the production of children. Large families continue to be the ideal in the village. The value placed on the productive and reproductive labor of women is expressed both economically, through the custom of bride-price (still acceptable to the United Church although not by Adventism), and as a sensibility, such as that related above concerning the absence of women in a household. Such a sensibility was also expressed in the orations of the men who conducted the Mother's Day service.

Each man involved in the service paid tribute to his own mother. The pastor publicly thanked his wife for doing his washing and, to compliment the female section of the congregation, invoked such metaphors as women are "the spice of life" and "the lamp of the world." During a particularly flattering section of the pastor's monolog one of the men, in an overly generous gesture, sprayed a can of perfume into the congregation. For those of us sitting toward the front, it literally took our breath away.

On important church occasions the services include prayers and sermons from the four most commonly spoken languages in the area: Hula, English, Tok Pisin, and Motu. The vernacular, Hula, dominates most services but is often sprinkled with English, and certain English terms such as "fellowship" do not have an indigenous equivalent. English metaphors of the kind already mentioned are often used to elaborate a point from the Bible. This is a mode of Western Christianity, of course, but the metaphors are culturally specific, so while I could understand the words, the meanings for Hula people were not always clear to me. The reference to Eve, for instance, as "the number one mother" is relatively easily understood, since there is a conflation between "first" and "number one" (used in Tok Pisin and PNG English to mean "foremost" or "best"). I would, though, not attempt to elaborate such complex associations as those above that refer to the nature of women. In a similar vein, the ANZAC recessional ode was creatively appropriated as a tribute to the dead mothers.[10] The point I wish to make here is that the apparent transparency of Christianity, particularly when presented in English, is misleading. What I encountered in Iru-ale church was an indigenous Christianity that contained its own unique interpretations.

As the Mother's Day service continued, the women's fellowship expressed its collective identity by presenting a selection of songs they had rehearsed. Dressed in their best clothing, rather than the more usual blue uniform, they assembled themselves as a colorful choir at the front of the church. The assembly and subsequent disassembly of the fellowship choir caused some

alteration in the seating arrangements. *Wapu* (widow) Kila had decided that she wanted to be at the front where there was more going on and sat herself down in front of myself and the SDA girls. The *wapu,* although not large in stature, was predisposed to move people out of the way, or into place, whichever the situation required. Having settled in her new location the *wapu* devoted full attention to the service, nodding her head at regular intervals to express her agreement with the men's words.

At the end of the service, the mothers were ushered from the building first. They formed a line that extended all the way down the stairs. On the way out everyone else shook hands with the entire line of mothers. This was an important gesture as it is usually those who conduct the service who are thanked by the congregation. There were a lot of hands to be shaken and when it was over I commented to Eli on the greater than usual attendance. "Yes, whenever there is food" was her matter-of-fact reply.

The feast was held on the public grounds of the church. The women, as guests of honor, settled themselves in a circle on the ground. At the same time the *patapata,* a platform usually used for communal seating but now being used as a table, began to fill with food. The senior men gathered in a semicircle behind the women to sing *ute* for them. *Ute* is a traditional form of ballad that originated as mourning songs. Like the prophet songs it was introduced by the Polynesian missionaries. *Ute* is a song form designed for the male voice. While a song's structure remains basically the same, the lyrics may be adapted to a range of subjects. The first song that the men performed was, appropriately, about women and, I was told, was traditional. The second was a new composition with a strong Christian message. The emotive power of these songs was extraordinary.

The women responded with *peroveta.* A number of the senior women formed a circle and proudly danced the *peroveta.* Young women, for whatever reason—lack of knowledge or lack of inclination—did not dance.[11] As I had found on other occasions of communal feasting, the mood was wonderfully festive. There were, of course, some formalities—speeches to be made. Then I was asked to cut the cake, which was almost large enough to feed a village and which had been brought from Port Moresby with considerable effort, and to read the dedication that had been inscribed in icing. Once again, English metaphors were put to creative use as the Iru-ale congregation was acknowledged as "evergreen women and ever-ready men."

Before the food distribution began a small number of gifts, wrapped in decorative paper, were handed out. These were from husbands to wives but an intermediary actually made the presentations. A cash offering was made to a female guest, who was the district, or circuit, "mother" of the women's fellowship. The men had prepared the food or arranged for a female rela-

tive not yet a mother—perhaps a daughter or niece—to do so. But the men did not distribute the food that eventually filled the *patapata.* This is a skill that only women seem to acquire. It involves apparently complex calculations to ensure an evenness of distribution but it is also necessary that the most important guests receive the best food. Status is recognized through food—both in what is given and in what is received.

As guests of Iru-ale Emmanuel United Church, my party received the first food distributed. I was delighted by a bowl of *pariwa* (a highly esteemed sago and banana pudding) that was covered in plastic wrap and inscribed with my name in black felt-tip pen from Vela Kila, an old man who had shared some stories with me. He had asked his niece to make it for me and had written the inscription to ensure that I knew it was from him. This was a great compliment. We also received chicken, fish, rice, and local vegetables, which we took back to the house to enjoy in comfort.

As well as Meena, Tani, and Bernice our party included Lucy, Eli's eldest daughter, and another young woman whom I had not met previously. Lucy had realized, as we made our way to the house, that we had overlooked the cake and went back in haste to secure a portion. At the house we hurriedly laid a cloth on the floor to accommodate the food, started a fire for tea, and made sure that there were plates and cutlery for everyone. The ensuing picnic was enormous fun. The young women like to gossip and joke almost as much as they like to eat, and everyone had the opportunity to indulge in their favorite foods. For instance, Lucy enjoyed the chicken immensely. There was much joking about the identity of this delicacy, as chickens range freely around the village and are only killed for special occasions. The *pariwa* disappeared almost immediately, as did a number of other sago treats. Then the portion of very sweet chocolate cake we had procured was carefully divided so that nobody missed out.

I was pleased that Meena and Tani were there to share the feast. Although not relatives of my hosts and thus not subject to the customary requirement to bring food, they had been doing so since I first arrived. I had worried over how to return their generosity. The day was successful in many other respects as well: the men were happy with their organizational accomplishments, the women enjoyed their feast, and the United Church had given a Christian perspective to a secular celebration.

Reflections on Fieldwork and History

In this essay I have so far looked primarily at two dimensions of women's experience, that of membership in the UC fellowship, which is an exclusively female domain; and that of the celebration of Mother's Day, which

highlights village idealization of womanhood. Both experiences demonstrate that village life for women is deeply connected to the church. I now wish to draw attention to the particular historical circumstances in which this group of women experience village Christianity, with a view to making preliminary comments about changes that may have taken place in gender relations.

In Iru-ale the women's fellowship is by far the most visible and most active of the church organizations. In fact, while the youth fellowship also appeared to be operating successfully, during 2001 the men's fellowship had deteriorated to such an extent that it had been abandoned. Debra McDougall made a similar observation with regard to the UC fellowships of Ranongga in the Western Solomons Province. There, "the women's fellowship is better organized and has more regular participation than the corresponding men's fellowship."[12] No other women's groups operate in the Hula area and the fellowships provide the only exclusively female space where women can voice their opinions in a social milieu where men are accustomed to speaking first. As well as offering the opportunity for learning new skills, the church fellowships provide an avenue for women to assert themselves either collectively as a force in the church and the village, or as individuals seeking prestige.

My relationship with the women's fellowship revealed a number of themes. The first is that the women experience great enjoyment through the social interaction the meetings provide. Second, although the fellowship meets in the name of the United Church and observes a devotional component at every gathering, a great many other religious services provide this opportunity, so it is not necessarily religion that provides the greatest appeal. Having made these points, however, it must also be said that a significant proportion of fellowship time is spent meeting devotional requirements; and many women, when given the opportunity to present a prayer or sermon, take full advantage of the chance to demonstrate their oratory skills.

Many fellowship activities mirror Hula sociality and follow communal practices, particularly those related to gardening and food distributions. The fellowship provides ways for women to look after other women through its community-service program and to acknowledge the value of what women do—by making payments for childbirth and illness. The "program" endorsed by the United Church gives the women's fellowship the authority to act according to the wishes of the committee and its members, sometimes even overriding male authority.

Bronwen Douglas has, importantly, highlighted the unacknowledged role that Christianity plays in governance throughout Melanesia (2000:1–3). She has also drawn attention to the effectiveness of women's fellowship groups in village governance (p. 4), despite the fact that "women's groups and church groups are not primarily institutions of governance—their goals have rather

little to do with either formal government politics or planning development projects" (McDougall 2002:3). Speaking of the links women's groups have with local Christian churches, Douglas reminds us that "in Melanesia church women's wings and village women's groups continue to provide women's main opportunities for training, leadership, solidarity, networking and wider experience beyond the village and even beyond national borders" (2000:3). My time with the Iru-ale fellowship lends support to this litany of advantages. However, there is also reason to suggest that we need to be cautious about glossing Christian experience for women in purely positive terms (cf. McDougall 2002; Membup and Macintyre 2000:26).

Ethnographic accounts commonly express Melanesian women's experience of Christianity today as one of empowerment. The situation is often represented more as a matter of male forfeiture as traditional cults decline than as evidence of genuine gains made by women (see Tuzin 1997; Kempf 2002). Such claims presuppose a culture in which women's traditional history is one of oppression. With this in mind I make some comments towards assessing women's experience of the Iru-ale United Church, expressed with ambivalence.

In the first instance, Christianity, with its connections to capitalism, contributes to the creation of social hierarchies. The historian Nigel Oram (1971) has documented in detail the advantages that certain Hula families gained as a result of pastoral training provided by the London Missionary Society. Pastors' descendants continue to enjoy a high level of prestige and influence in church and village affairs. The long-held belief that having large families ensures that parents will be provided for in their old age is now complicated by the fact that well-educated children have a better chance of employment and are better providers. The expectations placed on children who find jobs are enormous and often lead to disappointment.

Among the most influential women in the Iru-ale church are those who have children in high-status jobs. *Wapu* Kila, the widow of a UC pastor, was able to host a headstone feast for a deceased daughter and invite everyone in the village. Laka, the woman who believes that God taught her how to speak English through Bible study and the women's fellowship, has a number of successful sons living in various parts of Papua New Guinea. One son, whom she describes as the "rich lawyer," has paid for her to undertake fellowship visits to New Zealand and Samoa. In contrast many women in the village find it difficult to raise the bus fare to visit relatives in Port Moresby.

For Iru-ale women, belonging to the fellowship requires cash contributions. Membership also requires that they wear a uniform and, as we have seen, make contributions of food and labor. In some respects this creates a sense of exclusivity. There are women who feel they are unable financially

to participate in the fellowship, others who simply cannot afford the time, especially those with young children. In short, not all village women have access to the advantages that fellowship membership might provide. Funding of any kind from the United Church Council appears to be nonexistent. Monies are moved around the various local church bodies in the form of gifts and fund-raising projects, but in terms of the financial relationship with the broader church it is said that "everything goes up, nothing comes down."

Without adequate understandings of women's traditional "oppressions," it is more appropriate to view the success of the women's fellowships as a continuation of female strength and influence rather than as an introduced change in gender relationships. And although it has been argued that not all women can take advantage of fellowship opportunities, the continuities between female status and food production is evident in church-based feasting and exchanges, which exist alongside the newer forms of expressing prestige brought by Christianity. Village women certainly use the church fellowships to advantage, largely because Christianity has imposed itself to such a degree that there are no longer alternative avenues for action. At least this is the way it is in Irupara and the neighboring villages, where no women's groups or activities operate outside the church. The women are making the best use of what is available to them, as they probably always have.

The "combined" women's fellowship meetings—which are based on reciprocal visits between church groups of neighboring villages and which include the presentation of large amounts of food and sometimes cash—are central to the social dimension of the fellowships and have a high level of patronage. Historical evidence suggests that these church-based exchanges mirror earlier female practices based on trade relationships with neighboring villages. We know that women in the Hood Bay area visited nearby villages to exchange smoked fish for garden produce. We also know that women played an important role in establishing intervillage relationships through marriage alliances. Hula men acknowledge that they would not today have the use of the land on which they build their houses and make their gardens if it were not for their sisters and daughters who married into the inland villages.

A number of stories told along the southern coast attest to the importance of women in such matters. One tells of a powerful sorcerer in the form of a snake that married a beautiful woman. As is the custom in patrilineal villages, the couple traveled to the husband's village where they made a garden, then returned with food to the wife's family. Oram has documented seventeen versions of a myth about the origin of the *hiri* trading expeditions that the Motu made to the Gulf of Papua area. While the majority have the Motu sailing from Boera to the Gulf in their *lakatoi* (multihulled trading vessels), several variants claim the voyages originated in the Gulf (Oram 1991). "There is also

a legend of a Gulf man who invented the *lagatoi* to take his son by a woman of the Motu village of Pari back to his mother's village," explains Oram (p. 525). This was the version I was given in Irupara. It is significant because it emphasizes the importance of marriage, and therefore the value of women, in local trade alliances.

A woman's preparation for marriage formerly included tattooing and the making of beautiful grass skirts. Neither tradition should be underestimated when we are thinking about belief in female strength. Tattooing made women strong as well as beautiful. It gave them confidence and connected them with the courage of their ancestors. Men were overawed by the beauty of a tattooed woman, particularly if she was dancing. I met a woman in Irupara who, as a young girl, had been tattooed in readiness for her first dance, but as a result of LMS policy the dance never took place. She now belongs to the SDA church and is forbidden to recognize the significance of the decorations that she cannot and probably would not remove. Similarly, old women make treasures of the grass skirts that they now wear only in their reminiscences.

In Irupara I interviewed an aging widow who had a reputation as a knowledgeable gardener and also knew some of the old stories that interested me. Before the interview began, she combed her hair and put on her shell necklaces and her bracelets. At the end of the interview, when asked if I could take her photograph she gladly agreed and promptly removed the pink blouse she was wearing to proudly reveal the tattoos on her upper body. Like many women who have grown old under the influence of Christianity, she was proud of her Western achievements. She showed me a photograph of herself as a young woman dressed in crisp Western clothing as well as a certificate that attested to her expertise in hygiene. But when it came to the matter of who she was—how she wanted to be known—her tattoos and decorations said it all.

I have recently recorded the story of the great warrior from Alewai, Kila Wari. The actions of the female characters who appear in that story have a lot to say about the traditional power of women. Kila Wari had killed a man from Babaka, the village that lies inland from Irupara. (It was likely that the man was a warrior or there would have been little to gain by the killing.) Two sisters of the dead man cried until they persuaded Babaka warriors to avenge his death, offering food to whoever would undertake the task. When Kila Wari was eventually killed, his own sister La'a, who had married the son of a chief from Makerupu (a neighboring inland village) in exchange for land, heard of the battle and rushed to her brother. Although Kila Wari was already dead, La'a took off her grass skirt and placed it over the body. Numa Nama Gure, a descendent of the Babaka war chiefs, has explained that because Kila Wari was a war chief his enemies would have customarily cut off

his head, but some women had rushed to cover him and thus nothing more could be done to the already brutalized body.

An example of similar behavior comes from Vanatinai, in the Louisiade Archipelago. There, Maria Lepowsky writes:

> Women had prominent roles in warfare and peacemaking. . . . Women participated in all decisions concerning whether to fight and whether to make peace. The signal for both, interpreted according to context, was for a senior woman, or the mother or sister of a warrior, to remove her outer skirt and throw it on the ground. This could either signal an attack or, in the heat of battle, protect an enemy from being killed by placing him under the woman's protection. If her brother subsequently threw his spear, it would be like committing incest. (1993:62)

Vanatinai is an island where women were thought to traditionally enjoy a level of equality exceeding that in other parts of Papua New Guinea. This is partly attributed to the fact that they are a matrilineal society. It is more remarkable, then, that in an area such as Hood Point, which places heavy emphasis on patrilineality, we find women enjoying a similar degree of influence.

Conclusion

While it is not my intention here to make definitive statements about women's power and influence, either past or present, we must take seriously the ambivalence that some Hula women express in regard to their relationship with the church. The description of Mother's Day from the perspective of the UCWF presented in this account reveals that the United Church has placed its female members in a double bind. The church, on the one hand, idealizes women's responsibility to the family while, on the other, it makes overwhelming demands on women's time.[13] Most women who belong to the UCWF enjoy the benefits of membership but struggle to live up to the expectations of the church, lamenting that their obligations afford little time to keep up with their gardens and housework. They make hard decisions about how their time is to be used and, although some complain that the men are lazy, many are also openly critical of the church. We must also recognize that church fellowships have contributed to the creation of an arena of exclusivity among village women.

There is little evidence that the global agendas of church-based organizations such as the UCWF have any real relevance for village women, whose concerns remain localized and for whom notions of universal and individual

rights make little sense in a village where family and communal obligations continue to dominate social life (see also McDougall 2002). The women most often heard to extol the virtues of Christian fellowship are likely those few who have benefited the most from its programs. Detailed ethnographic research is required before we can make similar claims for all Melanesian women.

NOTES

This article is the result of fieldwork carried out in 2001 as part of my doctoral research. I would like to thank the School of Humanities, Central Coast Campus, University of Newcastle, for financial support for the project; Lyndall Ryan for suggesting the article; Debra McDougall for her generous correspondence; and Michael Goddard for his valuable discussion and comments. The comments of the anonymous reviewers for *Pacific Studies* are also gratefully acknowledged, while I take full responsibility for any errors. I am especially indebted to the women of Iru-ale, who were generous and welcoming and allowed me to share in their lives for a short while, and to the Rupa family.

1. There are notable exceptions to this generalization (see, for example, Tuzin 1989; Smith 1994; Otto and Borsboom 1997). I acknowledge that a substantial contribution has been made in more recent years, particularly in respect of the newer evangelical-charismatic-Pentecostal churches (see Douglas 2001). It remains relevant that Christian women's groups are nevertheless neglected in Melanesian literature.

2. This issue was recently highlighted in an article that appeared in a Papua New Guinea newspaper. Under the headline "Vabukori Women's Fellowship Successful," it was stated that one of the challenges the women's fellowship of Vabukori (a multiethnic coastal village of Port Moresby) would address in 2003 was "to try to get young married women involved in women's fellowship activities" (*The National* 2002).

3. In April 2000 the newly built Nixon Memorial Church was officially opened at Hula. The building commemorates the Rev. Nixon's work in the village from 1953 to his retirement in 1966. This is the sixth church built in Hula since the Rev. Dr. George Lawes first visited. Estimated to have cost around K500,000, the new building dominates this large and relatively wealthy village.

4. For more on the relationship between SDA and UC adherents in Irupara, see Goddard and Van Heekeren 2003.

5. For example, a young woman who had returned to the village after completing her high school education lamented, four years later, that she had become so encumbered with church work and family obligations she was unable take up tertiary education.

6. I have so far been unable to discover how long Mother's Day and Father's Day have been part of the UC calendar. Suggestions point to around the time the fellowships emerged, when the United Church was formed in 1968. It is interesting to note that although we now view Mother's Day as an aspect of Western capitalism, it actually began as a peace initiative, by women, in the wake of the U.S. Civil War.

7. Space does not allow for a complete elaboration of the political situation I found myself in during 2001. Suffice it to say, only later, when I learned that Alewai villagers were attempting to secede from Iru-ale, did I come to see the importance of my own involvement.

8. Personal communication, 8 March 2002.

9. In the 1960s Oram observed that few Hula marriages were solemnized in the LMS churches (1968b:15). This is still the case. Marriage has remained one of the few areas of social life in Irupara that is not always a church matter. In the case of the Seventh-day Adventists, few members meet the rigid demands of chastity that church doctrine requires. In such circumstances couples may be formally married outside the sanctity of the church, that is, in a secular space such as a public garden. For UC members marriage is largely a matter of traditional exchange. When it comes to divorce, Oram has noted that this is understood to occur when couples agree to separate or when one or the other partner leaves and remarries. "This may involve making a return of gifts to the man's kin if he is considered to be the aggrieved party" (ibid.). The matter of intermarriage between UC and SDA adherents is discussed in Goddard and Van Heekeren 2003.

10. Known as "The Ode," this is a tribute to Australian and New Zealand servicemen who gave their lives for their country. It is from the poem "For the Fallen" by the English poet Laurence Binyon: *They shall grow not old, as we that are let grow old; / Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. / At the going down of the sun and in the morning / We will remember them.*

11. When I asked a senior woman why the younger women did not dance, her disapproving response was, "Only at discos."

12. Personal communication, 8 March 2002.

13. My friendships with Eli, Meena and Tani, and Mape allowed me to experience the oppressive demands that both the UC and SDA make on their congregations. Often a very brief social meeting was difficult to organize around church schedules. Eli also pointed out that there were church social occasions that she would have forgone had I not been involved. While personal choice is involved in the more social aspects of the fellowship, other activities such as Bible study, church services, and community work carry a greater level of expectation.

REFERENCES

Barker, J.
1992 Christianity in Western Melanesian Ethnography. In *History and Tradition in Melanesian Anthropology,* edited by J. G. Carrier, 144–173. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Douglas, B.
2000 Introduction: Hearing Melanesian Women. In *Women and Governance from the Grassroots in Melanesia,* edited by B. Douglas, 1–5. State, Society and Governance in Melanesia, Discussion Paper 00/2. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

2001 From Invisible Christians to Gothic Theatre: The Romance of the Millennial in Melanesian Anthropology. *Current Anthropology* 42:615–650.

Firth, S.
1975 The Missions: From Chalmers to Indigenisation. *Meanjin* 34 (3): 342–350.

Gewertz, D. B., and F. K. Errington
1999 *Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea: The Telling of Difference.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goddard, M., and D. Van Heekeren
2003 United and Divided: Christianity, Tradition and Identity in Two South Coast Papua New Guinea Villages. *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 14 (2): 144–159.

Kempf, W.
2002 The Politics of Incorporation: Masculinity, Spatiality and Modernity among the Ngaing of Papua New Guinea. *Oceania* 73 (1): 56–77.

Lepowsky, M.
1993 *Fruit of the Motherland: Gender in an Egalitarian Society.* New York: Columbia University Press.

McDougall, D.
2002 Fellowship and Citizenship as Models of National Community: United Church Women's Fellowship on Ranoqa [Ranongga], Solomon Islands. Unpublished manuscript.

Membup, J., and M. Macintyre
2000 Petzorme: A Women's Organization in the Context of a PNG Mining Project. In *Women and Governance from the Grassroots in Melanesia,* edited by B. Douglas, 26–28. State, Society and Governance in Melanesia, Discussion Paper 00/2. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

National, The
2002 Online edition. http://www.thenational.com.pg/1128/nation25.htm.

Oram, N.
1968a Culture Change, Economic Development and Migration among the Hula. *Oceania.* 36 (4): 243–275.
1968b The Hula in Port Moresby. *Oceania* 39 (1): 1–35.
1971 The London Missionary Society Pastorate and the Emergence of an Educated Elite in Papua. *Journal of Pacific History* 6:115–132.
1991 Edai Siabo: An Ethnographic Study of a Papuan Myth. In *Man and a Half: Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in Honour of Ralph Bulmer,* edited by A. Pawley, 520–534. Auckland: Polynesian Society.

Otto, T., and A. Borsboom, editors
1997 *Cultural Dynamics of Religious Change in Oceania.* Leiden, Neth.: KITLV Press.

Smith, M. F.
1994 *Hard Times on Kairiru Island: Poverty, Development, and Morality in a Papua New Guinea Village.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Tuzin, D.
1989 Visions, Prophecies, and the Rise of Christian Consciousness. In *The Religious Imagination in New Guinea,* edited by G. Herdt and M. Stephens, 187–208. Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
1997 *The Cassowary's Revenge: The Life and Death of Masculinity in a New Guinea Society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

THE CHURCH AS EMBODIMENT AND EXPRESSION OF COMMUNITY ON UJELANG AND ENEWETAK, MARSHALL ISLANDS

Laurence Marshall Carucci
Montana State University

The church as a culturally constructed location is constantly "unmade and remade" on Ujelang and Enewetak Atolls (Marshall Islands) with semantic values tied to wider social and historical changes. Stories about the original church represent it as a sacred site forming the physical, moral, and cosmogenic center of the Enewetak community. During World War II, Japanese military rule transformed the church into a location of resistance. During postwar exile to Ujelang Atoll, the village-centered church became a site where solidarity-enhancing practices allowed the community to confront isolation and suffering. A new church, built in 1978 as a symbol of reinvigorated identity, was abandoned within two years with repatriation to Enewetak Atoll, where church and town "center" were displaced and cohesive elements of community were unraveling. A foreign upstart church made the 1990s a contentious time as churches, new and old, were refashioned as physical and sociosemantic sites of significance in the ongoing negotiation of communal identity.

IN *THE ELEMENTARY FORMS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE*, Durkheim posits that the church is doubly constituted: by the community of believers and by the multifaceted set of practices and beliefs shared as part of a common worldview. He clearly recognized that the system of belief was dynamic and that it was intimately embedded in temporal and spatial constructs that were also social in character (Durkheim 1965:28, 22–24). Yet, in his zeal to demonstrate the collective character of social life, Durkheim spent scant time exploring the particular ways in which "the church" as a community and "the church" as a physical site and cultural artifact come to be "incessantly unmade and

Pacific Studies, Vol. 26, Nos. 3/4—Sept./Dec. 2003

remade" (p. 28) in relation to one another. It is the particularities of "the church" as a physical and architectural site that form the central concern of the present article, both in relation to the community of Enewetak and Ujelang people who fashioned their house of worship, and equally in relation to the shifting social dynamics within the community that come to be reflected in the symbolic dimensions of the physical structures through time.

My contention is that the church is a particularly well-situated example of a multireferential place. As de Certeau argues for other named places, these sites are symbols "that hierarchize and semantically order the surface" of a specific location (1984:104). While the signifiers "slowly lose, like worn coins, the value engraved on them, . . . their ability to signify outlives its first definition. These names, [therefore] make themselves available to the diverse meanings given to them by passers-by; . . . as metaphors, they determine for reasons that are foreign to their original value" a diverse array of meanings and articulate with a wide array of activities. As the lived realities of life shift through time for Enewetak people the church, as a physical site tightly interwoven with local people's identities, closely reflects these changes.

While spatial topographics and toponymies have interested Pacific scholars (see for example, Parmentier 1987; Carucci 1997), these topics have not been treated in any detail in the extensive literature on Christianity in the Pacific. Numerous authors, of course, note the central placement of churches within local villages and the way that the church, commonly, forms a particularly visible stage for the conduct of social life. "The church edifice is the geographical, ceremonial, and social center of the community, and the spatial and social nexus of the moieties," notes Tobin, writing about the Enewetak community during its time of exile on Ujelang (1967:108).

Barker provides a rather different case where spatial and social symbolics are less isomorphic. Barker describes the way in which Saint Thomas church, part of the Uiaku Mission Station that was both physically and psychologically detached from the central village, came to be transformed into a significant site within the village. At Saint Thomas's consecration in 1962, he observes:

> As the bishop's party approached the church, they found it surrounded on three sides by a low fence of crisscrossed sticks. The different trees making up the fence were *kawo*, emblems of the clans, linked together in a sign of unity. In building this fence, Maisins had symbolically transformed the mission station from a foreign social order to a village center; these kinds of emblems had hitherto been set up only on feast days in the central plazas of the higher-ranking clans. In effect, the Maisin converted the mission station into the

> village and thus encompassed external conversion within the idiom of internal conversion. (Barker 1993:220–221)

For the Enewetak people, who began their missionary encounter with a physically central church, centrality continues to be a meaningful issue in current discourse about the church, but the layers of significance are hardly exhausted by this characteristic.

In an insightful article on Stone-faced Ancestors in Waimira, Kahn discusses the way in which stones "anchor mythological narratives to the land" (1990:55, 57). Kahn's metaphors of anchoring and recording seem to align with Basso's view of the landscape among Cibecue Apache. Basso depicts Cibecue discourses as multireferential statements with meaning for people on account of their grounding in a largely shared historic past that has an "inseparable connection to specific localities" (1988:103). And Basso also suggests that place names have an evocative power that "is most dramatically displayed when a name is used to substitute for the narrative it anchors" (pp. 112–113). With more sweeping strokes, Kahn contends that "all across Melanesia, are traces of peoples' mythology recorded in landscape." At the same time, Kahn gives evidence that the "anchoring" processes are, in fact, dynamic and polysemic. For example, she notes the way in which the stories about Tauribariba shift as social practices that surround the stone are altered by historical occurrences. Tauribariba is a well-known stone that was taken by missionaries to be cemented in the church. Furthermore, Kahn suggests that the mythology that is "anchored" by certain stones is "negotiable and subject to revision" and that events "recorded" in a stone are most easily changed by the movement of the stones (1990:53, 56–58). Seemingly, then, while stories and stones are semiotically linked in several revealing ways, such ties are neither inherent nor perduring, but are the product of historical processes and situated interpretations.

My reason for concentrating on this point is to ask readers to problematize the relationships among various symbolic spaces, the meanings attached to them, the social personas that fashion those meanings, and the multilayered webs of social and historical relationships in which those persons are embedded. An entire genre of ecological literature (particularly concentrating on the naturalness of the western United States) suggests, far too simplistically, that meanings and symbolic relationships are embedded in the landscape, and simply exude from inherent conditions of that landscape. This reductionist view fails entirely to account for the cultural construction of the environment and its semiotic appropriation for multiple purposes. Basso and Kahn, of course, have much more sophisticated views. Nevertheless, in the context of de Certeau's discussion of the

continual (re)contouring of the city, it would be shortsighted for anthropologists to set up a false "hot society–cold society" (or "the west" and "the rest") dichotomy between societies that have perduring relationships with symbolically potent but unchanging features of the landscape and societies that have dynamic relations with their surroundings. Indeed, Dominy demonstrates just how symbolically rich relationships with the land are grounded both historically and pragmatically (2000). Certainly my experiences with Marshallese people and landscapes agree with Kahn's recognition that historical relations are recalled less in terms of the temporal relationship between events than they are "conceived of in a spatial framework" (1990:61). As Douglas notes for New Caledonia (1982), a great deal of local history is "written on the ground." But Douglas's inscription metaphor evokes a more active human process than does Kahn's "anchoring." Certainly, for Enewetak residents, the dynamic relations among people, spaces, stories, and social settings is itself a landscape that is constantly being recontoured.

Spatial Reconfigurations on Enewetak and Ujelang

First missionized in the mid-1920s the Enewetak people, as did many groups throughout the Pacific, welcomed missionization with open arms (once the churchmen had received the support of the principal chief of the southern [Enewetak] segment of the population). In the 1970s, people discussed this time as one when the word of God was *lukuun beran*, "very potent or strong," and part of that strength came from the physical and cosmological location of the church. Pita, chief of the Enewetak segment of the community, was also recalled by many as extremely *beran*, "empowered with superhuman force," a descendant of a line of chiefs of the clan DiPako (Shark People) who had the sacred ability to deflect typhoons and, as long as the totemic taboos were obeyed, also had siblingship ties with sharks that ensured that he and others of his clan were impervious to attack while in the sea. The first missionaries lived on Pita's land parcel in the center of Enewetak islet, an inherently highly ranked location that derived its potency both from its centricity and from its having been worked by the communal labor of the community out of respect for, and in an ongoing exchange with, their high-ranked chief. While this scenario of honoring the chief may well have derived from the late nineteenth century, when taxes imposed by Germany were often paid by communal corvée labor arrangements, it was remembered in the 1970s and 1980s, first and foremost, as the customary local strategy to show respect to chiefs. The chief's land parcel, Lojitak (The belly [insides or stomach] opening to the windward), itself reflects the semiotic centrality of this place. As

discussants on ASAOnet in 2003 noted, in many Pacific locales, the stomach is intimately intertwined with thinking and feeling processes.[1] Though the throat is considered the emotional seat by Marshall Islanders, much thinking and feeling is believed to be assessed and modified through the belly. Equally, the belly is aligned with a generational force that is also said to be carried in the chief's person. On Enewetak, the fundamental group with whom one shares the closest feelings, the group where the most fundamental interpersonal relationships are fashioned and maintained is the *bwij*, "bilateral extended family"; it derives from *bwij-*, "umbilicus." This ontologically primordial locus ties a person through his or her mother to others in the extended family and, ultimately, to others in the entire community. This generational potency is precisely analogous to the strength imputed to the first church as it sat upon the empowered grounds of Lojitak.

A number of Ujelang residents in the 1970s clearly recalled the days when a missionary presence preceded the physical structure of the church, but most current-day Enewetak historians condense the coming of the missionaries with the specific location and physical structure of "the church."[2] Obviously experience and recollections have shifted, but the mode of contemporary condensations also reflects a long-standing cultural practice of embedding sacredness and other deeply felt primordial meanings in set locations and certain objects (cf. Basso and Feld 1997). In people's recollections, primordial Enewetak deities became manifest in the form of particular pandanus, coconut, and breadfruit trees and, although those trees no longer exist, their approximate locations are still recognized and still said to be invested with noncorporeal force. Likewise, the location of the first church is spoken of as a special, sacred site. The specific design elements of this first indigenized church are not memorialized in stories, but World War II bombing photographs place the structure some distance on the inland side of the lagoon-shore path that follows the contour of Enewetak islet. It was the largest and the highest structure on the islet, where both size and height are said to have served as measures of importance and rank. It was of post-and-beam design, open-sided or with half-walls (accounts vary), and covered with thatch. The thatch required repair every two or three years and was renewed by communal effort, much in the fashion that labor on the chief's land was carried out. These shared labors, like the Sunday service, which at the chief's request was attended by all, gave the church a universalizing contour that persisted unquestioned for as great a length of time as the chieftainship itself. In local residents' recollections of the 1930s, the church served as a prototypical expression of community in its physical enactment or in corporate form, very much in the mold of Durkheim or Radcliffe-Brown. The entire structure dominated the windward side of Lojitak and, while Enewetak land-

resettlement boundaries remain contested (see Carucci and Maifeld 1999), the church is said to have stood near the location of Paul and Akiko's current house or, for those who feel the parcel boundaries should extend further to the windward than is currently the case, near Atila's house on the leeward section of Āelālen (the parcel just windward of current-day Lojitak).[3]

Christian Places/Japanese Spaces

The enactments of community that are said to have taken place at/on/within the cultural site described as "the church" occurred in the midst of the Japanese era. Unlike other locations in the Marshall Islands that were missionized much earlier—1857 for Ebon, 1893 for Kwajalein, 1912 for Bikini—Japan had full control of the region prior to the time that missionaries from Kosrae, trained by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived on Enewetak (Tobin 1967: chap. 2). While Japanese entrepreneurs attempted to carry out a wholesale appropriation of the land, there were few disruptions of the church until the war years. As Poyer and Carucci note, support of already-established Christian churches was typical Japanese policy in Micronesia (Strathern et al. 2002), and missionary influence even expanded without intervention on Enewetak. Indeed, during the prewar years, as the potency of the church faced potential routinization, institutionalization, and possible decline as it became part of the mundane, the church came to provide a communal location for community resistance and for hope. Even when the Japanese military came to discourage church activities, the disruptions on Enewetak were less forceful than they were on Jaluit and certain other Marshall Islands locales to the east (Poyer, Falgout, and Carucci 2000). Nevertheless, the Japanese challenge to the sanctity of the church, both as a communal body and as a physical space, helped to reinvigorate it, giving cause for increased, and sometimes clandestine, solidarity. Specifically, as Japanese soldiers proliferated around 1942 and 1943, the sacred space occupied by the church was defiled. This defilement was far less than on Jaluit, where the church was turned into a pigpen, but a spatial invasion took place that itself represented the increasing conflict between rising Japanese nationalism and the church that traced its primordial roots to New England and the United States. Ultimately, the church was driven underground and its physical structure reduced to rubble by the bombing of the islet, however ironically, by invading U.S. servicemen. People prayed for the continuity of their lives from within the confines of Japanese-dug entrenchments. The bombing and invasion took a substantial toll in terms of local lives; Enewetak prayers for survival were answered for only about 80 percent of the community.

Local Responses to Forced Changes in the Aftermath of War

After the war, military authorities moved the community to two northern islets of Enewetak Atoll, Aomen and Bijile. Although the physical structure that was the church had been leveled during the battle, the collective social body that was the church appears to have become even more cohesive with the move to Aomen and Bijile. Formerly separated by a twenty-mile sail across Enewetak's large lagoon, the two intermarried atoll "halves"—Enewetak and Enjebi moieties—now resided on neighboring islets. Placed on the outer islets by the U.S. Navy to allow the Allies to use the main islets of the atoll during the final year and a half of the war, community members recall this period as one of good fortune on account of the generosity and kind treatment demonstrated by naval personnel. But their rejoicing turned to ambivalence as the United States continued to use the atoll to monitor nuclear tests on Bikini Atoll after the war, and finally to sadness, as community members learned, late in 1947, that like the people of Bikini they, too, would be resettled away from their home atoll—testing was to begin within the confines of Enewetak.

Ironically, as the people of Enewetak gathered within the walls of a tar-paper-roofed sanctuary on Ujelang Atoll, 130 miles from their homeland, to celebrate their first Kūrijmōj festival in exile, little did people realize that this "*Kūrijmōj* thrown off in sadness" (Carucci 1997b:xx) would mark a further unification and solidification of the church and the community. On Ujelang, for the first time in remembered history, the entire group of Enewetak people resided in a single village. As they transformed themselves into DiUjelang, "the people of Ujelang," they did so as a unitary community; and the focus of that community was the physical structure of the church. Along with the council house and dispensary, the church occupied a piece of "community ground" in the middle of the village, a parcel that was not aligned with either moiety, Jitaken, "the windward half," or Jittoen, "the leeward half." As previously, the church occupied a high-ranked space on the ocean side of the village path. And, as before, the Enewetak chief (a position now held by the offspring of Pita, who had first welcomed the missionaries to Enewetak) resided next to the church. But the entire Enjebi half of the larger Enewetak community, a group that had once resided at a distance from the church based on Enewetak islet, now congregated in Jittoen, on the leeward side of the sacred physical location occupied by the Ujelang church. Under these conditions, the Ujelang community grew much more unified than the "halves" of Enewetak ever could have been, and the church came to be the focal point of that unity. During this era, both within the walls of the church and outside, people on Ujelang had legitimate rationale to use

the extended family (*bwij*) as a core metaphor to describe the community as a whole: "We are all really just one family." This expression of solidarity was heard constantly when people first spoke of the community to me, in 1976.

Ironically, the substantial suffering and isolation experienced by Ujelang people during the 1950s and 1960s contributed equally to their sense of internal solidarity. Enewetak had been in frequent contact with Pohnpei prior to the war, but only infrequently did government supply ships from the Marshall Islands visit Ujelang. As blame for the community's plight came to be placed increasingly on Marshall Islanders, Ujelang people began to speak of them as distant "others." The opposite side of seeing themselves as "all one family" was the perception of "those Marshall Islanders" (who do not treat us with the respect and caring expected of siblings [or of those sharing other sorts of common identity]). Indeed, these exclusionary identity constructions were mutual during this era since, in the Marshall Islands, Ujelang people were spoken of in derogatory "backwoods" terms. To Marshall Islanders, Ujelang people spoke strangely, ate tabooed foods, and acted improperly. The same sort of stereotyping was done by Ujelang people in their assessments of Marshall Islanders.

The church, however, served as a bridge across these rifts of identity, however unstable and temporally restricted the underlying girders may have been. Regional church activities provided one of the sole reasons many Ujelang people left the atoll as well as the minimal context of exposure to others that bred stereotyping of "these strange others." Ultimately, the church became one avenue through which Ujelang people could demonstrate to these "others" that they were Marshall Islanders too, deserving of respect. This shift was particularly marked in the late 1970s when the community decided to construct a new church.

As Durkheim recognized (1912), at one level a church is always a social collectivity, a "moral community," with largely shared beliefs and modes of representation. Yet in its historical fashioning on Enewetak, the church was thoroughly woven into a physical site, a place. The church, in this sense, models Enewetak's primordial sacred sites. At the same time, in its placement on the chief's land parcel the church comes to represent the identity of the broader group, for the chief is said to "stand for (or embody) all of Enewetak." Lojitak, the stomach, the central generational point for the entire physical space that is Enewetak islet, is equally the central point of metaphoric origin for the community. This cultural and historical alignment of the church with a particular physical location created a series of indexical, and even iconic, connections that aligned the community's sense of spatial orientation with its social fabric and its moral character.

Of course, these symbolic alignments are contested upon occasion, for certain purposes, by specific subgroups in the community. Nevertheless, such

disputes do not detract from the potency of the symbolic alignments among church, chief, and location in situations when such alignments are used to construct arguments about group solidarity. If anything, disputes lend further value to people's persistent alignment of the symbols in solidarity stories. Throughout the years, I have never heard any disagreement about the way in which Pita, the chief, came to empower the early missionaries through his support. This story is now a standard trope. The story has come to be the standard account through which the newly arrived church is sanctified and given credibility. On the other hand, since the chieftainship itself is contested and since land rights are equally frequent matters of internal disagreement, it is not surprising that Pita's rights to Lojitak are questioned. Indeed, not one Enewetak chief has chosen to reside on Lojitak since the 1980 return to Enewetak. Chieftainship is transmitted through males on this atoll, yet Ioanej (Pita's son), Tom (Pita's youngest son), and Naptali (Pita's grandson) have all chosen to live in locations where their land claims are less disputed than on Lojitak. At the same time, Naptali's sister's offspring live on this land parcel, and their residence serves to mark the extended family's continued claims on the locale. I have discussed the disputed nature of claims to land on Enewetak and the way in which a thirty-year exile on Ujelang further complicates these matters. My point here is to make evident the way in which stories about the centrality of the church as a marker of shared identity and community solidarity come to be fashioned out of core symbols of primordiality and potency even as features of the symbols may be brought into question for other purposes and other audiences.

While local people certainly did not control the conditions of their relocation, in some ways the American designers, by placing the church in the logical center of Ujelang and by creating a centralized village, increased the iconic connections between the church's physical position and its symbolic position as the center of the social and moral community. With these communicative connections taken for granted, it is not surprising that in the late 1970s, as the Ujelang community was facing the most disruptive influence in its recent history—relocation to the "new" Enewetak—the community decided to construct a new church on Ujelang. This construction, I believe, accomplished two ends. The first, which drifted within the purview of collectively expressed consciousness, was the idea that the new church would stand as a representation to other Marshall Islanders of the altered state of the Ujelang people. In their own minds they were no longer the "backwoods" folks of long-standing stereotypes. The church building would display to Marshall Islanders the fact that the Ujelang community was now a group with a certain financial clout, and the dedication ceremony would allow the community to demonstrate its new cosmopolitan sophistication to other

Marshallese. The second aim, far less conscious, was even more central: as the group faced a plethora of radical changes, the entire process of constructing the church and, in the process, using it as a praxis representation as well as an abstract symbol of unity allowed the community to face impending uncertainty unwaveringly.

The "backwoods" imagery had been fashioned out of geographic and historical isolation and concomitant cultural and linguistic difference. Enewetak and Ujelang atolls are among the most distant locations in the central Western Pacific. From a Marshall Islander's perspective, the isolation of these two atolls was ultimately marked by their precontact "independence" from neighboring island groups. Enewetak and Ujelang were governed by their own chiefly lines, and those local lines held no connection to chiefly lines elsewhere in the Marshall Islands.[4] These primordial claims of isolation were further exacerbated by the fact that the two atolls had been administered from Pohnpei during the pre–World War II Japanese era, though earlier missionary and German governmental ties had once linked the two outliers with atolls of the Rālik Chain (Tobin 1967). Wartime strategy by Japan shifted this center-periphery arrangement. Enewetak was selected as a strategic stronghold and, even though substantial reinforcement of the atoll took place belatedly (not long before U. S. troops landed), the atoll would never again be like Lae, Ujae, or Ujelang. Enewetak proved to be a particularly valuable strategic site for U.S. forces, who could easily fly B-17s from Enewetak to Guam without refueling.[5] While on Ujelang, local residents were kept on the periphery of this recentering. But with some financial compensation for their suffering in the 1970s and with the U.S. agreement to repatriate Enewetak people to their home atoll in 1976, by 1978 Ujelang people were already experiencing an invigorated sense of atoll identity.

New Contours for Old Identities

At this same historical moment (1977–1978), the idea of moving from Ujelang to Enewetak was far from innocuous. As I have noted elsewhere (Carucci 1992; Carucci and Maifeld 1999), Enewetak people were thoroughly transformed into the people of Ujelang during their thirty-year exile, and the move back to Enewetak was perceived to be a sea change, a movement into another world and another generation of existence. While highly charged with emotional energy, the entire move evoked extreme ambivalences. These ambivalences were overdetermined by "Temporary," a program set up to allow Ujelang's oldest residents to return to Enewetak Atoll during its rehabilitation and reside there on Jeptan islet. The elderly, in particular, were to return to their homeland since dying on Ujelang, separated from

their homeland, would place their spirit beings in postmortem limbo, "at home" on Ujelang, yet not truly "at home" since nearly all of one's ancestral consociates from times past were diEnewetak, Enewetak people, resident in spirit as they had been in life on their own lands within Enewetak. After an initial six-month trip, though, all of the elders other than those thought to be nearest to death returned to Ujelang, and Enewetak became a camp for youth. The elders longed for the Enewetak of their youth but encountered a place entirely dependent on the Americans who inhabited the main islet. In the elders' stories, Jeptan had become just like Ebeye, a dependent work camp, and they longed for the Marshallese outer-island lifestyle, the local foods, and the sense of community that they had left behind on Ujelang. Not unimportantly, this first round trip of "temporary" seniors returned to Ujelang early in the autumn of 1977. Construction on the new church began around the same time, after an assessment of "Temporary" had already been formed among the people of Ujelang and Jeptan.

Coterminus with the disorienting effects of the pending repatriation came the negotiations of the "KanKan" (congressional convention) that would lead to independence for the new Republic of the Marshall Islands in 1985. I will not dwell on the effects of these negotiations other than to note that Ujelang people voted, early on, unanimously against an independent Marshall Islands; at the *fait accompli* stage, against affiliation with the Marshall Islands; next, in favor of an appeal to the United Nations for separate consideration to remain an unaffiliated dependent trust of the United States (so nuclear issues could be properly cared for); and finally, at the last minute, reluctantly (and under substantial pressure from Marshall Islands chiefs and future government authorities), in favor of association with the new republic. Needless to say, a considerable measure of communal ambivalence and animosity was generated as a result of these changes. Church construction provided a method for demonstrating solidarity and empowerment in the face of such uncertainties.

Realignments of Church and Community

The church on Ujelang was built under these circumstances, with full knowledge that the community would be repatriated to Enewetak in the near future. At that point in time, some felt that they might remain on Ujelang or return to reside after a short visit to Enewetak. But in large part the church was built without a future living community of parishioners in mind. It was a very costly venture in both cash invested and time dedicated to the task. Why would the community focus its energies and resources so completely on a project with such a narrow future?

The answers, I believe, can be found in the issues discussed above, but it is the details of the construction and display that illustrate the importance of these themes. Building began in late August 1977 with an initial shipment of lumber and plywood, cement block, reinforcement bar (*tikkiñ*), and cement from Majuro. Work crews were made up of every able-bodied man in the community and prepared food and drink were provided daily by the women. To pay for the supplies, a mandatory tithe was required; the sum was deducted from each resident's portion of a quarterly Relocation Trust Fund payment. Except for young children and the very old, participation was required of everyone. During the first weeks of the project, work crews of masons were organized from each of the six "towns" in the village. From its initial conception the project was designed as a communal Ujelang effort, much like the Kūrijmōj festival, even though many involved in these endeavors were not members of the church.

With the return of the first group of "Temporary" residents, bringing with them extra supplies from Enewetak, the songfest groups (*jepta*) began practicing for Kūrijmōj, Ujelang "Christmas," and, with that shift, the church work groups became the songfest groups. As I have discussed in detail elsewhere (Carucci 1980, 1997: chap. 2), the *jepta*, while based on the "towns," are only tenuously attached to them and often include members from various locations elsewhere in the village. The shift to *jepta*-based labor groups was quite logical since all of the hours not spent working on the church were dedicated to one's songfest group and the success of the Kūrijmōj games depended on each *jepta* hiding its plans from the members of other songfest groups. If membership in the work groups crosscut the *jepta*, the success of Kūrijmōjwould be compromised (see Carucci 1997).

By the end of November, the external walls and window frames of the new church had been constructed around the existing structure, enlarging the old building slightly on each side and adding about three meters to the ocean side of the existing sanctuary. The community became so involved in Kūrijmōj activities that work on the church was postponed until the latter half of January. At that time, work once again began on the structure, but a period of food shortage that followed a typhoon and tropical storm in December and early January (1977–1978), exacerbated by the standard depletion of foods following the major feasts of Kūrijmōj, soon turned to famine. People dispersed to distant parts of the atoll in order to maximize access to resources, and work on the church came to a halt. Late in February a government supply vessel arrived with enough rice to ease the famine slightly, but nearly another month passed before a ship arrived to exchange the "Temporary" residents on Jeptan and truly resupply Ujelang with food. During this period the *jepta* groups continued to compete, as they had during Kūrijmōj,

but the competition focused on church building, food gathering, and food preparation. It was a community effort energized by the competition among the arbitrary *jepta* divisions. The workday had to be shortened to allow the men time to fish and collect coconuts but, while increasing the burdens on all community members severalfold, the extra efforts provided further inspiration in the competitive arena since the *jepta* that could come up with the most generous and exotic indigenous foods had more definitive markers of its skill, larger bragging rights, and a greater source of group empowerment than did the groups when they had exchanged imported foods. Whenever a group could distribute more than the minimal famine foods during the work breaks, the group's pride was evident, its rank was increased, and a contribution was made to the competitive atmosphere. The competitive Enewetak chant was heard frequently during these trying times: *"Kaatebadbad, te badbad, kw' bar joraan."* This chant, difficult to translate, means roughly "to make (someone, 'the listener') continuously jealous/envious, make continuously jealous, you are damaged once again."

The most inspired groups and those masons with high-quality skills were privileged by being assigned work on the high-ranked ocean-side front or "head" of the building, which would house the pulpit and elevated platform, the focus of parishioners' attention. The entryway, on the lagoon-side end, was the next most valued location to work since, it, too, would draw the attention of all who entered. There was a certain appeal in working on the bell tower, which stood above the entryway. Young men in particular competed to work on this highly elevated location, a high-ranked space that displayed the prowess of those who competed in races to climb the tallest coconut trees (and thereby elevate themselves above their peers and other members of the community; Carucci 1987). Much of this upper platform and structural support for the tower was constructed early in the summer season, after the respected elders and I departed on the supply ship for Enewetak in order to decide on preliminary land boundaries there.

The window frames also provided a context for the display of talent, and it was the respected elders who had to fashion the upper arches of the windows out of local woods before leaving for Enewetak. Windows were spaced around the entire periphery of the structure and did not occupy particularly sacred and high-ranked areas. Instead, they constituted an interstitial boundary between interior and exterior. Their position on the inside-outside margin meant they would also command extraordinary attention and, therefore, had to be perfectly fitted (*jetjet*). Most of the men who worked on the window frames were canoe builders with the highly valued ability to shape wood to a precise form with a machete, a skill that most younger men had not perfected.

The women and mature youth of the community took on an extraordinary amount of labor as well, for nothing on Ujelang could be accomplished without food. While men fished in the after hours of construction, women of the various *jepta* did much of the gathering and all of the food preparation. Normally men assisted with the gathering tasks, but with their attention turned to building, women had to redouble their efforts. Preparing for each break of doughnuts, unleavened arrowroot bread, drinking coconuts, and coffee or tea, and for every afternoon meal was headed by the women of each *jepta*. Like the men, the women competed to provide the most food and the most highly ranked foods for each food event. The men claimed that the women's job was to "lighten things up," a task that involved singing, joking and laughter, but one that also suggested its metaphorical sexual connotation: lightening men of the sickness-engendering possibility of being overburdened with too much semen. As with the jokes and games of Kūrijmōj, many of the humorous encounters of church construction were focused on sexual innuendo. For local residents, the entire atmosphere of a location is shaped by the interactions that are a piece of that space. A fragment of each man's bodily essence comes to be embedded in the church through labor on the structure. Equally, the women of the community contribute in essential ways to the shape of the new church by providing the prepared foods that give men their strength. In addition to this regenerational energy, women also lightened the atmosphere, infusing the scene with sexual joking and lighthearted banter. The resultant discourses encourage men to fantasize about sexual "work" and are as energizing as food for men engaged in more mundane labor. Far from being contrary to Ujelang Christian belief, the reproductive focus of this banter is an essential religious force for Ujelang and Enewetak people (see Carucci 1997b for more on this topic).

The Ujelang church was nearing completion at the time that I left the atoll in August 1978 for Majuro. We had been working on the roof, and the bell tower still required some finishing touches. This work was completed in the next two months. The structure then received its whitewash and windows prior to the dedication the following year. Whitening the structure, and then hand trimming it in light blue, gave the structure additional qualities of purity and sacredness (Carucci 1997b: chap. 6). Above the door was inscribed a welcome to all, a snippet of scripture that had been emblazoned on a banner in the old church and provided continuity with it: *Komin delon im kabun ilo an*, "You (plural, command form) come in and make religion (worship) within."

Stories about the dedication give strong evidence of just how important church construction was to the process of refashioning the Ujelang identity on the eve of their repatriation to Enewetak. Marshall Islands church and

government officials were in attendance, including the soon-to-be president of the emerging Marshall Islands state. A government supply ship was chartered to transport the guests. "Hundreds" of bolts of brightly colored cloth were purchased, and huge quantities of food were stockpiled in preparation for the event. All of the foods and gifts were given to the visiting dignitaries and guests as representations of Ujelang people's generosity. The spectacle aimed to overwhelm the guests, and Ujelang people suggest that the guests who attended were (properly) "amazed" (*bwilōñ*).

Slightly over one year from the dedication, Ujelang people departed their adopted atoll to return to Enewetak Atoll. Behind them, they left their newly fashioned church, which contained within the birth and death records of the community for their thirty-three-year residence on Ujelang. Some part of each of these persons would remain, forever, as a piece of Ujelang.

The return to Enewetak proved at least as disorienting as had the original move to Ujelang. Exile on Ujelang had brought impoverishment and isolation, but a considerable continuity in "movements of people from day-to-day" had been maintained. In contrast, the move back to Enewetak was hardly a return to the homeland. After a couple of years on the atoll, people spoke of "the New Enewetak" as a "land of badness" or disappointment and of "ill fortune." In spite of Enewetak's tremendous size, life on the three rehabilitated islets in the south was far more restrictive than on Ujelang. People soon craved the local foods of Ujelang, and most of the mature adults who loved to visit Majuro to experience the excitements of *moud in palle* (life [in the style] of white people) very much disliked the incorporation of that type of lifestyle into the day-to-day routines of Enewetak. At the same time that overnight Americanization was abhorred, somehow the community could not resist its charms.

On a foraging trip back to Ujelang in October 1982, people spoke endearingly of life on Ujelang (the same life about which they had complained a few years previously), and felt great sadness at the sight of the church. "Working together" on the Ujelang church became a condensation symbol for all of the talk about communal endeavors that had typified life in the past, both on Ujelang and in more distant times. As communality became increasingly infrequent, so its value increased as a representative form—a way to discuss an idealized past.

The new Enewetak church had none of the qualities of the memorialized structure on Ujelang. A military building converted to a church by the U.S. Army, the drop-shuttered building of corrugated tin was almost lost amid a clutter of similar structures in the "town" section of Enewetak islet. It was not the largest, not the most central, not the most distinguished looking. The military personnel responsible for the cleanup of Enewetak had added a bell

tower to the structure and donated a bell as a gesture of goodwill. Nevertheless, the Enewetak-Ujelang people's decision to retain most of the buildings in the military village near the windward end of Enewetak and use them as their village center proved shortsighted—the bulk of the residents lived far to the leeward where the land parcels were larger and more productive. On Ujelang, "the bell" came to replace the nostalgic tones of the trumpet shell as a means of gathering the community for church or council meetings. Those bell tones, clanging and abrasive, emanated from striking a pressure cylinder with a steel rod. But, if the resonant tones of the Enewetak bell were far more pleasant, on most days they could barely be heard even at Metetekan, the first of the narrow land parcels that separated the main residential section of Enewetak from the windward arm of the islet where the military town was located. The loss of the bell as a collective timepiece that regulated the temporal ordering of communal life was but a modest marker of the more serious decline in the collectivizing capabilities of the church.

In 1982 and 1983, people constantly complained about the physical location of the church and school. The decision to move the church from Lojitak to the windward end of Enewetak was truly a disaster from the perspective of community formation. A concomitant part of the geographic distancing was the distancing among the ranks of community members themselves. This fissure focused soon after repatriation on the issue of land rights on the windward-most parcel on Enewetak islet, the parcel on which the town and the church sat. In 1978, at the time of the land division and the decision to retain the American military town, the community was in agreement that this land parcel was owned in common. In 1982, however, a community-wide dispute was begun when the Enewetak chiefly line claimed that they were its sole owners. In spite of heated disagreements and ongoing claims of supernatural sanction against the chiefly line, the chiefs took control of the parcel and encouraged their family members to build and take up residence on the land. This small-scale squatters' movement was an important part of activating a local claim of land rights, since living on and working the land, along with dying and being buried there, constitute proof of having physically embedded one's substance in the land (Carucci 1992; Carucci and Maifeld 1999). The standing chief then "beneficently" proclaimed that the part of the land parcel on which the town actually sat, including the space occupied by the church and minister's residence, would be set aside for the community in perpetuity. The community lost access only to the remaining parts of the parcel.

The rift between the chiefly line and members of the community was only slightly smoothed over by the chief's concession. The disagreement continue to simmer under the surface in discussions about the town's location, including the church. Any stories about the new church could never be the equiva-

lent of those about Pita and the original church, when the missionaries were welcomed and housed by the chief. In that primordial story, the chief's actions serve as a metonym for the general welcoming that the church received on Enewetak. In the new story, the bickering and stinging associated with the land parcel on which the church stands fail to align with the messages of love and sharing that people place near the core of their ideas about what becoming Christian was all about.[6] At the same time, the physical marginality of the new church in relation to the community and the shift in discourses from depictions of centricity and community to depictions of discord and bickering over rights to what should be a sacred site do serve as an appropriate analytic marker for the concomitant decline in community solidarity that has accompanied the return to Enewetak.

Whose Church?

An even more blatant indication of the way in which the "community as unified church family" trope fractured following the return to Enewetak came late in the 1980s when a new church, Assembly of God, succeeded in coming to the atoll. While fissioning the community, most likely permanently, the threat of a new church also created a *raison d'être* for solidarity within the community and church that served as a locus where an otherwise unfocused community could seek revitalization. It is in this state of ambivalence that the community continues today. No longer can there be an apparent (if somewhat artificial) seamlessness in melding together metaphors of community, church, and family. On the other hand, out of a period of communal anomie, the presence of another church has given new focus and meaning to the wayward directions of the church on the New Enewetak.

Assembly of God was, at first, denied entry on Enewetak Atoll when the denomination sent a minister to accompany some Enewetak residents who had been converted in Majuro.[7] Local residents, however, began meeting on their own and, in less than two years, had gathered together enwough converts to bring in a minister and build a small church. One advantage of the new church was its central location, on the land of an early convert on the ocean side of Lopat. Those who rose too late on Sunday morning to attend services at the Congregational church (formally the United Church of Christ [UCC], though much more like the nineteenth-century Congregational Church in structure) still had time enough to walk the short distance to make the service at the Assembly church. Despite an attempt to demonize the new church early on, its central community location, along with longstanding networks of interpersonal relationship that crosscut the Congregational-Assembly church split, proved critical in attracting parishioners. By

1995, the small Assembly church group was talking of expanding its plywood and tin sanctuary. A modest expansion of the building began within the year. Given the dual church choices now available, members of the Congregational church responded with a building proposal of their own.

The new Congregational church, of which the chief was a member, would be built on a strip of land on the windward side of the current church and minister's quarters. In part, perhaps, as a concession to community members still upset with the land issue, the chief agreed to allot the land for the new church. Like the Ujelang church, this one was built of cement and block, a symbol of permanence that would not be shared by the expanded Assembly of God church building. Nevertheless, the new church would be constructed on the windward-most end of town, not its center and certainly not the center of the islet. These factors each introduced a variety of symbolic ambiguities to the venture. Some elder residents, in particular, still longed for a return to the original site of the first church in Lojitak since that site had a certain primordial sacredness associated with the "coming of the word to Enewetak." Others felt that the association of the church with the other town buildings was more empowering, giving the church a sort of inherent legitimacy derived from sharing the space with the council house, the school, the dispensary, and other Enewetak commons buildings that had long occupied the communally owned center on Ujelang. And, while Marshall Islands churches occupied the central location on most atolls, on Enewetak such a placement would set up a symbolic competition with the school, a large three-story cement structure refabricated from a former U.S. military dormitory. Given local building skills and available materials, it would be difficult to make the church higher than the school without risking disaster.

Given available options, the windward placement of the new church was the best option. It occupied a high-ranked location, even though its lack of centrality to either the New Enewetak town area or to the islet as a whole (the Lojitak placement) involved pragmatic compromises. The structure brought to Enewetak the symbolic elements of permanence and modernity of construction that had been lost when the community left behind the Ujelang church in 1980. Like that structure, this one would involve a large dedication ceremony with invitations to church and government authorities from throughout the Marshall Islands. But, unlike that structure, it would not be the entire community that welcomed the visitors, as it had not been the entire community that contributed substantial sums of money to construct the new church. Not all members of the community had invested labor in the church, either in terms of preparing meals or mixing cement. The materials out of which shared substantiality were fashioned, that which for fifty

years made people, to their very core, common members of the community (including a shared religious fragment of identity), were no longer consumed and no longer invested in the land in the same way (Carucci and Maifeld 1999). The community was no longer unitary. Long ago it had begun its trip toward postmodernity, but the decouplings of cohesive, largely isomorphic identities involved in that process were now undeniable. Even on Enewetak, there were types of persons who might have religious identities and yet not be members of *the* church. This New Enewetak church reflects in its placement, its construction, and its christening, all of the contradictions of the new order of social relationships and lived existences on the atoll. The new structure was inspired and constructed with revitalizing vigor, in an attempt to capture the complementary solidarities of the past. It was fashioned in opposition to the complex realities of the new logical (dis)order on the atoll; yet, in important and innovative ways, the new structure incorporates all of the contradictions of the new: complicated identities, conflicted spatial arrangements, and a persistent inability to contain change within a unitary order.

In the spring of 1998, as the Enewetak motor-sail vessel, the *Wetak II,* was departing from Majuro to bring supplies for the church, a waste-disposal hose became dislodged from its mooring. The vessel filled with water and sank. While the crew escaped alive, the supplies to complete the final stages of construction were lost. Nevertheless, by late June construction was once again in full swing, with completion scheduled for August. *Tikōn* (church elder) Majao Lukas was in Majuro arranging, with a senator's support, to have church and government officials from the Republic of the Marshall Islands come to Enewetak for the church's dedication in mid-August. By late July, however, it became clear that the dedication would not occur in August. A supply ship arrived with food and church supplies, but not all of the materials required to complete the church were on board. Part of the cargo space had been given over to supplies for the dedication ceremony itself and another part to supplies for the Assembly church. Officials had not yet committed to the August date, and time was short. It was evident that the dedication would have to be pushed back in spite of conflict with the school calendar. It did not actually occur until November 1998.

At the same time the Assembly church was making equal progress, though the structure was not as far along. Although early discussion had indicated the new structure would be a larger plywood-sided building, in the end representations of permanence prevailed. The new Assembly building, situated just downwind from the former edifice, was fashioned from cement block. The "other" church was here to stay, and the cement-block structure transmitted this message of permanence. At the same time, while larger than the structure it replaced, the Assembly building was less imposing than the Con-

gregational structure. The message of "same but smaller than" was encapsulated in the material from which it was formed, six-inch cement block as opposed to the eight-inch block of the main church. Temporally as well the Assembly of God church lagged behind in its construction. For members of the Assembly, this was rationalized as a good thing since the two dedications would not compete with one another. But, of course, some UCC members saw the comparison in competitive terms: the main church was larger and the Assembly lesser, the main church's dedication sooner and small church's later. In leveraging more money to support the UCC dedication, leaders stressed the importance of making the UCC festive event unsurpassable. The intent went beyond impressing their Marshall Islands guests. Equally, it would serve to highlight the Assembly of God group's inability to compete with the proposed grand scale of the UCC church dedication. These arguments about comparative power frequently added references to the slower completion and smaller workforce of the Assembly group. Even though the entire comparison barely masks a fear of loss of power and control by UCC members, the overt intent was to point out the perduring potency of the long-standing "Enewetak church."

Throughout this period, the symbolic comparisons between the UCC and Assembly churches were interpreted differently, depending upon the interpretant. Permanence and larger scale in relation to their previous church were markers of growth and progress to the Assembly of God members. Diminutive size (in relation to the UCC church) and the slow pace of completion were seen as markers of inferiority by members of the "real" church. From all perspectives, however, the very possibility of a within-community comparison along the lines of a distinct religious identity was an exploration of new symbolic spaces on the atoll. Lacking a sense of being one, the fragmentary segments of that former whole began to negotiate their new identities based on relative assertions of power in relation to one another and in relation to the historical past. While these statements and interpretations were multifaceted, they shared only their inability to project a cohesive sense of unity beyond the distinctiveness of the newly fashioned fragmentary groups.

For nearly sixty years, throughout the central part of the twentieth century, the church served as a marker of community cohesion. Though imperfectly aligned with social realities, the physical structure of the church was a master symbol of unity. Now, as the community faces the future, they do so armed with a more elaborated, yet more contested, array of identity-fashioning symbolic fragments. Even though community or atollwide identities were never thoroughly aligned with Christian religious ones, the slippage was easily smoothed over using strategies of ritual inclusion that made all atoll residents welcome at weekly services and in major celebrations like Kūrijmōj.

Embedded in the very designs of the new Ujelang church as well as the new Enewetak structure are codings of this welcome: "Enter and Make Church (i.e., 'worship') Within." Ironically, these inscriptions were given architectonic form at the very time they became less certain. Indeed, if the church had been made out of the alignment of community and place in spite of the distinctions of passive-active, unmarked-marked, nonmember attendees–true church members, then community members are now uncertain of how to design new symbols of unity. For the past ten years, the struggle between community identity and religious identity has been foregrounded and transformed by the new oppositional contrast between UCC and Assembly. Unlike the passive-active participant distinctions, the new oppositional contrast is not easily reconciled with the familial metaphor that was once applied so freely at the atoll level: "All Ujelang people (or 'all Enewetak people'), we are really one." Yet, the increasingly elaborated set of paths traveled by various Enewetak people have complicated identities along many lines. One community sector, now two or three hundred souls, resides on the Big Island of Hawai'i. Others reside much of the time in Majuro. And the remaining half of the community resides, in the main, on Enewetak.

Traveling these different paths is not new or radically different for Enewetak people. Rather, the travels replicate the movements of sailors long ago, who etched movements across the landscape that led far from home and gained great renown from their wanderings. In other words, this is not simply a move from a society tracing roots to one sketching out routes (Clifford 1997). Instead, the era of containment, isolation, and the elaboration of cohesive internal identities focused on the church represents a vital local response to an important phase in a colonial process that required stable communities, dependable workforces, and tamed natives. While the community struggles with just how to align the new array of emergent symbolic identities under the long-standing trope of family unity, its explorations in the postcolonial era are nicely mapped by the contradictions and configurations of the church, both as physical symbol and as social space.

NOTES

1. Unni Wikan has described the indistinct thinking/feeling boundary for Bali, and I have elsewhere commented on the way in which thinking/feeling are intertwined for Enewetak and Ujelang people as well. Contributions to the ASAOnet discussion were, as is often the case, diverse, but Rick Feinberg notes:

> I share his (Bob Levy's) impression that the view of thought and feeling as arising from the gut or belly is widespread in Polynesia—very likely in other parts of Oceania as well. I was first tuned into this in 1972 when an Anutan patted

> his belly while trying to think of an answer to some question I had posed. My suspicion was confirmed by explicit statements. The way he (and others) put it, sense data are channeled (shall I say fed??) into the stomach (*manava*) where they are processed and sent up to the head (*pokouru*) to be formed there into conscious thoughts. An 'intelligent' person is said to be rotomaarama 'bright insides'. Emotions are characterized as *toku roto* 'my insides'. 'Heart' is *patumanava*, literally 'belly stone'; but it's the manava itself—not the patumanava—that's the seat of feeling.

Speaking of her understanding of Trobriand interpretations, Susan Montague notes:

> Ross Clark mentioned the lolo as inside or insides rather than stomach per se. That is true in Trobriand too. Lopo functions the same way, such that lopona vanu is the village's insides or center and lopona wowo is the body's insides or center. Since the stomach is both inside the body and at its center, lopo is also used more specifically for the stomach, such that someone saying that they have a stomach ache would say that it aches lopogu. But as I interviewed on this—wondering why the village center was called the village's stomach—I was set straight as everyone laughed at that curious idea.

While curious, similar ideas in the Marshall Islands are not outlandish or even universally laughable. Many Marshall Islanders and Enewetak people are unaware of the particular ways in which the landscape/seascape/starscape are inscribed in terms of bodily metaphors, but for others such metaphors are critical to an understanding of how segments of the Marshallese universe came to be embodied.

2. The stories and recollections on which this article is based were gathered between 1976 and 2000. My initial research was conducted from 1976 to 1978 on Ujelang Atoll under a grant from the National Science Foundation, and in 1982–1983 and 1990–1991 on Enewetak Atoll with grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Supplementary information has been gained on Enewetak, Majuro, and other locations where Enewetak people now travel and live during 1989, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, and 2001. Funding for these research endeavors has come from a variety of sources including the Enewetak-Ujelang Local Government Council. I am most grateful to NSF, NEH, and members of the Enewetak-Ujelang community for their support. At the same time, while many of the ideas in this article have been provided by community members, the analysis and interpretation are entirely the responsibility of the author.

3. Disputes about the precise location do not arise from current-day residents arguing over the significance of the site, but rather from the fact that the entire contour of Enewetak islet was reshaped by American military personnel at the end of World War II and throughout the nuclear-testing era. While people are agreed on the significance of sacred sites, they constantly argue about how to realign the important sites with a newly designed landscape (see Carucci and Maifeld 1999).

4. Though, as I have noted elsewhere (Carucci 2000b), now that Enewetak has an economic value, there has been a recent attempt by Rālik chiefs to lay claim to Enewetak and to assert clan connectedness as well as ties through adoption. Other than those few

Enewetak people who stand to benefit directly from association with the Rālik chiefs, community members strongly deny that these claims have any legitimacy.

5. Of course, the shift to B-29s and other planes with longer ranges eventually made this a meaningless military criteria, but by that time Enewetak was an established military base serving as an integral forwarding and resupply base for troops and supplies moving westward through the central Pacific.

6. Barker discusses the way in which representations of missionization and what it means to be missionized stand at some distance from the actual events that accompanied missionization (Barker 1993).

7. In large part these conversions were made as Enewetak students of mediocre skill sought to obtain high school admittance in Majuro. Public high school admission was determined by test and, through the late 1970s and the 1980s, schooling on Enewetak had been so poor that only a few stellar graduates were able to score well enough on the examination to gain entry. Tuition-charging religious schools (many more interested in converts than in academic outcomes), however, provided people with alternatives.

REFERENCES

Barker, John
1993 "We Are *Ekelesia*": Conversion in Uiaku, Papua New Guinea. In *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, edited by Robert W. Hefner, 199–230. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Basso, Keith H.
1988 Speaking with Names: Language and Landscape Among the Western Apache. *Cultural Anthropology* 3:99–130.

Basso, Keith, and Steven Feld
1997 *Senses of Place*. Albuquerque, N.M.: SAR Press.

Carucci, Laurence M.
1980 The Renewal of Life: A Ritual Encounter in the Marshall Islands. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
1987 *Jekero*: Symbolizing the Transition to Manhood in the Marshall Islands. *Micronesica* 20:1–17.
1992 We Planted Mama on Jeptan: Constructing Continuities and Situating Identities on Enewetak Atoll. In *Pacific History*, edited by Donald H. Rubinstein, 191–199. Mangilao: University of Guam Press.
1997a *Irooj Ro Ad*: Measures of Chiefly Ideology and Practice in the Marshall Islands. In *Chiefs Today: Traditional Pacific Leadership and the Postcolonial State*, edited by Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom, 197–210. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
1997b *Nuclear Nativity: Rituals of Renewal and Empowerment in the Marshall Islands*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.

2000 From the Elaboration of Practice to the Practice of Elaboration: Reflections on "The Tenth Day" on Enewetak Atoll. *Journal of Ritual Studies* 15 (1): 67–79.

Carucci, Laurence Marshall, and Mary H. Maifeld
1999 Ien Eñtaan im Jerata: Times of Suffering and Ill Fortune. Majuro: Marshall Islands Nuclear Claims Tribunal.

Clifford, James
1997 *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

De Certeau, Michel
1984 *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dominy, Michèle
2000 *Calling the Station Home*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing.

Douglas, Bronwyn
1982 Written on the Ground: Spatial Symbolism, Cultural Categories and Historical Processes in New Caledonia. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91:383–415.

Durkheim, Emile
1912 *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Reprint, New York: Free Press, 1965.

Kahn, Miriam
1990 Stone Faced Ancestors: The Spatial Anchoring of Myth in Waimira, Papua New Guinea. *Ethnology* 29 (1): 51–66.

Parmentier, Richard
1987 *The Sacred Remains: Myth, History, and Polity in Belau*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Poyer, Lin, Suzanne Falgout, and Laurence M. Carucci
2000 *The Typhoon of War: Micronesian Experiences of the Pacific War*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i 'Press.

Strathern, Andrew, Pamela Stewart, et al.
2002 *Oceania: An Introduction to the Cultures and Identities of Pacific Islanders*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press.

Tobin, Jack A.
1967 The Resettlement of the Enewetak People: A Study of a Displaced Community in the Marshall Islands. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

"WHERE WILL YOU SLEEP TONIGHT?" THE SAMO LONGHOUSE, A METAPHOR OF SPATIAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

R. Daniel Shaw
Fuller Seminary

The juxtaposition of physical space and social interaction among the precontact Samo people of Papua New Guinea's east Strickland Plain is analyzed through a rich cultural metaphor reflecting on where people habitually sleep. Where a person sleeps establishes individual status within the collectivity of a household, which is identified as both a dwelling and an interactive group of family-oriented people. A longhouse was typically built on a ridgetop amid gardens, sago-lined swamp, and surrounding forest, together creating an economic environment that, in effect, fed the community. Similarly, social space was created through the reciprocal exchange of female siblings that enabled men to establish alliances. Built space and social interaction, then, have significance that begins with where one sleeps—at the center of a spatial and social world. This cultural identification of persons with places is of interest to social anthropologists and those who study the interactivity between a people's social structure and its surroundings, including built space.

Tired and hungry we stumbled out of the forest and began to pick our way through a garden, a tangle of tree trunks and newly sprouting plantains. The men with me began whooping to send a signal that we came in peace and desired interaction with the community we were about to enter. The rain-slicked logs were treacherous and demanded constant attention just for us to stay in an upright position. A quick glance up revealed a large, newly constructed longhouse high above us on the crest of the ridge—Sagadobi. Our entrance was being carefully watched by two young warriors standing

Pacific Studies, Vol. 26, Nos. 3/4—Sept./Dec. 2003

on the edge of the porch. From our perspective the house seemed bigger than life, a testimony to the architectural genius and constructive ability of the Samo. The house offered protection to its occupants and a haven for weary travelers, and we soon found solace in sharing a meal and a night with allies—I was glad I was with my brothers, men familiar with household and alliance structures that provided both shelter and camaraderie.

—Author's personal journal

"PLACE 'SURROUNDS' CHARACTERS, not only as an external environment, but also as part of a subjective reality that affects the actor's identity and motivation." With these words, Entrikin introduces the importance of the relationship between "place and point of view" in discussing an epistemology of the concept of place as a "setting for action, events, and objects in stories of human history" (1991:2). This emphasis transcends the physical phenomena of locality and allows analysis that emphasizes relationship between place and those who inhabit it. There is ongoing interaction between the structure that humans create for themselves and the behaviors that become associated with that created environment. It is this interaction between space and human intentionality, and the interrelationships of the people in their respective occupation of space, that drive this presentation of a Samo longhouse as a cultural microcosm defined by a metaphoric aphorism of where people sleep.[1] *"Lnon kali kiyala ba?"* (Where do you sleep?) is a frequent question asked equally of people on a forest path or house members contemplating their night's repose.[2] Sleeping mats are frequently moved to avoid the gaze of ever-watching bush spirits in search of weakness, night watchmen switch places with those who have been asleep, and children frequently adjust their sleeping arrangements to match their playmate interests. The place where individuals sleep provides valuable information about their status within a household and indicates the responsibility they are expected to carry as they seek to maximize relationship patterns within the community and beyond. In following Entrikin's lead, I seek to pursue the nature of interaction between spatial definition and social structure—a focus on the relationship between space and social interaction patterns, not on space use per se.

The Samo language draws attention to the conceptual juxtaposition of a house and its occupants by using the same word, *monsoon,* for both the building (a longhouse) and the people (a household). Kearney (1984), following Redfield's application of "cultural universals" (1952), argues that every society must deal with the concept of space at a fundamental level (what

Kearney calls "world view"). Each society constructs its own reality from the interconnection of these basic elements permuted in specific ways to demonstrate beliefs and values reflected in observable behavior. Thus, while every society varies in its manifestations, all people share human commonality vis-à-vis spatial issues, albeit in vastly diverse ways. In this study the elements of spatial concern, as reflected in the structure of a longhouse, are viewed in turn as central to the behavioral expressions of those who utilize the constructed space. Samo behavioral patterns reflect spatial significance as manifest in the very structure of a longhouse. In Turner's terms (1967), a Samo longhouse stands as a "symbol" of organized space in which the occupants actualize their behavior. Their activity in the context of that space demonstrates values necessary to both develop the space as well as interact within it in ways that reflect an understanding of both the physical and social identities necessary to establish a community. Exploration of spatial understanding should lead to a better appreciation of what, to paraphrase Goodenough (1956:167), Samo need to know in order to behave correctly within the context of a longhouse.

Though house styles have changed during the forty years of continuous contact (Shaw 2001),[3] and the purpose of a longhouse has been drastically altered to suit the needs and interests of its inhabitants (Shaw 1997), the juxtaposition of spatial elements and those who occupy them is still critical to utilization.

Seven-hundred Samo (1990 census) occupy the four-hundred-square miles of near-virgin rain forest surrounded by the Cecilia River to the north, the Strickland River to the west, and the Nomad River angling from its headwaters in the Karius Range southwest to the Strickland River (see Figure 1). They share the Strickland Plain (first "discovered" by Jack Hides in 1936) with speakers of four other dialects, among whom the Samo now intermarry and engage in considerable social discourse including initiation and death ceremonies (Shaw 1986).[4] I will begin by discussing the structure of a longhouse and then put that built space into the larger context of the surrounding forest. Similarly, I will juxtapose the occupants of the house with their respective relationships and activities within that space as well as to allied households in the surrounding forest within river boundaries. I maintain that the very structure of a longhouse and the activities within it are reflective of the social identity and relational interaction of those who use it. As conceptualized by the Samo, a longhouse is both a created space and a social unit that serves to organize both the space and the people who interact within it. I will attempt to "construct" the presentation to mirror this dual interface of spatial and social connectivity epitomized by Samo metaphor.

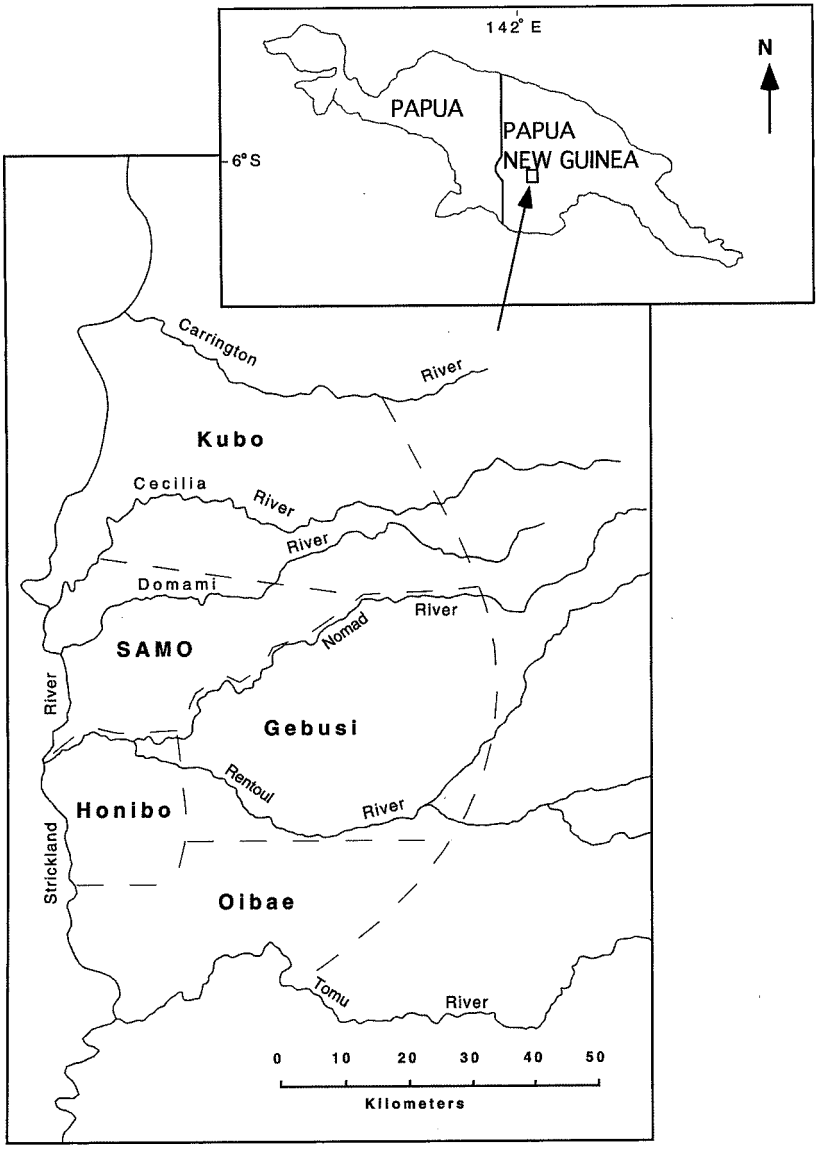

FIGURE 1. **A regional map of the peoples of the eastern Strickland Plain.** (Alan Howard's cartographic skills gratefully acknowledged)

The Longhouse Structure: Physically Constructed Space

Every Samo community is built on a ridgetop, indicated by the suffix "*-bi*" in its name. From this promontory occupants command a view of the surrounding gardens and forest beyond.[5] A Samo longhouse site provides for its occupants' needs: protection, food, human care. Its primary purpose is to situate communal activity while providing respite from the continual danger of surrounding spiritual and physical enemies. Constructed space, then, is crucial to the ability of household members to engage in activity appropriate to that space. The house itself is the community's physical and social focal point and is specifically constructed to reflect this multifaceted existence. Construction of a longhouse demonstrates the communal nature of the building process and the cooperation necessary to bring one into being.

Longhouse Construction

Building a longhouse is an arduous task requiring up to a year of preparation and labor: months of seeking out the ironwood posts, light but strong wood for the superstructure and ridgepole, countless sago-palm leaves for the roof, and miles of rattan and vine to bind the entire structure together.[6] Once materials are gathered at the site it takes considerable effort and cooperation to construct the structure. Sago lining the stream at the base of the ridge provides a ready food supply for women to process while men are occupied in construction. Accumulating sago leaves for the roof is a natural by-product of cutting and processing the sago palm for food. During construction the adjacent hillside can be cleared and plantains planted so they begin to fruit and provide food soon after the house is completed (see Shaw 1990:31–48 for a discussion of the relationship between land use and a longhouse).

To commence building, shallow holes are dug into the red clay about twelve feet apart extending down the slope of the ridge. Ironwood posts are placed in these holes and a horizontal framework, at floor level, lashed to these poles. Additional posts are arranged to support the floor, which extends ten to fifteen feet beyond the poles, and more supporting posts are added to secure the structure.[7] Black-palm trees are split and flattened for flooring material, which is then placed over the entire platform. In the center of the porch area a long pole is placed in a hole, with a companion pole at the opposite end of the house forming the extent of the span for a long, light but strong ridgepole. Once the ridgepole is lashed into place, the entire structure becomes rigid and takes on the appearance of a house.

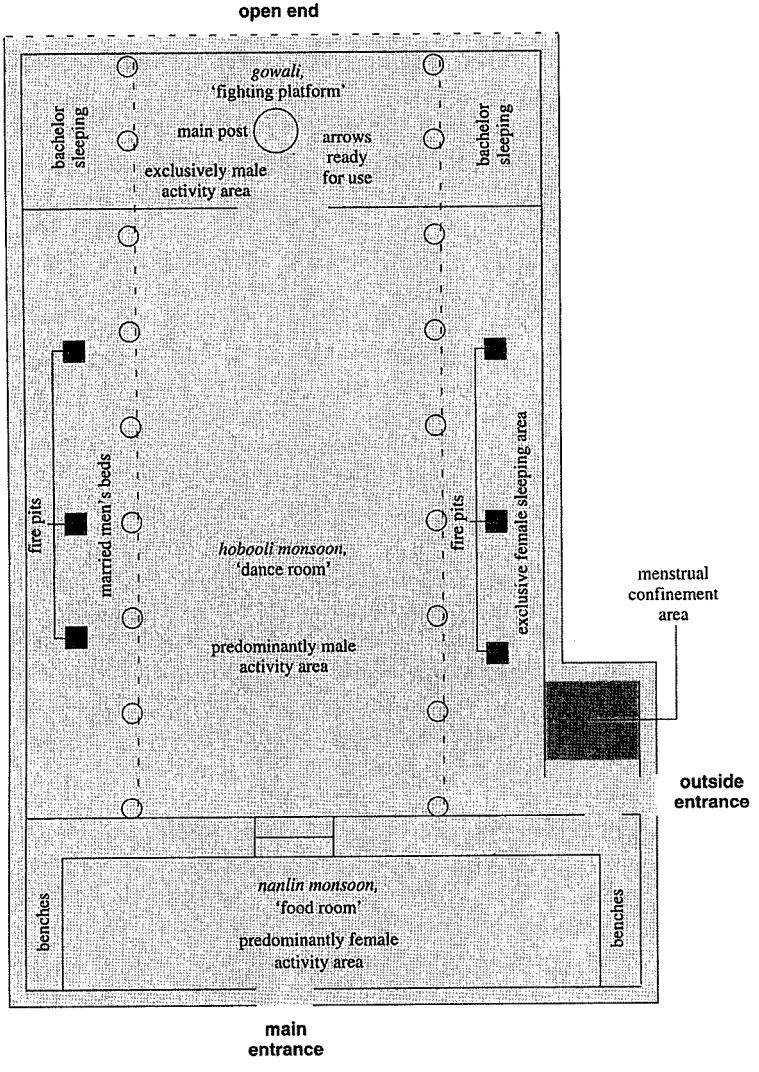

FIGURE 2. **Floor plan of a longhouse.** (From *From Longhouse to Village: Samo Social Change*, by R. Daniel Shaw, 1st edition. © 1996. This and following figures reprinted with permission of Wadsworth, a division of Thomson Learning)

The remainder of the building process consists of filling in the superstructure as necessary: rafters, wall studs, and braces for structural rigidity to support the extensive sago-leaf roof. The roof descends nearly to floor

level, meeting the ground where the platform meets the dug-out kitchen area. This provides a considerable overhang, which protects the house from the strong winds of September to January and the torrential rains of February to June. A Samo proverb demonstrating strength and unity states, "Wise men bind a roof on tight." The superstructure of the roof is extended over the dug-out area to enclose the kitchen and make it an integral part of the house. The front wall is covered with sago-palm ribs lashed to studwork that extends from the ground to the rafters. Similarly, on the platform level of the house, sago-palm ribs tied to the studwork of the house sides fill in the space between the floor and the roof to provide what side walls are necessary to ensure a "lockable" house. In contrast the porch end of the house, high above the sloping ground beneath, is open, providing an expansive view of the surrounding region and a clear space for shooting arrows at attackers.

Prior to contact, endemic raiding and subsequent cannibalism provided a rationale for the very structure of a longhouse: it served as a fortress against attack. The main doorway forces anyone entering to step over several stacked logs. Above the open space are more logs held in place by specially designed wooden pins or tied vines. In case of a threat and always at night, the pins were pulled (or vines cut), allowing the logs to obstruct the doorway—a "lockable" door. The side entrance to the women's area provided the only other entryway, one few men were willing to risk since it directly accessed the menstrual confinement area.

Figure 2 shows the floor plan of a longhouse with its various divisions based on activity areas and sleeping quarters.

The Juxtaposition of Spatial Elements as Metaphor for Human Interaction

The physical space of a longhouse is divided into three primary areas: the porch, which houses the stockpile of weapons necessary to protect the community and serves as the bachelors' quarters; the central portion of the house, comprising the dance floor surrounded by sleeping areas; and the kitchen, in which food is stored and prepared and which serves as the primary female activity area.

The juxtaposition of the built space on both the longitudinal axis (three major sections of the house) and horizontal axis (sleeping sections of the house) are characterized by Samo metaphor. *Kiali oosoo*, "a person who sleeps in a place," is identified with the locations of both a ridgetop (the house site) and the sleeping quarters within the house (the women and children's section, bachelors, or married men).[8] Where one habitually sleeps

thus provides critical information for identity: a person is associated with a particular community (a general identity) as well as social status and expected behavior patterns (a specific identity) within a community. I will discuss these elements below.

A further metaphor of interactive importance is characterized by the aphorism "Men protect while women produce." Now the focus is on protecting or producing, which reflects a gender-based division of labor. Again with respect to house axes, activity is specified. The longitudinal axis is characterized by the open, male-dominated porch with its battery of weapons (focusing on warfare) in contrast to the closed-in, female-focused kitchen (with its provision of food) at the opposite end of the house. Similarly, the horizontal axis separates ceremonially proficient married males watching over the "dance floor" from women (who produce and care for children) confined to a relatively small sleeping area behind a wall.

Together, these metaphors of sleeping place and gender-specific roles serve to define the spatial elements of the house as well as the activities of those who occupy the space. What follows deconstructs the spatial elements reflected by the metaphors.

The Porch. With its view of the surrounding forest the porch is traditionally a fighting platform. Unmarried males, the most virile members of the community, sleep there and set a nightly watch for the protection of others. From a male viewpoint the porch is the nerve center of the community, an exclusively male domain where raids were once planned, alliances strategized, visitors welcomed, trade goods displayed, and stories told long into the night. Much of this nocturnal activity is bathed by the glow of resin burning on a special concave stone. On both sides of the porch, in the space outside the foundation posts, are bed platforms where bachelors sleep. Along the wall separating the porch from the midsection of the house, bundles of arrows and accompanying bows stand ready for use in case of a raid.[9]

Facing the length of the house from the porch, one notes a doorway topped by an open latticework on which hang pig mandibles, fish skeletons, snake vertebrae, and other trophies of past hunting exploits and noisy meals. Pointing to each quickly evokes a story of the hunt and male prowess in supplying meat. In the past human bones were part of this display, evidence of success in raids and the cannibal feasts that followed (see Shaw 2001 for a discussion of the Samo response to the cessation of cannibalism with the advent of a colonial government). Supporting the ridgepole in the center of the porch is the main house post, around which most male activity revolves. Tied to this ironwood post, out of reach of plundering rats, carefully wrapped bundles of barkcloth protect ceremonial finery.

The Central Portion of the House. Proceeding through the doorway into the darkness of the central room, one's eyes need time to adjust to the semidarkness. A six- to eight-foot-high wall on the left separates the women's sleeping quarters from the main room while on the right the married men's *kiali monsoon,* "sleeping platform," overlooks the room, elevated on logs wedged between the house posts over which split-palm flooring has been laid. Between each "bed" is a small fire pit where a man can warm a meal or dry tobacco. The rafters and thatched roof come down nearly to floor level, providing an ideal repository for freshly cut tobacco, cassowary-bone daggers that serve innumerable purposes, and an occasional arrow that doubles as a hanger for small string bags that contain most of a man's personal possessions.

The vaulted roof extends high above the *hobooli,* "dance floor,"[10] where much of the household activity takes place: communal meals served and eaten, visitors entertained, and all-night dances and séances held, from which the room takes its name. Four-foot-long drums with fluted mouths and lizard-skin heads stand in one corner waiting to be tuned. In another corner palm-sheath drinking troughs await the next occasion for making kava, and bamboo tubes hold a supply of drinking water. The floor is littered with charred scraps of food, and a thin layer of soot covers everything. Cobwebs lace the rafters and each open house post is sticky from countless hands being wiped on it.

On the other side of the wall, the women's section of the house is arranged much like the married men's sleeping platform, with beds punctuated by small fire pits. Adolescent girls tend to bunch together for sleeping, while smaller children sleep with their mothers or in playmate cohort groups. This section is entered through the menstrual confinement area, accessible either from the kitchen or directly from the exterior, which allows women to avoid the cooking area during their menses. Except for the front door this side entry to the menstrual area is the only other entrance to the house, thus forcing potential raiders to pollute themselves if they use it.

The Food Preparation/Storage Area. At the front of the house is the kitchen, presided over by females, whose primary activity is the production and preparation of food. A notched log provides access from the platform portion of the house to the kitchen floor, dug out to level the ridgetop. Surrounding the periphery of this area are low platforms that serve as both food storage areas and convenient benches on which women can relax and enjoy each other's company during food preparation. Two large fire pits are prominent and remain perpetually lit, ready for cooking. Hanging from the rafters above these fire pits is a large latticework of saplings to store wet sago, butchered pork, and anything else that must be kept in a dry place out of reach of

pigs, dogs, and children. Alive with cockroaches and spiders and littered with charred plantain peels, firewood, coconut shells, and other debris of food preparation, this area is often filled with smoke forcing its way through the smoke-blackened, insect-free thatch.

Together these spatial elements constitute a "place" that unites both the building and the family members who are its habitual inhabitants. Horizontally, the house is divided into three sections designed for protection, sleeping and household activity, and food care. The center section is divided longitudinally between the women's area and a large activity room lined with married men's beds. A longhouse, then, is a combination of gender-specific activity areas denoting those who occupy that portion of the house—protecting warriors, ceremonially equipped and sexually active adult males, and producing women. Where people sleep in the house reflects their primary responsibility and anticipates relationships with other household members.

The area under the house is frequented by dogs and pigs. An eventual buildup of food scraps mixed with the waste of human habitation enriches the ground. When a house becomes unusable, after approximately five years, a new site is established. The ironwood posts are salvaged for future building projects and the entire termite-infested rubble is burned. A few days later men return to the old site, fence in the area, and plant tobacco, which thrives in the enriched soil.

The Juxtaposition of a Longhouse and Its Surrounding Spatial Elements

A longhouse stands at the summit of a ridge and connects its occupants with the surrounding area both spatially and socially. In spatial terms, from this vantage point everything is considered *mun*, "down," that is, one must always descend from a longhouse to go anywhere.[11] A house, in turn, sits in spatial juxtaposition to the denuded ridgetop, vegetable gardens near the ridgetop, large-scale plantain and pitpit gardens extending down the slope of the ridge, the sago-lined stream at the base of the ridge, and the virgin forest beyond (Figure 3).

The Cleared Ridgetop. The ground immediately surrounding a longhouse is denuded of all vegetation and serves as an extension of the enclosed living area. The ridgetop immediately in front of the house serves as an extension of the kitchen and is the site for preparing feasts to feed large numbers of people, often in a ceremonial setting. Interestingly, once outside the confines of a house there is a gender-role switch, as men become the primary food handlers and punctuate their activity with much whooping, bantering, and a prevailing atmosphere of conviviality.

This area in front of a house also serves as the local graveyard. Before contact the Samo, like most peoples in the region, practiced open-platform burial, allowing the body to decay near the house. Once all death payments had been made the bones were ceremoniously buried in a shallow grave enclosed to keep animals out. The modern enclosure is an expansion of this "bone grave" but now, by government decree, the body must be buried within twenty-four hours.

Fenced-In Garden Plots. Beyond the ridgetop's periphery, small gardens for vegetables and other short-term crops are planted and fenced in to protect against animals. Increasingly, introduced vegetables—pumpkin, corn, peanuts, and chilies—have been added to the more traditional crops of gin-

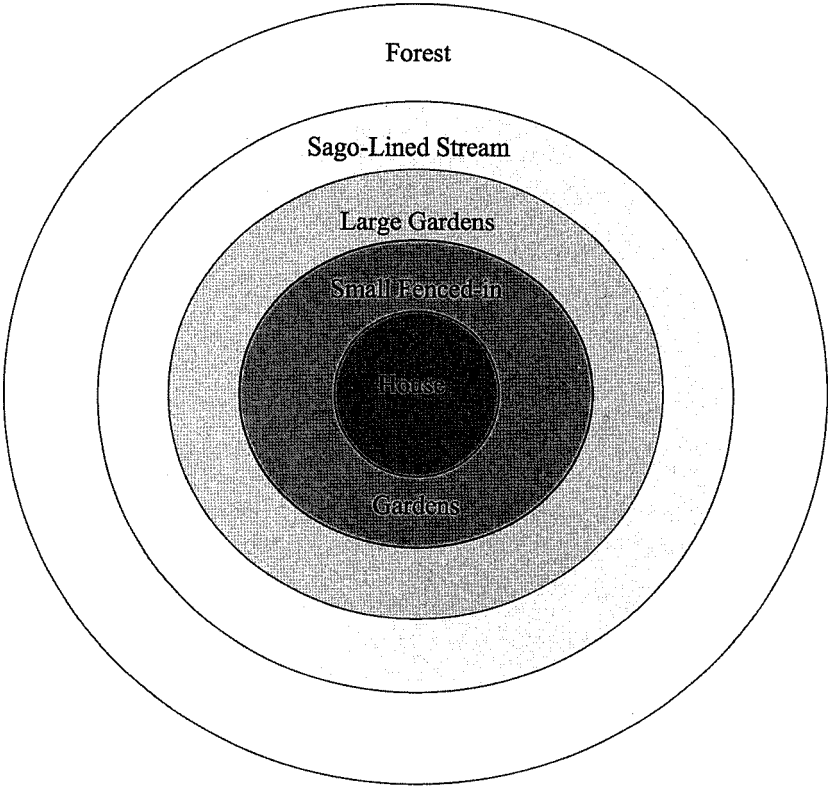

FIGURE 3. **The physical juxtaposition of a longhouse with its surrounding environment.** (© 1996, reprinted with permission from Shaw 1996)

ger, sugarcane, taro, and greens (see Shaw 1996:84ff. for a detailed discussion of government attempts to improve the Samo diet).

Large-Scale Gardens. On the slope below the small-garden fences, extending to the bottom of the ridge, the Samo plant plantain and pitpit gardens that, together with a dependable supply of sago, provide the bulk of their daily diet. The extendibility of the garden along the ridge together with the availability of sago at its base serve as criteria for maximum longevity of a habitation site. Toward the bottom of a garden ridge, secondary crops of pandanus, breadfruit, and galip nut are planted to insure that men regularly return to abandoned longhouse sites to harvest the valuable produce in season. Women, in contrast, harvest plantains and pitpit on the occupied ridgeside.

An extensive garden area also provides a buffer zone between the virgin forest beyond and the house at the center. The Samo believe the forest is inhabited by *hogai,* "disembodied forest beings" who are inherently evil, seek to destroy human life, and habitually wreak havoc on all human activity. The open garden space inhibits their coming into the ridgetop habitation and impacting its inhabitants. Similarly, a tangle of cut forest trees felled after the plantains take root creates a labyrinth that must be crossed by outsiders. Persons familiar with the site quickly learn the pattern of the tree fall and know how to traverse it, but those who do not will stumble and fall, thereby sending an alarm to wary inhabitants. On a very practical note this timber provides a ready source of firewood for household occupants.

Sago-Lined Stream. Sago palm is the staple of the Samo diet and economy. Without a sago swamp there can be no house site. In fact, the twenty-five-year maturation cycle of a sago stand necessitates a lengthy fallow period to allow secondary growth to mature and the forest to naturally replenish the thin topsoil before the next habitation.[12] The stream and swampy area in a habitation site's vicinity serves as both a water supply for the household and a ready source of water for sago processing. As noted above, the sago palm also provides thatch for the longhouse roof and siding for both external and internal walls, as well as being a primary food source to sustain inhabitants through the entire building process.

Surrounding Virgin Forest. The forest beyond the habitation site further contributes to its viability. Hunting parties make the most of the abundant flora and fauna of the region. This abundance led Jack Hides, on first seeing the region in 1935, to observe in his journal, "There is probably no part of Papua so full of game as this forested area, and it is this fact, I think, that accounts for these nomads and the way in which they live" (1973:36). Although

FIGURE 4. **A Samo habitation site: a traditional Samo longhouse stands in the middle of a garden that provides a three-to-five-year food supply. The house is built on a named ridgetop for protection against enemy raids. The porch affords an excellent view of the surrounding area.** (Photo by R. D. Shaw, 1970. © 1996, reprinted with permission from Shaw 1996)

somewhat overstated, without a doubt the Samo and their neighbors utilize the forest environment by hunting and gathering to enhance their diet. Skill in the art of camouflage enables them to slip unnoticed through the forest, and their hunting dogs are well trained to corner a wild boar or cassowary, allowing the hunter to approach close enough to insure that a single arrow shot through the heart will bring down his prey.

Such a habitation site (Figure 4) necessitates considerable labor beyond house construction: cutting down sago palm for food and building materials, felling forest trees to create garden space, and the work of planting, maintaining, and harvesting food during the life of the site. The forest further contributes to the welfare of household members. In short, the area surrounding a longhouse provides for the occupants' physical needs. The house is seen as protection and sleeping space. The extended site projects the metaphors and serves to protect occupants—those who habitually sleep there—against both spiritual and human enemies by providing a buffer between the forest and the house with its consignment of human frailty. The gardens, sago, and pe-

rennial crops provide a ready food source that continues long after habitation ceases and a new site has been developed. Finally, the sago maturation cycle eventually draws people back to occupy the site after a lengthy fallow.

This spatial dynamic on the ground resembles the social dynamic of an initiation cycle as each, in its turn, seeks to establish its place in a space and time structure that links the Samo to the commonality of human identity with the land. As Casey notes:

> A place is renervative and regenerative on its own schedule. From it experiences are born and to it human beings (and other organisms) return for empowerment, much like Antaeus touching the earth for renewed strength. Place is the generatrix for the collection, as well as the recollection, of all that occurs in the lives of sentient beings, and even for the trajectories of inanimate things. Its power consists in gathering these lives and things, each with its own space and time, into one arena of common engagement. (1996:26)

The ebb and flow of cyclical patterns now forces us to shift interest from a longhouse's spatial orientation to the social interaction of the household members who interrelate within that space. A longhouse is no mere space, but a household of people who connect with each other respective of their social position as reflected by where they sleep. The metaphor not only identifies a place but also the respective relationships of those who occupy the space—a household of human connectivity.

Social Structure: Socially Constructed Space

Samo social organization, based on the primacy of identity with a longhouse site, reflects the interaction of community members and their relationships with those beyond the site. As the spatial elements of a house reflect the roles of those who occupy them through cultural metaphor, so a household is connected to others through an extension of these locational and relational metaphors.

The Elements of Social Structure

A Samo household provides both a domicile and a community, a fact reinforced by using the same word for both. A community is composed of elderly males and their wives living together with their sons and daughters-in-law and their children. This basic social unit, numbering from twenty-five to sixty people, is considered the smallest viable unit in the social system. The co-

hesiveness of common residence and daily interaction patterns necessitates collective, family-type terminology for all who sleep at the same location. Should individuals take up residence in a different community (as would be necessary following a raid or the exchange of female siblings between communities), terminology reflecting interaction patterns within the new household are adopted and any previous relationships adjusted.[13] Such terminological realignment is relatively common in New Guinea and has been well documented by others (Watson 1970; Cook 1970). The Samo rationale, however, is unique and reflects their interaction within the physical space of a longhouse.

In the course of community life there is little distinction among nuclear families. Each household provides a totality of relationships. Thus, despite individual nuclear-family variation, "sisters" are always available for exchange to obtain a wife for a "younger brother," for example. The primary criteria for interaction within a household pertain to initiation, gender, age, and alliance. As with the spatial elements of the house, I will briefly note the nature of these key elements of relationship within the social structure and the resultant interaction of behavior patterns.

Initiation. Initiation provides the key to understanding kin-term designations within the society (Shaw 1990). An initiation cycle serves to organize the bulk of married individuals within a single group that largely provides for the protection and survival of people in the previous cycle as well as the one to follow. A cycle group includes all household members initiated after one's parents' initiation but before the birth of individuals' designated "children" (see Figure 5). Hence housemates considered younger siblings by parental-cycle initiates are at the same time older siblings of one's own cycle group.

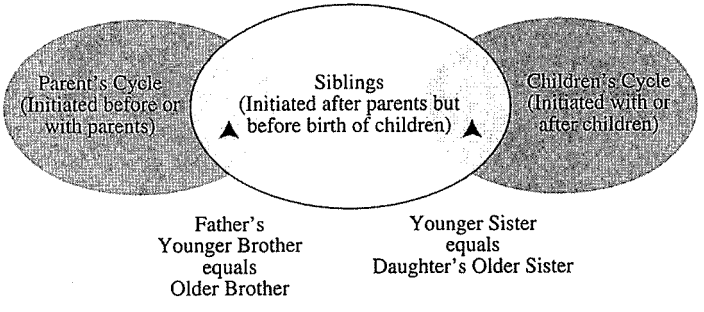

FIGURE 5. **The Samo initiation cycle.** (© 1996, reprinted with permission from Shaw 1996)

The reference point is a particular initiation associated with a particular house site. Co-initiates thereafter reference each other as *somon* and relate as a cohort group with relationships expressed through siblingship, which includes the importance of authority based on relative age. The co-siblingship of household members binds them into cooperative roles commensurate with protection and production based on gender. Within a longhouse community, then, a large percentage of individuals fall into the same initiation cycle group. The concept somewhat parallels the English term *generation* but is much broader in scope.

Age. Relative age of individuals structures the relationships within an initiation cycle group and establishes the authority structure between siblings. Older siblings (particularly same-gender individuals) take a dominant role in the enculturation process, particularly evident in preparing males and females for initiation. Older male siblings exercise authority when strategizing about the exchange of younger female siblings. The reciprocal exchange of women, as I will discuss below, is the focus of interhousehold alliances. These gender-oriented behavior distinctions, while significant, reinforce a common theme of authority exercised by older male siblings who, by cultural definition, are also younger siblings of individuals initiated during the previous cycle. Terminologically, age is crucial to designations of older siblings, distinctly male and female, while younger individuals are lumped together by a single term with no consideration of gender. This structure holds for those initiated in the previous cycle as well, who are distinguished on the basis of gender, while those in the following cycle are not (Figure 6).

INITIATION CYCLE		GENDER	
		Male	Female
Parent's Cycle		*ade*	*uyo*
Own Cycle (siblings)	Older	*onyon*	*owo*
	Co-Initiate	*somon*	
	Younger	*manla*	
Children's Cycle		*hooon*	

FIGURE 6. **The social criteria for establishing kinship terminology.** (© 1996, reprinted with permission from Shaw 1996)

Gender. The longitudinal wall dividing the center section of the longhouse is far more than a privacy screen. It divides the household into male and female sections and characterizes major activity and role distinctions. Common sleeping quarters engender the close interaction manifest in same-gender relationships while a distinct division characterizes cross-gender interaction. Seven-year-old males move to sleeping quarters on the porch after their noses are pierced. This move signals a significant moment in their socialization: they have begun the long road to becoming initiated warriors who guard the household. Females, in contrast, remain within the confines of their section and inform younger siblings about subsistence activities, personal responsibility especially with respect to menstruation, and relationships within the house and beyond. For females a developing bond is disrupted by exchange, which always produces a degree of trauma. Exchanged females, in turn, maintain close ties with their natal household, returning for ceremonies, food, and solace—patterns established during the formative years of growing up in a particular house. Women depend on males of their natal house to protect them in their new relationship with a husband, who becomes their brothers' ally.

Alliance. Activity with other communities depends upon the nature of alliance between them. Alliances are established as men of the respective communities solicit a direct female-sibling exchange resulting in the marriage of a younger male sibling to an appropriate female. Such exchanges establish an alliance between the reciprocating males that entails responsibilities of mutual protection against common enemies. As Godelier points out (1998), female exchange initiates a lengthy association that reflects obligations and counterobligations between the respective partners. Allies in large measure extend same-gender relationships within a household to the interaction of individuals living in communities with whom they exchange women—males extend hospitality to each other on the porch and plan for mutual protection (often protecting against or initiating a raid) while females join the women's section and engage in activities that enhance productivity. All who are allied to allies set up a buffer zone between a particular household and its enemies who, by definition, are not allied in any way.

Alliances often reflect exchanges by men in the previous initiation cycle as relationships are reinforced by exchanges with the same community though locations have changed—the place changes but the people remain the same. When deciding where a woman should be exchanged, men assess their alliance structure and determine the best strategy for ongoing protection—that is, they exercise their male responsibility as protectors of the community while at the same time ensuring, through exchange, future production both

economically and biologically by enabling the next initiation cycle.[14] This reflects but extends Mauss's contention that gifts of women between groups are essential to the reproduction of the society as a whole (1954).

The Juxtaposition of Social Responsibility

Primary role responsibilities for household members are characterized by where in the house people normally sleep: bachelors protecting from the porch, married men serving as ceremonial specialists watching over the "dance floor," and women and children hidden from view in their secluded section. The "where people sleep" metaphor also reflects broader relationships across an alliance structure that connects people in a variety of localities to responsibilities reflective of their position within the social structure.

Bachelors on the Porch. Three subgroups of unmarried males sleep on the porch: *hoon boobooli*, "boys with newly pierced noses" who are recently separated from their mothers; *kooin*, pubescent pre-initiates; and *kandiman oosoo*, "unmarried initiates." Their primary responsibility is to ensure the protection of a house. From the open end of the porch they can view the surrounding gardens and the forest beyond. Traditionally a guard was set each night to watch for any activity that might indicate an enemy raid. Should an enemy launch an attack the porch provided an ideal platform from which to rain arrows down upon those climbing up the ridge. Pre-initiate training for males includes considerable experience with bows and arrows. To this day men rarely leave the house without carrying weapons that they keep close by no matter what the activity. A significant moment in the initiation ceremony is when male initiates receive a set of newly crafted arrows.

Married Men Guard the Ceremonial Center. The platform adjacent to the dance floor and open activity area provides an ideal overview of all activity in the central corridor of the house. Here *hun oosoo*, "married men," establish sleeping quarters and are joined by warriors from the porch as they marry. Although bachelors' protective role shifts when they leave the porch, they still spend considerable time protecting household members, particularly their wives and subsequent children.[15] The primary responsibility of married men, however, is overseeing ceremonial activity for the entire household. Only initiated adults may enter into ceremonies and the proximity of married-male sleeping quarters to ceremonial hall is significant. All-night healing and protection dances, initiation ceremonies, and shaman-led séances all take place under their watchful eyes. Thus the married men extend their

protective role to spiritual oversight and demonstrate a caring concern for all community members.[16]

Women and Children Sleep in Seclusion. Four groups occupy the secluded portion of a house: *hooon fenyanfon,* "pre–nose-pierced boys and girls" under the care of their mothers; *manbi,* "uninitiated girls," who are responsible to their older sisters; *kandiman sobo,* "initiated women" yet to be exchanged in marriage; and *hun sobo,* "married women." This portion of the house is hidden by a partitioning wall that symbolically divides male and female responsibilities and shields women from the gaze of men. Protecting themselves from female pollution is a constant male concern and all due precautions are taken. The wall of seclusion reduces the chances of a male looking at a baby girl, while confinement in the menstruation room reduces female contact with food or male activity that could be adversely affected. Conversely, seclusion represents the physical and ceremonial protection necessary for productivity and household maintenance that women symbolize.

Social Identity. A change in household status is always reflected in a change of sleeping quarters as well as lexical identification. Young boys with freshly pierced noses move from the women's section to begin life on the porch, where they receive their primary enculturation. Bachelors who have been presented with a wife shift their sleeping mat from the porch to the married men's sleeping platform and join their older brothers and fathers. There they no longer set a nightly watch but rather contribute to ceremonial protection as well as the economic and biological well-being of the community by building a family. (Sexual relations between married adults are not considered a household activity but relegated to the privacy of the forest.) Women, on the other hand, remain within the confines of the women's section until they are exchanged out of the household and their position is replaced by an incoming woman who becomes a wife to a household male. Hence the "where sleep" metaphor reflects social status and well-being within the household. Terminological adjustments trace individual life cycles and reflect sleeping arrangements.

The Juxtaposition of a Household with Surrounding Social Units

As a longhouse sits in the center of a created space within the forest, so the family unit—a household—serves as the center of a social structure largely of its own making. Four groups interact to provide a network of social responsibility: a household, allies, those who speak the same dialect, and enemies.

Monsoon, "Household." As spokes of a wheel emanate from the hub, so a Samo alliance network extends from a single household at the center of its self-made structure. The exchange of women establishes alliances with similar units scattered throughout the forest. Before the government established villages, each community moved about its own designated land area as size, available resources, and needs dictated.[17] This movement also brought the community into contact with neighbors, precipitating a need for closer relationships. The exchange of female siblings served as the means to establish alliances that further protected the respective households. As communities moved on following the sago, they came into relationship with yet others, and so the reciprocity of relationship ebbed and flowed as communities exploited their physical and human resources to the best of their ability.

Oosoo Buoman, "Allies." While alliance focuses on strategic relationships between the exchanging males, marriage is the by-product that enables households to maintain their viability and insure the warmth of family interaction. Protection against common nonallied enemies was the primary rationale for alliance, and the resultant relationships between communities established an elaborate social interaction including the provision of food and a place for travelers to sleep. *Doogooli*, "allies of allies," are considered friends by virtue of their mutual affinity to common allies. As men share relationship through the exchange of women to the same locality, strong levels of trust result. If they can trust their allies, certainly they can also build relationships with men their allies trust. In the postcontact, postcannibal era this logic has led to alliances being extended beyond traditional lines across increasing distances, including beyond dialect boundaries (see Shaw 1996:69–75. for a discussion of the linguistic ramifications of extended alliances).

Ton, "Dialect/Language Group." The network of alliances is often strengthened by common speech patterns. People who can easily communicate have a better chance of interacting and building relationships. The region's geography influences social and linguistic distinctions. A riverine topography of large streams with their tributaries flowing from east to west to join the Strickland River establishes spatial deixis terminology that reflects the need for major canoe crossings when traveling north or south. Ease of travel increases interaction among people on the same side of the river while reducing relationships with those who are *helofoo*, "on the other side," a term often used metaphorically for "enemy." This riverine topography, then, correlates with trust and aboriginal adversity that reflect the physical and social environ-

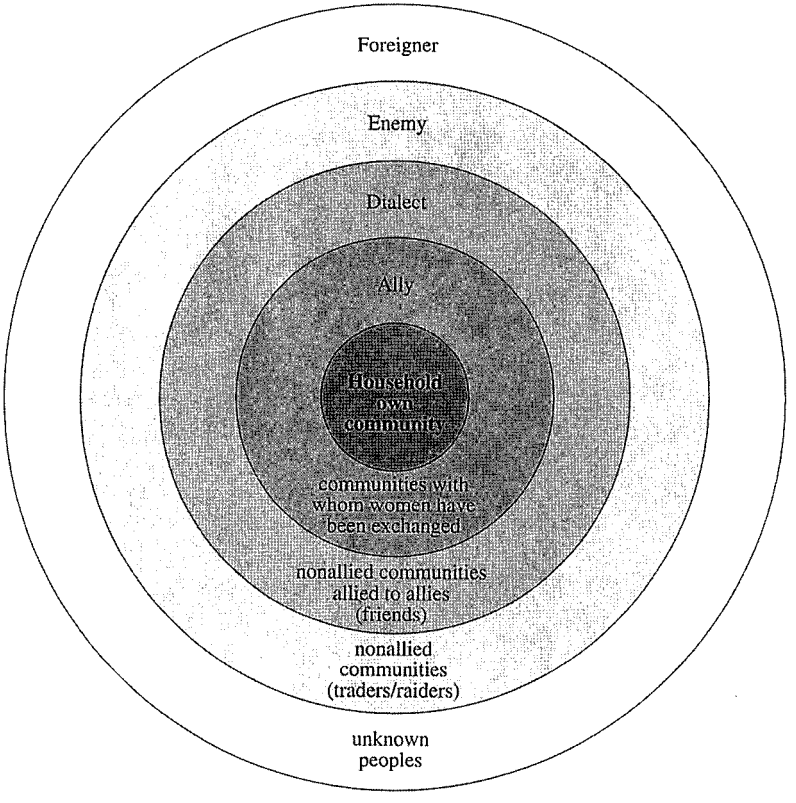

FIGURE 7. **The social juxtaposition of a household to the alliance structure.** (© 1996, reprinted with permission from Shaw 1996)

ment in which the five dialects on the Strickland Plain coexist (Shaw 1986). Dialect are a product of boundaries set by rivers, which produce chaining whereby people progressively understand each other less as distance and number of river crossings increase. This pattern fits well with documentation from other parts of the island of New Guinea (McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970; Voorhoeve 1975; Rapport 1968).

Hatooman, "Enemies." Trading and raiding characterize the primary activities between "those who kill," that is, enemies. Geographically, speakers of each dialect inhabit a slightly different ecological zone, resulting in access to goods not available in other areas: limestone, ochre, bird feathers, small animal pelts, shell necklaces, and tobacco. All these items are traded among

the groups on the eastern Strickland Plain. Trading parties used to be organized to procure goods not otherwise available in one's own region. Such expeditions took people into enemy territory, thereby increasing personal danger. Trading, however, also afforded an opportunity to investigate house locations, the nature of the surrounding area, and how things are arranged inside a longhouse, all valuable information in a raid against that community. Trading, then, provided opportunity for reconnaissance, and householders and visitors alike were always alert for any sign of unfriendly behavior. In the last twenty years, trading has become a prominent activity between government patrol carriers and the villagers they visit.

These crucial units of the social structure, with a household in the center of a created social network (Figure 7), closely resemble a house in the center of a built living site in the forest (cf. Figure 3). The juxtaposition of spatial units closely reflected by the interrelationship of social units together establishes the nature of communal activity within created space. Created habitation sites, then, reflect both the social structure of inhabitants and the topography of the entire region south of the Karius Range and east of the Strickland River. This region is featured in Samo mythology and is reflected in tales of raids and counterraids, which in turn necessitate close alliances with people who can be trusted. In short, the two parts of this essay mirror each other and delineate physical and social interaction of people identified by where they habitually sleep.

Conclusion

The Samo consider a household to be the smallest survivable unit and thus have no word for nuclear family or even a unit of brothers. Groups of individuals associated within a household interact to provide the protection and productivity necessary for the survival of that unit in their world. That group, in turn, interacts with similar units to construct a web of protection against the unwanted attention of enemies. These built and socially constructed networks represent a constant negotiation of spatial and social constructs that can be manipulated for the protection and productivity of a primary household unit, a *monsoon.* The constructed space has as its focus a longhouse serving as the center of human activity at a particular time. The relationships and social responsibilities, reflected by life-cycle changes, dictate where in the longhouse people sleep and the nature of relationships an individual has with others in the household.

A longhouse is a "place" that incorporates the very essence of Samo metaphor, which, in turn, provides people with an identity and a structure integral to understanding their own reality and enabling them to interact with all

who habitually sleep there. A longhouse symbolizes a people's identity with a place to sleep as well as defining with whom they sleep. This dual social identity reflects an idiom for protection and productivity within the forest environment. It gives "voice" to the people who both build their space in the form of a longhouse and engineer their alliances to ensure compatibility and mutuality with those who share the built space with them. These household associations, in turn, are extended to all whom they count as allies, friends, or enemies. Where will you sleep tonight?

NOTES

The fieldwork on which this article is based was funded, in part, by the New Guinea Research Fund of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which I gratefully acknowledge.

1. This is a descriptive presentation reflective of habitation sites in the early postcontact period, circa 1970. Elsewhere I have traced the impact of contact upon the Samo (Shaw 1996, 2000) and discussed the importance of ceremony in the context of initiation as a rationale for social networking (Shaw 1990). Here the focus is simply on the interrelation between the physical structure of a longhouse and the social structure concomitant to the interplay the Samo place upon what and where things happen and who is involved. The theoretical interest is generated by structures, both physical and social, and appreciating the nature of relationships that now dominate in a society responding to twenty-first-century demands and pressures that encroach upon their rain forest world.

2. The sounds of the Samo language are pronounced much as corresponding sounds in English are, with a few notable exceptions. The sound symbolized by the letter /l/ can be either an [n] sound at the beginning of a word or when surrounded by nasalized vowels, or the usual sound for [l] when found in the middle of a word. Thus the word to eat, *nala,* is orthographically symbolized as *lanla.* This brings up discussion of Samo vowels. There are six phonemic vowels, *a, e, i, o, u,* and ⊃. For orthographic ease, ⊃ is represented by "o" and *o* by "oo." All vowels can be either oral or nasal (sound is forced through the nose). The nasalized vowels are symbolized using an "n" after the vowel. A sound comparison chart with English looks like this:

English: a b d e f g h i k l m o s t u

Samo: *a b d e f g h i k l m o oo s t u*

nasalized vowels: *an en in on oon un*

When spoken rapidly, the transition in diphthongs from high to low vowels, for example, *ia,* creates a [y] sound and from low to high vowels, for example, *ua,* a [w] sound. These sounds are a normal part of speech flow and are, therefore, not symbolized in the orthography. For a detailed phonological description and particulars on orthographic decisions based on psycholinguistic testing, see Shaw and Shaw (1977). The glosses of Samo words and phrases in this article are based on meaning rather than word-for-word translations.

3. Australian government officers established a permanent administrative presence in the Nomad River region by building an airstrip and government office at the confluence of the Nomad and Rentoul Rivers in 1963. Subsequent to independence in 1975, the Papua New Guinea government took over and in large measure carried out the colonial mandate of its Australian predecessors.

4. Cultural research in this region corroborates my own and emphasizes the importance of ritual and ceremony for people throughout the area (Knauft 1985, among the Gebusi; Sørum 1980, among the Bedamini; and Schieffelin 1976, among the Kaluli, to name only the closest groups).

5. My data were collected in the 1970s, during the transition from isolated longhouses to communal villages. This article, however, focuses on the longhouse structure evident in the precontact and immediate postcontact periods prior to village aggregation, and is written in an "ethnographic present" that reflects the late 1960s as defined by informants, patrol officers' reports, and my own observation of village houses built in the traditional style. My own house, built by the Samo for my family in 1970, followed the structural design typical at that time.

6. I use the present tense since building techniques have changed little and constructing a longhouse is every bit as time consuming and painstaking as in the past. In part this, together with a growing scarcity of building materials in the vicinity of established village sites, served as a rationale for abandoning longhouses and instead building smaller family houses (see Shaw 1997).

7. This extension of the floor beyond the house posts formed the "bedroom" area of the house.

8. Despite my twenty-year absence from Kwobi punctuated by occasional return visits, I am still known as a Kwobi *kiali oosoo,* "one who habitually sleeps at Kwobi."

9. While no longer necessary for protection, the porch remains a strategic element of built space in contemporary community centers. Though no longer necessary for warfare, weapons remain a conspicuous accoutrement of male activity. Bows and arrows remain a primary means of food procurement and a protection against spiritual entities that inhabit the forest.

10. This room is the locus of dances and séances, which I have described elsewhere for the Samo (see Shaw 1990). This region of Papua New Guinea is well known in the literature for the elaboration of and importance accorded longhouses and the dances associated with them. However, my focus here is not on what happens in longhouses but rather on the interaction between the space itself and those who use it for their benefit.

11. Geography largely dictates the use of directional lexemes in the Samo language. Streams in the area tend to flow from east to west, forcing people traversing the north-south axis to cross streams and traverse ridges, hence going *foda,* "up," and *munla,* "down." Traversing the east-west axis, in turn, requires going *tula,* "upstream," or *yala,* "downstream." These terms delineate Samo directionals, which are always defined by a point of reference, usually a longhouse site. To leave a house implies descending the ridge, that

is, going "down" to cross a stream and enter the forest. Conversely, people must ascend a ridge and go "up" to most houses (Shaw and Shaw 1973).

12. The Samo say they can plant on ground once utilized by their grandparents. Thus the sago maturation cycle brings people back to the site after skipping a "generation," or about once every twenty-five years.

13. During my research I actually documented a case of a biological brother and sister, separated after a raid, being eventually married because they had lived in allied communities between whom an exchange of women reunited brother and sister as a newly married couple.

14. Alliances between communities were often extended across initiation cycle groups by communities that exchanged women in a previous cycle continuing to do so. This reflects the trust established between the respective parties as well as the need to maintain close relations with those nearby to protect against enemies. Thus a young man may call a woman *uyo*, "mother," reflecting the fact that she lives in the community from whence his father's wife was exchanged. Inasmuch as an exchange of women classed as "mother's brother's daughter" is the preferred marriage, such a man may well end up marrying a woman he previously called "mother."

15. This continuation of the protective role is manifest in garden activity, where responsibilities are structured to allow optimum opportunity for men to provide protection for the entire work party. What may appear to be idle meandering around the periphery of a work space, relaxed smoking breaks, or aimless chatter and bantering is, in fact, only an external persona that belies an ever watchful concern for suspicious activity that might indicate unwanted visitors. For self-protection Samo men don grasses and leaves as camouflage and make considerable noise in the forest, whooping, whistling, and shouting both to announce their presence so others won't be surprised and shoot them, and to scare off harmful forest spirits.

16. These are just a few of the many activities that take place in the central hall of a Samo longhouse. Such activities have been discussed elsewhere (Shaw 1985, 1990, 1996) or have yet to be adequately described and theoretically analyzed. The objective here is to draw the correlation between the activities themselves and the space in which they take place. The presence of the married-male sleeping quarters juxtaposed to this activity area is spatially and socially significant.

17. It was this "nomadic" movement that frustrated Australian patrol officers and led them to name the Nomad River. The movement, however, was by no means random. Rather, it followed the maturation of the sago and replenishment of the soil from the natural regrowth and fertilization of the forest. Men speak of being able to plant on ground utilized by their grandfathers, and women process sago in the same swamps their grandmothers worked.

REFERENCES CITED

Casey, E. S.
1996 How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time. In *Senses of Place*, edited by S. Feld and K. Basso, 13–52. Santa Fe: School of American Research.

Cook, E. A.
1970 On the Conversion of Non-agnates into Agnates among the Manga, Jimi River, Western Highlands District, New Guinea. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 23:190–196.

Entrikin, M. J.
1991 *The Characterization of Place*. W. A. Atwood Lecture Series No. 5. Worchester: Graduate School of Geography, Clark University.

Godelier, M.
1998 Plenary presentation, Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania annual meeting, San Diego.

Goodenough, W. H.
1956 Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning. *Language* 32:195–216.

Hides, J.
1973 *Papuan Wonderland.* Reprint, Sydney: Angus and Robertson. (Originally published 1935.)

Kearney, M.
1984 *World View.* Novato: Chandler & Sharp Publishers.

Knauft, B. M.
1985 *Good Company and Violence: Sorcery and Social Action in a Lowland New Guinea Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mauss, M.
1954 *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Translated by I. Cunnison. London: Cohen & West. (Originally published as *Essai sur le don, Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïque*, 1924.)

McElhanon, K. A., and C. L. Voorhoeve
1970 *The Trans–New Guinea Phylum.* Pacific Linguistics Series B, No. 16. Canberra: Australian National University.

Rappaport, R. A.
1968 *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Redfield, R.
1953 *The Primitive World and Its Transformations.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Schieffelin, E. L.
1977 *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Shaw, R. D.
1985 Narcotics, Vitality and Honor. *Notes on Anthropology* 1:6–11.
1986 *The Bosavi Language Family.* In Pacific Linguistics Series A, No. 70: 45–76. Canberra: Australian National University.
1990 *Kandila: Samo Ceremonialism and Interpersonal Relationships.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
1996 *From Longhouse to Village: Samo Social Change.* Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
1997 Samo House Styles and Social Change. In *Home in the Islands,* edited by J. Rensel and M. Rodman, 55–78. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
2001 Three-Day Visitors: The Samo Response to Colonialism in Western Province, Papua New Guinea. In *In Colonial New Guinea: Anthropological Perspectives,* edited by Naomi McPherson, 171–193. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Shaw, R. D., and K. A. Shaw
1973 Location: A Linguistic and Cultural Focus in Samo. *Kivung* 6:158–172.

Sørum, A.
1980 In Search of the Lost Soul: Bedamini Spirit Seances and Curing Rites. *Oceania* 50:273–296.

Turner, V.
1967 *The Forest of Symbols.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Voorhoeve, C. L.
1975 Central and Western Trans–New Guinea Phylum Languages. In *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study,* edited by S. A. Wurm, 117–141. Pacific Linguistics Series C, No. 38. Canberra: Australian National University.

Watson, J. B.
1970 Society as Organized Flow: The Tairora Case. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26:107–124.

REVIEWS

Andrew Strathern, Pamela J. Stewart, Laurence M. Carucci, Lin Poyer, Richard Feinberg, and Cluny Macpherson, *Oceania: An Introduction to the Cultures and Identities of Pacific Islanders.* Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2002. Pp. 280. US$30 paper.

Reviewed by Judy Flores, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam; Gef Pa'go Chamorro Cultural Village, Inarajan, Guam

THIS BOOK is a collaborative enterprise between six scholars who have worked in different parts of the Pacific. It aims to provide an overview of the ethnography, history, and contemporary changes in a broad range of societies across the Pacific region and is designed for use in college-level courses in conjunction with more-specialized literature on specific areas. References are supplied at the end of each section for instructors to use in guiding students to more in-depth readings in the subject area.

The authors share the viewpoint that an interdisciplinary approach as taken in this volume is important to the overall understanding of the contemporary processes of change in Pacific societies. Anthropologists increasingly are using history to explain and add depth to their ethnographic fieldwork accounts. This holistic approach allows them to address international influences that go beyond the immediate area they write about, taking into account the effects of globalization on contemporary Pacific peoples.

The authors also acknowledge the importance of the extensive oral histories of Pacific Islanders. Such stories, passed from generation to generation, explain the origin and placement of peoples in their landscapes and their relationship to the spirit world; they can be used to authenticate the precedence of particular groups for land use and other resources. Moreover,

these stories help establish group identities and rights in their contemporary world.

The book is divided into three broad sections, each written by specialists who have lived and done extensive fieldwork and research in the particular area. The three sections are the "South-West Pacific," "Eastern Pacific," and "West Central Pacific." These areas equate roughly with the long-standing designations of Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, respectively. The change of names for these areas does not change the boundaries significantly, which is helpful for those familiar with the earlier designations. The name change does, however, help identify the geographical boundaries more clearly, and this augments the geographical and geological explanations of the migration patterns to settle these areas. The authors remind us throughout that boundaries are fluid, and they emphasize the historical and modern movements of people within and across these boundaries.

Each section incorporates discussion of the (1) prehistory, ecology, linguistics, colonial and postcolonial history; (2) ethnographic information and some detailed case studies; (3) patterns of change resulting from political and economic development; (4) impacts of religious change and the transformations of Christianity; and (5) assertions of renewed cultural and political identity. The style of presentation in the three sections is as varied as the cultures contained therein. An area map is an important inclusion at the beginning of each part of the book.

The references that end each section include lists of published biographical and autobiographical accounts of Pacific peoples. These, along with collaborative writing between Pacific Islander scholars and others, are recognized in the literature review for their growing importance. These reference sections are especially helpful to instructors in guiding students toward research in specific areas. Several pages of photos precede the bibliographies. For students unfamiliar with the Pacific, the pictures provide enough visual reference to give a general idea of the people, customs, adornment, and vernacular architecture of each area. The selection shows a balance of early (1960s to 1980s) and contemporary (late 1990s to 2000) photos, which helps to convey the idea of cultures as continuously changing and adapting.

The introduction and Southwest Pacific section were written by Andrew Strathern and Pamela J. Stewart. Strathern and Stewart provide an overview of that great arc of tropical islands beginning with New Guinea and going eastward to the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and Fiji. One or more case studies for each island group are presented. With its large size and diverse peoples, New Guinea understandably receives the most treatment. Strathern and Stewart stress that kinship and descent—and related practices of wealth exchange—provide the basic framework for the case stud-

ies. These studies address issues specific to an island group or area, such as "Chiefship and Political Change in Fiji," "Status Acquisition in Vanuatu: Art and Power," "Exchange and Social Change on Choiseul Island," "The Asmat of Irian Jaya: Art and Its Changing Meanings," and "The Use of Natural Resources in Papua New Guinea," to name a few.

Part 2 discusses the Eastern Pacific, written by Richard Feinberg and Cluny Macpherson. They give an overview of Polynesia, noting the relatively uniform cultures of this huge triangle of the Pacific while also pointing out exceptions to this general geographic designation. Among other commonalities is Polynesian seafaring, which played an important role in the distribution of these peoples throughout the Eastern Pacific. Physical appearance, language, and highly centralized and stratified social organizations are common traits found throughout Polynesia. A historical and cultural overview of the various island groups includes "Subsistence and Expressive Arts," "Central Themes in Polynesian Culture," and the impact of "European Contact." Discussions of contemporary issues feature case studies of Aotearoa's Maori, Samoa, and Anuta; these exemplify the differences encountered and cultural and political accommodations that evolved as Polynesians adjusted to resources in high islands like Samoa and atolls like Anuta, and to climate change when settling Aotearoa.

Laurence M. Carucci and Lin Poyer wrote Part 3, on the West Central Pacific, the area formerly known as Micronesia. These authors point out the importance of the sea, which, in the perception of these seafarers, served to link peoples together through well-traveled mariners' paths. The overview stresses "Ecology and Society," wherein the size, location, and resources of the islands have determined population and social development. The prehistories of "Western Micronesia" and "Eastern Micronesia" are treated separately, recognizing the diverse origins and periods of early migration, as is "Micronesia's Complex Chiefdoms." A review of the literature on social and political development discusses work by Paul Rainbird and James Peoples. "Exchange and Inter-Island Contacts" gives an overview of basic knowledge based on archaeological interpretation and points out that limited data are available to interpret the region's prehistory. Language diversity is treated as reflecting the duration of human settlement in the various island groups. A large portion of this section is devoted to the discussion of identity, shaped by varied colonial histories and contemporary political relationships. The complex history of the Mariana Islands is divided into issues particular to Guam and those of the Northern Marianas. Central Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Palau are each treated separately, recognizing their diverse histories and contemporary political development. Several case studies cover issues faced by other islands in Micronesia, namely, Kiribati, Banaba, Bikini,

and Pohnpei. Christianity's influence on the various islands is reviewed in terms of both history and influence on cultural identity. The section ends discussing the "Reification of Culture and the Politics of Tradition"—the emergence of political self-determination that has generated a renaissance of activities that exemplify and verify cultural identity.

This book is packed with information based on the latest published research data available. Its organization into sections allows the reader to select and focus on a particular subject area. The information is further exemplified in case studies to stimulate critical thinking about issues. Finally, the extensive bibliography provides a path for students to sharpen their research skills.

Ron Crocombe, *The South Pacific.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2001. Pp. 790, illus., bib., index. A$130 (about US$85) cloth.

Reviewed by Eugene Ogan, Honolulu, Hawai'i

Several substantial surveys of the Pacific Islands and their societies have appeared in recent years: *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (1997), *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society* (1999), *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (2000), and *Oceania: An Introduction* (2002). These have all been edited, multiauthored works. Now a single scholar—one of the most senior in the field—has undertaken to "outline the main trends in the past, present, and possible futures" of Pacific Islanders (p. 7).

Professor Crocombe's considerable qualifications for this task are attested by the publishing history of the present volume. He first wrote *The New South Pacific* in 1973, and that book underwent reprinting and revision for the next twenty years. The current version is more than double the length of its immediate predecessor (p. 8). It comprises twenty-four topical chapters, organized into sections alliteratively labeled "Parameters," "Patterns," "Perceptions," "Property," "Power," and "Prospects," as well as four appendixes (including very useful profiles of Pacific nations and territories) and a thirty-nine-page bibliography. One notable gap in coverage is a detailed map of the entire region.

The scope of the book, indeed its sheer weight, tends to intimidate. Add to this the author's decades of experience throughout the area, together with his combative personality, and a reviewer is inclined to approach with some care lest an incautious comment reveal a gap in one's own knowledge that will call forth derision from one who legitimately claims greater seniority.

Perhaps it is best to state at the outset that, like each of the books noted in the first paragraph above, *The South Pacific* makes a distinctive contribution to our knowledge of the region, one that is not easily compared to that made by any of the other works.

Professor Crocombe begins by clearing the ground with a note on geography and its terminology, pointing out the different definitions of "South Pacific," "Oceania," and the like, and permitting himself some flexibility as to how he will present his material. Then the first topical section, "Parameters," covers issues of environment, population, migration, and health. The next three chapters, organized as "Patterns," discuss language, society, and culture. "Perceptions" moves into the realm of belief systems, the arts, and communication. "Property" includes not only consideration of tenure systems, about which the author is a recognized authority, but production and commerce and the currently controversial subject of "restructuring." "Power," or politics broadly defined, is by far the longest of the topical sections; material presented here is arguably the most likely to provoke debate. The final chapter "Prospects" is explicitly a statement of the author's personal thoughts on the future of the Pacific Islands and Islanders (p. 658).

How to give a fair assessment of such a weighty volume within the word limit permitted to a reviewer? One must pick out a relatively few features, commentary on which may provide guidance to potential readers. Professor Crocombe states in his preface that each topical chapter is designed to be self-contained. This has the effect that readers working their way through the book from beginning to end will inevitably find considerable repetition, but they have been forewarned. Another notable facet of the book concerns the author's sources. They are heavily weighted toward the publications of University of the South Pacific's Institute of Pacific Studies, which is laudable in giving these useful works greater visibility. However, Professor Crocombe does not always seem critical in assessing other sources; he is as likely to cite with apparent approval scholarly works alongside all sorts of less-reliable material. Because he is so widely acquainted with Pacific Islanders in all walks of life, he freely quotes what must be personal communications, some of which call for a context in order to be properly evaluated. For example, the Solomon Islands leader Francis Bugotu made a very interesting comment on the first Pacific Arts Festival (p. 197), but no source is given nor does Bugotu appear in the bibliography.

Professor Crocombe has never been shy about offering his opinions on Pacific Islands affairs, and an experienced reader can enjoy the sense of a rousing argument. (He also freely uses exclamation points in case the reader isn't paying sufficient attention.) Those less familiar with the region may be led to accept without question such flat statements—not further elaborated

or supported with detailed evidence—as "the most authoritarian governments have been in Tonga, Marshall Islands and Fiji" (p. 219). *Caveat lector.* One might also wonder why the author occasionally takes the trouble to distance himself from what he calls "Marxist" arguments (e.g., pp. 470–471), when some readers would say that his emphasis on political economy is one of the book's great strengths.

Other welcome aspects of the author's approach include a clear-eyed refusal to yield to the romanticism about the Pacific that lingers even in many scholarly works. He is neither about to paint roseate pictures of Edenic "tradition" nor take for granted the benign intentions or superior insights of a current generation of Pacific Islands leaders. At the same time, he underlines dependence on outside forces created by a global economy. "Context," in this sense of a larger picture, is a key word in his analysis.

Professor Crocombe has written the book in a most accessible style, blessedly free of academic jargon or discussions of arcane matters of interest only to specialists. While he has dedicated the book to the *mokopuna,* or grandchild generation, one can speculate that his target audience includes the students of the University of the South Pacific, which institution he served well for decades. These and other readers will find in *The South Pacific* a valuable, thought-provoking work, which belongs in all institutional libraries and on the shelves of any individual seriously interested in the region.

Sean Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists: O Measina a Sāmoa.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. Pp. 224, illus., bib., index. US$29.95 paper.

Reviewed by Teri Sowell, San Diego State University

The publication of Sean Mallon's book *Samoan Art and Artists: O Measina a Sāmoa* fills a key void in the field of Pacific art. It is a comprehensive and up-to-date survey of Samoan art, providing a valuable source for scholars as well as more general readers. The book is especially appropriate for use within a university curriculum, as the concise text has enough depth to compliment its breadth, while a generous number of illustrations beautifully elucidate the author's major points of discussion.

Organized into seventeen chapters, Mallon's book covers the spectrum of both traditional and contemporary arts, including sections on canoe and house builders, *siapo* (barkcloth) makers, weavers, carvers, tattooists, painters, photographers, and filmmakers, as well as addressing the arts of music, dance, theater, literature, and oratory. While the content of these divisions

sometimes overlap, such as discussing fine mats (*'ie tōga*) within chapters devoted to weaving and to costumes and garments, the overall structure is practical. The most obvious problem that emerges from the use of such strict categories relates to contemporary artists who work in a variety of media. For example, the artist Jewel Castro (p. 100) is discussed in "Woodwork and Sculpture" rather than "Painting," yet she is primarily a painter and an installation artist. Although she creates some three-dimensional works, she tends to situate paintings within a space (sound, light, sculpture) or simply creates a "canvas" to stand alone or integrated into a related series. Thus, to confine her work in a section that emphasizes sculpture seems inappropriate. These relatively minor problems are manageable, however, and perhaps necessary for overall clarity.

Within each of the aforementioned structural divisions, Mallon makes great efforts to interweave the contemporary with the traditional. Moving easily through the major ethnographic sources, from Augustin Kramer (1902–1903) through Peter Buck/Te Rangi Hiroa (1930) and up to Roger Neich (1985), Mallon supplements the overall summary with an in-depth look at the Samoan contemporary art world, including the diaspora. This reshaping of the ethnographic and historical sources makes the material more accessible for students and general readers. But the inclusion of the contemporary art scene is what makes this book so valuable to the field of Pacific art. With this publication, Mallon has taken great strides to bring some well-deserved attention to contemporary Samoan artists working in a variety of media. Treating transformation and change as a natural, positive, and long-standing aspect of Samoan artistic traditions, the author forcefully challenges the misconception that art stopped being produced after sustained Western contact. Avoiding a strict evolutionary timeline, Mallon instead stresses "continuity in social significance" to downplay a strict division between "traditional" and "contemporary" (p. 23). Like most scholars in the field of Pacific art, the author would like to abolish crass distinctions between traditional and contemporary, yet his approach (using media-based divisions) is problematic since categories such as "Photography and Filmmaking" and "Theatre" are dominated by contemporary examples, while chapters dealing with media more deeply rooted in traditional forms, such as "*Siapo* Makers" and "Weaving," contain small sections at the end that deal with contemporary permutations.

While Mallon's attempt to integrate Samoan arts through time and space is laudable, the underlying flaw of this volume is the lack of attention to aesthetics. Mallon fails to bring forth a thorough discussion of how the diversity of the arts presented is bound together, albeit he briefly points to some directions given by Roger Neich, Bradd Shore, and Adrienne Kaeppler (p.

25). Thus, while this book will undoubtedly become another benchmark for summarizing Samoan art by media through the end of the twentieth century, it essentially replicates the same format as "ethnographic" material-culture books of the past. Unlike older ethnographic accounts, though, Mallon is very sensitive to the voices of individual artists, allowing much of their work and intent to be represented by extensive quotations directly from artists. However, the heavy reliance on direct quotes is not balanced with art criticism. This lack of analytical interpretation, combined with a concentration on contemporary artists working in Samoa (overlooking numerous important artists in American Samoa) and New Zealand (neglecting much of the rest of the diaspora), creates an uneven treatment of Samoan art. For example, when discussing contemporary *siapo*, the author states that the creation of *siapo* is "still centered in only a few villages, mainly on Savai'i" (p. 71). Yet some of the most important and innovative *siapo* artists working today are based in American Samoa, including Adeline Pritchard Jones, Marylyn Pritchard Walker, Reggie Meredith Malala, Nicholas King Jr., and Wilson Fitiao (see Sowell 2000). These artists work for both local and international audiences and are pushing the boundaries of the art form through manipulation of motifs, designs, and sculptural form, which makes their exclusion from this publication unfortunate.

If this review is starting to sound negative, that is not my intention. My critical assessment should not overshadow the substantial contribution of this book, an achievement on many levels. For the general reader, Mallon has succeeded in bringing together a vast and diverse body of information, creating a useful condensation of Samoan art studies. For the specialized reader, the inclusion and emphasis given to the contemporary Samoan art world will make this book a great addition to any Pacific scholar's bookshelf.

REFERENCES

Buck, Peter H. (Te Rangi Hiroa)
1930 *Samoan Material Culture*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 75.

Kramer, Augustin
1902 *The Samoa Islands*, volumes 1 and 2. Translated by Theodore E. Verhaaren.
1903 Reprint, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995.

Neich, Roger
1985 *Material Culture of Western Samoa*. Wellington: National Museum of New Zealand Bulletin 23.

Sowell, Teri L.
2000 *Worn with Pride: Celebrating Samoan Artistic Heritage*. Oceanside, Calif.: Oceanside Museum of Art.

John Overton and Regina Scheyvens, editors, *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Experiences from the Pacific*. London and New York: Zed Books, 1999. Pp. 306, bib., index. US$15.50 paper.

Reviewed by Norman S. Wright, Brigham Young University–Hawai'i

> *Halving extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education and gender equity, reducing under-five mortality and maternal mortality by two-thirds and three-quarters respectively, reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS, halving the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water and ensuring environmental sustainability.*
>
> —United Nations Development Program, *Millennium Goals*

In September of 2000, world leaders met and established what are now known as the Millennium Goals. This ambitious, holistic development agenda includes progress in the social, economic, health, and environmental arenas. How fitting, then, that the editors of *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Experiences from the Pacific* would assemble a collection of readings that presents sustainable development from ecological, societal, and economic perspectives.

Original conceptions of sustainable development presented the issue as one of reconciling economic benefits with long-term ecological health. More recently, however, issues of social justice and even cultural sustainability have found their way onto the agenda. Though greatly adding to the complexity of the construct, such additions present a more realistic nexus from which to derive policy.

The current offering by Overton and Scheyvens follows in this more recent tradition by arguing that one must have a strong understanding of the broad social, ecological, and economic contexts in which sustainability is being considered. Without that context, they suggest, discussions occur at such a macro level as to have little relevance to policy discussions at the local level. Their objectives for this edited group of readings are to limit the discussion of sustainability to the Pacific Islands states that share similar cultures, environments, and economic needs. In so doing they hope to inform policy debates for the governments, nongovernmental organizations, private businesses, and the peoples that call the Pacific islands their home.

The structure of the book, then, follows this basic agenda. After a brief overview of the concept of sustainable development, the second section presents a series of contextual issues that form the backdrop for discussions of sustainability. These include natural resources, relationships with the rest of the world, Pacific Islands cultural and societal traditions, livelihoods within the region, and some specific cases on land tenure, migration, and the meaning of land within Pacific Islands cultures.

With this background established, the book presents a series of five "bad" cases. These cases are critical of attempts to "develop" Pacific Islands nations using a Western framework. The cases include studies of the logging, mining, fishing, and cash-crop industries as well as a look at urbanization in Samoa and Tonga. In the logging case, for example, Melanesian villagers were paid a very small proportion of the actual market value of the logs. This amount was also just a fraction of the economic value that a healthy forest provides villagers in terms of garden plots, edible nuts, sago palms, and tree products used for housing, canoes, medicine, and food. In exchange for one-time lump-sum payments, villagers forfeited the multiple uses of the forest resources for generations to come. Similar results were found in the other cases, with additional problems including loss of women's standing in the community, prostitution, and domestic violence.

For the informed reader such terrible results are not an earth-shattering revelation of the damage that is often done when indigenous cultures and international companies meet. The cases, however, do serve as an important reminder of the need to consider the holistic implications of economic activities in developing regions. They also begin to suggest the important role of participatory development, an idea that probably needs to be repeated again and again in light of continued mistakes made by the development industry.

On the other hand, this section and other development experiences also make clear that participation is a tricky issue. Those currently empowered by the local culture frequently attempt to concentrate their power. Such participatory development not infrequently results in societal structures that are even less friendly to women and other disenfranchised members of the society. Unfortunately, the authors of this text prescribe self-determination but present no real responses to this quandary. That they should not do so, however, is unsurprising given that this issue continues to be problematic in other development efforts in other parts of the world as well. It is hard to imagine, for example, that the microfinance industry would have grown as large as it has in Bangladesh if aid organizations asked local communities whether women or men should receive the vast majority of loans.

Although not resolving this fundamental paradox of development work, the book's next section does present five case histories meant to offer some

hope that development in the Pacific Islands can be sustainable ecologically, economically, and socially. These studies regard national parks in Samoa, sustainable forestry in the Solomon Islands, ecotourism, sustainable agriculture, and sustainable urban areas within the region. Regrettably, severe sustainability problems of their own beset most of these cases. In the first case, for example, two out of the three national parks created in Samoa are largely misunderstood by local villagers and provide little to sustain local livelihoods. The third national park followed a more participatory process with a more equal focus on local livelihoods as well as conservation but, again, the results were not definitively positive.

Given the inconclusiveness of the positive cases, one could be pardoned for feeling pessimistic about the possibilities for sustainable development in the Pacific Islands context. Overton and Scheyvens, however, do try to draw some themes from the chapters that might aid in pushing the sustainability agenda further in this region.

The first theme is that Pacific Islanders not be relegated to a passive position but, rather, take the lead in creating sustainable-development strategies. This is a statement that nobody would disagree with in a public setting. In action, though, we see many development organizations attempting to impose a certain set of universalistic principles on development efforts despite the objections of the "recipients." As mentioned earlier, the microfinance agenda seeks to both eliminate poverty and empower women even when it disrupts traditional culture. It seems, therefore, a bit too easy to simply state that participatory policy making is the rule for effective policy. The balance between prescriptive versus participatory policy is probably, however, too sensitive to be discussed frankly in most development circles. What is clear, though, is that participation is an appropriate antidote to top-down development efforts that have made some really big mistakes.

The second theme this book puts forth is the ability of local participants to derive a livelihood from sustainable-development activities. It is not the global issues that concern those who are living in poverty but rather the local manifestations of those global issues that serve as a point of contact. Progressive environmental organizations like Conservation International (their Ecomaya project in Guatemala serves as a compelling example of the link between local livelihood and conservation) recognize that while conserving resources is important, if environmental efforts are to ever be seen as more than the agenda of the wealthy, the efforts must recognize the need for sustainable livelihoods of those who live in or near the earth's biodiversity hot spots.

Third, the authors argue that sovereignty in terms of land control as well as self-governance are important to sustainable development in the Pacific

Islands region. They recommend that the development effort focus less on specific projects managed by development workers from abroad and more on continued efforts that, while initially facilitated by development workers, are managed and directed by well-trained local people.

Finally, the authors recommend that there is much to be learned by letting go of the modernist approach to development, which views development as a linear progression that excludes learning lessons from the past. In doing so, Overton and Scheyvens do not present themselves as melancholy romantics longing for the "good old days." Instead, they question the very definition of development as simple increases in material wealth (accepted by many) and suggest that we reexamine what progress has meant to Pacific Islanders in past generations to see if there are not lessons that can and should be applied to current development efforts.

For those interested in international development, it is not clear that the lessons derived from this set of Pacific Islands cases go very far in enhancing the theoretical development framework. What these authors have done, however, is twofold. First, they make a convincing case that localizing the definition of sustainable development matters. And, that it matters a lot! By beginning to probe the social, economic, and environmental context of the Pacific Islands region the authors abundantly demonstrate that all of the vision and skills that allowed these islanders to navigate the currents, winds, and waves of the vast Pacific will again be required if sustainable livelihoods are to continue.

In addition to making the case for localization, this book makes an important contribution by initiating the policy discussion for island nations that have much in common culturally, economically, and environmentally. Such a foundation is an important contribution for all who will be tasked with creating local, national, and regional policy and action initiatives in the Pacific Islands community.

BOOKS NOTED

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

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

Abad, Carolyn Kehaunani Cachola. *The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Traditions.* Ph.D. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 2000.

Afuhaamango, Tuituiohu. *Princess Hina and the Eel.* San Mateo, Calif.: Atenisi Inst., 1997.

Andrade, Carlos L. *Ha'ena, Ahupua'a: Towards a Hawaiian Geography.* Ph.D. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 2001.

Aramiou, Sylvain, et al. *Dictionnaire a'jie–français.* Bweweye F.E.L.P. Houailou, New Caledonia: Fédération de l'Enseignement Libre Protestant, Section des Langues Vernaculaires, 2000.

Attwood, Bain, and Fiona Magowan, eds. *Telling Stories: Indigenous History and Memory in Australia and New Zealand.* Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2001.

Aughton, Peter. *Endeavour: The Story of Captain Cook's First Great Epic Voyage.* London: Cassell, 2002.

Bailleul, Michel. *Les iles Marquises: Histoire de la terre des homes fenua enata du XVIIIéme siécle a nos jours.* Papeete: Ministère de la Culture de Polynésie Française, 2001.

Ballara, Angela. *The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organization from c.1769 to c.1945*. Wellington: Victoria U. Press, 1998.

Ballard, Robert D., and Michael Hamilton Morgan. *Graveyards of the Pacific: From Pearl Harbor to Bikini Atoll*. Washington: National Geographic, 2001.

Balzer, Trevor, et al. *Pidgen Phrase Book*. Hawthorn, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 1999.

Banks, Ivana Busljeta. *A Corpus of Hawaiian Language Texts*. M.A. thesis, Arizona State U., 2001.

Bell, Daphne, ed. *New to New Zealand: A Guide to Ethnic Groups in New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed Books, 2001.

Bennetts, Peter, and Tony Wheeler. *Time and Tide: The Islands of Tuvalu*. Footscray, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 2001.

Bernut-Deplanque, Pascale. *L'identité culturele calédonienne: Construction possible ou Utopie? Des accords de Matignon à l'accord de Nouméa: Quelle place pour l'identité dans les politiques culturelles de Nouvelle-Calédonie*. Noumea: Ile de Lumière, 2002.

Black, Anderson. *Lana'i: The Elusive Hawaiian Island—the One That Captain Cook Missed*. New York: Vantage Press, 2001.

Blackburn, Mark. *Hawaiiana: The Best of Hawaiian Design*. 2d ed. Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 2001.

——. *Hula Heaven: The Queen's Album*. Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 2001.

Blackford, Mansel G. *Fragile Paradise: The Impact of Tourism on Maui, 1959–2000*. Lawrence: U. Press of Kansas, 2001.

Bladinieres, Gilbert, et al. *Chroniques du pays Kanak*. 4 vols. Noumea: Editions Planète Memo, 1999.

Bosworth, Malcolm, and Kym Anderson. *Reforming Trade Policy in Papua New Guinea and the Pacific islands: What Roles for WTO and APEC?* Adelaide: Center for Intl. Economic Studies, U. Adelaide, 2000.

Boulay, Roger. *Kannibals et vahines: Imagerie des Mers du Sud*. Paris: Editions de la Reunion des Musèes Nationaux, 2001.

Brandon, Reiko Mochinaga. *The Hawaiian Quilt*. Tokyo: Kokusai Art, 1999.

Brennan, Jennifer. *Tradewinds and Coconuts: A Reminiscence and Recipes from the Pacific Islands*. Boston: Periplus Editions, 2000.

Briggs, Mark. *Australia in Asia and the Pacific: A History*. Melbourne: Oxford U. Press, 2001.

Chait, Melanie. *Healing Hawaii: The Rediscovery of an Island Identity, a Socio-Historical Study of Hawaiian Cultural Resistance from the 1840's to the 1990's*. Ph.D. thesis, U. Oxford, 1999.

Chansin, Michel. *C'est une terre ma'ohi*. Papeete: Au Vent des Iles, 2001.

Chastel, Patrick, and Philippe LeMaire. *Le sourire de tiki*. Papeete: Au Vent des Iles, 2001.

Christian, Erwin. *Tahiti: Au gré du vent*. Bora Bora: Kea Editions, 2002.

Clausen, Henry C., and Bruce Lee. *Pearl Harbor: Final Judgement*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2001.

Clunie, Fergus, and Pauline Morse. *Birds of the Fiji Bush*. 2d ed. Suva: Fiji Museum, 1999.

Comeau, Rosalin Uphus. *'O Kamehameha V—Lot Kapuaiwa*. Honolulu: Hale Pa'io na Kula 'o Kamehameha, 1997.

Connell, John, and John Lea. *Urbanism in the Island Pacific: Towards Sustainable Development*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Cook, Chris. *Kaua'i in History: A Guide to the Resources*. Honolulu: State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, 2000.

Creed, Barbara, and Jeannette Hoorn, eds. *Body Trade: Captivity, Cannibalism, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Crowe, Ellie. *Exploring Lost Hawai'i: Places of the Power, History, Mystery, and Magic*. 'Aiea, Hawai'i: Island Heritage, 2001.

Davis, Lynn Ann, ed. *Photography in Hawaii*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2001. (*History of Photography*, vol. 25, no. 3)

De Deckker, Paul. *Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout (1797–1879): Ethnologue et consul*. Papeete: Au Vent des Iles, 1997.

De Quiros, Pedro Fernandez. *Histoire de la decouverte des regions australes: Iles Solomon, Marquises, Santa Cruz, Tuamotu, Cook du nord et Vanuatu*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001.

Defrance, Veronique, and Sabine Ollivier-Tecles, eds. *De sport en scores: L'epopée du sport en Nouvelle-Calédonie*. Nouméa: Musée de la Ville de Nouméa, 2000.

Deschamps, Emmanuel. *Boullaire: Catalogue raisonné de lóeuvre gravé et des estampes de Jacques Boullaire 1893–1976: 50 ans de gravure*. Moorea: Editions le Motu, 1999.

Dhont, Hadrien, et al. *South Pacific Phrasebook*. Hawthorn, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 1999.

Donohugh, Donald. *The Story of Koloa: A Kaua'i Plantation Town*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2001.

Drozdow-St. Christian, Douglass. *Elusive Fragments: Making Power, Propriety and Health in Samoa*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2001.

Duflos, Luc, ed. *Pilotes de Nouvelle-Calédonie = A Guide to Pilotage in New Caledonia*. Noumea: Syndicat Professionel des Pilotes Maritimes de Nouvelle-Calédonie, 2001.

Duyker, Edward. *Voyage to Australia and the Pacific, 1791–1793*. Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne U. Press, 2001.

Ellis, Gary Stephen. *History of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement: 1893–1993*. M.A. thesis, California State U., Dominquez Hills, 2000.

Estournes, Jean-Marc. *La case*. Noumea: Planète Mémo, 2001.

——. *Le nickel*. Noumea: Planète Mémo, 2001.

Fer, Yannick, and Gwendoline Malogne-Fer. *Tuaroi: Réflexions bibliques á Rapa: Conversion au christianisme et conservation identitaire en Polynésie Française*. Papeete: Haere Po No Tahiti, 2000.

Flood, Bo. *Marianas Islands Legends: Myths and Magic*. Honolulu: Bess Press, 2001.

Flynn, Dennis O., et al., eds. *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2001.

Forbes, David W. *Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780–1900*. Vol. 3, *1851–1880*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 2001.

Fox, Bettye Oliger. *Mark Twain's Visits to the Sandwich Islands: An Appointment with Dreams*. M.A. thesis, Texas Woman's U., 1996.

Freeman, Derek. *The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead: A Historical Analysis of Her Samoan Research*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.

Frimigacci, Daniel, and Bernard Vienne. *Wallis-Futuna: 3000 ans d'histoire*. Nouméa: Assoc. de la Jeunesse Wallisienne et Futunienne eu Nouvelle-Calédonie, 2001.

Gamela, Juan F., ed. *Drugs and Alcohol in the Pacific: New Consumption Trends and Their Consequences*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002.

Gannier, Alexandre. *Baleines et dauphins de Polynésie*. Papeete: Au Vent des Iles, 2001.

Garnaut, Ross, ed. *Resource Management in Asia Pacific Developing Countries*. Canberra, A.C.T.: Asia Pacific Press. 2002.

Gillison, David. *New Guinea Ceremonies*. New York: Harry Abrams, 2002.
Gotz-Koessler, Cecile, and Richard Allouch. *Polynesian Tattoos Past and Present*. Papeete: Pacific Promotion Tahiti, 1998.
Grant, Glen. *Obake Files: Ghostly Encounters in Supernatural Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1999.
Gravelle, Kim. *Romancing the Islands: Journeys in the South Pacific*. Suva: Graphics (Pacific) Ltd., 1997.
Grevor, Thomas A., and Donald Tuzin, eds. *Gender in Amazonia and Melanesia: An Exploration of the Comparative Method*. Berkeley: U. California Press, 2001.
Guiart, Rene. *Le feu sous la marmite: La crise néo-caledonienne vue de l'interieur*. Noumea: La Rocher-a-la-Voile, 2001.
Hackler, Rhoda E. A., ed. *Story of Scots in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Caledonian Society of Hawai'i, 2000.
Halualani, Rona Tamiko. *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics*. Minneapolis: U. Minnesota Press, 2002.
Hereniko, Vilsoni, and Teresia Teaiwa. *Last Virgin in Paradise: A Serious Comedy*. 2d ed. Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 2001.
Herle, Anita, ed. *Pacific Art: Persistence, Change, and Meaning*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 2002.
Hezel, Francis Xavier. *From Conquest to Colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands, 1690 to 1740*. 2d ed. Saipan: Div. of Historical Preservation, 2000.
Na Himeni o ka Ekalesia. Honolulu: Hawai'i Conference, United Church of Christ, 1999.
Hong, Seok Dae. *Early Korean Immigrants in Hawaii: A Study of Social Mobility*. M.A. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 2001.
Ili, Russel K. *From Past to Present, Kahuna La'au Lapa'au: Hawaiian Herbal Healers*. M.A. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 2000.
Ineich, Ivan, and Pierre Laboute. *Les serpents marins de Nouvelle-Calédonie = Sea Snakes of New Caledonia*. Paris: IRD Editions, 2002.
Jackson, Miles M. *And They Came: A Brief History and Annotated Bibliography of Blacks in Hawaii*. Durham, N.C.: Four-G Publishers, 2001.
Jahan, Chrystelle. *Le temps d'un Heiva*. Papeete: Au Vent des Iles, 2001.
Jeudy-Ballini, Monique, and Bernard Juillerat. *People and Things: Social Mediations in Oceania*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2001.
Jones, Wilbur D. *Hawaii Goes to War: The Aftermath of Pearl Harbor*. Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Books, 2001.
Jung, Moon-Kie. *The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Working Class*. Ph.D. thesis, U. Michigan, 2000.
Jusserand, Nicole, et al., eds. *Guides iles de la Societe et Tahiti, Polynésie*. Paris: Guides Gallimard, 1999.
Kaluaikoolau, Piilani. *The True Story of Kaluaikoolau* [*Moolelo oiaio o Kaluaikoolau*]. Lihue: Kaua'i Historical Society, 2001. (English and Hawaiian).
Kamehiro, Stacy L. *Monarchs, Monuments and Museums: Public Art, National Culture, and the Reign of King Kalakaua in Late 19th Century Hawaii*. Ph.D. thesis, U. California, Los Angeles, 2000.
Kauraka, Kauraka. *Taku Akatauira: My Dawning Star*. Suva: Mana Publications, 1999.
Kelly, John Dunham, and Martha Kaplan. *Representing Communities: Fiji and World Decolonialization*. Chicago: U. Chicago Press, 2001.
Kelly, Marion, *Loko I'a o He'eia = He'eia Fishpond*. 2d ed. Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 2000.

Kjellgren, Eric. *Splendid Isolation: Art of Easter Island*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.

Klein, Fred W., and Thomas L. Wright. *Catalog of Hawaiian Earthquakes 1823–1959*. U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper 1623. Washington: G.P.O., 2000.

Klieger, P. Christian. *Moku'ula: Maui's Sacred Island*. Honolulu: Bishop Museaum Press, 1998.

Knauft, Bruce M. *Exchanging the Past: Rainforest World of Before and After*. Chicago: U. Chicago Press, 2002.

Kneubuhl, Victoria Nalani. *Ali'iōlani Hale, a Sentinel in Time: A History of the Events in the Life of Hawai'i's Historic Judiciary Building*. Honolulu: Judiciary History Center, 2000.

Kraemer, Kelly Rae. *Shall We Overcome? Politics of Allies in the Hawaiian Sovereignty, Civil Rights, and Women's Movement*. Ph.D. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 2000.

Kualapai, Lydia K. *Cast in Print: The Nineteenth-Century Hawaiian Imaginary*. Ph.D. thesis, U. Nebraska, 2001.

Kupau, Summer. *Exploring Historic Lahaina*. Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2001.

Lacoutre, Jean, and Gian Paolo Barbieri. *Tahiti sylvain*. Cologne: Taschen, 2001.

Lal, Brij V. *Mr Tulsi's Store: A Fijian Journey*. Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2001.

Lal, Brij V., and Peter Hempenstall, eds. *Pacific Lives, Pacific Places: Bursting Boundaries in Pacific History*. Canberra: Journal of Pacific History, 2001.

Logan, Leanne, and Geert Cole. *New Caledonia*. Melbourne: Lonely Planet, 2001.

Luangphinith, Seri Inthava Kau'ikealaula. *Reading the Literature of Hawaii*. Ph.D. thesis, U. Oregon, 2000.

Lummis, Trevor. *Life and Death in Eden: Pitcairn Island and the Bounty Mutineers*. London: Phoenix, 2000.

Lynch, John Dominic, and Terry Crowley. *Languages of Vanuatu: A New Survey and Bibliography*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Australian National U., 2001.

Na Maka Hou: New Visions—Contemporary Native Hawaiian Art. Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 2001.

Mallon, Sean, and Pandora Fulimalo Pereira, eds. *Speaking in Colour: Conversations with Artists of Pacific Island Heritage*. Wellington: Te Papa Press, 1997.

Maning, Frederick Edward. *Old New Zealand and Other Writings*. London: Leicester U. Press, 2001. (Reprint of 1876 ed.)

Mariotti, Jean. *Nouvelle-Caledonie: Le livre du centenaire, 1853–1953*. Noumea: Assn. pour l'Edition des Couvres de Jean Mariotti, 2001.

Marquant, Jean-Pierre. *Le coureur d'atolls*. Papeete: Au Vent des Iles, 2001.

The Marshall Islands: Living Atolls Amidst the Living Sea. Santa Clarita, Calif.: St. Hildegard Publishing, 2000.

Matenga-Smith, Taiora. *Cook Islands Cook Book*. Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1998.

May, Ronald James. *State and Society in Papua New Guinea: The First Twenty-Five Years*. Hindmarsh, S.A.: Crawford House Publishing, 2001.

McDermott, Matthew J. *The Historical Ecology of Coastal Kihei District of Kula, Maui*. M.A. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 2001.

McLean, Mervyn. *Weavers of Song: Polynesian Music and Dance*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 1999.

Na Mele Aimoku, na Mele Kupuna, a me Na Mele Ponoi o ka Kalakaua I: Dynastic Chants, Ancestral Chants, and Personal Chants of King Kalakaua I. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 2001.

Merle, Isabelle. *Experiences colonials la Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1853–1920*. Paris: Editions Belin, 2001.

Millaud, Hiriata, and Martine Rattinassamy, eds. *Porapora i te Fanau Tahi: Mille ans de memoire*. Papeete: Ministère de la Culture de Polynésie Française, 2001.

Montillier, Natea, ed. *Natira'a: Le tressage, un lien entre passé et present*. Papeete: Musée de Tahiti et des Iles, 2000.

Morgan, Michelle Mahealani Klein. *Kula a me Hana, School and Work: Vocational Education in Hawaii's Public Schools, 1920–1941*. M.A. thesis, U. Wisconsin, Madison, 2000.

Muller, Kal. *Indonesian New Guinea: West Papua/Irian Jaya*. Boston: Periplus, 2001.

Mulvaney, Derek John, and Johan Kamminga. *Prehistory of Australia*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Inst. Press, 1999.

Murie, Norbert. *De plus loin que Tahiti*. Paris: Le Sémaphore, 2000.

Najita, Susan Yukie. *Pacific Literature as Local Oppositions: Trauma, Magic Realism, and History*. Ph.D. thesis, U. California, Santa Barbara, 2001.

Nandan, Satendra. *Fiji: Paradise in Pieces*. Adelaide: Flinders U., 2000.

Nason, Dougals A. *Night of the Tiki: The Art of Shag, Schmaltz and Selected Primitive Oceanic Carvings*. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2001.

Nimmo, William F. *Stars and Stripes Across the Pacific: The United States, Japan, and Asia/Pacific Region, 1895–1945*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001.

No Te Parau Tia, No Te Parau Mau, No Te Tiamaraa = For Justice, Truth, and Independence. Suva: P.C.R.C., 2000.

Ottino-Garanger, Pierre. *Te patu tiki: Le tatouage aux iles Marquises*. Papeete: Editions Didier Millet, 1998.

Papali'i, Aumau Mata'itusi Simanu. *'O Si Manu a Ali'i: Polokalame o le Gagana Samoa*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Patterson, John. *People of the Land: A Pacific Philosophy*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 2000.

Pelta, Kathy. *Rediscovering Easter Island*. Minneapolis: Lerner, 2001.

Peltzer, Louise. *Chronologie des evenements: Politiques, sociaux et culturels de Tahiti et des archipels de la Polynesie Francaise*. Papeete: Au Vent des Iles, 2002.

Piercy, LaRue W. *Hawaii's Missionary Saga: Sacrifice and Godliness in Paradise*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1998.

Pistoll, Lynn. *Moruroa Blues*. Bradford-on-Avon, Eng.: Thomas Reed Publications, 2001.

Pitts, Maxine. *Crime, Corruption and Capacity in Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 2002.

A Political Chronology of South-East Asia and Oceania. London: Europa, 2001.

Rabon, Francisco B. *Pa'a Taotao Tano': A Way of Life, People of the Land—Chamorro Chants and Dances of Guam*. Hagatna: Irensia Publishing, 2001.

Rauzon, Mark J. *Isles of Refuge: Wildlife and History of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 2001.

Reed, A. W., and Inez Hames. *Myths and Legends of Fiji and Rotuma*. Auckland: Reed Publishing, 1997.

Richardson, Brian W. *From Longitude to Empire: The Articulation of Place in the Voyages of Captain Cook*. Ph.D. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 2001.

Richaud, Vahi Sylvia, ed. *Code des lois/écriture*. Cahiers du patrimoine, Histoire 4. Papeete: Ministère de la Culture de Polynésie Française, 2001.

Riseborough, Hazel. *Days of Darkness: Taranaki, 1878–1884*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2002.

Ryan, Tim, and Bill Parham. *The Colonial New Zealand Wars*. Wellington: Grantham House, 2002.

Samson, Jane. *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Sand, Christophe. *Uvea: Le prehistoire de Wallis, Ile de la Polynesie Occidentale*. Noumea: Editions Grain de Sable, 1989.

Saquet, Jean-Louis. *Te fare: architecture tropicale de Tahiti*. 2d ed. Papeete: Au Vent des Iles, 2001.

Saura, Bruno, and Hiriata Millaud, eds. *Histoire et traditions de Huahine et Pora Pora: Puta Tumu*. Papeete: Ministère de la Culture de Polynésie Française, 2000.

Schuster, Donald R., et al., eds. *Leadership in the Pacific Islands: Traditions and the Future*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National U., 1998.

Seiden, Allan. *From Fishponds to Warships: Pearl Harbor, a Complete Illustrated History*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2001.

——. *Waikiki: Magic Beside the Sea*. Waipahu, Hawai'i: Island Heritage, 2001.

Seruvakula, Semi B. *Bula Vaka Vanua*. Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 2000.

Sinclair, Karen. *Prophetic Histories: The People of Maramatanga*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Smith, Michael French. *Village on the Edge: Changing Times in Papua New Guinea*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Steiner, Keith. *Hawaii's Early Territorial Days, 1900–1915*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2001.

Stewart, Richard. *Leper Priest of Molokai*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Strathern, Andrew, et al. *Oceania: An Introduction to the Cultures and Identities of Pacific Islanders*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2002.

Stuart, Kristy Noel. *The Development of the Mo'olelo (Myth): A Native Hawaiian Story, Ritual, and Dance*. M.A. thesis, San Jose State U., 2000.

Sutherland, William, and Robbie Robertson. *The Unfinished Business of Fiji's Coup*. Annadale, N.S.W.: Pluto Press, 2001.

Talu, Sister Alaima. *Kiribati: Aspects of History*. Suva: U. South Pacific, 1998.

Tcherkezoff, Serge. *Le mythe occidental de la sexualite Polynesienne: Margaret Mead, Derek Freeman et Samoa*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001.

Te Reo o te Tuamoto—Tuamoto te kaiga: Langues et cultures. Papeete: Editions Haere Po No Tahiti, 2001.

Tematahotoa, Llewelyn, and Teura Iriti, eds. *Polynesian Weaving–Te Rara'a: Le tressage Polynesien*. Papeete: Ministiere de l'Economie et de l'Artisanant, 2000.

Ten Bruggencate, Jan. *Hawaii, Land of Volcanoes*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1999.

Tobin, Jack A. *Stories from the Marshall Islands: Bwebwenato Jan Aelon Kein*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Tryon, Darrell, ed. *Pacific Identities = Les identities de Pacifique*. Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2000.

Van der Vat, Dan. *Pearl Harbor: The Day of Infamy, an Illustrated History*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Vieillard, E., and E. Deplanche. *Essai sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001.

Walker, Taaria. *Rurutu: Mémoires dávenir dúne ile Australe*. Papeete: Haere Po No Tahiti, 1999.

Wels, Susan. *Pearl Harbor: December 7, 1941, America's Darkest Day*. 3d ed. San Diego: Time-Life Books, 2001.

White, Ellen Emerson. *Kaiulani: The People's Princess*. New York: Scholastic, 2001.

Willens, Howard P., and Deanne C. Siemer. *National Security and Self-determination: United States Policy in Micronesia (1961–1972)*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000.

Williams, Mark R. *In Search of Lemuria: The Lost Pacific Continent in Legend, Myth, and Imagination*. San Mateo, Calif.: Golden Era Books, 2001.

Winduo, Steven Edmund. *Hembemba: Rivers of the Forest*. Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 2000.

Wong, Steven Y. C. *Exogamous and Homogamous Patterns of Marriage and Divorce Among Nine Racial/Ethnic Groups in Hawaii, 1989–1996*. Ph.D. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 2001.

Young, Michael W. *An Anthropologist in Papua: The Photography of F. E. Williams*. Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 2001.

CONTRIBUTORS

Laurence M. Carucci, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Montana State University, Bozeman, MT 59717-2380 US. Fax: (406) 994-6879. E-mail: lamaca@montana.edu

R. Daniel Shaw, Fuller Graduate School of Intercultural Studies, 135 N. Oakland Ave., Pasadena, CA 91182 US. Fax: (626) 584-5073. E-mail: danshaw@fuller.edu

Anthony van Fossen, School of Arts, Media and Culture, Griffith University, Nathan, QLD 4111, Australia. Fax: (61-7) 3875-7730. E-mail: a.vanfossen@griffith.edu.au

Deborah Van Heekeren, School of Humanities, University of Newcastle, Central Coast Campus, PO Box 127, Ourimbah, NSW 2258 Australia. E-mail: dunndamp@ozemail.com.au