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IN PALAU.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1960  
Anthropology

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COMPETITION IN PALAU

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of the Ohio State University

By

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\*\*\*\*\*

The Ohio State University

1960

Approved by

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Leo A. Estel", written in a cursive style.

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## PREFACE

That part of Micronesia which is the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and is administered by the Department of Interior, United States Government, is sub-divided into six districts: Ponape, Truk, Rota, Yap, Palau, and the Marshalls. It has been the writer's rewarding experience to be stationed, as District Anthropologist with the American administration, in the Palau District for the two years preceding the writing of this study.

The pressing function of the District Anthropologist, as I experienced it, is the interpretation of on-the-spot situations in the interaction of the American administration and the Palauan people. The position does not lend itself easily to basic studies of the society. However, the writer was enabled, or rather assigned, to undertake a number of studies both by the Office of the High Commissioner at Guam, and by the District Administration. The former assignments were, for the most part, in conjunction with the Trust Territory Government's publication, Anthropological Working Papers, and covered topics such as "naming practices" and "taro cultivation." Local district assignments covered, among others, "adoption practices" and "the traditional village club."

Largely through the research undertaken toward the last named study, the writer assembled the materials for the following presentation, and arrived at the conviction that the topic of competition

in Palau deserved specific study. This conviction rests on theoretical and practical bases. The social significance of interpersonal and intergroup competition, it seems to the writer, has been underplayed to the point that an image of "spontaneous cooperation" colors much of our thinking about primitive societies. From the practical point of view, in so far as this image is expressed in the approach of the administrator in a society such as Palau, it can be quite misleading. Perhaps the need to attend to competitive forms is restricted to Palauan society, or to the general cultural area. Certainly many of the specific forms which competitive behavior has taken in Palau are distinctive. The wider, theoretical value of this study, then, would be in pointing out discrepancies in any simple, or single image of primitive society.

The materials on traditional structure derive from interviews with Palauan elders, generally fifty to sixty years of age, of villages throughout Palau. The descriptions of the contemporary scene derive from observation and interviews on a wide range of topics with Palauans of all ages. Interviewing with the elder group was conducted through a mature Palauan, with whom the writer talked in fluent Japanese. The writer's knowledge of Palauan language is, of course, limited and specialized largely to a vocabulary of terms depicting social patterns.

The study is intended to be descriptive first, and only incidentally analytic. The process of depicting competition in the traditional society can be descriptive since competition is expressed

in formalized segmentation. In the contemporary scene with the traditional structures no longer in clear focus the presence of competition is, necessarily, a deduction based on described, but not necessarily overt or formalized, behaviors.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The foremost expression of thanks, in an anthropological field study, must go to those various persons, anonymously named as "sources," who shared their time and information to make possible the study.

Particularly helpful in directing the writer's attention to significant aspects of Palauan culture was Mr. Francis B. Mahoney, District Administrator in Palau and himself a Chicago University trained anthropologist. The helpful guidance of Dr. Leo Estel of Ohio State University in the presentation of this study as a dissertation is acknowledged.

Appreciation is felt for the fact that the Trust Territory Government, in defining the position of District Anthropologist, has written his duties broad enough to encompass not only those matters of immediate concern to the Administration, but also those of basic concern to the serious student of Micronesian society. This appreciation is particularly directed to Mr. John deYoung, Staff Anthropologist with the Office of the High Commissioner, who has stressed the importance of basic research and has expressed particular interest in the present study.

The anthropologist's staff in Palau consisted of Mr. Adalbert Obak and, for nine months, the dedicated service of Mr. Masaaki

Emesiochl. Mr. Obak is a man with tremendous personal knowledge about his society, but with the modesty to insist that his information always be checked with an older or more specialized authority. Mr. Emesiochl is a devoted young man who, judging by his diligence, will one day be recognized as a foremost authority on Palau. To both of these fine men, my sincere thanks.

Appreciation is hardly the word for the affection that is mingled with my thanks to my wife who chose to enjoy life in Palau and who has had the chore of poring over my rough drafts and typing this manuscript.

To the Administrative Staff in Palau, as a whole, for their tolerance of the writer in his first professional position as an anthropologist, and for their friendship, assistance, and cooperation in the conduct of his various duties: -- "Kmal mesaol!"

R. K. M.

Ohio State University  
Columbus, Ohio  
October, 1960.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Palaus, stretching some hundred miles from southernmost Angaur island to the northern atoll of Kayangel, and located about five hundred miles east of the Philippines, occupy a southwest position among the Western Carolines of Micronesia.

A feature of the Palau group of Pacific islands is variety in physical milieu. Among the major inhabited islands Angaur and Peleliu, in the south, are low islands; the first partially surrounded by a narrow fringing reef, the second situated on the southern tip of the barrier reef that circles sixty odd miles north to surround the central island group. Angaur and Peleliu are, for the most part, pancake flat with phosphate enriched soil.

Moving north from Peleliu, within the barrier reef, are the limestone Rock Islands that reach suddenly out of the deep lagoon to be carpeted with clinging tropical verdure. At the northern fringe of the Rock Islands, some thirty miles from Peleliu, are the mixed islands of Koror, Malakal, and Arakabesang: part limestone, part red clay, and part volcanic black stone. Associated with the second (Malakal) is a protected deep harbor and the established port of the islands. Koror is the administrative District Center of the Palau group.

Across a short, deep channel from Koror is the large (150 sq. mile) island of Babelthaup, some thirty miles long and eight miles wide, with a central elevation of 800 feet. On its western shore Babelthaup faces a wide lagoon with the barrier reef just visible on the horizon; on the east coast the barrier reef often closes in to provide a fringing tidal shelf reaching away from the mangrove-lined shore. Except for a few Rock Islands in the southeast corner, Babelthaup is "aluminum" -- in the form of low-grade bauxite over the elevated portion and with deposits of clay pocketed throughout lower areas. Over the entire island balding, grassy hills, with scattered pandanus groves, dip down to narrow, jungle-lined stream canyons. Small valleys near the coast, artificially leveled and widened, provide the marshy agricultural acreage with prestigious crops of taro.

North of Babelthaup are two or three very small low islands and a complicated reef stretching twenty miles to the circular atoll formation of Kayangel. Geographically, one can almost declare, if it can be found in the South Pacific, it can be found in Palau.

Diversity is also expressed in the physical appearance of the population, now reaching toward 10,000 persons. Skin color ranges through all shades of brown. Hair, black to melanin toned auburn, may be straight, curly, or tightly coiled in a form that Palauans call "Papuan." General body stature varies with a scattering of heavy boned and fleshy "Polynesian"; a sizable portion of slight framed and softly lined "Malayan"; and with a slight predominance

of short and rather angular "Melanesian." While some islands have "captured" a particular physical type (e.g., a nearby Sonsorol islander with his broadened "Roman nose" can be spotted in a Palauan crowd), the influx of variety in Palau appears to have been sufficiently steady and the survivors of the long ocean voyages sufficiently preserved that variation is the outstanding fact. It has continued into the present with "Mongolian" via Japanese residents between the world wars, and a scattering of "Caucasian" since World War II. On the whole this variation in physical features is the rule throughout the populated areas of Palau.

Traditional Palauan culture is not so very different. It forms a conglomerate of aspects of Melanesia, the Philippines, and the more eastern South Pacific islands. For example, when a man died a violent death in Palau one might have expected a number of possible social reactions. As in the Philippines and parts of New Guinea, revenge might have fomented a head-hunt; as in the Philippines, among the users of heirloom currency or in Yap with its stone and pearl shell money, a wergild by the offender's group might have sufficed; as among the Maori, the family of the deceased might have had their house attacked and plundered. (In fact the word murū, designating this custom among the Maori, occurs in both languages with the general meaning "to pilfer" or "pick up.")<sup>1</sup> The German

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick E. Maning, "Complementary Robbery Among the Maori," A Pakeha Maori: Old New Zealand, a Tale of Good Old Times, London:

ethnologist Semper, in Palau during the 1870's, suggests Japanese and Chinese cultural influences as well.<sup>2</sup>

However, the accumulated aspects formed a pattern that was distinctly Palauan and there is only minor variation in the traditional culture throughout the island group (e.g., when the young mother, after her first baby, performs the lustration ritual, she displays herself in prominence near her parents' home in a custom followed throughout Palau. In most locations the stone platform running the length of the traditional house is a stage for this display but in Angaur a special platform, reputedly as high as ten feet, is constructed for this purpose).

Unlike many other Pacific islanders, the Palauans do not describe an origin in their myths, or even openly hint at one, outside of Palau. Lineages in many clans do just this; that is, they emerge from an ancestor of known origin in the Philippines, or in Yap, or Melanesia. But this knowledge is part of the private clan or lineage history and is not publicized. The people, their clan bodies, and their customs, for the most part, "originated" in Palau. Uab, a giant land-child of a fish goddess, was reared in Angaur and his fallen body became the other islands of Palau. The people emerged

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Bentley and Son, 1876. From a portion reproduced in Primitive Heritage, M. Mead and N. Calas (eds), New York: Random House, 1953, pp. 302-307.

<sup>2</sup> C. Semper, "Uber die Palausprache," Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft fur Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, May 1871, pp. 63-66.

from the body, and in the time of the gods various dieties produced the accessories -- the trees, the sun, the moon -- various culture heroes brought knowledge and established customs. Political tradition, for example, was established by a culture hero or demigod with a human head and a snake body who, following a tour of the islands, instructed the assembled Palauan elders at Peleliu.

Moreover, Palau was a "universe" that ended somewhere beyond the reef. And the two semistates of Palau were called hemispheres or, more literally, side-heavens. While knowledgeable about the greater universe, contemporary Palauans -- depending on their age, education, and religion -- take an "intellectual" interest either in the native descriptions of origin, or in the evidence that Palauan customs have been introduced from elsewhere.

What has been observed for culture in general pertains to the major areas upon which this study will concentrate. Many of the formal features of competitive social interaction, along with other aspects of the general structure of the society, are similarly provided with a description of origin in Palau. However, a preoccupation with competition and its social manipulation or control is not isolated to Palau itself. In fact, a preoccupation with competition would appear to be a feature common to many societies throughout Micronesia. First, however, what is meant by competition in this study and what are some of the implications for a general description of competition in a society such as Palau?

### Psychology, Structure, and Competition

Competition, in this study, is taken to refer to a variety of social interaction that has its genesis in psychological motivations such as a press for prestige, recognition, power, and possession. In general a description of a social group in terms of its competitive content concerns social bonds that are binding in some sense other than simply affiliative.

Competitive relationships, additionally, suggest the presence of interpersonal or interfactional distrust or hostility, and the need for some social technique for the control of aggression: individual against individual or group against group. There are individual as well as cultural differences in techniques for the control of aggression, but in a relatively stable social system patterns of expression of aggression tend to find meaning and perhaps functional utility within the larger framework of culture. To inverse the relationship, the focus or direction of aggression is provided in some degree with definition through culturally determined patterns of competition and, to the extent that this is so, the character of competition in the social group can be portrayed through a description of the relevant social structure.

Thus competition is one possible manifestation of individual aggression and the term implies structured relations that are manifest in bonds among individuals within a group joined in strength, as well as rules or social mores between individuals and groups that interact in social opposition.

Some effort has been made in this writing to distinguish between competition and conflict by reserving the latter term for instances of social opposition in which the formal structuring of relations between the individuals or groups involved is absent or particularly weak. This is not entirely a successful distinction, however, since some instances of social opposition may be viewed as "conflict" by the common participants, but as "controlled competition" by the leaders of opposing sides.

Moreover, in the contemporary period of social change in Palau, it is problematic whether the breakdown of many social mores or structures concerned with competition should lead one to refer to some contemporary patterns of social opposition among the individuals and groups as "competition" or "conflict." An analogy would be a competitive sport which in one instance is played according to rules as contrasted with a second instance in which the rules are abused or more or less disregarded. In the latter instance, the rules no longer define what is occurring between the opposed teams and the analysis must rely on individual or group-psychological factors. The topic of competition in a changing society, therefore, can lead to discussions concerned with the structure of the society in which it occurs as well as to ideological and psychological descriptions of the peoples involved. Each of these topics is evident in some degree in those studies that deal with competition in various Pacific island societies.



### Competition in Micronesia

Robert Murphy, in a study of the landbound Mundurucu Indians of Brazil, has indicated that in this society, with considerable internal factionalism, warfare against neighboring groups served to coalesce the competing factions, and that among aboriginal peoples a typical image of the universe divided it into the people and their enemies.<sup>3</sup>

In Micronesia, Yap and Truk subordinated many neighboring islands through military campaigns, and the lore of tiny Tobi island recounts occasional raids on coastal villages of Melanesia. However, the capability to direct aggression against an alien group was not always a ready feature of Pacific island life. Rather the cultural press seemed to be to absorb conflict within the narrow physical confines of an island or small island group. This geographic limitation, however, does not appear to have imposed severe restrictions on how this adaptation was accomplished.

A comparative study of competition and its control would be an interesting addition to the area studies of Micronesia. Here we can point to some of the patterns suggested by existing literature.

In Ponape the island area is divided into five semistates and in earlier eras competition within each was, in some degree,

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<sup>3</sup> Robert F. Murphy, "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion," American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 6, 1957, pp. 1018-1035.

controlled through the direction of aggression against one or another of the other four semistates. On a narrower scope, however, inter-lineage competition in the Ponapean sib is intense and is focused upon the production of food, particularly the cultivation of prize yams.<sup>4</sup> Fischer translates this competitive focus into its individual as well as its positive productive effect:

The result may be described as an each-against-all conflict in which the ambitious men in a lineage are covertly competing with each other for the labor and food supply of the lineage. This pressure tends to result in an abundance of food and hard work for all.<sup>5</sup>

The press, in Ponapean competition, is upward along a line of titles of increasing prestige within the various sib organizations, but this press is diffused in a lateral direction through the comparative ability of individuals to gain prestige by the provision of foods and particularly large yams at a time of feasting.

The larger the yams that a man can grow and the greater frequency with which he can contribute them to the traditional feasts, the faster he<sup>6</sup> can be expected to move up in the title system.

The comparative feature in Fischer's article relates to the fact that competition in Ponape while having as an end product the

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<sup>4</sup> See Frank Mahony and Pencile Lawrence, "Yam Cultivation in Ponape," Anthropological Working Papers, Number 4, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, May 1959, pp. 2-13.

<sup>5</sup> J. L. Fischer, "Totemism on Truk and Ponape," American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 2, April 1957, p. 254.

<sup>6</sup> Frank Mahony, op. cit., p. 2.

mobility of the individual in a vertical direction is laterally dispersed so that peer competes with peer or lineage against lineage. In Truk, on the other hand, Fischer notes that there is little attention to individual achievement within peer groups and little intralineage conflict -- food, for example, is produced for subsistence reasons and is quite willingly shared within and outside of the lineage group. In Truk chronological age is the more important index of prestige and access to power, and Fischer notes that relations between young and old imply "special sociopsychological conflicts." Totemism enters the scene as a sib-wide or sometimes lineage bond in Ponape, welding the competing factions together in the rituals of prohibitions and bonds of common ancestry. In Truk totemism is associated with the possession of esoteric knowledge in medicine and magic which elders pass on, ideally, to their sisters' sons.

Thus Fischer observes on Truk:

... with young adults in Truk there is not simply an absence of competitive pressures to produce: they are hardly expected even to pull their own weight. Trukese have traditionally taken the attitude that youth ... is a time of relative irresponsibility when individuals are naturally preoccupied with romantic affairs. They seem to feel that it is both unrealistic and unkind to demand too much work from persons at this stage of life.

.....  
As the people grow feeble, they use their control of certain property to insure that their juniors will take care of them. . . . If their juniors fail to care for them adequately, the

elders may transfer some of the lineage land to outsiders who have proved more thoughtful. Similarly, the esoteric lore may be taught to nonrelatives who are willing to pay for it with food, valuables, and services.<sup>7</sup>

This is not to imply that there were no other social controls concerned with competition and conflict in Truk culture beyond the rewards of elders for good behavior. We observed earlier that Truk maintained military supremacy over certain neighboring islands and the importance of these aggressive expeditions in earlier eras as a cohesive force in Trukese society cannot be overlooked. Moreover, following up a suggestion in the preceding quotation, we can look in more detail at the nature of "romantic affairs" among the restless youth of some Truk islands.

On Romanum island, in the Truk group, Swartz depicts the apparent sublimation of aggression, as a cultural phenomenon, to the sexual and competitive pursuit of the sweetheart. Of love between the sexes, Swartz writes:

. . . the spouse relationship, while allowing greater freedom of behavior than any other kin relationship, severely restricts the expression of aggression. This restriction results from it being a part of a larger system of social and economic relations which would be endangered by uninhibited behavior, particularly aggressive behavior.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Fischer, op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>8</sup> Marc J. Swartz, "Sexuality and Aggression on Romanum, Truk," American Anthropologist, Vol. 60, No. 3, 1958, p. 475.

In Romonum, as elsewhere in Micronesia, this restraint between spouses involves a formality between the participants that inhibits their companionship, conversation, and sexual enjoyments. The female in a spouse relationship very quickly loses her attraction as a sexual target for her husband, though she may be attractive to other males in the society. The point, as Swartz views it, with regard to competition and the expression of aggression on Romonum is as follows:

Despite the different ways in which men and women express their aggression, the sweet-heart complex offers both sexes channels for the expression of aggression which are not available in any other regular relationship.<sup>9</sup>

If aggression finds a particular channel of expression in the competitive pursuit of lovers on the small island of Romonum, it takes quite a different emphasis on Ifaluk (though the two expressive patterns are not necessarily mutually exclusive).

Spiro, in his interesting account of life on Ifaluk, describes an almost total absence of aggressive interaction among the living residents of this small island of the Woleai group. This is particularly intriguing since, as Spiro relates, the people of Ifaluk can be characterized (via their religion, mythology, dream content, art, non-institutionalized behavior patterns, and projective tests) as having "a substantial amount of aggressive drive."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 485

<sup>10</sup> Melford E. Spiro, "Ghosts, Ifaluk, and Teleological Functionalism," American Anthropologist, Vol. 54, No. 4, 1952, pp. 497-503.

Spiro, in this account, continues with a discussion of Ifaluk's malevolent ghosts, the alusengau, and reports:

The alus . . . are feared and hated; and this hatred is expressed in conversation, dreams, and fantasies, as well as in overt behavior patterns of public exorcism, ritual, and ceremony, whose purpose is to drive off the alus and to destroy them. Thus, though the intrinsically hated qualities of the alus are sufficient to arouse aggressive responses, the belief in their existence allows the individual to displace his other aggressions onto the alus, since all the hatred and hostility which is denied expression in interpersonal relationships can be directed against these evil ghosts.<sup>11</sup>

While the functional relationship between the alus and interpersonal relations on Ifaluk is not an articulate aspect of the islanders' self-knowledge, the risk of unrestrained aggression very definitely is -- as it often is on other small islands in Micronesia.

On the islands of Sonsorol and Tobi (and including the former populations of Pulo Ana and Merir in the same vicinity) which lie southwest of the Palau group, there is no study in which the topic of competition receives specific attention. We have already mentioned the possibility that the Tobi islanders in former eras undertook military expeditions to Melanesia which served, according to some elders, as a life-crisis event to introduce the young men of the society to full status as warriors. But if these occurred at all, they were apparently quite infrequent and would not

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 499.

appear to have been the only or main controlling factor in conflict on this or other islands in this immediate area.

In the limited interviewing that the writer was able to undertake on these islands, a few items stand out in particular relative to competition. First, certain comments by Tobian informants suggest that intersexual relations in earlier eras resembled those on Romonum island described by Swartz, and the work habits of young people are reminiscent of the situation ascribed to Trukese by Fischer.<sup>12</sup> Aside from these two items, there existed in these little islands a highly competitive dance ritual in which opposing teams would enact and chant accusations of social deviation or crime among members of the other team. The presiding elders would announce the winning dance team and, simultaneously, pronounce a sentence of shame upon those accused of misbehaviors among the losing team. According to elder sources, this "dancing court" effectively eliminated social conflict among the islanders -- or at least forced competitive aggression under cover. Where intolerable breaches within the community did occur, incidentally, the possibility existed of putting offenders adrift in a canoe.

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<sup>12</sup> Since these islanders claim an origin in the Woleai area, a similar response pattern to the problem of containing aggression might be expected. It is of interest, in view of the problem of inheritance of title and prestige described for Ponape and Truk by Fischer, that in Sonsorol and the other islands of this southwest area, the inheritance of the title of island chief (Tamol) passes from father to son -- but, since the son belongs to the clan of his mother, the title passes from clan to clan with each passing generation.

Without going on to speculate about competition in the Marshall island area and in Yap, in the absence of comparable literature, it would be apparent from this brief review that the problem of competition is relevant to the Pacific island environment, and that special social techniques for its control existed in many island communities. The studies reviewed are not, strictly speaking, given to cross-comparisons of competition in the various settings since none of the authors consciously tried to structure his article in order to provide parallel data.<sup>13</sup>

Outside of the immediate Micronesian area, the kula and kune trading rings of the Trobriand islanders and their neighbors may be brought to mind as a competitive device, as well as military

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<sup>13</sup> An interesting feature is that the articles reviewed do constitute the majority of those concerned with the Micronesian area that have appeared in the American Anthropologist in the last ten years, and each is in some way particularly concerned with competition. Two other articles are by Frank Mahony ("The Innovation of a Savings System in Truk," American Anthropologist, Vol. 63, No. 3, 1960, pp. 465-482), and David M. Schneider ("Political Organization, Supernatural Sanctions and the Punishment for Incest on Yap," American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 5, 1957, pp. 791-800). It may be significant that Mahony describes a competitive pattern between a man and his sister's husband, which he points to as a focus of economic competition in that society. Also Schneider observes on Yap the punishment of certain incest violations by supernatural spirits, in an arrangement reminiscent of the Ifaluk system. Another article by Fischer ("Avunculocal Residence on Losap," American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No. 5, 1955, pp. 1025-1032), while not concerned with competition, does suggest the disparity in cultural patterns that may be found among islands of the same general region, and the importance of intensive island-by-island investigations.



expeditions against neighboring groups. In fact, Malinowski's view of culture is heavily engraved with his preoccupation with competitive forms and competition in Melanesian societies.<sup>14</sup>

If a Palauan elder were asked to list the primary focuses of conflict or competition in aboriginal Palauan society, I believe he would mention intervillage warfare, competitive sports in the village clubs, and political competition among members of a clan for titles. But this would hardly exhaust the list of competitive arenas in Palauan society, and the outstanding feature might simply be the proliferation of recognized channels for the expression of competitive aggression.

While a number of institutions in Palauan society were instrumental in channeling conflict toward goals desired by the leadership, particularly in war and economic productivity, few can be listed which served to limit or reduce competition -- or to produce a docile social individual (such as noted for Ifaluk and Romonum). Rather the Palauan appears to have been nurtured in the expression of competitive aggression, and the composition of Palauan institutions suggests a capitalization on this energy toward the accomplishment of acceptable social objectives.

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<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Crime and Custom in Savage Society (New York: The Humanities Press, Inc., 1951) in which closely kept accounts of reciprocal obligations in a competitive social system become the key to his generalizations on culture; also note the importance of warfare as a cohesive force in Africa in The Dynamics of Cultural Change (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954, Chapter 8, "Africal Warfare").

## CHAPTER I

### COMPETITION AS A THEME

The present study is undertaken to portray the competitive theme in Palauan society; as it existed in the fabric of traditional Palauan culture; as it was controlled in the interests of social stability; as it was engineered toward productive ends; and as it pervades the society and person in contemporary Palau. The competitive struggle for recognition, political power, and wealth is so general an aspect of Palauan daily life that patterned examples can be drawn from all walks.

The division of Palau into halves, the two halves of the Palauan universe, that were traditionally in a state of feud or conflict connotes the theme of this dissertation at a broad political level. Potlatch-like exchanges of goods, services, and money between intimate friends may be given as illustrative of the competitive theme at another level in the economic sphere. Significantly both patterns existed, and continue to exist in some degree, with an admixture of calculated engineering and real sentiment: animosity in the first instance, genuine friendship in the second. Controlled conflict, in a realistic arena, is a characteristic of ideal competition in Palau that will become evident as our theme unfolds.

In the traditional society, which remains as a backdrop over the current changing scene, competition was woven into a relatively durable fabric of political and economic life. More specifically, competition and controlled conflict were important to the stability of the traditional structure -- serving both to foster the continuity of the impersonal institutions and to preserve the positions of actual individuals and groups on the social hierarchy. The question then, concerns the best medium for presenting the theme.

The significant feature of competition in Palau, in the observation of the writer, is that it is formally manifest in the traditional structure of the society. The fissures across which individuals and groups compete coincide, on the whole, with the formal vertical and horizontal dimidiations of the society. Thus, while competition between groups may be described, or individuals may be described as competitive, the theme of competition cannot be understood adequately without attention to the general features of the social structure in which it finds expression. To put it another way, within particular institutional areas or at particular interpersonal levels, the locuses of competition in traditional Palau were defined by the formal segmentation of the society. This does not deny the possibility for competitive expression in directions not defined by social structure, or within groups defined as undivided, indeed a characteristic of competition in Palau is aggressive individuality, but rather asserts that the dominant patterning or regularity of competitive striving is given definition

in the structure. The traditional social structure is, therefore, a dominant medium for presenting the theme in each of the chapters to follow except that one in which attention is turned to the contemporary scene. In this latter context a significant feature of Palauan competition is the fact that it is not in apparent focus with the contemporary or emerging cultural system.

As observed in the introduction, studies of various Micronesian societies indicate different characteristic techniques for the containment or reduction of destructive conflict. In an island environment conflict cannot readily be turned outward upon the stranger enemy, though this did take place in occasional intergroup conflict among different island groups. Rather the problem faced by island societies appears to be that of adapting aggression to the daily needs of intergroup tensions within the confines of a miniature world, often a world so small that each individual's relationship to each other person might be defined as primary.

The problem in Palau, we noted, was not apparently as severe as on other smaller atolls, but the structure of Palauan society nevertheless suggests a response or adaptation to the same general situation. The question as to whether Micronesian societies are peopled with a particularly competitive basic personality composition, or whether the small island environments impose these adaptive solutions as a condition for social survival is probably moot. It can be pointed out that the aboriginal tribal populations

of Melanesia and the Philippines, which appear to have provided the bulk of migrants, are not noted for peaceful coexistence. And it might be argued that purposeful migration in the Pacific area isolated an aggressive segment out of the basic populations responsible for it, but this is piling guesswork upon guesswork. The outstanding fact in Palau is that we can observe a society in which the social structure both takes into account and tends to support or encourage competitive expression. With respect to competition in the traditional society, we have a condition that supports Hallowell's hypothesis that the participation of human beings in particular sociocultural systems has consequences that are psychologically significant. Or as he has stated it:

The culturally constituted behavioral environment of man is relevant both to the formative stages of personality development as well as to the organization of the total psychological field in which the mature personality functions.<sup>1</sup>

The two chapters which form the main body of this study deal with the competitive theme, in terms of behavioral content, as it found expression in political and productive economic enterprise, and in village club activity.

Politics and economics appear to be natural arenas for conflict because they involve power and possession. The village club becomes

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<sup>1</sup> A. Irving Hallowell, Culture and Experience, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955, p. 36.

a focus for this study because the individual learned about his place within his society in the context of the club and because he was formed as a person within a club atmosphere that was rich in built-in competition.

The arrangement of the chapters follows an order that the writer believes to be conducive to an unfolding comprehension of Palauan society and the theme of competition that is woven through it. Delineation of the vertical structure in the initial paragraphs of Chapter II provides an introduction to the hierarchy of political competition, and both political and economic content find meaningful place in the later discussion of the horizontal segmentation of the society. In the final paragraphs of the chapter, the instrumental character of Palauan political ideology, consisting of a series of strategies for political success, can be appreciated in light of what has been presented with respect to political and economic competition.

Special attention, in Chapter III, is given to the village club in part because there is no comprehensive study of this institution in the anthropological literature and for the reason, suggested above, that the clubs were a focus of competitive behavior. The attention to structure is maintained but it can be observed that a description of the club, by the nature of the institution, portrays the milieu in which the Palauan child, particularly the male, developed into maturity. The relationship of the Palauan

individual to his society changed significantly at about the age of five or six in that he experienced a forced shift in his focus of identity from his immediate family to his club. Thus, while the chapter deals heavily with structure, an important product is the description of the enculturative context of the Palauan individual within the competitive club milieu.

The member of the club vies with his peers for personal recognition, competes with his faction in productive and sports activity within the club, and sides with his club against others in the village or in intervillage conflict. A village was as strong as its military might vested in its male clubs and grew wealthy, another important index of might and prestige, largely through the ability of its village clubs, both male and female, to succeed in military and non-military duties. The chapter, therefore, will attempt to portray the development of competitiveness as a personal characteristic as well as the training of leadership toward the control and manipulation of competition within the club. The final paragraphs turn again to the ideology of success, or better the lesser ideologies of heroism, in the village club setting.

Competition in the traditional society, then, will be delineated through the dominating media of social structure within these three institutional areas, and particularly through a description of the village club.

Chapter IV presents a brief historical sketch of the period which has intervened between pre-Western contact and contemporary Palau, and a description of some aspects of competition in the current society. Since competition does not continue to exist in Palau as a trait which is fully in focus with the contemporary structure or political and economic goals of the society, the medium for delivering the theme must necessarily be somewhat different. The historians of Palau have not given the trait of competition specific attention, and it is not possible to reconstruct a comprehensive history of its emergence upon the contemporary scene. To a degree it is possible to point to the focusing of competition within narrower formal arenas, for example as a function of the termination of intervillage conflict, and it may be observed that the intervening years, particularly the era of the trader-captains in the Pacific, can hardly be depicted as promoting a social milieu optimal to the development of a sense of personal security. But perhaps the most important point is that competition in Palau is no longer woven as meaningfully into the fabric of the society. The Palauan, as we will point out in the following section, continues to define his society and his personality as competitive. Baseball, the "national sport," has replaced the traditional sports and is played with intense competition. Economic exchanges, while coming into some criticism by concerned Palauan leaders, continue to tax the competitive strength of the clans. Palauans working together on a project typically fall into competitive cadence.



But the formal connection between competition and the wider social setting is no longer firmly structured. Competition continues as a focus, but the social agencies for its production and control are no longer completely intact. Competition for what? Once clearly answered through the connection between competition and the acknowledged social structure and goals of the villagers -- this question now often leads to a series of unknowns.

The continuity of a behavioral trait through a period of cultural change is a phenomenon that has attracted considerable interest in the literature of acculturation. In recent studies concerning acculturation in Palau there is an initial dispute with regard to the magnitude of change that has actually taken place. As a rule this debate involves a weighing of the political influence of the traditional political leadership, with one argument pointing to the functions that have been usurped by such institutions as municipal police, a court system, and an elected body-politic,<sup>2</sup> and the other pointing to the continuing social prestige and behind-the-scenes manipulation characterizing the traditional leaders.<sup>3</sup> F. Mahoney, in a study utilizing Rorschach responses

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<sup>2</sup> Roland Force, Leadership and Cultural Change in Palau, Anthropological Series, Vol. 50, Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1960.

<sup>3</sup> John Useem, "Structure of Power in Palau," Social Forces, Vol. 29, 1950, pp. 141-148.

and the Thematic Apperception Technique on two Palauan populations defined as different in their exposure to acculturative influences, notes a general continuity of dominant personality structure over both population samples.<sup>4</sup> This topic will occupy our attention again in Chapter IV, but in passing we can note the parallel between the persistence of competitiveness in Palau, and the continuity of certain personality characteristics among the acculturated Ojibwa Indians as observed by Hallowell. With Hallowell, we can observe that certain personality characteristics, geared effectively to the traditional milieu of a social group, may persist into a new historical era in which the emerging cultural system and the persisting personality appear to be in some degree disoriented.<sup>5</sup>

#### Confirming the Theme

We discussed in the closing paragraphs of the Introduction the preoccupation with competition and its control or release in a number of Micronesian societies. Competition in Palau was given some comparative reference in those paragraphs and, before concluding this initial chapter, an effort will be made to confirm the correctness of a characterization of competition as important to an understanding of Palauan life.

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<sup>4</sup> Francis B. Mahoney, Projective Psychological Findings in Palauan Personality (Master's Thesis), University of Chicago, March, 1950.

<sup>5</sup> A. Irving Hallowell, Culture and Experience, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955, pp. 351-352.

Though the people define themselves as "competitive," as most perceptive Palauans do, this is no assurance that the people -- particularly an insular people -- have made those cross-cultural comparisons which adequately validate this image. Though the ethnologist defines them as "competitive," this does not guarantee to a third person that the competitive index is significantly greater than for other groups. It would be possible to portray -- or select out -- the competitive practices of any social group and by emphasis leave an impression that the people have a competitive focus in their lives.

There is a burden of proof that must be lifted by some other agent than the people's self-image, or that of a single ethnologist in their midst. In this instance the burden can be lifted to some extent by accounts of other observers both American and Japanese.

To summarize the post war work in Palau very briefly, Barnett, while presenting a general description of Palauan society, often views the individual in long sketches. Frequently these sketches deal with conflict: sometimes born of contemporary confusion; sometimes associated with the traditional society and those ideological conflicts that confront an individual in a social milieu in which giving was an investment both in generosity and in economic returns.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Homer G. Barnett, Palauan Society: A Study of Contemporary Native Life in the Palau Islands, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1949. See especially pp. 80-81, 96.

With regard to the specific theme of this study in competition, Barnett states:

(The Palauans') primary concern is with wealth, and kinship for them is a vehicle for its manipulation. They use kinship and seek means and excuses to artificially extend its ramifications because it is only within this framework that they can contrive the wealth displays that bring prestige and influence.<sup>7</sup>

Throughout Barnett one finds the individual maneuvering in a given social system for personal gain though his point of departure is, in large measure, defined by his clan and lineage status, and these, in turn, are affected by his success or failure. In terms of property, the emphasis is on manipulation, especially the strategic display, exchange, and award of clan land and money in order to give the appearance of control over great wealth. Manipulation, in Barnett's account, clearly extends to control over the services and financial responsibilities of the individual: the husband purchases the services of his wife, the maternal uncle can elect to sell to his sister's husband the financial responsibility for her children.

Useem, writing a general report on Palau,<sup>8</sup> became intrigued by Palauan political behavior and recorded an image in which a

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> John Useem, Report on Palau, Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology, Report No. 21, 1949 (mimeographed).

number of semicovert political factions and currents were in competition for control and recognition. Useem also describes some of the factors involved in the struggles of the traditional leaders to capture and maintain political control over contemporary non-traditional political elements.<sup>9</sup>

Arthur Vidich carried the theme of political conflict a little farther in describing contemporary political factionalism and ferreted out some of the better known political-religious groupings as well as some of the grouped tensions between conservative elders and impatient young leaders.<sup>10</sup>

Francis Mahoney,<sup>11</sup> using both Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Techniques, in an effort to analyze personality continuity in a changing society, names "inflated drive, emotional and imaginal constriction, and a pattern of pragmatic adjustment to external pressures" as basic forces in Palauan personality both past and present and subscribes, in his formal presentation, to the manipulative and competitive image of the Palauan individual described by Barnett. Currently District Administrator in Palau, Mr. Mahoney

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<sup>9</sup> John Useem, "Structure of Power in Palau," Social Forces, Vol. 29, 1950, pp. 141-148.

<sup>10</sup> Arthur J. Vidich, Political Factionalism in Palau, its Rise and Development, Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology, Report No. 23, 1949 (mimeographed).

<sup>11</sup> Francis B. Mahoney, "Projective Psychological Findings in Palauan Personality," (Master's Thesis), University of Chicago, 1950. Quotation is from p. 147.

has indicated, in personal conversations, that the comprehension of the formal competing groups in Palauan society must underlie a general understanding of Palauan social and individual behavior.

Roland Force, whose excellent book Leadership and Cultural Change in Palau<sup>12</sup> was not available in Palau when the need for a study focusing on competition became evident to the writer, comments as follows on this aspect of Palauan culture:

The common denominator in the exchange system and in the general manipulation for wealth and social advantage is "competition." This is the sine qua non of Palauan culture. Competition between kin groups for positions of prestige was (and is) a primary focus of Palauan culture.<sup>13</sup>

These observers, with their varying approaches to the study of Palau, each noted in some way, and sometimes with considerable emphasis, the competitive character of the Palauan social scene. However they are all Americans. While Americans might not notice "competition" in a foreign culture, since they have some reputation in this regard, it may well be that they arrived in Palau with some preconceptions (i.e., the cooperative primitive, or the easygoing Pacific islander) that were shaken during their immersion in Palauan culture. None-the-less, a report from a third culture would be helpful.

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<sup>12</sup> Roland Force, Leadership and Cultural Change in Palau, Anthropological Series, Vol. 50, Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, 1960.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

Tadao Yanaihara writes about Palau, and the other former Japanese mandate islands, under considerable handicap. To Yanaihara the primitive village was equated with communal and the negative. He accepted this as the educated theory of the times and his images of Micronesian society are colored heavily thereby. In so far as the island societies appeared to operate according to their aboriginal social customs he tended to view them as "communal" (especially Truk and many remote islands), and in so far as they had developed a system of revered titles he labeled them as feudal or approaching a feudal state (especially Ponape). In so far as there was some indication of a sense of private property or monetary exchange, he viewed them as changed from their original state -- less communal. Thus, while the topics of competition and conflict do not occupy his attention, he does note that the Palauan, with his native money and sense of private property (along with the Yapese), was less communal in his village life than are the islanders of other locations throughout the mandate.<sup>14</sup>

In Palau there is a Japanese resident whose arrival in the islands long preceded occupation by the Japanese during World War I. For this reason he was not repatriated with the Japanese following World War II. Upon learning of the writer's role as anthropologist, the elderly man at once began a characterization of the Palauans

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<sup>14</sup> Tadao Yanaihara, Pacific Islands Under Japanese Mandate, New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. See especially pp. 78, 83, and 127.

from a Japanese point of view that was not educated in the communal theory of primitive society. The substance of his characterization was that Palauans were too individualistic (Jap. kojin-shugi) and could not work together toward a given objective without friction. They were competitive (Jap. kyoso-teki) to such an extent that sustained, cooperative effort in progressive directions was hindered.

These various views, on the whole, tend to substantiate the Palauan self-image.

In casual contact with Palauan people, one can find them to be outgoing, good natured, appealingly capable of producing and laughing at a good joke, and cooperative. They observe a code of behavior toward others, or particularly toward superiors, in which, on the whole, the response most likely to please is sought for and utilized. These are among the favorable characterizations of Palauan associates that generally occur to recent American residents on the islands. A portion of this public display serves as a camouflage for an image of self and others as competitive and emulous in a social milieu that is beset with conflict.

With respect to the competitive side, a Palauan source observed that Yapese and Trukese produce willingly if assured a good feast in compensation; Ponapeans are steady types and thrive well under the Western eight hour day; and Palauans perform optimally when provided a competitive incentive, team against team or simply against a timed deadline.



With regard to conflict in the society, a Palauan saying defines life with the observation that the life-conflict is symbolized by the difficult passage of the infant through the confining birth canal. The omnipresent character of conflict is recognized in an important concept of the social group in Palau: the group is like a lime, to the outsider, who can see only the peel, the group presents unity, but by breaking through the skin of public appearance, one can discover segmentation and dissension.

In the chapters to follow we will examine a number of Palauan "limes" and depict the structures, formal and informal, which promote competition or yield to conflict. Controlled conflict, between groups among which competition is approved or between groups and individuals appearing to be allied, is an ideal. Individuals and groups should be able to turn off their antagonisms for the sake of public appearance.

Thus, facing outward, Palauan groups bespeak the reputation of their mother structure: they are "clannish." The matrilineal clan, when its dignitaries are called on as representatives, the club at work or in combat, the village when challenged or when covering a scandal -- all manifest a team or clique-like public front for the preservation of which conflict is controlled. But within these formal groups are divisions, many of them formally delineated, across which can be found grounds for competition and which yield, sometimes, to vicious intragroup conflict.

To propose a thesis that emphasizes the competitive or conflictful side of Palauan life in no way denies the organized character of traditional Palauan society, nor the capability of the people to work together toward a given enterprise within its context. It does bring into question the occasional image of village life as dominated by spontaneous cooperative enterprise: the communal image, or the occasional portrayal of the individual Palauan, or perhaps the individual of any society, as "naturally cooperative."

This latter image does not occur in contemporary competent literature concerning Palauan society, nor in the images which have been left by early residents such as the trader-captains Tetens,<sup>15</sup> Cheyne, and O'Keefe,<sup>16</sup> or accidental survivors such as Horace Holden.<sup>17</sup> It does appear in the earliest comprehensive record of

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<sup>15</sup> Alfred Tetens (Capt.), Among the Savages of the South Seas, Memoirs of Micronesia, 1862-1868. Translated from the German by F. M. Spoehr, California: Stanford University Press, 1958. See especially Chapters 2 and 4.

<sup>16</sup> F. C. Christian, The Caroline Islands, London: Methuen and Co., 1899. For O'Keefe's comments on Palau see pp. 17-18.

<sup>17</sup> J. C. Meredith, The Tatooed Man, Toronto: Longmans, 1959. This is the account of the shipwreck of Horace Holden, and several others, in northern Palau and their eventual rescue from Tobi island. The original materials on which this account is based are in A Narrative of the Shipwreck . . . of Horace Holden and Benj. H. Nute . . . in . . . the Pelew Islands in the Year 1832 (Boston: Russel, Shattuck and Co., 1836).

Palauan society, Pelew Islands (1789),<sup>18</sup> which records the adventures of an English captain who wrecked there in 1873. In large measure Pelew Islands is an account of the participation of Captain Wilson's crew in the village feuds that were rampant throughout Palau in the year of the wreck. But the recorded image of the Palauan and his society is well filtered through the philosopher's stereotype of the noble savage. In one treatment of this theme the writer, George Keate, contrasts the instinctively courteous and custom abiding Palauan with the scheming European and his regiments of shyster lawyers!

It is not the writer's intention to re-trace the history of the "spontaneously cooperative" or "communal" image of primitive village life. Such a history would carry us via Keate's account of the "instinctively customary" Palauan, through Durkheim's "collective consciousness," Radcliffe-Brown's heavy reliance on the social force of the collective ceremony, and into some current images of communal village life.<sup>19</sup> This history, and the narrow view that it has imposed

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<sup>18</sup> George Keate, An Account of the Pelew Islands, Composed from Journals and Communications of Captain Henry Wilson and some of his Officers who were shipwrecked in the Antelope, London: G. Nicol, 1788.

<sup>19</sup> For example see F. Keessing, The Southseas in the Modern World (New York: John Day Co., 1941), pp. 111-112. Also for some early images of the communal village see: Wm. H. R. Rivers, Social Organization (ed. W. J. Perry, New York: A. A. Knopf, 1924), especially p. 169; Edwin Sidney Hartland, Primitive Law (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1924); Leonard T. Hobhouse, Morals in Evolution (London: Chapman and Hall, 1915), especially p. 73; and an early work by

on the complexities of primitive village life, has been traced with considerable competency by B. Malinowski in Crime and Custom in Savage Society<sup>20</sup> and followed up in field study by a number of ethnologists, noteworthy among these H. I. Hogbin with his Law and Order in Polynesia.<sup>21</sup>

In an interesting statistical analysis of compliance and assertion on a cross-cultural basis, Barry, Child, and Bacon<sup>22</sup> demonstrated both the statistical likelihood and logicity of child-rearing pressures toward assertion (i.e., achievement, self-reliance, and independence) in those societies in which there was "low accumulation of food resources" and a corresponding consumption of food

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<sup>19</sup> Robert H. Lowie, Primitive Society (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), chapter on "Justice," especially p. 387.

Lowie in The History of Ethnological Theory (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1937) refers to Malinowski as an "ethnographic provincial" (p. 241) because the "peculiar network of mutual obligations typical of Melanesia led Malinowski to herald reciprocity as a basic principle of human society" (p. 233). However, Lowie's earlier images of the conforming primitive (c.f. Primitive Society: "unwritten codes are . . . obeyed spontaneously," p. 387) are considerably modified in later works such as An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1940) in which "public opinion" has replaced spontaneity in the chapter titled "Government and Law."

<sup>20</sup> B. Malinowski, Crime and Custom in Savage Society, New York: The Humanities Press, Inc., 1951 (first published: 1926).

<sup>21</sup> H. Ian Hogbin, Law and Order in Polynesia, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934.

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Barry, III, I. L. Child, and M. K. Bacon, "Relations of Child Training to Subsistence Economy," American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, No. 1, 1959, pp. 51-63.

as soon as it was procured. Such societies are described economically, generally, as gathering, hunting, or fishing for their food resources. Palau would be intermediate or mixed according to the criteria used in this analysis: the women heavily involved in taro cultivation, the men in individual and occasional group fishing and some hunting (mostly pigeon). The separation of tasks for the sexes appears, to the writer, to have been such that the "domestication" of females toward compliance (i.e., responsibility, obedience, and nurturance) in their agricultural pursuits was more effective than for the males.<sup>23</sup> In the article referred to the definitions of the main assertive variables (achievement, self-reliance, and independence) correspond closely with the ideal that the Palauan portrays of the male in his society.

To carry the theme a little further, when the student of society looks not at cooperative forms but in the other direction at social conflict he can discover that this too is an important ingredient in social cohesion: the binding element of the in-group. And he may realize that the social bonds of the "team" are lessened in the absence of competition.

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<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of ritual and technique required in taro cultivation in Palau see R. K. McKnight and A. Obak, "Taro Cultivation in Palau" in "Taro Cultivation Practices and Beliefs," Anthropological Working Papers, No. 6, Part 1, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, January, 1960.

The thin line of keen attention to social conflict that does run through the social sciences has been traced carefully in the introduction to L. A. Coser's The Functions of Social Conflict<sup>24</sup> and it is revealing that the body of this recent book deals almost exclusively with the insightful writings of only one major sociologist: Georg Simmel.<sup>25</sup> However, the best short statement about social conflict, one that almost makes conflict appear to be pleasant and soothing, was written by E. A. Ross:

A society . . . which is ridden by a dozen oppositions along lines running in every direction may actually be in less danger of being torn with violence or falling to pieces than one split just along one line. For each new cleavage contributes to narrow the cross clefts, so that one might say that society is sewn together by its inner conflicts.<sup>26</sup>

The chapters to follow will, the writer believes, bear out the thesis that cooperative forms of behavior in traditional Palauan society (in fact the social institutions themselves) were supported by a network of interpersonal and intergroup obligations and reciprocities and were characterized by carefully promoted and controlled

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<sup>24</sup> Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956.

<sup>25</sup> Specifically Georg Simmel, Conflict, translated by Kurt H. Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.

<sup>26</sup> Edward A. Ross, The Principles of Sociology, New York: The Century Company, 1920, p. 153.

competition. In contemporary Palau, to some extent, traditional obligations are challenged by a new pattern of individualism; reciprocities are unbalanced by wage-earning social minors; and social controls are, in some degree, transplanted from traditional locuses to new democratic forms. As far as social conflict in Palau is concerned, there is some risk that Ross' image of the gentle, lilting action of the self-cancelling cross clefts may be replaced by a rather turbulent and confused sea.

## CHAPTER II

### THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

An understanding of competition in Palau presupposes a familiarity with the general social structure of the society. For the purpose of this presentation, since the general features of Palauan culture are recorded in the early German works of Kramer and Kubary and in the contemporary writings of H. G. Barnett, this need not be an elaborate exposition. Since the sketches to follow are based on the field notes and observations of the writer, they will not be always in agreement with the content of prior recordings. Where discrepancies are obvious, and known to the writer, they will be pointed out.

The vehicle by which this structural sketch is drawn is the dissection of the social structure into its vertical and horizontal components. Dissection, for the purpose of simplified presentation, inevitably distorts and, of course, places artificial editorial divisions between aspects of a cultural whole. While the initial exposition of the vertical structure will stand artificially isolated, the integration of this material, in so far as possible, with the later section on the horizontal structure will help to restore the character of the whole.



This whole is expressed in the Palauan fruit-lime analogy and the conception of the social group within. The lime-fruit analogy, as it is explained by the Palauan about his society, is not intended to describe simply the inner segmentation of a group into socially equal, competing parts. It connotes as well an upward struggle among elements that do not share evenly in the rewards and power of prestige and general wealth: the brothers of a nuclear family, at one level, the villages of a political cluster, at another. Thus, while there is upward striving throughout the vertical structure, and a sufficiently optimistic rate of social mobility to encourage aspirants, the horizontal divisions are so integrated with the vertical that they provide the zest to promote an interest in success within the given structure. When the zones of horizontal competition are controlled by effective leadership, they serve to promote the wealth and political interests of the leaders themselves.

Following these sections on vertical and horizontal structure is a short exposition on the ideology of effective leadership and a summary of the "ways" or disciplines which constitute doctrine for the political aspirant.

The theme of competition will be woven into the discussion, particularly in the treatment of the formally reciprocated half-divisions,<sup>1</sup> and will be extracted again in the concluding paragraphs of the chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> "Half-division" is used here to refer to the phenomenon of dividing a group into two competing parts. In Palau groups thus

### The Vertical Structure

The essential features of Palauan social structure are found within the village. The village formed part of a political village cluster, but it was conceived to be self-actuating and largely autonomous as a socioeconomic unit. The village had its own governmental body, its club units, and essential economic resources extending from designated reef and lagoon areas to community lands in the neighboring hills.

Therefore, the point of departure in describing the vertical structure will be the village. Following this the field will be magnified to examine the hierarchical sectioning of the clan. The sketch of the vertical structure will conclude with a discussion of the elite and their interclan relationships that extend beyond the immediate village.

The Village. -- Throughout Palau village composition is based on an identical model. This model is composed of ten rank-ordered

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<sup>1</sup> divided range from the clan to the island group itself, and no one division, strictly speaking, meets the requirements of a moiety. Following A. P. Elkin ("Murgin Kinship Re-examined and Remarks on Some Generalizations," American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, 1953, p. 412), who narrowly limits the use of the term, the division of the Palauan clan (kebliil) might approximate a moiety; following others (cf., Barnett, op. cit., p. 174, and Force, op. cit., p. 36) the term may be applied to the division by which the village clans range on one or the other side. Exogamy would characterize the first instance, but would be weak or absent in the division suggested by the second.

clans (kebliil) that are, in turn, separable into four ranked lineage-classes.<sup>2</sup> This is the model, representing the two major vertical demarcation systems in village structure, that is portrayed in Chart I.

The more or less standard portrayal of village political structure describes the village council as composed of ten chiefs drawn from the highest lineage-class of each of the ten village clans. Dominance over the council by the chiefs of the ranking clans is also standard, and the chief of the first ranking clan is the village chief -- the head (medal) or leader (merreder) of the village.

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<sup>2</sup> The use of "clan" in this study for the Palauan term kebliil is not intended as a point of controversy with the use of "sib" in reference to the same institution in Palau and similar kin bodies in other Micronesian societies. Barnett (op. cit., Chapter II, "Kinship") argues for the use of the term "clan" which he defines as a "named, exogamous, unilateral segment of society" (p. 21). But he shows that the definition must be modified to cover the fact that Palauans emphasize, but do not restrict, their kinship affiliations through their maternal line, and that exogamy extends to close relatives of the father's side. Force (op. cit., pp. 34-50) uses the term "sib" and refers to the kebliil as a "unilinear consanguineal kin group" (p. 34). However, he qualifies this with similar observations concerning bi-lineality. Useem, Vidich, and Mahoney use "clan." It would appear to the writer that Barnett has pointed out the feature of Palauan society that has confused the kinship picture in his observation (op. cit., p. 34) that the Palauan will manipulate relationships according to economic and political advantage: if a relationship in the male line, or a marriage between distant lineages within a clan is advantageous for economic or political reasons, conditions imposed by kinship are, within limits, modified.






























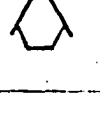

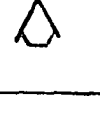
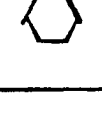
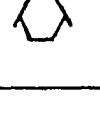
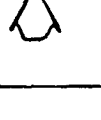





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Chart I. Ideal-type village structure. Clan ranks are indicated on the vertical at left; lineage-class status is shown across the top. Houses indicate an indefinite number of households at each level. Real villages probably never exhibited the full differentiation of status levels shown in this ideal-type.

Reality deviates from the standard model in some important respects. First, many minor villages do not have peopled clans representing ten degrees of rank difference, or maintain the full roster in name only. Secondly, differences in lineage-class are generally important to the first few clans, and tend to be disregarded or perhaps unpeopled among the lower ranking clan bodies. To some extent both of these discrepancies can be explained as a product of depopulation.

However, variation in the number of clans regarded as standard in the village has attracted the attention of most students of Palauan society. Since this variation, and its interpretation, influences the interpretation of political structure in the village, it can also receive some attention here. In the German and Japanese studies, and again in the recent work of Force, it is suggested that the original number of major clans in the village was seven. The number seven, as will be pointed out elsewhere, is very significant in Palau. In some villages clan chief titles below the rank of seven are simply designations for the eighth, ninth, and tenth positions.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For example, Force received the title Ongetiu, meaning Ninth, in Mengellang where he did his village study. Others before him: Kubary was titled Sacharuleiong, fifth ranking in Melekeiok; Barnett was Skors in a village of Ngaraard.

Occasionally sources in particular villages will report only seven clans.<sup>4</sup> A part of the confusion arises, perhaps, from the fact that intraclan lineages are named and are more or less independent structures. In reports of some sources one or another of these named lineages may be counted as a separate clan, thus filling out the standard roster of ten clans.

Additionally, in some larger villages where special duties are assigned to clan chiefs, these assignments are seldom made below the level of the seventh clan chief; the remainder merely carry out orders.

It would seem probable that the number of clans considered "standard" for a village underwent change in pre-historic Palau, coming to rest, for a time, at the significant number "seven" and sometime later at the number "ten."

Whether the description rests in historic reality or not, the first four clans of a village are often designated as "original." In a political analogy that sets them off from the remaining clans in a number of ways, these first four are "corner-post" clans (saus) in the village. For example, in the roofing of a bai

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<sup>4</sup> H. Uehara, with the educational administration in Palau, could identify only seven clans in the village of Ngardmau in a field study there. The chief of the political cluster of Ngardmau, however, named ten clans to the writer.

(village council house or clubhouse) these four clans are assigned the most difficult portions -- those pointed elongations of the roof section that overhang the gable. The remaining numbered clans, in this description, are thought of as derived through some process of immigration or internal fission.

In some cases village histories, as they are now narrated, bear out this suggestion of four original clans. Ngeremetengel, a hamlet in the village cluster of Ngeremlengui, is said to have been founded by four clans coming from an earlier location in the Rock Islands. Another hamlet, Ngerechemai in the village cluster of Koror, traces history back to four clans situated in the Rock Islands, near Peleliu, that sought refuge at Koror in a time of famine or strife.

It is also interesting that the post-deluvian Milad, a great figure in Palauan creation, gave birth to four children, three boys and a girl, who founded the important villages that go by their names: Imeyong, Melekeiok, Koror, and (the daughter) Aimeliik. In an analogy that is identical to the corner-posts in the villages, these four are designated the corner-post villages of Palau. A few years ago, when a community center was constructed in Koror, it was designed as a modified bai with two wings so that there would be four gables, each decorated with historical sketches by a corner-post village.

The corner-post clans of a village are associated with the lesser six clans in kin-like arrangements that picture the lesser six as derived or adopted clans. In an ideal-type situation the first two clans are associated with two of the lesser clans, while the third and fourth clans are associated with one each. The four associations thus formed among the ten village clans may be termed clan-federations (klebliil) and in this case clan-type prohibitions, such as against endogamy, are moderately strong.

Since political power, in the village council, rests dominantly upon the chiefs of the corner-post clans, the council is sometimes spoken of as composed of these four chiefs and the chiefs of their federated clans. It is not uncommon, in fact, for Palauan sources to state that the village council is composed of "ten chiefs from four clans," more or less ignoring the autonomy of the six other village clans.<sup>5</sup>

The character of the ten-man village council varied in some other respects as well. For example in the major villages, particularly in Melekeiok and Koror, clan groups placed two members on the council, the duplicate members forming a kind of secretariat, referred to as a lesser or after council (uriul rubak). In other villages

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<sup>5</sup> This occurred several times to the writer in Palau and is a function, in part, of a rather loose treatment among Palauans of the words kebliil, here translated "clan," and klebliil, a plural-like form, here translated "clan-federation." Kramer seems to have encountered the same description for the village of Geklau. (Kramer, Palau, Vol. II, p. 68.)



a variable number of titles, associated with particular clans, may be given to clan members in recognition for their ability in serving the clan, or to members of wider clan-federations who have positions of particular influence in other villages. While not recognized as members of the formal village council, these latter title incumbents, depending upon their personal stature and the prestige of the particular title, could wield some power both in clan and village affairs. With depopulation there has been an excessive number of titles, particularly of this latter sort, so that persons of prestige and title in the major villages generally have two or three lesser titles in other villages scattered throughout Palau.

The village council, as it has been described, often seemed to be little more than a sounding board -- frequently a very talkative one -- or "yes assembly,"<sup>6</sup> from the standpoint of actual village leadership. Aside from the formal concentration of power in the four uppermost clans, policy in the village emanated from a limited source, the "poles" (dekl, such as are used in propelling a raft)<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Force, op. cit., observes that "oral expression is not far from being a Palauan cultural focus" (p. 62) and feels that the talking out of policy in the council meetings, as well as the frequently asserted right of council members tactfully to disagree with its leaders reduced the authority of the leading members.

<sup>7</sup> Numerous references to the "seafaring" nature of the village occur in Palauan. Outstanding village leaders may also be "sails" (yars), "skippers" (mengeremelel a beluu), "oars" (bedesil a beluu), "yards" (klemtengel a beluu). Strong men who are conventional in policy may be termed "rudders" (ongengel a beluu), and individuals who have come to symbolize the strength of the village may be "masts" (orreklel a beluu). Beluu=village.

of the village. Thus, if the village chief effectively grasped political power to himself, the village could be spoken of as having "one pole" (imoldekl). Leadership collaboration between the village chief and the second ranking clan chief, or that of another powerful clan, yielded a two-pole center, etc. The pole analogy refers to actual leadership, not to ideal structure. According to some sources, or perhaps according to variation throughout Palau, the designation "pole" would not usually be applied to a ranking member of the formal political hierarchy. In this view the conventional term "head of village" (medal a beluu) would apply to the village chief, while the term "leader" or "teacher" (merreder) would apply either to the village chief or to persons of high title-rank who functioned as effective leaders in village politics. The term "pole" would correctly be applied to individuals without significant title or even the "naked" without titles, that is to a person of singular personal ability and an adviser to formal political leaders. The point is that, regardless of variations in the use of the words, there was considerable political power in the village which was not associated with formal positioning and which left room for recognition to be sought by the capable, assertive individual.

To be designated a "pole" in a village, whether as a high titled despot or as an effective, low-ranking adviser, was to receive high personal recognition. The designation was vested in the person and did not descend through the matrilineal inheritance of

clan titles. In some instances the designation might be gained by an individual with some particular skill important to village welfare, such as war strategy. However, in general special functions of this vital nature were formally treated in villages of any importance. Such functions were dealt with through the delegation of special duties to particular clan chiefs.

Unlike the designation "pole," special duty assignments were associated with the office or title, not the individual incumbent. They were the "title-property" of the clan and were an inherited aspect of the clan chief's position. However, the special duties could be transferred from one chief to another at the will of a strong village chief. They were seldom given to clan chiefs below the rank of sixth or seventh, as in this Melekeiok listing:

<u>Clan Chief's Title</u> (rank order)	<u>Attached Title-duty</u>
1. Reklai:	Village chief and general leader
2. Rechebong:	Responsible for payment of village fines
3. Ruluked:	Organization and distribution of food
4. Ngirkungil:	Project and economic organizer
5. Secharuleong:	Public relations
6. Tkedesau:	Recreation, intervillage activities
7. Rechetaoch:	No specific assignment
8. Olikong:	No specific assignment
9. Ngiratekau:	No specific assignment
10. Ngirmang:	No specific assignment

Data from several villages relating to title-duties differ so much the preceding list should be taken as no more than suggestive. However, with the exception of military strategy, which is found in some lists, the Melekeiok village title-duties are fairly representative.

Finally one clan in the village, generally one of the four corner-post clans, held as a special function the task of maintaining and interpreting the village god -- a totemic figure from which derived food taboos (delasch) pertaining to the whole village and sanctions relating to village activities. With a potential "veto" in all public affairs, the chief of this clan had considerable power in the political arena, regardless of formal ranking.

In one of the villages of Peleliu the god-maintaining clan some time ago gained sufficient wealth and power to rearrange the rank ordering of the clans and became, in effect, the first ranking clan. In general, in a period of misfortune for the village, the god-maintaining clan suffered along with other public figures. When the god was, somehow, found to be particularly at fault, villages have managed to change gods and clan-maintenance arrangements. The village of Ngerebeched, in the Koror village cluster, traces a rather tragic past from an early residence on an island now submerged. At the time of this submergence, factions of the village went to various places throughout Palau, one to a temporary Rock Island location. Misfortune hung over the Rock Island faction of the village until it was finally decided to change village gods.

Shortly after, so the narrated history goes, the villagers formed a fortunate alliance with Koror and won a choice place for their village from their ally. The new god-maintaining clan, the fifth ranking in the village, subsequently became so powerful that the village federation, of which it was a part, swelled to five clans (see Chart III).

The vertical structure of political authority in the village may be summarized as follows: the clans, ideally numbering ten, are rank-ordered with a drop in prestige between the four corner-post clans and the remaining, federated clans. The village chief is the titled chief of the first clan and may be grouped with other powerful leaders, for example the chief of the god-maintaining clan, to provide the village "poles." More formally, the village council consists of ten titled men drawn from each clan, but federated with one or another of the corner-post clans. To oversimplify, it might be said that the village "poles" made the village decisions; the chiefs of the corner-post clans in consultation with the village god decided how the decision should be carried out; and the plans were aired for approval by the village council. In addition, the clan chiefs, in larger villages, are assigned various special duties relating to important aspects of village life.

The Clan. -- Palauan clans are totemic, deriving from demi-goddesses that are the sources of food-prohibitions and certain clan-based skills. As the Palauan puts it, the women are "strong" in Palau, that is a person belongs fully and naturally to his

mother's clan, and retains a weaker hold on his father's clan which may be developed into accepted membership or may be of little significance. In the mythology, the clan mothers are fish-demigoddesses, descended from the inhabitants of an undersea village near Angaur island. Given various tasks relating to the formation of the land, these demi-goddesses settled down, finally, in the villages to head the original lineages that are ancestral to contemporary clans.

These "original" lineages, consisting of an indefinite number of families or households (blai), and new lineages formed through adoption, bifurcation, and migration compose the village resident clan. Status within the clan structure, and within the village as a whole, is a function of the success that a particular lineage may have in being recognized as directly descendant from the original lineage headed by the totemic clan mother. The terms "complex clan" and "geneological clan" have sometimes been applied to this arrangement of lineage-classes and some preoccupation with title geneology among higher ranking lineages in prominent clans would suggest the application of the second term.<sup>8</sup> Four degrees of difference in proximity to the original lineage are recognized by formal definition:

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<sup>8</sup> Charles Winick, Dictionary of Anthropology, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams and Co., p. 118. Such geneologies typically extend back through the naming of clan chiefs through the sixteenth or seventeenth era of the title, but do not extend laterally to encompass a complete geneology of the clan beyond about the fourth or fifth generation.

I. Techel a miich (Miich Tree Nuts). -- Lineages so designated are thought of as belonging to the true clan aristocracy. The miich-nut, which is almond-like in shape but not in taste, was once a food reserved for the high elite of Palau and, considering the great prestige of this food, the usage here might be compared with the idiom "the heart of an oak." The techel a miich were the purest, the essence of the clan. In origin they were coeval with the clan itself. Clan titles, when they become available, go by first right to members of lineages so designated. Actually, it is acknowledged that the origin of these lineages is lost in the antiquity of the clan, or has been successfully concealed or stifled as a matter of public discussion.

II. Muchut el yars (Old Sails). -- These lineages can be traced, by clan historians, to an origin outside the clan. A form of interclan federation (also kābliil) has its origin in the migration of persons from one to the other clan so federated. The details of the migration of the lineage may be entirely lost beyond the fact that the bond, called a vein (ngurd), between the two federated clans resulted from it. Generally speaking, individuals of worth in the muchut el yars lineage-class can rise to the highest titled positions in the clan, but preference would naturally go to capable heirs of the techel a miich lineages.

III. Bechel el yars (New Sails). -- Lineages thus classed are of known origin outside of the clan and the details of adoption by the clan may be quite well known. If the immigrating group left home in exile or disgrace, this fact would be known. If the group drifted to Palau from an unknown place or, say from the Philippines, this would be known. In general, if the group derived from another Palauan clan there need be no strong connection between the two clans unless the group left under favorable circumstances and the establishment of a vein between them represented some real, mutual gain. The vein and clan federation may develop eventually.

Except in the absence of other heirs, persons of this lineage-class would not rise to positions of titled authority in the clan, though leadership in one of the village clubs might be acquired by a capable person. In Palau's recent decades of low population clan titles are frequently gained by individuals of beches el yars lineage standing and the clan members, in public, very quickly begin to recognize their chief as well as his lineage as techel a miich.

IV. Omengdakil (Servant). -- In this class, lineages are only a generation or so away from new membership in the clan. Arrival is a vivid memory and the future of the lineage and its members in the clan will depend upon their ability and loyalty.

The word omengdakil appears to stem from omengd, designating the act of leaning on something. An interpretation of the meaning implied, therefore, might be "a person who is leaning on a clan."



A synonym for this lineage-class term is ultechakl meaning "drift-wood," with implications similar to the ideas behind "new and old sails." Current usage in Palau makes the word omengdakl mean "slave," and the word, like the other lineage-class designators, has more or less passed out of popular usage in its original context. Though doubtlessly misused and belabored, persons so classed were not technically "slaves": they were clan members, had the right to clan backing, and assumed the same prohibitions as other clan members.<sup>9</sup> Their descendants could be expected to achieve higher standing. They did not, of course, have access to titles in the clan.

Lineage-class standing had implications both in the clan and in the village as a whole. It might be most accurate to describe lineage-class as a relationship between the lineage and the social hierarchy of the village. However, the designations implied a functional relationship in a particular clan: incoming groups were adopted by particular clan bodies and acceptance by this narrower social group was what counted in the long run.

Palauan persons initiating residence in a village could be accepted in a clan within which they already had standing through an extended clan federation. Newly entering a village via such a

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<sup>9</sup> The exception would be that a female within a group recently adopted by a clan might be taken in sexual relations (including a spouse relationship) by a male member of the adopting clan, resulting in the rather confusing situation of a father and mother within the same clan.

federation could mean immediate recognition above the omengdakil lineage-class. Persons, Palauan or otherwise, entering a village without the benefit of such bonds would be assigned to an adopting clan, usually one of the corner-post clans, where they would begin their lineage history with the omengdakil status.<sup>10</sup>

Social climbing on the lineage-class structure was a function of several relatively independent factors: time, measured in generations but without specific definition; recognition, measured in ability and loyalty to clan and village or the outside knowledge and skill or wealth brought to the clan by the stranger; origin, measured in the prestige of the individual's former clan and the political and economic importance of federation between the two clans; and population, measured in the number of heirs to titled clan positions. There was no set formula of progression from omengdakil to techel a miich beyond conformity to good clan and village behavior or striving to succeed within the social concepts provided by the adopting social groups.

The Elite and Super-elite. -- In any particular Palauan village, the elite (meteet) are members of high lineage-class within

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<sup>10</sup> Europeans so adopted generally were excepted from this progression and, as we have seen, were and still are occasionally granted titles within the adopting clan. This illustrates, again, the tendency of the Palauan to disregard the formal structure of kinship in favor of economic or political benefit.

the first two clans, with the elite designation extended to select lineages in the four corner-post clans in some locations.<sup>11</sup>

However, the status "elite" depends on the vantage of the observer. Thus, Palauan villages are also rank-ordered. In a village cluster, consisting of a "capital" (orrdoml) and its subordinate villages (osebek),<sup>12</sup> the first two or four clans of the capital village would be "elite" throughout the cluster, but the elite of subordinate villages would be designated "elite" only in their home villages. From the vantage of residents of capital villages, no one from a subordinate village would be so elevated.

From the standpoint of the elite of the most powerful capital villages -- the super elite -- the ranking lineages of higher clans in lesser capital villages would not be considered elite. Just as the stature of subordinate villages within a village cluster was subject to change in the struggle for prestige throughout history, the stature of capital villages has changed from time to time in Palau. The elite of the four villages previously referred to as

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<sup>11</sup> Mahoney (op. cit., pp. 34-35) designates the first two clans as meteet; the third and fourth as pkul a blai with the function to intervene on behalf of the villagers; the other clans with title as oules belu (possibly the reference here is to lineages of high rank in the clan); and to others by the usual term for commoner, chebuuch.

<sup>12</sup> These terms form an interesting analogy. Orrdoml literally means "handle," as on an adz; osebek means "wing," i.e., that which is attached or joined to some larger body or handle. Together, the words imply a functioning political unit or instrument.

corner-posts (Koror, Melekeiok, Imeyong, and Aimeliik) appear to have received general recognition as elite throughout Palau for the past few centuries. The elite of Peleliu seem to have received this recognition prior to about two hundred years ago, and the elite of Ngaraard, a village cluster with a history of considerable wealth, have come to be included occasionally in this recognition.

Thus, except for the limited super-elite, "the elite" are a very indefinite group subject to few categorical rules, and many situational factors. It is quite possible for a person, having membership in a low ranking clan in his home village, to receive elite recognition in another village through federation with a high ranking clan located in the latter place.

The superiority of the super-elite is manifest in daily deportment (parents throughout a village can gain the silence of their children by cautioning that the elite would be disturbed by their noise), food distribution (the elite receive the favored portions or larger portions and, in turn, give larger gifts), money assessments (they receive and give more and, furthermore, are capable of instituting a variety of fines in their favor), and etiquette (in passing an elite, one would step off the boulder cobbled path and bow slightly, etc.). The power of the elite is, of course, manifest in political action, as suggested by their positioning in the village political structure, moreover among the elite of the capital villages this power extended throughout the village cluster and among the super-elite it could extend over a number of clusters.

Marriage among members of elite clans was a favored arrangement and sometimes produced a marrying couplet between the first two clans of a village. Intermarriage among the elite of the powerful capital villages also seems to have been common and promoted bonds among the super-elite that overshadowed local political loyalties.

A folk song describes a system of liaison between the powerful capital villages of Koror, Imeyong, Melekeiok, and Ngaraard (it is possible that Ngaraard has been substituted for Aimeliik, the other corner-post, in recent years) in which village council decisions, roughly the voice of the elite, were promulgated for consideration by each village council in turn. This and other evidence point to the elite, or super-elite, of Palau's major village clusters as a separate social group, almost a caste, welded together by common high status, political reciprocity, intermarriage, and recognition as near gods. Through these bonds the super-elite cojoined in a power bridgework that was suspended over the loyalties of the village commoner (chebuuch). This is a point that will be recalled in later discussions of intervillage conflict and its manipulation.

Reviewing the formal vertical structure, we have pointed out the ten ranked clans of the village, manifest particularly in the council of ten clan chiefs. Within the clan the lineages are further ranked in accordance with proximity to the origin of the

clan itself in a classification from aristocracy to servant and reflected in the general status of the individual in his village. The conception of elite and commoner is superimposed upon these clan and intraclan rankings, with the elite designation generally restricted to the first two clans in the village. The super-elite, then, occupy a high position within the highest ranking villages and are ascribed high status throughout the islands. These are the main vertical structures of the society and, in broad outline, describe the formal progression of upward mobility in traditional Palau. We turn next to the horizontal structures and the theme of competition across them.

#### The Horizontal Structure

The word bitang is basic to the meaning of the lime-fruit analogy. With the general meaning "half," bitang can mean "next to" or "one side of." An adjectival-prefix form, bital-, here translated "side," is the word that delineates the formal, horizontal divisions of the society.

These divisions may be described as formal fractions in almost any group that maintains a united public image. It is largely in the framework of these half-divisions that the manipulated or functional character of competition can be illustrated. The discussion will begin with the clan and expand to the aforementioned "side-heavens" with political and economic competition brought into the context of each division.

The Clan Half-division. -- If any horizontal dimidiation in Palauan society were described as basic or antecedent, it would probably be the division of the village clan, described earlier, into two groups of lineages represented as the legs of the clan-mother's body. This division is termed bitaluach ma bitaluach, literally "the leg on one side and the leg on one (the other) side." To avoid the cumbersome translation of this and other half-division names, the word "side" will stand for the term "bital," and, hence, "side-leg" will refer to the division of the clan.

The side-leg is the division of the clan (kebliil) into two, competing groups composed of an indeterminant number of named maternal lineages (tulungalk or imolblai).<sup>13</sup>

The clan effectively illustrates the lime analogy in that internal division (both with regard to side-legs and lineage-classes) is not a matter for public display. The clan is a single unit in its outward dealings. If not actually so, attempts are made to repair the front. Contenders for the high office of clan

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<sup>13</sup> These two terms, both apparently referring to lineage groups, differ largely in connotation. Imolblai (= one house) connotes the physical nearness of kinship; tulungalk (= nipple-child) or talungalk (= one child), appears to connote the shared motherhood of the lineage. The clan is sometimes described as derived from a single fish-demigoddess with her two daughters who formed the two original lineages of the side-legs. These are the ancestral mothers stressed in discussions of the moiety system. There are, certainly, other "mothers," not always fictive, for clans are composed of an indefinite number of lineages grouped around each side-leg.

chief, whether biological brothers or from different lineages, are seldom intimate companions. Custom frowns on intimacy between these contenders for office for it might lead to emotion-laden conflict. Brother versus brother competition in an arena in which it is "correct to dislike" may deter open conflict or eventuate, at worst, in a quietly accomplished assassination. With origin traced back to a single clan mother, the clan is exogamous, except for occasional liaisons between distant lineages.

Except for the selection of chiefs from among the higher lineage-classes of one of the side-legs, there are few occasions when the various internal political cleavages are made publically evident. Political competition within the clan, and reaching a zenith across the side-legs, is relatively covert. Political techniques such as whispering campaigns are expertly exercised.

Side-leg political competition revolves, in the main, around the installation of the clan chief. In the long run this involves the bolstering of side-leg or lineage reputation within the clan so as to secure recognition for a member as village club leader, as a "pole," as a chief's heir, and ultimately as chief. Thus the main thrust of intraclan competition is for political power within the given structure of the clan. It is a competition that extends to both sexes since female participation in the political use of the clan males is usually intense.



A major source of prestige in Palau being the ability to manipulate service, money, and land, political aggrandizing naturally finds expression in those economic settings where the clan is required to provide a payment in money or a feast. The basic institution of economic exchange in Palauan society finds its most immediate expression in interaction between a woman, her maternal uncle (or brother), and her husband -- the chomeluchel system. In this relationship services of various kinds are provided by the side of the wife through her own duties and through food and assistance given by the wife's maternal uncle or younger men controlled by him. In response, and usually on special occasions, money is paid into the wife's lineage by her husband, generally to her maternal uncle to meet some specific need within the wife's lineage or clan.

Thus if a man in the clan had built a house or desired to buy a canoe, he would arrange, through the clan chief, for an economic exchange ceremony (chochoraol) in which the members of his immediate clan would be called upon for assistance in providing a feast, and a major source of money payments would be provided by husbands married into the clan. The amounts from this source would vary according to the rank of the husband, past obligations derived from the chomeluchel relation, and the closeness of the donor's relationship to the receiving individual. Other funds from debtors or informally accumulated obligations could be called in under

similar circumstances, but the classic pattern involved an outflow of service via a wife and her close clan relatives, and an inflow of money from the husbands married into the clan.<sup>14</sup> These husbands, in turn, could tap their clan money resources or draw on the husbands of their sisters and nieces in the extended chomeluchel network of economic exchange.

If an individual in need of financial help, in the chochoraol or a similar situation, stands at a prestigious position in his clan, competition between the side-legs to out produce in money or goods can be expected. On the other hand, if the individual is of minor importance, for example a member of a lesser lineage-class, greater assistance from his immediate lineage or side-leg would be expected.

In economic exchanges reaching outside of the clan, for example the purchase of a new council house or club house by the village, similar competition to out produce would be expected between side-legs of the clans involved: the women and younger men by contributing to the feast, the older men in providing money derived from lineages and ultimately involving individual marriage links in the chomeluchel exchange.

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<sup>14</sup> Barnett, (op. cit., Chapters 3 and 4) describes in considerable detail the basic chochoraol ceremony as well as various derived forms. For a description of Palauan money and some of its customary economic and political uses see R. E. Ritzenthaler, Native Money on Palau, Publications in Anthropology, No. 1, 1954, Milwaukee Public Museum.

Perhaps the most intense effort, within the clan, in this case to raise and provide money, occurred in the event of a clan-level murr. The murr was, indeed, a feast. But was so expansive that it was prohibited by the German administration during the first decade of the century and has not been held, in any form, since. At the clan level the murr was announced by the clan chief to honor a particularly prized or productive wife of one of the men of the clan. It was the greatest honor, outside of the strictly political arena, that could befall the Palauan woman who, upon marriage, counted her virtues according to the amount of money she could provide her clan through her husband, and the amount of work and food production that she could generate on behalf of his clan.

The murr was a feast for the entire village for a period as long as three months and culminated in a great show of viand opulence, especially in fish and taro, and in well rehearsed dancing by select teams. The food was provided by the village clubs of neighboring friendly villages: fish and pigeon by men's clubs, taro and gathered produce by women's clubs. Special foods were prepared for dance teams selected from the ten village clans and quartered, for the three months period, in sex-separated rehearsal halls.

On the final day of the murr, amid continual dancing and a veritable free-for-all distribution of food, the clan-chief responsible for the show would pay off the various accumulated obligations: the villages and clubs that had provided food, the dance teams, and

a gift to the clan of the favored girl. The murr was an honor not soon forgotten by the fortunate woman, nor by her children. Its effect, in spurring the married woman to greater productive effort and favor in her husband's clan, must have been a powerful force in the heart of the economic-exchange system. Within the clan the murr was an occasion for competitive, and sometimes back-breaking giving in order to meet the large, obligated payments.

Competition on other lines, while contributing to political supremacy in the long run, might involve side-leg factions in bravery at war, rigid adherence to custom, or increased work output in any possible village enterprise.

The clan contribution, in such competitive situations, is that of the clan as a whole. Differences are noted within the clan but are not (ideally) advertised in public. The fact that economic, as well as directly political competition in the clan is semi-covert or a matter of public embarrassment tends to reduce its spread. It is socially reprehensive for individuals or lineages to seek allies outside the clan, though this has occasionally happened in recent years and may not have been unusual in the past. However, the privacy of clan conflict does not, necessarily, reduce its intensity -- it may be in fact the most emotion-involved area of competition in the whole arena. There is at least one clan in Palau that, as

a result of political competition, produced a series of strategic assassinations a generation ago that has left only a single side-leg. The fission of this single leg, with internal friction among the remaining lineages and population growth, is already evident.

The Division of the Village Clans. -- Each of the clans of a village belongs to one or another bital-blai or side-house. In a narrow sense the side-house distinguishes the first clan from the next ranking clan, but federations among the clans bring in the entire village.<sup>15</sup> The four corner-post clans form a balanced power quartet. For example, clan one may be associated on the same side-house with clan four, while clans two and three lead the federations on the opposing side. Below the fourth clan, the distribution of clans is the haphazard result of federation. Ideally, three of the remaining clans are associated with each side-house: two each to clans one and two, one each to clans three and four. Such a balance is depicted in Chart II and is not unusual, though exceptions are numerous. Chart III shows the rather unbalanced clan-federation arrangement, and consequent lop-sided side-house oppositions, for Ngerebeched village in the Koror cluster.

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<sup>15</sup> At the expense of confusion for the attentive student of kinship structure and terminology, clans that are associated by side-house division are spoken of, by Palauans, as a form of klebliil, which we would here translate as "clan-federation." Since kebliil (= clan) is sometimes used interchangeably with klebliil (= clan-federation) we could arrive at the assumption that Palauan villages are, or were once, composed of only two clans. Yanaihara, op. cit., p. 203, apparently does just this.

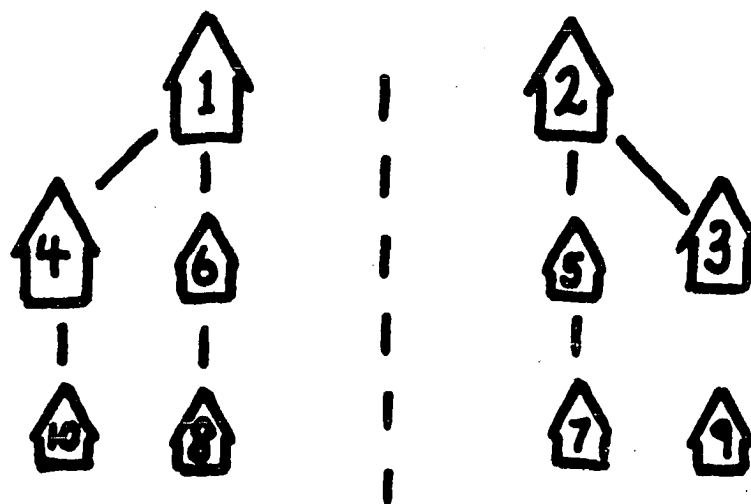


Chart II. The ideal-type side-house structure consists of clan groupings balanced with respect to rank, indicated by numbers. Corner-post clans, drawn larger, are shown with their derived or federated clans below them. The dotted, center line separates the village clans into side-houses.

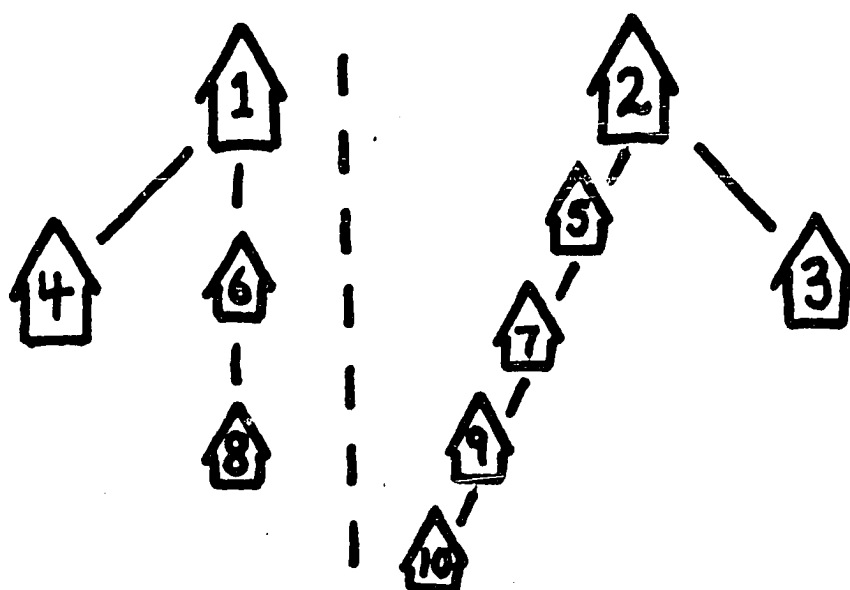


Chart III. Side-house structure based on a hamlet in the Koror village cluster. Corner-post clan #2, in federation with the god-maintaining clan, #5, has created a powerful sub-faction at the expense of the lesser corner-post clans.

Within the village the side-house is of singular political importance since the second clan, leader of one of the houses, is most nearly in position to strike at the leadership qualifications of the ranking clan. The division becomes an important locus of political balance, functioning for the village as a whole much like the side-leg operates in the clan. However, especially in those instances where the first and second clans are brought closer together through a pattern of intermarriage, a tendency for patterned, though informal, collaboration to produce and control competition within the village is also evident.

Side-house competition is manifest in both political contrivance and economic rivalry. If one side-house purchases a war canoe for a village club, the other will, in due time, strive to make a similar public gift. In the village-level murr the honor was for the village as a whole; the provision of food for the village lasted longer; the final celebration was larger, and the money for the show was paid by collections from the clans of the providing side-leg.

When the chief of a corner-post clan in a village died, a ritual was performed that was suggestive of the precarious balance on which political leadership rested at this high village level. The ritual consisted of a sham-attack on the dead chief's house by members of the other side-house in the village. The attack, described as involving considerable war-like posturing and beating against the walls of the house, with occasional actual plundering, was

supposed to last until the clan of the dead chief has made a payment or wergild to the attacking side-house. The payment was made both in expiation for the crime of permitting the old chief to die and to protect the clan at a time that might be ripe for political aggrandizing.<sup>16</sup>

While open competition, productive ability, and economic generosity characterized side-house interaction, political conflict across the houses resembled more nearly the covert pattern observed for intraclan or side-leg competition. Again, of course, outward facing villagers would strive to preserve an appearance of village consensus. The assignment of a special duty to one of the clan-chiefs to preserve the good name of the village (in the Melekeiok listing above this was called "public relations") or to cover any sign of rift or scandal was not unusual.

The Division of the Bai. -- The division of the village into side-houses is reflected in the dimidiation of the titled elders as they sit in village council. In this context the division is called bital-bai or side-bai (shortened from "side-council-house"). In the political arena of the village council the side-bai is more or

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<sup>16</sup> The name of this sham-attack, keril a madechad, may be translated "investigation of a person's death." It was reported to have occurred in full scale as recently as the death of the Mad of Ngaraard in about 1912. J. Kubary reports on such an attack following the murder of a chief in Melekeiok (Ethnographische Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Karolinischen Inselgruppe, Berlin: Verlag von A. Asher and Co., 1885, pp. 43-44).



less an expression of the competitive theme just described for the side-houses. In the seating of the chiefs in council at the bai, the side-bai is reflected in the division of chiefs under the first clan-chief on the one side, the second clan-chief on the other.

The bital-bai occurs also as an internal division (side-club-house) of the village club and will receive specific attention in the next chapter in that context. It is relevant, here, to note that side-bai membership in the village club reflects the position of club members in side-house divisions in the village as a whole.

Up to this point political structure among Palauan women may be more or less dismissed with the note that it paralleled that of the males; each of the clans had its female chief, etc. It may be pointed out that on occasion women occupied positions in the male structure, particularly in Aimeliik where the capital village chief during part of the German administration was female.

Women, both through their formal titles and through their influence on males, played an important part in Palauan politics, and sometimes a dominant part if male legislation threatened their interests or their conception of what was customary and correct. However, their institutions were much less publically evident and, as a consequence, their role in political affairs more silent, informal and harder to trace. This is easily illustrated in the absence of formal female village councils, or in public institutions

such as bai for female meetings. Thus, while the women of a village were aligned with one or the other side-house, as were the men, there was no female side-bai structure. Actually considerable political caucusing among women leaders of the village or clubs occurred at home or while resting in the taro marshes.

The Division of the Village. -- The Palauan village is divided in two distinct ways, one a more or less physical designation, the other concerned with the distribution or competitive alignment of village clubs. The second of these, the bital-taoch or side-estuary, will be discussed in detail in the chapter to follow.

The bital-beluu, or side-village, defines a more or less geographic division of the village into two parts. Where there is a physical marker defining the center of the village, such as a roadway or stream, this is often the demarcation of one side from the other. But this is not uniform. The village of Ngerekeseaul in the Koror cluster is situated along a roadway that rises from the dock in the mangrove swamp to the crest of a hill behind the village. Here the elevated portion and the lower portion of the village, near the dock, are divided by the side-village concept. Again the small hamlets of Ngeremelei and Ngerebachis of Koror are designated as opposing side-villages, though they are more or less autonomous village entities having separate docks, clans, and village councils.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Kubary (op. cit., p. 86) relates a narrative about the overpopulated village of Ardololk (Ngardololk) in Peleliu which, at some early time, divided into two parts each with its own dock and estuary (taoch) through the coastal mangrove swamp, and with a stone levee

Aside from signifying a division internal to particular villages, the side-village concept may also be applied to the village cluster. Thus, taking the capital village as the "center," subordinate villages of one and the other side of the capital village are on opposing side-villages.

The side-village is a well used concept in speech. Palauans often greet one another with the casual opener: "Where are you going?" The expected indefinite reply can often be: "Mora a bital-beluu." But beyond this the significance of the division seems to vary from place to place far more than is characteristic of other half-divisions.

In Koror, early in the years of Japanese administration (circa 1919), a large levee<sup>18</sup> (now called T-dock) was enlarged by the people of this capital village and its subordinate villages. The enlarged

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<sup>17</sup> extending from the shore marking the point midway between the two. This division, he states, was imitated throughout the whole island area of Palau. He relates this division to both the bital-beluu and the bital-taoch. The model does characterize some villages throughout Palau as well as the former structure of Koror village. In Chapter III, following, another narrative is given concerning the initiation of the bital-taoch concept.

<sup>18</sup> The levee is from precontact times and appears in a picture in Keate's Pelew Islands (loc. cit.). As a rule such levees extended from the village across the tidal flats to the nearest deep water. A gap near the village end channeled most traffic close to the village and passing persons in canoes or rafts were obligated to pass slowly (sitting, instead of standing on a raft), pass on news to elders on the shore and receive permission to pass, sometimes at the expense of a donation of fish. This particular dock is also mentioned in "The Caroline Islands" an article by a Mr. Skinner, read to the Asiatic Society of Japan by Russell Robertson, Esq., and reproduced in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. V, part 1, 1876-1877, pp. 41-63.

levee was provided with cross-like extensions at half its length. Half of the levee is said to have been labored on by Palauans from one side-village, half by the other, in a labor force that comprehended all of the villages of the Koror cluster.

The mustering of a labor force on a side-village basis may be a relatively recent practice, associated perhaps with depopulation and the decimation of the village clubs. Certainly when the village clubs were in full strength, these would appear to have been the usual and effective sources of corvee.

In two instances, as related to the writer, the side-village division had political significance. Both cases involve village clusters in such a way that the villages of opposing sides were differently aligned in outside political federation. In one case this division of political alliance split the capital village equally in two. Since the scope of political interaction is outside the village, these instances will be described in the following section.

The Universe Divided. -- In earlier paragraphs the Palauan village has been described as relatively autonomous. To some extent, particularly in times of political strife and war, fierce localized loyalty to the village was essential to the ruling elite who, it would sometimes appear, may have gone so far as to sponsor ignorance and fear of the outside. Village loyalty was instilled in the growing child and is listed first among the various loyalties sought from the individual: (1) to the village, (2) to the clan, (3) to the parents, (4) to the mother's brother, (5) to peer friends and clubmates.

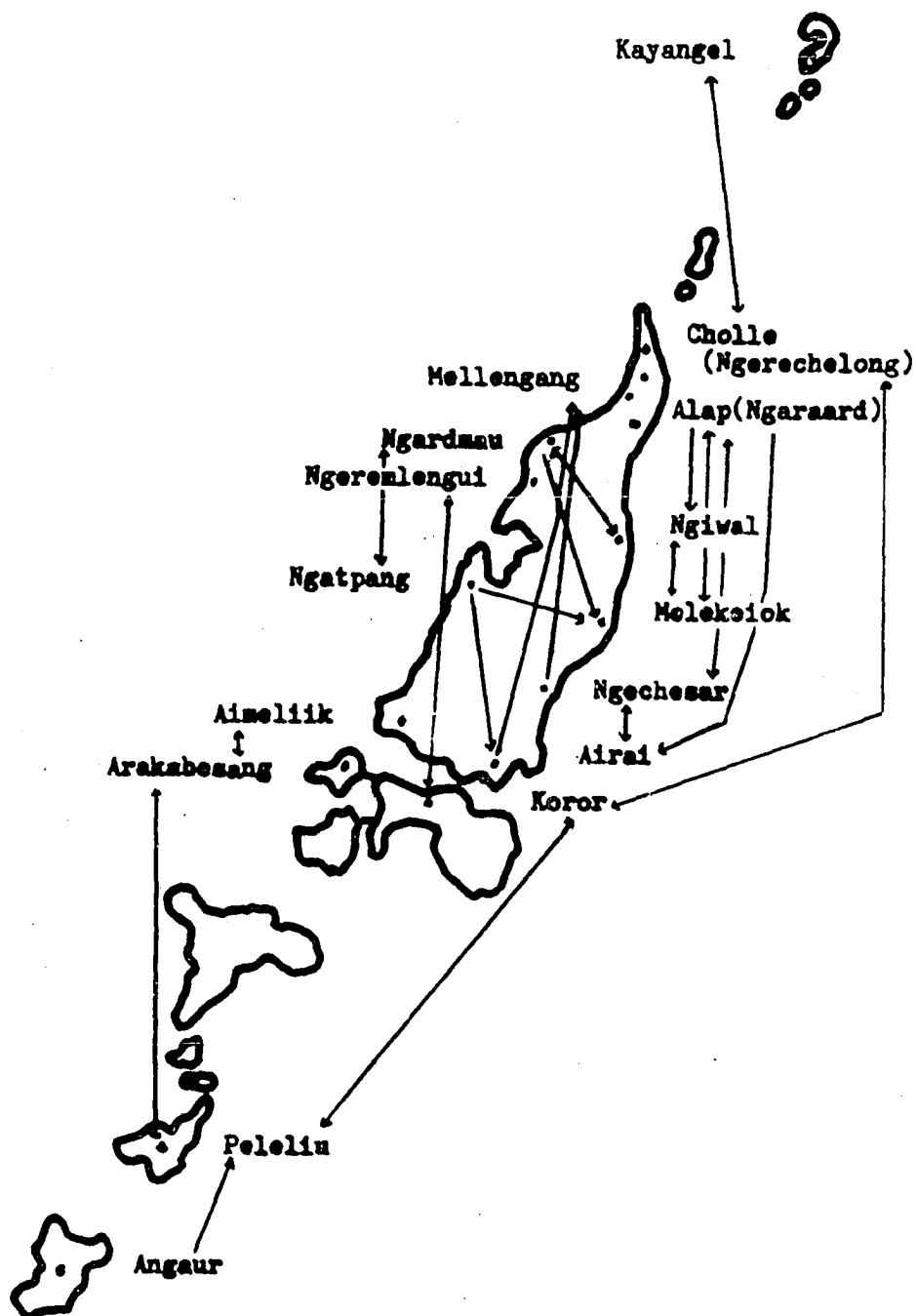
Yet in certain periods, particularly on the part of ranking groups, interaction among villagers appears to have been extensive. An examination of village interaction yields considerable data on associational patterns such as the capital and subordinate village clusters. One also learns of kinship-like ties (klauchad) between villages which bound them in warring alliances and, in some instances, outlawed marriage between the villagers involved. (See Sketch-Map #1) There were patterned visits and feasts, such as occurred at the time of the first harvest of breadfruit, or during seasonal periods of heavy fish harvests.<sup>19</sup>

There were patterned exchanges of village club women for economic and entertainment purposes between widely separated villages, and the procurement of women, though not always on friendly terms, by powerful villages for service in their club houses was a part of the history of most small villages. There were strong political and kinship bonds between leading clans of widely separated villages and, in some instances, villages that were traditionally in a state of enmity were thus bonded through their mutual elite.

In the popular ideology, at least as it was promulgated by the elite, the Palau island archipelago comprised a universe

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<sup>19</sup> For a description of the breadfruit feast (omengal mark) as it occurred at Ngechsar see R. K. McKnight, "Breadfruit Cultivation Practices and Beliefs in Palau," Anthropological Working Papers, No. 7, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1960. In Airai a certain reef fish could be caught in quantity at two specific times during the year, each of these bonus catches marked the arrival of guests from two other villages to share in the feast.



SKETCH-MAP #1 Some Intervillage Friendship Patterns: Arrows indicate specific direction of friendship indicated. In some cases sources report reciprocity, in others not. Friendly relations did not bar feuding relations (c.f. Sketch-map #2) and were often across the side-heavens, apparently among the elite.

surrounded by an ocean that ended somewhere around the horizon. This universe was divided into halves: bitalianged-ma-bitalianged, the side-heavens. This division split Palau into two parts, northeastern and southwestern, which were roughly equal in size.<sup>20</sup> Considering the depth of Palauan history and the pan-Palauan continuity of political structure, it is possible that the semi-states thus delineated are quite ancient. However, power groupings within them and political boundaries between them apparently fluctuated considerably. Fairly late in Palauan history, perhaps 300 years ago, the northeastern side-heaven was mobilized under the capital at Melekeiok, called "Artingall" in Keate's account of Palau in 1783,<sup>21</sup> and the southwestern side, after some battles that were still being waged in 1783, came to be dominated by Koror.

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<sup>20</sup> Few references give the same information on this topic, but the division of village clusters into side-heavens that the writer has found rather widely substantiated in interview and in lore is as follows: (Roughly in rank order.)

<u>Southwestern</u>	<u>Northeastern</u>
Koror	Melekeiok
Ngeremlengui (Imeyong)	Ngiwal
Aimeliik	Ngechesar
Ngatpang	Ngerechelong
Ngardmau	Kayangel
Peleliu	Half of Airai
Angaur	Some villages of Ngaraard
Half of Airai	
Some villages of Ngaraard	

<sup>21</sup> John Keate, Pelew Islands, loc. cit.

In any event, at the time of contact and thereafter, the division between the side-heavens formed the principal cleavage for chronic village feuding (see Sketch-Map #2) and, at the level of the common people, animosity between the side-heavens appears to have been genuine and deep-rooted. Palauan adults, who as school children had to come to Koror from the northeastern sectors of Palau during the early Japanese administration, can recall the hostility with which they were greeted in the opposite side-heavens.

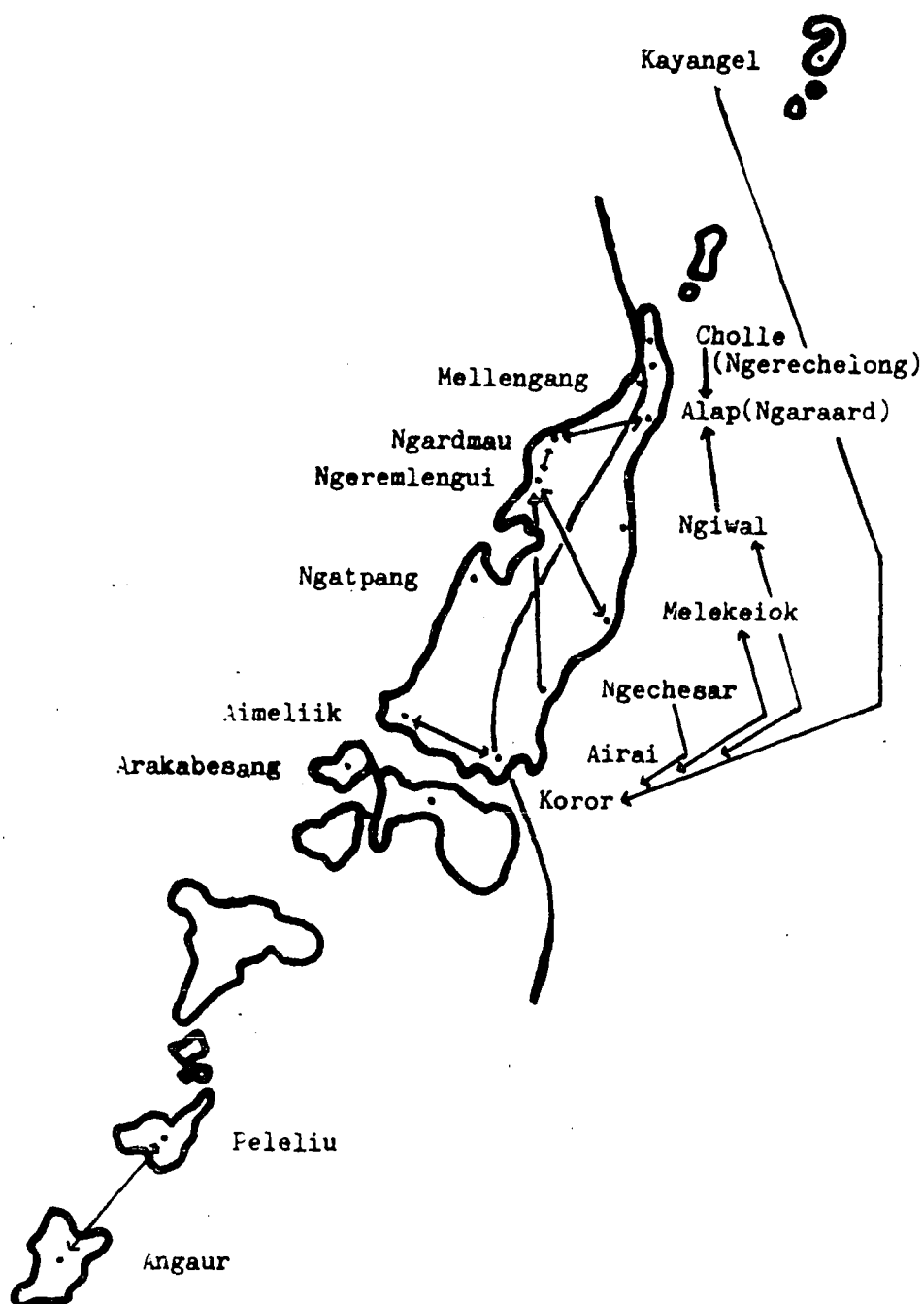
In the popular image the side-heavens were traditional enemies and hate campaigns seem to have been promoted by the super-elite of either side. The latter, apparently, manipulated rather freely above the whole fracas. Certain aspects of this elite interaction were quite open (such as intermarriage, the purchase of war canoes, prefabricated bai, and other major objects such as large wooden containers, used by village clubs); other aspects were conducted with attempted, absolute secrecy.

One might say that village chiefs found it convenient to have the major venom of aggressive energy given a focus outside of the village, or village cluster. If this aggressive energy could be manipulated to the mutual advantage of the super-elite, so much the better.

A typical version of such manipulation occurs in the following account:

It was possible for the chief of a capital village to obtain money via secret negotiations with the chief of another capital





SKETCH-MAP #2 Some Intervillage Feuding Patterns: Arrows indicate specific direction of traditional animosity indicated by sources. Heavy curved line, north and south, indicates division of Palau into side-heavens. Most, but not all, feuds were across this line.

village -- provided that popular enmity between the two village clusters was sufficiently intense.<sup>22</sup> Suppose that such a chief were short on Palauan money and had some urgent need for it. If there were a war handy, he could ally his village with one or the other side and dispatch a village club for a price. However, this was not necessary and not completely predictable.

He could, rather, send a thatching needle (rrasm), broken at the middle and wrapped in a leaf to insure secrecy, to the chief of a "hated" village cluster. This message, with no further oral commitment by the messenger, signified that the sender was "broke." The receiving chief would send, in return, the name of a location, convenient for ambush, and a length of twine with some knots tied in it (teliakl),<sup>23</sup> keeping a synchronized twine for himself. Daily the two chiefs would untie a knot and on the day marked by the last knot, the "broke" chief would send a small force of men to the designated location. Here the force would surprise and decapitate a single individual -- a dispensible (or trouble making) person sent on a hoax

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<sup>22</sup> The geographic context for this illustration was the enmity between Ngeremlengui and Melekeiok both prestigious villages within their opposing side-heavens.

<sup>23</sup> The teliakl, the Palauan kipu, was used for marking the passage of time, usually days, but sometimes moons, for a variety of purposes. Among the most elaborate was a system of meteorological predictions maintained by elderly women specialists. They may still be used by Palauan elders particularly in connection with catching turtles.

errand by the cooperating chief. The victim's head, displayed with appropriate festivity throughout the neighboring allied villages, would draw large cash awards (as the head of a hated enemy) for the coffer of the "broke" chief. At some future time the now wealthy chief could expect to reciprocate in kind.

Similar patterns of cooperation were useful to engineer a convenient assassination, to build up morale at home, or to subdue an unruly, though allied village by subjecting it to "outside" attack without damaging internal systems of loyalty.

In two instances, touched on above, the side-heaven division of Palau split a village cluster into potentially antagonistic halves: at Ngaraard, where the villages of the east coast were with Melekeiok and the villages of the west coast were with Koror, and at Airai where the boundary for the half-heavens passed through the center of the capital village and was demarked by the village levee. In fact, in Airai the division extended even to the village side-houses, dividing the clans into different side-heaven alignments. While unquestionably confusing from the standpoint of local loyalties, two illustrations have been offered by Palauan sources to demonstrate the economic and political utility of the arrangement.

During a period of general conflict, the Ngaraard village cluster coveted a canoe belonging to the village of Melekeiok, the leading capital village of the northeastern side-heaven. The Ngaraard villages on the east coast, belonging to the northeastern

side-heaven, negotiated with Melekeiok for the canoe, but without success. Still determined, the villages of the other coast, belonging to the southwest side-heaven, generously offered to help a village (Arakabesang) then at war with Melekeiok. In the conflict that followed, Melekeiok was bettered in a skirmish that won for the Ngaraard village cluster the prize of the coveted canoe.

In the other instance, Airai, centrally located between Koror and Melekeiok, became a kind of espionage center. In an English account of Palau in 1791, "Iry" (Airai) is described as being "guarded against invasion, by being the residence of the prophet, the inhabitants of all the islands holding his place of abode sacred."<sup>24</sup> By virtue of partitive membership in each side-heaven, the people of the separate side-houses of Airai had access to conferences and information considered confidential by each side. Undoubtedly with returns of an economic and political nature, the Airai side-houses were able to negotiate this information across the boundaries in a way that must have been disturbing to the intelligence agents of both sides. On the other hand, regardless of the sacred character of the sanctuary in 1791, Airai occasionally did catch the full fury of side-heaven conflict in its full intensity.

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<sup>24</sup> John Pearce Hocking, "Supplement to the Account of the Pelew Islands, Compiled from the Journals of the Panther and Endeavour," G. and W. Nichol, London, 1803, pp. 8-9.

Intervillage conflict was not usually for the sake of territorial aggrandizement and did not generally eventuate in strong political control beyond the immediate neighboring villages of the successful aggressor. The pattern of battle was quite formal and individualistic. Marked canoes served as messengers plying between enemy forces in conflict, fighting followed formal declarations, and the first bloodshed usually ended the skirmish, or the dispute was settled in "summit conferences" frequently called among the "warring" super-elite.

In a meeting that followed a skirmish in which Koror, with the help of English riflemen, bested Melekeiok in 1783, Captain Wilson noted the "unnatural" friendliness between the chiefs of the half-heavens: the Reklai of Melekeiok and the Aibedul of Koror.<sup>25</sup> Again, in a narrative concerned with the first arrival of guns in Melekeiok, probably in the early 1800's, the elite of Melekeiok consort with the elite of Peleliu and manage to procure several firearms. This was an era when Koror had guns and Melekeiok did not. It was known that Melekeiok intended to use them against Koror. The narrative continues with the rather strange account of how the elite of Peleliu, nominally enemies of Melekeiok and allies of Koror by virtue of side-heaven alignment, went to Aibedul, the chief of Koror, and interceded to allow safe passage

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<sup>25</sup> Pelew Islands, op. cit.

for the Melekeiok men returning with the guns. The Aibedul, at the request of Peleliu, called off the watches that had been established for this purpose, and dispatched them to out of the way places while the Melekeiok men passed safely by. In the hills of Babelthaup, once within the safety of their own side-heaven, the account concludes with the Melekeiok men firing their arms in the air, defiantly, in the direction of Koror. In this account, at least as told to the writer, there is no mention of the money that changed hands, or the reciprocal favors that were responded to before and after the event.

It is hardly denied that Palauan leaders have, on occasion, become emotionally involved in intense wars of revenge and political supremacy. Sometimes, even in the best engineered conflict, plans went askew or the wrong participants got killed. However, in such an atmosphere, village feuding could assume a sham or unreal character. It could be turned on or off. Like many other dimensions of social competition, the conflicts tended to be ideal tensions perpetuated and manipulated for a variety of purposes: to give the militant clubs a target, to maintain control over the people of capital and subordinate villages, or for economic gain. For village feuding to have been less ritualized and controlled than it was might have disturbed relationships among the super-elite.

None the less, tensions have a way of getting out of control and there were wars in Palau in which land was alienated from the

enemy, total village populations were wiped out and enslaved (instead of the more civilized abducting of female hostesses for village bai service), and hate boiled over the intended boundaries and conventions. This characterization of Palauan intervillage conflict appears to have been particularly true of the Palaus during the trying 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### Political Ideology

Palauan political ideology, in so far as it is systematized, is more a technology of means for gaining recognition and influence than an ethic or general code. Images of ideal leadership in various contexts do not conform to an easily articulated political ethic; the llach or "laws" defining specific behaviors, like bowing before elders, are not formulated in an apparent, organized code; and the rolel or "ways" which find validity in tradition are, on the whole, not molded into a systematic body of philosophy. By this it is not intended to imply that a system of ethics, codes, or a general philosophy could not be derived out of, or "discovered" in detailed studies of these areas. What is meant is that, in the area of political ideology, this systematization already exists in defining political strategy.

The rolel a kululau or "ways of politics" comprise a series of named strategies or personal disciplines for the political aspirant that are recognized by articulate Palauan elders throughout the islands and the main problem for the ethnologist in "discovering"

them is that they are, or have been until recently, regarded as secret. For example, the individual adhering to a particular discipline of the series does not readily divulge its nature -- though others may divulge it about him.

Political strategy, along with military strategy, Palauan judo, and some of the crafts, may be classed as a well developed and carefully studied art. It is defined in behavioral terms not mystical or magical.

The Ideal Leader. -- The general context of political competition in the village, and between villages, has been presented, and the discovery that political strategy, in such an arena, is defined and systematized seems logical enough. However, the rationale of the political strategies will be more apparent if some definition of the Palauan conception of the ideal leader is first attempted.

The idea of good leadership in the traditional setting varied according to the particular strategy followed by the leaders, and has been subjected to challenging as well as confusing foreign models (German, Japanese, and American!). It is possible, however, to point to some ideals that appear to have been generally accepted.

By-passing the very young man, who was expected to be loyal to his village club, the ideal mature leader in the club setting had the expected qualities of bravery and prudence. He was not, generally speaking, pictured as a capable group leader, but rather



as a hero. It was through his personal acts of heroism that he gained club loyalty and respect. His place in battle was at the dangerous location and he was expected to be strong and daring in a skirmish. However, tricky tactics, craft, and prudence were equally expected and cultivated. A particularly dangerous job, an ambush or assassination, would not, ideally, be detailed to a club member who did not, at the same time, show good leadership qualities. Where skills or bravery were associated with any club project, the leader was expected to dominate. In work output, the hero leader was expected to set the quota through his individual effort. The strategies of political behavior deal with ways of winning people over, not organizing them into effective groups and, in general, the political arena is occupied by the competitive individual -- the hero, not the organizer.

This ideal of the individuality of leadership is explicit in the award of the dugong bracelet. The dugong is a sea mammal, similar in size and general shape to the sea lion and found particularly in the seas around Palau. A limited number of vertebra from the neck region of the animal have a central aperture about the size of a man's wrist. None of a sample of nine studied by the writer was large enough to fit easily over a man's hand. The dugong bracelet was awarded to a mature man of a club who had demonstrated some of the above characteristics of leadership. He was expected to become a great leader and eventually a high-titled

elder in the village. The award was the individual's initiation into this leadership role, and was purchased for award to the individual by his clan chief. Without going into great detail, it can be pointed out that the award (or operation) in which the bracelet was put in place involved the breaking of the wrist bones, the insertion of the fingers through the aperture, the tying of the fingers to the rafters of the bai, and the forcing of the bracelet over the crumpled hand to its permanent place on the wrist. During the operation, which was conducted by the individual's club and was expected to take several hours, the individual was given repeated beetlenut plugs and was expected to remain conscious. He was supposed to display those qualities of bravery for which he had already shown aptitude. Recovery was expected to take several months and permanent deforming of the hand was not unusual.

The award was an act of honoring a promising young leader, to be sure, but more than this it was the initiation of the individual into the role of an (expected) village hero. The dugong bracelet, therefore, was something to live up to, not a reminder of past reputation. It was not a title, nor was it generally given to a title holder.

Political behavior while at a distance from any particular goal was characterized by open competition in the sectors described -- bravery, endurance, productivity, heroism. Behind the scenes, it would be characterized by craft and the quiet discrediting of

opposition. Rumors, whispering campaigns, and slander were the expected products of political ambition. The political use of obligations was standard. The individual might have the backing of his lineage, his side-leg, his clan, or his club, depending on his standing in these and the size of the political arena. Political protocol permitted vigorous campaigning, along the line suggested, up to the point where the goal seemed within grasp. After this, when directly approached about the matter, in public at least, the individual was expected to show distaste for the office or to claim personal incapability for the position.

Once a position had been attained, it was generally unchallenged. Ideally a title was for the lifetime of the individual, though a chief could be deposed by the village council, and a village chief could be exiled from the village. Assassinations both of candidates and office incumbents was not infrequent in some village histories. The village club leader, of course, had some of the typical problems of an intermediate leadership position: he received orders from the village chief or council and performed them through his club. While protecting his club from actual abuse, the club leader was expected to collaborate closely with the council and other peer leaders. But his public behavior before his club was, ideally, designed to fix himself, in the members' minds, as one of them. Clan title holders, in the council and side-bai, could have the support and protection of these formal groups and

could make use of competition and various diversionary devices: feasts, murr, special gifts to the village, and so forth. Those with elite standing had the sanctity of godliness to back up their positions, or could generally command the backing of the village god, through generosity toward the god-maintaining clan. In addition, as we have seen, the elite could collaborate on an inter-village level for the promotion or protection of their interests.

The Political Disciplines. -- As one source put it, all of the great Palauans in history gained their stature through the use of one of the seven political disciplines. The process of education in the disciplines presents a problem that is typical of esoteric education in matrilineal clan societies. Some Palauans are known to have learned the strategy they are described as using from a maternal uncle who used the same strategy. This is the formal tradition. However, others might learn from their father, as did one of the sources in this study. Palauans, in the experience of the writer, do not make as great an issue of this discrepancy as does the ethnologist.<sup>26</sup> Some young men are closer to their father than to their maternal uncle, and some fathers are more firmly bound by the biological tie to their sons, or an affectionate tie

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<sup>26</sup> Several passages in Barnett's Palauan Society (op. cit.) deal with the tradition and exceptions to learning from the maternal uncle. For a classic in the problem see Malinowski's Crime and Custom in Savage Society (op. cit.).

to an adopted boy, than by their clan-based tie to their nephews. Education in the disciplines was not "universal." Where only one of these tutors knew a discipline, that was the one typically learned. However, since the disciplines were studied by mature young men, who had the opportunity to see their elders perform in the political arena, the choice of tutor was sometimes made by the individual himself and involved neither the father nor uncle but a man of established political greatness, or a man whose behavior was personally idolized by the prospective student. The learning of the disciplines was not, necessarily, restricted to elite though this too was the formal or expected tradition. It might be more difficult for a commoner to find a willing tutor. According to the writer's sources, instruction in political discipline was not conducted with a reward of money in mind. No doubt this too was an ideal. Certainly the recipient gained a heavy obligation along with the instruction and, in the stories narrated about this and similar learning situations, this obligation is directly met through gifts or favors. In one narrative the thankful student installed his younger sister in the household of his tutor.

Again in the ideal tradition only one discipline is learned. The idea that more than one discipline might be learned by an eager student amused one source who felt that this would be a waste

of time because one discipline, properly used, was sufficient to ensure the advocate political success. In those instances where sources freely discussed their particular political strategy, there was a very evident sense of pride and identification with their given discipline.

Before stating the disciplines, it must be observed that the writer did not have the opportunity to "learn" any of them. Like Zen or the yogi disciplines, they require intimate tutoring, demonstration, and practice. The media for instruction range from illustrative folk tales to details of facial expression. What follows, concerning the seven disciplines, are therefore simply names, definitions, and some illustrations:

1. Omchar a reng (Buying the Heart). -- This is the discipline of anticipating the other's pleasure. It involves generosity in favors, gift giving, and praise.<sup>27</sup> The art of anticipating the response most desired by a question is polished. Facial expression is a study in pleasure. To show the level of detail used in instruction, one source explained that the advocate responds quickly to any question or command: "If there is spittle in your mouth, you answer first and swallow later." The use of humor to cajole the led is approved. In dance, it is proper to wear a smile, to make the dance gay.

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<sup>27</sup> J. Useem ("Structure of Power in Palau," pp. 141-148, Social Forces, Vol. 29, 1950) appears to be discussing this discipline and another similar to number 5 below when he contrasts "using bait" with "by the torch" as political doctrines, p. 145.

2. Mengar ma Mecherochr (Bitter and Salty or To Taste the Bitterness of Salt). -- Involved in this approach is a set or determination to do the impossible. Where alternative courses are available, the most difficult would be proper. In voice and action there is a positive accent on ability. By way of illustration, an individual who undertook a major fishing operation elected to use traps. This is considered, by some, to be the most grueling technique and the fisherman was described as an advocate of this discipline.

3. Ideuekl chemaidechedui (The Concealment of the Lizard). -- This technique, which is perhaps the most widely known,<sup>28</sup> derives its name and style from the behavior of a lizard that may be seen to dart around to the other side of a tree trunk to conceal itself from an observer. Regarded as one of the most effective disciplines when properly used, it involves tactics designed to surprise and confuse the opposition -- to keep the opponent off balance. Facial expression is a study in noncommitment. In maximizing the unexpected and variable, the approach is reminiscent of the use of randomness in game-theory applied to military and political strategy. The selected alternative, where there is a choice, is the one calculated to surprise. No goal is openly approached and, ideally,

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<sup>28</sup> R. Force in Leadership and Cultural Change in Palau (op. cit.) refers to "amaidechedui" as a simile describing Palauan circumlocution. (p. 143.)

the objective is secured before the plan is discovered. To become identified as an advocate of this discipline can be disastrous, since the public is immediately suspicious of any move. However, a virtue of the discipline is chameleon-like vicissitude in pace and tactics and the strategy permits long lapses into pleasant openness and generosity during which suspicion can be allayed. In a fable about two crabs who are competing with each other toward a political goal, a rat enters the narrative as a third aspirant. The crabs, observing the political tactics of the rat, decide he is using the "concealment of the lizard" and kill him.

4. Bkokuii ere reng (Sympathetic Heart). -- This is a study in empathy with the other person. It involves serene contemplation of the difficulties of others and thinking of another's situation as one's own. Sources identify it with the golden rule and ideal Christian behavior. Returns are expected from those who are grateful.

5. Tuich el kululau (Firebrand Politics). -- The essence of this technique is the successful threat. Depending upon the circumstances this threat may be rendered by loud boasting, by out-shouting the opposition, or by a display of anger. In its more refined use, it utilizes veiled threat, soft rather than harsh words, quiet confidence rather than open bragging. It involves the use of bluff and rumor -- that one's village club is stronger, that one has acquired guns from a passing European ship, that one has a strong political leader as a supporter, and so forth. Facial expression is stern and threatening, or at least confident.



6. Tuich el kululau e loubuch ra ralm (Firebrand Politics Extinguished With Water). -- In a way this is a response to number five, above. As a discipline it involves responding to anger by quiet calm and kind words. If it has a character of its own it would be appeasement and the use of compromise. Buying off an opponent is approved.

7. Dmolch ere reng (Sincere Heart). -- This discipline suggests a quiet rational approach to any problem; the acceptance of any circumstance without getting ruffled. The advocate does not defend himself against criticism, and would meet anger with sincere concern. It involves more a checking of the facts than backing down altogether, but it does not meet anger with anger. The advocate is serene in the face of danger.

With respect to one of these with which he was fully familiar a source explained that it could be diagrammed with three aspects arranged on the circumference of a circle about a fourth. The three points are countenance, food, and entertainment. These three aspects depict foci of attention and therefore are of utmost importance to the aspiring leader. The way a man appears in the beginning of a public meeting, his expression when talking, or when being criticized, all are closely attended and are public aspects of the leader that are subject to interpretation.

Food symbolizes the art of giving correctly and, as ethnologists have pointed out for most areas of the South Pacific, a

gift of food is an act of generosity, peacemaking and general good will. Considering the formal part that the giving of food plays in the economic-exchange system, the appearance of food as a special topic of consideration for the leader is not unexpected. Entertainment, as companionship, plays a central part in at least one of the disciplines -- the Buying of the Heart -- but may be taken to refer to the general art of providing recreational outlets for subordinates, such as characterized by the provision of club hostesses and the dancing that accompanies the murr and similar festivities. It can be seen that these three are specifically relevant to the public areas of competition formalized by the half-divisions.

The fourth aspect was described by the source as occupying the center of the circle, the others arranged around it. This was the reng or "heart." The reng is both the essence of the strategy and the private attitude of the actor -- his mind-set or motivation. In outward form, the reng is expressed in public acts of food giving, facial expression, or in companionship with others. But the reng is not, itself, publically expressed. For example, in the discipline "Buying the Heart" one's generosity is not a point of bragging. Applied to other strategies, the reng becomes the real motive behind the concealment of the lizard, the real circumstance behind the bluff, and so forth. It does not have a public form, other than its expression via public aspects. It

would appear that the concept of reng, as here used, refers to the complete identification of the individual with his particular discipline so that the discipline becomes his personality, and to the private nature of a discipline and the reluctance on the part of the trained person to divulge the strategy which he has learned to employ.

#### Competition: Some Generalizations

In the main the task of this study has been perceived to be descriptive: a portrayal of Palauan social structure in which the theme of competition is traced through some of its institutions. However, before turning to the village club, and continuing with the basic theme of competition in that setting, some brief generalizations on the character of competition in Palau can be drawn from the materials thus far presented. They can provide a short summary of the materials covered, as well as an introduction to competition as it occurs within the club.

Summary of the Half-Divisions. -- Beginning with the clan, five half-divisions have been described and illustrations have been provided to demonstrate the nature of competition across them. These five, and the institutions to which they are relevant, are as follows:

Half-DivisionDivided Institution or GroupSide-leg (bital-uach):

Clan, with some lineages on one, some on the other side.

Side-house (bital-blai):

Village clans as a group, with the first clan heading one federation, the second clan heading the other.

Side-bai (bital-bai):

Village council and clubs, with membership on one or other side paralleling membership in the side-houses.

Side-village (bital-beluu):

Village, demarking it into two physical parts; also the village cluster with the capital village as mid-point.

Side-heavens (bital-ianged):

Villages of Palau, with those of the northeast dominated by the village of Melekeiok, those of the southwest dominated by Koror.

A further division, the side-estuary (bital-taoch) pertained to the alignment of village clubs and will be treated in the chapter to follow.

Membership in one or the other of these half-divisions did not, as such, determine the status ascribed to an individual, except in so far as one or the other side succeeded in gaining consistent

honors in competition. Rather the sides of the divisions were conceived as balanced (with the possible exception of the half-heavens which did tend toward aggrandizing political entities in their final historic phase). More precisely, the hierarchical status of the individual depended upon his inherited position in the vertical structure described earlier, and upon his personal ability to maintain or better that position during his lifetime. Individual striving for status in Palauan society did, to some extent, assert itself in direct assaults upon higher positions in the vertical structure and many eras of chieftdomship are punctuated by an assassination. However, for the most part the direct vertical competition for status was carried out in covert campaigns and some of the political strategies discussed in the previous section are rather specifically geared to this approach to individual political success.

The half-divisions deflected aggression of an openly rebellious nature in the hierarchical structure. From the standpoint of the assertive individual, the competitive half-divisions provided a public arena in which he could demonstrate his prowess in the activities to which the sides were addressed. Thus, in the main, the half-divisions in Palauan society were directed toward productive enterprise: the production of food by the lineages, the balancing and improvement of political legislation in the council, the construction of public works and the protection of the village

by the clubs. From the standpoint of the leading elite, the side-heavens were similarly useful in promoting internal solidarity through the externalization of aggression. The individual, through public acclaim as a hero, or productive worker, or successful leader within these formalized arenas of horizontal competition, could achieve status, or anticipate the improvement of his ascribed status, without open assault of a rebellious nature upon the established hierarchy.

Public and Private Competition. -- In those instances, in the institutions described, where social relationships are intimate and biological ties may be regarded as close, formal competitive divisions tend to conduct their political feuds and status seeking in private. This is, of course, a restatement of the lime-fruit analogy and is best illustrated in the interaction of side-legs within the clan. Political competition is ideally contained within the unit, economic competition while less successfully contained, culminates in contributions by the whole group as far as outside groups are concerned.

On the other hand, where contacts are less intimate and kinship is weak or irrelevant to group membership, competing groups may display considerable public aggression. So far this has been illustrated in the context of intervillage feuding. In the chapter to follow it can be seen that interclub competition takes on this public character. Two distinct types of control over conflict are evident in the traditional institutions described:

Leadership Collaboration. -- Groups in conflict in the traditional setting were generally so organized that there was a potential for collaboration between the leaders of the groups involved. Depending on the occasion, competition could be promoted and maintained at a high pitch, or terminated through such collaboration. This type of leadership control prevailed, particularly, in conflict situations which were more public in nature. It may be clearly illustrated in the behavior of the super-elite in the context of intervillage conflict. In the village clusters collaboration between the elite of the various villages was also sometimes evident. Again this type of control is to be observed in interclub competition where the leaders of the clubs concerned were drawn from the same clan.

Ritualized Behavior. -- Other groups in collaboration had recourse to public ritual in which the theme of competition was enacted under controlled conditions. At the level of lineage-interaction, in the arena of competition for clan titles, formality which approached "ritual avoidance" (though "intimacy avoidance" would suit the case better) characterized the behavior of immediate heirs. A clearer illustration: between the side-houses of a village the sham-attack on the house of a deceased chief of a corner-post clan was of this character.

These generalizations, seemingly, are fairly complex ways of observing that leaders of groups in public competition could not openly collaborate if they were strangers. Perhaps the most important

point is that, in the traditional setting, leaders in such circumstances were expected to collaborate. Conversely, in those institutions where groups were expected to maintain an outward image of integrity (with public competition limited to contributions to village welfare) internal rift, whether actual or probable, could be denied through public ritual -- a "handshake" in the form of a money payment, formal politeness, or a sham-attack terminating in agreement.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE VILLAGE CLUB

A visit to a Palauan bai where the custom of rafter painting has been maintained can lead to a guided tour through various passages of Palauan history or lore.<sup>1</sup> In the narration of the picture-histories the theme of conflict between villages plays a recurrent part. Important figures in the conflict are the lone hero, the seven marauders, and the village club.

The lone hero has been depicted as a leader-ideal in the preceding chapter. The "seven marauders" occur over and again in Palauan myth and village history generally as a literary device,

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<sup>1</sup> Traditional bai, built in the steep thatched-roof style with richly painted gable and rafter boards, are being replaced by community halls which, in the main, adhere to Japanese architectural conceptions. On the whole the Japanese conception is followed both in the simple line of the building and in a severely plain interior with the discontinuation of gable and rafter painting. A new medium for the rafter painting is the "story-board" which is the painted portrayal of some aspect of lore or history on a short, portable board. An important art-craft item in Palau, the story-board is occasionally hung in the modern community hall and story-board artists may be commissioned to prepare a painting depicting some significant item in village history for this purpose. Story-boards also decorate, rather appropriately, the walls and rafters of modern elementary schools in some villages.

borrowing from the significance of the number, to suggest the great strength of the village concerned -- a village with not one or two, but seven great warriors. The men of village clubs, manning their long war canoes, scurry back and forth from village to village throughout the picture-histories carrying out this or that military mission. The Palauan historian sees the male village club as the military arm of the village, although its functions, some of which can be described here, were diffuse and integrated with most aspects of village life.

#### A Note on Origins

Unlike other major social institutions in Palau, the village club is not provided with a narrative concerning its origin. One elder historian, stimulated in part by the inquiries of the writer, searched for such an origin narrative and concluded, after several months and conversations with other elders, that the village club in Palau was not a very old institution. He found, or already knew, narratives concerned with the building of the first bai, the beginning of the club-hostess system, and occasional mention of groups of young men in older myths, but none concerned with club origins. According to his final conception, the first club in Palau was formed in Koror not long before 1783, the year Captain Wilson wrecked the Antelope on a Palauan island, and was called "Rengebard." This "first" club name may be translated "man of the west" or

"westerner" (or, currently, a Japanese, European, or American). From this the elder historian reasoned that the first clubs were organized after the pattern of marine military units surviving from some early European shipwreck.

Kramer, examining the works of Kubary and Semper, suggests (among other possibilities) that the word referring to village club, cheldebechel, is a contraction of kadil (chadil?) "share" and kabekel "war canoe" -- an etymology that is reasonable since the mark of the true club was the possession of a war canoe. But Kramer goes on to observe that this word does not occur in the earlier writings of Semper (circa 1880) and may, in fact, have become popular very recently.<sup>2</sup>

Considering the nature of the club in Palau, and the presence of similar institutions in surrounding cultural areas, it is hard to credit a position that the club is "recent" or that it followed an European military model after contact. Perhaps some aspect of the institution, which was so much a part of life as to be considered natural, was formalized or certain militaristic forms were invented in recent centuries. The club, in its general form, would seem to be quite ancient in Palau.

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<sup>2</sup> Augustin Kramer, "Palau," in Ergebnisse der Sudsee Expedition 1908-1910, Ethnographie B. Mikronesien, ed. G. Thilenius, Vol. 3, Sect. 3 (Hamburg, L. Friedrichsen and Co., 1919) p. 279.

### Within the Club

The internal nature of village clubs varied considerably in terms of the size and militancy of the village. In the more populous villages a club was ideally large enough to man its war canoe (kabekel). These were rowing canoes, purchased for the clubs by one of the side-house factions, manned by 40-60 persons. Actual club membership, including those too old or young for battle, apparently was often larger. In small hamlets, some having only one club for the untitled, membership simply included all available males.

In those villages that were particularly aggressive, or were the target of frequent raids, the club-houses were more like military armories and quartering members in the clubs constituted a means to insure the quick mobilization of defensive or offensive units. In smaller villages, or quiet hamlets, life in the clubs took on a more leisurely tone and young members began to remain overnight at the club-houses at a much earlier age, or as young as eight or nine years. In compensation for the more rigorous pace of club life in a militant village, these wealthier villages generally had more frequent visits by hostess teams from female clubs in other villages or, in some cases, permanent hostesses were drafted from minor hamlets to maintain the bai and keep the men company.

Thus the club served somewhat different purposes depending on the apparent nature of its village milieu. With respect to internal structuring, however, there seemed to be general consensus from village to village.

Club membership was acquired for most members shortly after birth. This occurred when a member of a club arrived at an infant's home and contracted with the parents for the child's membership. The contract was formalized by the club member tying a twine about the infant's wrist, and by verbal agreement with the parents. In Angaur the verbal agreement, without the twine, seems to have been sufficient. There was, apparently, some competition among clubs to gain new members and in one small hamlet in Airai sources observed that men from a neighboring hamlet might come and similarly contract for infant club membership. Infants of the first two clans in a village, the young elite, were not thus pledged shortly after birth, but were assigned according to club needs at about five or six years of age.

Parents were not, themselves, eligible to contract for the membership of their children in their own clubs and, according to some sources, two children of the same sex in a family could not be contracted for membership in the same club. In this way, as Palauans point out, club membership ideally represented a cross section of the village population, though undoubtedly some clubs proselytized more aggressively than others.

The ideal of a cross section was not met for other reasons as well. For example, clubs had life spans that were not, apparently, determined by any set rules or pattern and the "older clubs" (klou el cheldebechel) were more likely to have a membership of mature

men with fewer young members. As one source expressed it, membership in an "older club" or reassignment to such a club later in life would be considered an honor since the membership was mature and, to some extent, selected for demonstrated leadership ability. However, "young clubs" (kekere el cheldebechel) were more active physically and more interesting for the young member. It may well be that parents made some effort to arrange for the pledging of their sons (and daughters) in these "younger clubs."

Club members would take a passing interest in their new infant members. For one thing whenever the club received a gift of food, divided up a catch of fish, or a harvest of beetlenut, a minor's portion, based also on the standing of the infant's clan, would be delivered to the child's parents.

Parental attention to the young boy dwindled at about five years of age and, at about the same time, boys began to take an active interest in being with their club: playing near their clubhouse, or going with the club on work projects around the village. Their day with the club would become a proud report to their parents in the evenings, though it might consist of little more than watching or carrying drinking coconuts to club members. Kramer cites a club meeting, apparently a rally of some kind, for young boys from six to ten years of age,<sup>3</sup> and elders recall this as a period of intense

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<sup>3</sup> A. Kramer, op. cit., p. 274.

identification with the club. There was no initiation as such. The child simply grew up with his club, gradually participating more in club activities and taking on more responsibilities. Home became a place to eat and (sometimes) sleep. In some villages the boys of the clubs were distinguished with a group nickname, Ngaramonkie was discovered to be in use in one location.<sup>4</sup>

On a particular day often in association with the completion of some club project (the repair of the clubhouse roof or the cobbling of a new section of roadway) the boys of the club who were about seven years old would be rounded up for ear-piercing. Conducted to an expert in this operation, the boys would have their ears pierced and stuffed with curative grass with little ritual. Sources do not consider this to have been initiatory to club membership, it was simply a part of the experience of growing up within the club. It was certainly a necessary ritual, for the man who died without holes in his ear lobes would have them pierced for him by snakes in the afterlife!

In this and other ways, young boys would take their station within the club. In a formal sense this station would be determined

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<sup>4</sup> Club names are generally formed with the prefix ngara ("to be" or "we are") and a word of some significance to the club members. For example, a club formed in Airai to participate in Japanese sponsored canoe races was named Ngarabras ("being or having rice") because a bag of rice was their prize for winning. In the text the club youngsters' nickname, Ngaramonkie, could be rendered "to be monkeys."

by the individual's clan standing in the village, according to the vertical structure described in the previous chapter. However, the club was a flexible setting and recognition counted heavily upon real ability in those activities considered appropriate to club members -- productive labor on projects, strength and daring in battle, craft in tactics, and popularity among the girls. In a gesture that laid stress upon the equal membership of all, and exemplifies the lime-fruit analogy in the club context, club members called one another by the egalitarian word Errang ("Friend").

The Side-bai. -- Positioning in the village club was further determined by the individual's side-house affiliation. Thus, like the titled elders' council (also named and called cheldebechel), the clubs were dimidiated by side-bai. Leadership on one side was maintained by a member from the first village clan, while the opposing side was led by the ranking member representing the second clan. The composition of side-bai in the club reflected in detail the side-house federations of clans in the village.

The potential, therefore, existed for leadership combinations similar to those of the wider village to occur within the club. As in the wider political setting, the leaders of each side-bai shared status with the ranking members of the other two corner-post clans. There was also a club level council comprised of ranking members from the ten village clans. Individuals could rise to the power of club "poles" and the club could be influenced or dominated by



the ranking member from the god-maintaining clan, since major club activities were referred to the village god. Furthermore, club leadership was divided or balanced by the competitive side-bai structure and, at the same time, club leaders were bonded together by shared elite status -- providing the familiar formula for controlled competition.

In club activity competition between the side-bai seems to have been the most common arena. Village projects included work on the roadways, land clearing, the preparation and upkeep of irrigation ditches, maintenance and improvements to village docks and bai, and group fishing for village feasts.<sup>5</sup> These projects were always done by groups in competition and it was apparently not considered prudent for two clubs to work at the same location in competition against each other. Competition across the side-bai could be generated by the opposing leaders, but it could be controlled by the fact of common membership in a single club. No strong feeling of common identity seems to have existed for young villagers belonging to different clubs and the risk was ever present that uncontrolled fighting would replace productive competition when two clubs shared a work site.

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<sup>5</sup> Where auto-worthy roads have not replaced the boulder cobbled paths of the old villages and more of the older village structure is evident, the nature of these projects is evident. In Ngardmau there remains a broad, tree-lined cobbled road from the bathing area through what was once the center of the village which is quite picturesque. In Airai some club constructed a decorative, circular bench of stone

This was particularly true when competition centered in sports such as canoe racing, tug-of-wars, and throwing spear sham-battles. The latter sport (klaikedaub)<sup>6</sup> was the "infiltration course" for the Palauan village club and, in its authentic version, consisted of side-bai teams using actual, sharpened throwing spears. The object was to come close to members of the opposing side without doing injury. In this, and in bai-thatching, when opposing side-bai raced to complete opposite sides of the roof and those working at the apex occasionally pushed each other off, competition between the side-bai reached a peak and sometimes resulted in severe injury or death. Normally a payment by the offending side-bai, backed up by the parallel village side-house, concluded such an incident.

When side-bai were faced with an arduous and lengthy task, such as a major construction, and zest for the enterprise was liable to run low, opposing side-bai leaders could generate a higher level of competition by seeming to be in real conflict and capturing the emotional backing of their faction. But in the event that this technique was insufficient to maintain team spirit, another procedure

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<sup>5</sup> in the center of an intersection. On paths leading out of villages one can find stone platforms to one side of the road that were placed for the tired traveler, or the host bidding his village guest farewell.

<sup>6</sup> This word, klaikedaub, is literally translated "to shower with water" and refers both to this water sport and the more dangerous bout with spears described in the text.

could be employed. Village elders could arrange for the club to host a team of women from a female club in another village.<sup>7</sup>

During work periods the ten girls comprising the team would be stationed in a shelter or rest house built for the purpose in clear view of the work site. Here they would be expected to cheer, or jeer, their assigned mates to greater effort toward the completion of the task. Since each girl was assigned, according to her clan rank in her own village, to one of the ten clan leaders in the host club, the result coincided with the earlier description of the ideal leader. That is, each clan faction within the club was equipped with a hero leader showing off his talents before his female companion and setting the pace for the other members of his clan group.

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<sup>7</sup> With the general name mongol, the club-hostess system had several variants. Klemat el mongol, compounded from klemat (lanyard) and mongol (possibly a form of "to carry" cf., Kramer, op. cit., p. 274), refers to the procurement by an elite man of a bai companion in a contract made when the commoner girl is in infancy or childhood and fulfilled following the first tattooing indicating sexual maturity. In another form, the girl volunteers for economic or affectionate reasons to engage in this individual practice. Blolobl and blduk1 el mongol refer to ten member team visits initiated by the titled elders of either village or by the female club itself for financial and competitive reasons. Blduk1 (rank order) el mongol refers to the clan-based ranking of the team. The word blolobl (the wiggling motion of a snake) refers to an incident in an origin myth for the practice in which the inventive cultural-heroine, Tibitibkmiich, is paired off with a young man temporarily in the manifestation of a snake.

This was not the only function of the club-hostess system (blolobl), but did represent a primary purpose of these visits from the standpoint of the host village: to reward the club and maintain the competitive zest of club life through female companionship.

Fines and Restrictions. -- Participation in club activities was subject to enforcement by overt means. An individual was expected to be strongly identified with his club and to support it, therefore, freely. However, nonparticipation apparently has always occurred and is provided for in the customs of club life. An individual who missed, willingly or not, a work session with his club was (and still is) subject to a fine (ketkad). For a very young member of the club this might consist of a small hand out of food to his club peers who would come to his house after the day of work to collect. For major infractions or absences the individual, or his household, might be subjected to far greater fines in food or money.

Two standard regulations, when violated, could meet with substantial fines or punishments. A club member was not supposed to give physical or material aid to any other club and trespass by a club member in the bai of another was prohibited. The nature of the fine or punishment would depend upon the circumstances as viewed by the club leaders concerned, or by village elders. Actually when a study is made of such infractions a number of cases come to light. For example, clubs were accused of abducting other club members;

individual preferences for membership in another club were considered and honored after an exchange of money; and multiple membership, in clubs in different villages, was quite normal when man and wife came from different villages.<sup>8</sup> When a man, upon such a marriage, or on some other change of residence status, entered a club as an adult, an entrance fee or a feast (olsisebel) was provided for the club by the individual's clan. This was, however, more to gain good standing for the newcomer in the club than to gain admission as such, for clubs were normally eager to accept new members. Also club members could be moved around to balance out club strength at the direction of the village leadership, and the progressive movement of club members belonging to the first two village clans from the "younger clubs" to the "older clubs" was a standard aspect of their progression toward elite leadership status in the village.

Restrictions (blul), akin to martial law, could be imposed on village clubs or upon the village as a whole. Typically a village-

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<sup>8</sup> In such circumstances it was considered proper to divide residence between the two villages concerned. Thus, if a couple resided too much or too long at the husband's village, people in the wife's village might say of her: "She is growing old at the marriage home," with the implication that she was not carrying her load of clan obligations. If the couple remained overlong at the wife's village criticism might be directed toward the husband with the vulgar idiom: "Kiei ra medual" ("He is sitting on his balls") or is loafing about as a guest of his wife's relatives. Actual construction of a residence would normally be in the village of the husband's (maternal) clan.

level restriction would limit movement around the village after dark, or demand that the night traveler carry a firebrand. A club-level restriction would demand that all able-bodied men in the club reside for the period of the restriction at their clubhouse. Such restrictions could occur to meet the needs of military readiness and to facilitate the apprehension of night infiltration when the village was subject to raiding. But restrictions could be imposed for a variety of reasons by the orders of the village leaders, by the sanction of the village god, or by a particular shaman (e.g., in Kayangel during a recent typhoon all villagers were confined to their homes while the shaman performed rites to reduce the fury of the storm). Again when a club was faced with a particularly heavy work schedule members could be confined to the clubhouse.

#### Club Structure at the Village Level

The number of clubs in a village, as suggested earlier, depended upon the population and importance of the village. A reasonable generalization would simply be that, prior to depopulation, major capital villages maintained six clubs each while minor capital villages had four. Subordinate villages, depending on their population and political significance within the cluster, maintained from one to four male and female clubs. For reasons that will be evident, villages generally had an even number (2-4-6) of clubs of either sex and, in addition, they usually had an equal

number of male and female clubs. In fact, each female club was paired with one of the male clubs in an "older brother" - "younger sister" alignment whereby the two clubs worked together in those projects involving a division of tasks by sex.

The main model for the following discussion will be a six-club structure, characteristic of major capital villages. The discussion will find parallel throughout most villages with four clubs but will need some adjustment for villages with two or only one club.

Horizontal and Vertical Structure. -- Like the clans in a village or the villages in a cluster, the clubs of a village were arranged in both horizontal and vertical formations. In this instance the simpler of these formations is the horizontal and will be discussed first.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the clubs of a village were ranged on one or the other side of the bital-taoch or side-estuary. According to one narrative concerning the origin of the concept, there was a village in which two clubs occupied opposite banks across the village estuary or dock (taoch). This situation encouraged keen competition between the clubs as they spied on each other across the dock, and led to the common use of the phrase "cheldebechel era bital-taoch" ("the club on the

other side of the dock"). The idea of arranging clubs competitively according to the side-estuary concept subsequently came to be followed throughout Palau.

Since an effort was made to maintain equal strength on each side, there was usually an even number of clubs in the village. In a six-club structure three would, therefore, occupy each side-estuary. Small villages with only one male and female club for the untitled can not be described as having "side-estuaries," and the only competitive division pertaining to club life in these villages was across the side-bai, internal to the club. In isolated cases, however, small neighboring hamlets would combine some aspects of club structure and refer to the clubs of each hamlet as occupying one side-estuary. Where this occurred the hamlets concerned sometimes report twice the number of clubs that they actually supported.

The side-estuary concept does not relate to the exact positioning of clubhouses in the villages. In general clubhouses on opposing sides would be situated on opposite sides of the village, but placement was dependent more upon the needs of village defense. Where villages had two dock areas, a clubhouse would typically be placed at each, and these would, typically, be of opposite sides. Again where a path cut through a village a clubhouse would generally be situated near each edge of the village on the path, and these were usually on opposite side-estuaries. Placement was such as to afford



defensive units at the critical points of village infiltration, and side-estuary alignment was generally incidental to defense strategy.

Direct competition by clubs across the side-estuary was, presumably, rare. As mentioned above competition within the clubs across the side-bai was more typical than interclub competition because of the risk of open conflict. When programmed interclub competition did take place it was usually confined to clubs of the same side-estuary and included canoe racing, spear throwing, and work on a project at slightly different locations. There was some affiliation among groups of clubs on the same side-estuary which permitted the control of competition by the leaders, but this was not necessarily the case for clubs of opposing side-estuary designation.

The greater part of interclub competition, rather than being of a face-to-face nature, was indirect -- each club striving to build a history of valor and success in work and war and thereby win recognition over other clubs without a direct showdown. Interclub competition might also be compared with interclan or inter-village conflict in the use of covert political techniques to discredit or weaken the opposing units. Thus village clubs were arranged in a hierarchical order that was considered "traditional" but was subject to occasional change.

On a side-estuary the clubs were arranged in rank order, from one to three (in a six-club structure) with the highest club of one side outranking that on the other. The high ranking clubs on a particular side were referred to a klou el cheldebechel which may be translated as "bigger," "older," or "larger" club. Since these clubs seem historically older, this word has been used. The least ranking clubs, then, were called kekere el cheldebechel or "younger club." Where there were three clubs on a side-estuary, the middle was not specifically designated.

The three clubs were not particularly, or formally, age-graded for the members as a whole. In the ideal conceptions each club was a cross section not only of the village clan structure but of its age-structure as well. However, as we observed earlier, clubs rather literally "aged" and grew less responsive to club-spirit. In some villages the higher ranking older club became a collection of older men, with a few young helpers, and maintained its prestige through the maturity of its members, as a kind of advisory board, rather than through the romance of battle or the vigor of work production. In some instances these "older clubs" could be retired with the younger members reassigned to other clubs and the oldest members passing on to a named, but rather nebulous group for older men without title. However, the life-history of a successful club greatly exceeded the lifetime of a member and, with the exception of the elite of the first two clans, most

persons remained in the same club from the time of pledging until they passed, individually, to a titled position in their clan (and hence into the club of titled elders) or into a kind of retired limbo.

New clubs were apparently not formed according to any set pattern. Some sources report that village leaders directed the retirement of an old club and the organization of a new club by leaders from the corner-post clans. In a story told in Ngeremlengui, a club was started there when a group of young men, headed by a vigorous leader from the first clan, bolted their club and successfully formulated a new club. In another narrative, concerned with the first procurement of guns by Melekeiok, the village god of Peleliu where the arms came from specified that there should be a new club instructed in the use of the guns, formed in Melekeiok and given the name Ngarabois ("We have guns"). In the Melekeiok case the new club displaced an older club which was apparently disbanded in the way described above.<sup>9</sup>

Not only were clubs considered "traditional" to a village, but the clubs were viewed as "traditionally" occupying particular, named clubhouses. Thus, just as there seemed to be no particular pattern whereby new clubs replaced older clubs, there was no evident

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<sup>9</sup> Kubary (op. cit., p. 98) describes in some detail the feasting that occasions the formation of a new club for females, but the structural features of this formation are not clear.

pattern in which old clubs relinquished their clubhouses on retirement to younger clubs.

R. Force states the following on this point:

The oldest cheldebechel could be disbanded if the members simply declared en masse that they were too old for further duties. The elders would then retire and be replaced by members of the next younger club, who would move to the clubhouse which the elders formerly had occupied.<sup>10</sup>

Kramer states that if a new club were formed, a temporary shelter would be constructed pending the building of a clubhouse for the new group or the abandonment of an existing clubhouse. He further notes that a particular club in Koror had been through some nine changes of name, with each new generation adopting a new name and each new club performing a series of acts, culminating in a headhunt, prior to recognition as a full-fledged militant club.<sup>11</sup>

In both accounts it appears probable that there is a distinction which can be made between what was viewed by Palauans as "traditional" and what happened in the history of particular clubs or in particular villages. In Melekeiok there appears to have been no change in club names, or in clubhouse assignments, on one side-estuary from early in the 1800's until drastic depopulation reduced the number of clubs the village could support. On the other side-estuary in Melekeiok there were two changes in clubs and in club-

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<sup>10</sup> R. Force, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> Kramer, op. cit., pp. 280-283.

house assignments in the same period. In the hamlet of Ngerekesuaol of the Koror cluster, the hamlet chief recalled the names of five preceding club leaders with no change in the name of the single village club or clubhouse.

Villages did, seemingly, try to maintain a fairly constant number of clubs, and this number apparently varied only as the power, prestige, and population of the village changed in a long historical span. The changes in clubs, in name and clubhouse, certainly changed at a more rapid but essentially historical pace -- allied more with the experiences of particular clubs in the village than with any set pattern or formal age-grading device. One might say that clubs, not individuals within them, were age-graded and that clubs, not individuals within them, were subjected to initiation rituals (according to Kramer's account) prior to recognition as capable, military units.

While general membership in the clubs was not age-graded, the leadership of the clubs, at the level of the first two clans, might be thus described. In a typical arrangement young boys of these two clans, at about five or six years of age, would be assigned to the "younger club" of either side-estuary. If they stood at a low lineage-class level in their high ranking clans and showed little potential for leadership, they might remain in these clubs indefinitely. However, when these individuals were well placed and did show leadership ability, they would receive responsible assignments,

as soon as capable, and advance to leadership in this club. As new leaders came up beneath them, then, these individuals would be advanced to the middle, and eventually to the leadership of the older clubs. From here they were in position to pass to titled leadership in the village structure. It can be seen that, with the side-estuary structure of the clubs, there were more or less parallel positions on this promotion ladder that afforded considerable opportunity for political competition among leaders as well as ample opportunity for elders to make comparisons.

Actually recognized young leaders in the first two clans could be assigned to clubs generally on the basis of need. First clan members could be assigned and reassigned to any club in the village, while members of the second clan could only be reassigned to other clubs on the same side-estuary following their original placement.

It may be pointed out that some interpolation from this scheme is necessary when considering the club structure of very small hamlets with only one or two clubs. However, these variations are generally consistent with the larger structures described. In some two-club villages sources report a graduation by first and second clan leaders from a "younger club," on one side-estuary, to an "older club" on the other. In other villages the two clubs are reported to have had equal status on the opposed side-estuaries

with a minimum of movement back and forth. Where there is only one club in a village, it can hardly be thought of as age-graded in any sense and many members spend their entire lifetime in the same club, others retire, and some pass on to titles.

#### Club Interaction at the Village Cluster Level

Aside from interaction between male and female clubs, via the club-hostess system, there does not appear to have been any formal pattern of interaction between clubs of different village clusters beyond incidental assistance as allies in war or clashes as opponents. Sources mention visits by male village clubs to friendly villages, noting that such occasions often mark the first experience of the young member sleeping in a clubhouse with his fellow clubmen. But such visits do not appear patterned beyond the lines of friendship that can be traced between villages.

Within a village cluster, on the other hand, clubs were tied together by the dual membership of each resident of a subordinate village in a club of his own village as well as one or another club at the capital village. For persons of all but the two elite clans, this dual membership was contracted at birth and was, in a sense, inherited from the individual who first pledged the infant for membership in his club. Thus the individual who made the contract had membership in one of the capital clubs and passed this on to his pledgee. How these dual memberships originated does not appear to be a matter of record -- probably simply by direction of the elite

of the capital villages. When the capital village needed an extra large work force, or desired to reinforce the military strength of its clubs, it could draft this strength from the subordinate villages. In an emergency the subordinate villagers would respond to a signal, typically blown on a conch shell, and proceed to their capital clubhouse. Within the structure of capital village clubs, subordinate villagers would be positioned on the basis of inter-clan federations between their clan and one or another clan at the capital. Thus it would be possible for a member of a low ranking clan in a subordinate village to enter a capital village club at a higher clan level. These paradoxes in clan ranking often hold the attention or amusement of Palauan sources.

Membership on the part of subordinate village elite in capital clubs was a function of assignment and interelite bonds. Members of the two elite clans generally seem to have been assigned positions in the older clubs of the capital village.

Theoretically there was reciprocity in capital village and subordinate village support. That is, capital village clubs could be called upon to assist in a project in a subordinate village as well as the other way around. Because sources disagree so much on the details of this possibility, it seems doubtful if it happened very often. According to some sources capital village club members had a club assignment in each of the subordinate villages to which



they would go in such cases. Other sources state that capital village club members would go as a team from their club and would not integrate with the structure of subordinate village clubs.

A part of the difficulty in generalizing about capital village and subordinate village interaction rests in the fact that the bonds between villages in a cluster differed by historical circumstance. For example in the Koror cluster, the hamlet of Ngerechemai was established by a group of clans that sought sanctuary in Koror after fleeing from strife or starvation in the Rock Islands; the hamlet of Ngerebeched gained residence by assisting Koror in a fight against its enemies; other hamlets in the cluster, such as Arakabesang, were once independently powerful and were subdued during the rise of Koror to political dominance in the southwestern side-heaven. Thus relations between a capital and its subordinate villages, including the extent of reciprocity in assistance, varied according to a number of different historical possibilities.

#### The Ideologies of Success in the Club

According to Palauan sources there were two established routes to success or recognition within the club. One, the rail a mekemad (way of war), emphasized heroism in village raids and strength as a great warrior; the other, rail a redil (way of women), involved popularity among women, both those introduced to the village club as hostesses and the women of the village in general. While the

contrast strikes one at first as light comedy, it may be recalled that women were of no minor significance in Palauan political maneuvering. It may well have been that success in either route could lead to eventual titled leadership in the village structure.<sup>12</sup> The Palauan, however, is seldom adverse to telling tales and facts about old Palau with his tongue in his cheek. The dugong bracelet award, described in Chapter II, would appear to have been reserved for an age group somewhat more advanced than that suggested by this tale.

The folk tale which follows relates to a man who became a hero by both counts. Aside from some of the interesting details that occur in the narrative, the story give further perspective on the routes to success in the club and the hero ideology of club leadership.

Ngiratemrang, the Ladies' Man. -- Long ago, in a village club of Aimeliik, there was a young man called Ngiratemrang who excelled all others in his appeal to women who visited the clubhouse and in gaining the favor of village women. When he was not doing favors for village womenfolk, or entertaining them in some way, he could usually be found sleeping with one of the club hostesses in the bai. His reputation was so widely established that he easily arranged for

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<sup>12</sup> Competition among young Palauans in love affairs recalls the "sweetheart" complex described by Mark Swartz for Romonum island in the Truk group. ("Sexuality and Aggression on Romonum, Truk," American Anthropologist, Vol. 60, No. 3, 1958, p. 475.)

clandestine meetings with the women companions of other club members and was known to have had many liaisons with the village women as well. He was the darling of the womenfolk.

While Ngiratemrang was thus engaged in endless pursuit of the way of women, his village was engaged in a lengthy feud with the powerful village of Koror and, as Aimeliik began to suffer in encounters with Koror village clubs, village sentiment gradually turned from the young men who followed the way of women to favor the young men who sought fame via the way of war. It was, all in all, a very difficult time for Aimeliik for the Koror clubmen would come to each of the four Aimeliik docks and succeed in killing one or two persons at each place before they turned away.

When the men would return to their clubhouse after meeting an attack by the Koror clubs, they would usually find Ngiratemrang there sleeping with the women who were visiting on blolobl. So the men would argue with him: "How can you act like this when your home, Aimeliik, is so desperately in need of you?"

But Ngiratemrang would reply: "Leave me alone. I have become the best man in the village through my appeal to women. By the other road any one of you may, if you wish, become the best man of the village -- by becoming a fighting hero. There are, after all, these two ways to fame in the village club. If I were to succeed in both the way of women and the way of war, then what would be left for you to do?"

One day, following a similar argument, several of the men grabbed Ngiratemrang by the wrist in anger and rubbed his arm along their anuses.<sup>13</sup>

Ngiratemrang quickly grabbed up a beetlenut spathe and carefully wrapped the filth that had been rubbed on his arm, thus preserving the mark of this insult. Soon after this he secretly left the village in search of Ngiramouai of Ngersuul village in Airai who was famous throughout Palau for his excellence as a warrior.

Finding Ngiramouai, Ngiratemrang explained that he was terribly weak as a warrior and wished to study with the great man and become an expert in the way of war. Ngiramouai, sensing the young man's determination, gave him a test to determine if he was really strong at heart and capable of bravery in war.

Without explaining this, Ngiramouai simply advised Ngiratemrang that he might do so, but that Ngiratemrang should first climb a nearby beetlenut tree and bring a bunch down for him. The tree designated was a very tall and exceedingly thin beetlenut tree and, as Ngiratemrang began to ascend, the tree began to quiver and sway. But the determined young man continued to climb. Before he reached

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<sup>13</sup> The occurrence of a similar gesture in Naven, as described by G. Bateson among the Iatmul of the Sapik River, may be noted. Bateson refers to the rubbing of the other's leg with the anus in an act (mogul nggekal-ka) which demeans the performer. ("The Naven Ceremony in New Guinea," in M. Mead and N. Calas, Primitive Heritage, Random House, N. Y., 1953, pp. 186-202.)

the nuts at the top of the tree, the trunk had bent completely over and Ngiratemrang was actually climbing down to his objective. But he returned to Ngiramouai with the requested beetlenuts.

When Ngiramouai saw that Ngiratemrang was thus determined and brave, he made up his mind to teach him all that he knew about the way of war. So he instructed Ngiratemrang to wash, eat, and sleep and, later in the dead of night when no one might listen, he would teach him the art of being a great warrior. This instruction was accomplished in the course of the night and, the next day, Ngiratemrang returned to Aimeliik with the beetlenut spathe still in place on his arm.

Four or five days after his return Koror attacked once again. As usual Koror attacked in four groups, one at each of the docks. Ngiratemrang then began his personal attack at one dock and killed one of the men of Koror. On the way to the next dock he changed his appearance and remained only long enough to kill one more of the enemy. Then a change of disguise and he appeared at the next dock, till he had killed one of the enemy at each dock. In the tradition of such skirmishes between feuding villages, if a person were killed the group retreated. Thus in his four appearances Ngiratemrang forced the retreat of the entire Koror force.

To kill an enemy in such raids was considered to be a great feat and the warrior who succeeded in killing one man was an honored village hero. But it was at first unknown who had killed the four

men in the raid. Thus later, as the men talked among each other, one would say, "I saw the man and he looked a good bit like Ngiratemrang." Then another, who had been at another dock entirely, would say much the same thing. Finally all realized that Ngiratemrang had killed all four men himself.

Later, when the heads of the four slain were displayed, Ngiratemrang was seated in the hero's position outside the clubhouse was was proclaimed great not only by the village women, and the women of the blolobl, but also by the village elders.

Ngiratemrang, unwrapping the beetlenut spathe from his arm, flung it to the ground before the blolobl women. From that day he was known as "Ngiratemrang, a chad ra redil e bekeu ra mekemad" ("the ladies' man and the fierce in battle").

In the long history of Palau, Ngiratemrang is the only man to have won both of these honors. Ladies' men were always afraid of getting hurt or disfigured in battle and great warriors were usually very ugly and hated women.

## CHAPTER IV

### COMPETITION IN THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

Pausing on the stepped path leading up through a village, my companion, a middle-aged Palauan, turned his attention to the neatly placed, large boulders paving the path. In a mood that suggests some of the feeling that Palauans now have toward one another, he commented: "The people who did this work must have been great. We could not do it today. Perhaps it was done in the time of the gods."

Prior even to the earliest detailed record of Western contact in 1783, controlled competitive structures in Palau, particularly at the higher and more comprehensive levels, had begun to show disturbance. Perhaps unrecorded outside contacts prefaced the scenes described by Captain Wilson following his shipwreck in that year.<sup>1</sup> It was, evidently, a year of intense war between the side-heavens as well as between Koror and Peleliu, nominally allies on

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<sup>1</sup> G. Keate, Pelew Islands, op. cit. Palauan folk history of Western contact begins at an unknown time prior to Wilson's wreck. Before this, according to elder historians, there had been two wrecks of European ships at Ulong island, where Wilson met disaster, and a very early Portuguese wreck on Ngeruangel island (now a sand bar) north of Kayangel atoll. The super-elite of Palau claim ancestry to the survivors of this latter wreck.

the same side-heaven. By all accounts this pan-Palauan conflict continued undiminished throughout the century of trader-captains that followed.

Trade, for Palau, apparently began prior to the end of the 1700's. An early account mentions three Europeans in Palau collecting beche-de-mer, tortoise shell, shark's fins, and other articles for the China market as early as 1802.<sup>2</sup> In the 1830's, according to an account by a shipwrecked sailor, there were European residents in northern Babelthau as well as two trader-captains in league with Chief Ibedul in Koror to the south.<sup>3</sup> Of the Ibedul and his alliances with the trader-captains, Tetens wrote in the 1860's:

Of all the kings in the Carolines it was Abba Thule (Ibedul), king of Koror, who had first allowed intercourse with Europeans, especially with the English, with whose help he had brought bribes far more powerful than his into paying tribute to him.<sup>4</sup>

Tetens also mentions great wars between the north and south, apparently between the side-heavens, and of constant feuding, much of it stimulated by Western traders intent on garnering a larger

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<sup>2</sup> J. P. Hocking, Supplement to the Account of the Pelew Islands, London: B. and W. Nichol, 1803, pp. 58-59.

<sup>3</sup> H. Holden, A Narrative of the Shipwreck . . . of Horace Holden and Benj. H. Nute . . . in . . . the Pelew Islands in the Year 1832, Boston: Russell, Shattuck and Co., 1836.

<sup>4</sup> A. Tetens, Among the Savages of the South Seas, Memoirs of Micronesia, 1862-1868, translated from German by F. M. Spoehr, California: Stanford University Press, 1958, p. 5.



estate from which to assemble trade goods. Thus in the 1850's, Tetens relates, Captain Woodin, "a truthful, courageous man," was establishing himself in the area of Ngebuked, a hamlet of the Koror cluster, while Captain Cheyne, "clever but unprincipled," plotted with Chief Ibedul of Koror proper, to gain complete control of the islands. This conflict ended, in Teten's account, when Captain Cheyne, through some device, managed to have Ngebuked and the property of his competitor destroyed by English warships.<sup>5</sup>

Certainly the Palauan elite who saw the rifle in action recognized possibilities for political aggrandizing that had not been available up to that time. Village clubs, in an effort to gain arms in trade, were turned to the collection of the various articles of trade (including the womanly chore of gathering beche-de-mer) or helping, in their canoes, to maneuver the traders' ships through the reefs.

In general, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it would seem that more concentration of power was encouraged, under the stimulus of traders and with the assistance of Western arms. Intervillage conflict not only increased, but was less bounded by codes honored among the elite and by elite control. The temptations of forceful political aggrandizing seem to have led to considerable abuse of political cartels among the super-elite and, in turn, to diminished control

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<sup>5</sup> A. Tetens, op. cit., pp. 4-7.

over intervillage war. Throughout the century disease, economic disorganization, and the breakdown of political loyalties brought depopulation and social debilitation. Through depopulation and unfortunate strategic positioning villages were wiped out or abandoned, village clubs were greatly reduced in number and, in some instances, appear to have turned from orderly head-hunting to piracy.

Disease reached such proportions that, for a period, the main task of the village clubs was the burial of the village dead. In the words of the grandmother to one of the sources, those who dug the graves one day would be buried the next. In Airai, with a tradition of six clubs, there were some fifteen able-bodied men in the village at the end of the century and the village has since supported only one club. Kramer states that his Koror sources report club memberships of around 100 men in the 1850's and earlier clubs of 200 men. In 1910, when Kramer visited Palau, Koror clubs numbered from ten to twenty men.<sup>6</sup>

If commoner Palauans had been held in check by some fear of the unknown beyond their small villages in precontact times, they came, during this period, to learn the very real danger of plunder, ambush, and piracy both at home and on travels. Pessimistically,

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<sup>6</sup> A. Kramer, op. cit., p. 284.

Tetens assumed that Palau would be completely without Palauans within but a short time.<sup>7</sup>

The English who visited Palau, Captain Wilson and others after him, expressed interest to their government in the possession of the islands, but the British government made no formal move to colonize the group. Captain Cheyne, around 1860, seemed well on the way toward documenting a personal kingdom before he was killed by Palauans who eventually found him untrustworthy.

Actual colonial claim to Palau was first established by the Spanish. However, this claim was not met through the establishment of a local administration. Toward the end of the century a Capuchin mission was established in Koror and there appear to have been scattered resident priests throughout Babelthaup. The main effect of the Spanish in Palau, therefore, was in undermining the local religious beliefs. In about 1890 one of these priests, upon the challenge of local elders that he would die for his opposition to the local gods, burned down the godhouse in the village of cobbled paths mentioned in the initial paragraph of the chapter. Still another, angered by an insult to the church sacraments, eventually ordered the destruction of the village, where he had resided, by Spanish warships. In Melekeiok another had the ironic honor of

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<sup>7</sup> A. Tetens, op. cit., p. 4.

helping to launch a religious movement that continues to flourish in Palau today. The priest gained a loyal Palauan convert who, after his death, teamed up with a native shaman healer to lead a mixed Catholic-native religious movement known as Modekngei (Collectivity).

Spanish priests are sometimes credited with the ending of intervillage conflict following an incident in which a village club in Airai, seeking the recapture prestige after a local political setback, raided a hamlet in Aimeliik. In this incident, as well, administrative assistance in a naval show of force is said to have been ordered in by the priests.

When Spain sold the islands to the Germans, who were determined to make up for lost time as a late colonial power, Palauans experienced a much firmer control (between 1899 and 1914) with the establishment of a local resident governor in Koror. The German program was largely economic, with the institution of an enforced coconut planting program that carried trees far up bald, bauxite hills of Babelthaup, where they stand tall and often dramatically barren. German phosphate mining on Angaur island saw the introduction of laborers from such distant islands as Ponape and Truk, and Palauans trace a particular dance style back to this contact. During the German era Palauans faced starvation in a severe failure of taro crops, and were introduced to cassava and new varieties of yam.

To the German administration are attributed the prohibition of the club-hostess system, the elimination of extravagant feasts such as the murr, and the effort to abolish the practice of clubmen living in their clubhouses. All these prohibitions were justified for reasons of economy, the driving purpose of the German administration in trying to make colonialism profitable. Recognizing the power of the native religious beliefs and practices in the adherence to these and other noneconomic customs, the German era was also marked by continued attack on Palauan religious institutions, for example all clan-level godhouses were ordered destroyed.<sup>8</sup>

In their economic programs the Germans did, apparently, attempt to make use of the village clubs, but Kramer suggests that this effort was not very successful.<sup>9</sup> Their programs for coconut planting and their hiring of laborers for the phosphate mining in Angaur appear to have been directed toward the individual, rather than toward any organized group. In terms of political control, the Germans appear to have sought to administer through the village chiefs over the

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<sup>8</sup> These godhouses (ulingang) consisted of small, ornate structures with an inside floor space of about eight by twelve feet and built, in miniature, along the lines of a typical village bai. They were situated in the yard of the main lineage of the clan and, to the knowledge of the writer, only one in Kayangel village remains standing.

<sup>9</sup> A. Kramer, op. cit., p. 284.

villagers as a total community. While this approach may have given the chiefs more apparent authority in their villages (along with considerable liability to the governor), it did not enhance the ability of the chiefs to gain a consensus of village support through the lesser organs of the village political structure.

The Japanese administered Palau, as a mandate to the League of Nations, between World Wars I and II, and the American government has subsequently administered the islands through the Department of the Interior as a Trust Territory for the United Nations. With the beginning of the Japanese administration, the historical record is quite well documented in some of the works mentioned already,<sup>10</sup> however, some relevant items can be mentioned.

In about 1928 the Japanese administration abolished the village club institutions and instituted four-step, age-graded organizations throughout Palau modeled after the same organizations in Japan. These organizations do not appear to have become effective village institutions, for example as instruments of public works, but featured prominently in the competitive arena of organized sports, especially baseball, track and field, and swimming. Prior to the Second World War the Seinendan (Jap: Young Men's Association), comprised of the young adult age-grade level, became the core of the Japanese administered Palauan civil defense, as it did in Japan proper.

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<sup>10</sup> See T. Yanaihara, Pacific Islands Under Japanese Mandate; J. Useem, Report on Palau; H. Barnett, Palauan Society and Being a Palauan; and, perhaps the best for the present focus, R. Force, Cultural Change and Political Power in Palau.

The extent to which village political groups below chief had deteriorated by or during the Japanese administration is indicated by a word that became popular during the period: "Ouaisei-kaigi," which is half-Palauan, half-Japanese and means "Yes-assembly." The term applied to village councils, assembled by Japanese order, to nod an approving "ouaisei" at any Japanese suggestion. The power of the village chief himself was greatly mitigated by the Japanese village policeman, and by the Japanese tendency to dismiss recalcitrants in favor for more tractable "heirs." Thus, while inadequate or unpopular chiefs were occasionally assassinated or exiled in the traditional setting, in the Japanese era they could be replaced by administrative order -- though not necessarily to the advantage of the villagers.

Perhaps, however, since the Japanese heavily populated Palau with Japanese, Korean, and Okinawan colonialists, the diffuse or unprogrammed effects of the Japanese administration are really more important than any particular program. Thus the Palauans learned to appreciate modernization through their exposure to the industrious Japanese, and they came more and more to depend upon imported articles: clothing, canned foods, rice, and general household items. This shift in the orientation of money use has given a different dimension to the economic arena of competition in Palau. Whereas the former arena was oriented toward the occasional concentration

of capital for some major purchase, and the recirculation of money within Palau, the demand now shifted toward a steady source of income to meet the needs of daily, small purchases and the circulation of money came to include a sizeable portion that left the island entirely.<sup>11</sup>

To make matters worse, though Palauans got a taste of education in the Japanese five-year school system, and a taste of industry by holding low-level jobs in Japanese enterprise, they did not learn the skills, organizational or technical, by which they might have turned to the local production of some of the goods which they had come to consider necessities. Thus, since the end of the Second World War, the Palauan demand for imported goods, if anything, has increased and now includes a wide assortment of foods, household articles, and such major things as motorized transportation, especially the outboard motor.

The American administrative era began with a policy to return the islands to traditional institutions and leadership -- a policy

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<sup>11</sup> This shift has also provided the basis for a change in attitude toward native Palauan money. Curiously the price of Palauan money is still as high as ever, possibly because the controlling elders artificially maintain a high price in order to obtain the more functional dollar. Occasionally pieces of Palauan money are sold outright among Palauans for American money and it may be that this kind of bartering will eventually reduce the value of the Palauan pieces.



which brought back some customs such as the economic exchange and to some extent the village club. However, at the same time, this policy brought forcefully to the point the weakened state of the traditional political structure. For example, the old competitive structures, once an instrument of political leadership, could still produce animosity across the formal fissures, but the opposing sides can seldom be rallied toward productive, competitive enterprise. Village feuding, for example, can still produce ill will but the internal political structure of the villages generally is too weak to program a sustained drive toward prominence. The elite of the villages, on the whole, had been out of touch with the practices and responsibilities of leadership, and have tended to look on the new era as a personal opportunity to gain economically or in prestige.

In part in reaction to this state of affairs, the American administration more recently has stressed political development. At the village level the administration's program in Palau placed elected officials as representatives in the Palau Congress and as magistrates (about the same as mayors) in the major villages. Both of these elected offices are currently hampered by the general view that elected officials serving short terms are ineffective, by a certain amount of jealousy on the part of traditional leaders, and by the lack of a clear scope of jurisdiction as political leaders

in their communities. Furthermore, unlike the traditional, titled elders, the elected officials are not "sacred" and their opinions and directions may carry little authority. Their power lies rather in their access to the administration.

Contrary to Useem's prediction<sup>12</sup> few titled chiefs have been concurrently elected to office in Palau. If there is a consistent motive in the election of these officials, it would be to place in office the man most successful in interaction with the administration. Palauans, throughout the island group, are "experimenting" with the use of democratic practices and elected officials. In some cases the roles of congressman and magistrate have been used as training grounds for heir apparents to high village titles. In other cases the positions seem to be given to low status individuals who can easily be controlled by the traditional elite.

Useem notes the rise of a civil service group in Palau, close to the various foreign administrations, which has been a target for control by the traditional leadership.<sup>13</sup> The extent to which this group broke away from the traditional culture during the Japanese administration may be judged by the fact that a clique of Palauan government employees succeeded in persuading the Japanese administration to outlaw certain features of the economic exchange system, for example the chochoraol mentioned as a capital raising device

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<sup>12</sup> John Useem, "Structure of Power in Palau," Social Forces, Vol. 29, 1950, pp. 141-148.

<sup>13</sup> John Useem, ibid.

in Chapter II. The ruling was temporary, rescinded when the Japanese administrators found that Palauans were conducting the outlawed exchanges in secret, but there were continued attempts to limit the amounts of money that could change hands in these customary exchanges. While these exchanges served, and continue to serve, the function of providing for capital purchases, younger Palauans appear to favor other more personalized savings techniques, for example the government bonds and postal savings offered by the Japanese, and such things as banks, lotteries, and credit unions in the contemporary scene.

The civil service group in Palau definitely forms a buffer or interpreting medium between the administration and the traditional leadership, but does not constitute an organized pressure group for any consistent ideology. Furthermore, the scene is gradually being altered with the emergence of the aforementioned elected officials who are coming to occupy a more and more prominent legislative place in governmental affairs.

In general, along with the development of public health institutions, a court system, the form of a democratic government, and a limited organization of economic activity, the American administration may be characterized as placing greatest emphasis on a broad educational program (through Palauan schools and overseas training in high school and college) and a low-pressure administrative program that is gradually being absorbed by Western trained and acculturated Palauan personnel.

### Contemporary Features of Palauan Competition

In the initial chapter some observations on Palauan personality were made that could be repeated here: the image of self and others as striving and competitive. This much has clearly remained from an earlier milieu and, certainly, the intervening history of Western contact has not been of a nature to promote a general feeling of security among Palauan people. Some aspects of the traditional milieu have totally disappeared, such as the military significance of the village club. Others, such as the effort of the clan to conceal internal conflict, remain as structure or reflection in contemporary Palau.

In the remaining paragraphs of this chapter, without cataloguing each of the remnants and changes, an effort will be made to generalize on the theme of competition within the scope of three topics: the structure, the group, and the individual.

The Structure. -- Though the concept of Palau as a self-contained unit is retained in some contemporary Palauan religious ideologies (i.e., the aforementioned Modekngei), the popular concept of Palau as a complete universe has, of course, disappeared. Furthermore, in the contemporary scene, the fear of the foreigner or the distant village has become a relic of the past. A pattern of travel throughout Palau, as well as throughout the Trust Territory, has been pronounced since World War II and might even be called one of the more apparent Palauan cultural traits. Villages remain ranked, with

Koror and Melekeikok heading the list but, as we observed in the preceding section, the internal structure of the villages seldom is so well organized as to permit the mobilization of the residents around a sustained program of development or enterprise that might influence village prestige. Interhamlet competition, within the Koror cluster, is given occasional display at times such as U. N. Day when each hamlet contributes a float for the municipal parade. At the level of the village clusters (now called municipalities) a feeling of animosity and competition remains strong and can be witnessed in sports activity, now centered in municipal baseball leagues. However, fear or hate among villagers no longer constitute effective means for socio-political control and manipulation by the elite.

Within the villages traditional leaders still command considerable respect among all Palauans, but their formal leadership role is largely supplemented by the administration's court system, by the police system, and by democratic political structures. Moreover, ideological factors have contributed to reduce their less formalized social influence.

As one source put it, two generations ago people were saying that the elite were descendants of the gods; one generation ago it was felt that these gods might have been Portuguese who shipwrecked on Ngeruangel island; currently this explanation is generally discredited by younger Palauans. This change in the popular conception

of the elite has certainly lessened their prestige, though their influence in local affairs cannot be denied. In the current conception of Palauans, for example those of the civil service category mentioned above, the approval and backing of the local elite must be gained in order to expect success in any program that depends upon the cooperation of the villagers; for example, the building of a school or the institution of sanitation or health measures.

Along with the de-sanctifying of the origin of the elite has come an increase in willingness to admit a lineage origin outside of Palau. Lineage origin in the Philippines, in Indonesia, or in another Pacific island is quite openly admitted, if not advertised. These admissions, of course, take the zest out of the basic sentiment behind intraclan lineage-class differentiation. As a matter of fact the four lineage-class concepts (techel a miich, muchut el yars, beches el yars, and omengdakl), signifying proximity to direct descent from the clan mother, are practically unknown or are used without precision among younger Palauans. Intraclan conflict, in the current scene, is therefore no longer clearly structured around competition for rank within the clan on the part of the lineages, nor are the lines of side-leg competition any longer clear. Intraclan competition continues to focus upon the attainment of the title of clan chief, but it has lost many of its other, especially its horizontal, dimensions.

Interclan ranking, as a general phenomenon, is more commonly understood and recognized. However, the details of status (for example, that the first four clans of the village are thought of as "original") are not widely known. Among younger people, particularly those in a Western sphere of activity, interpersonal bases of difference such as clan or intraclan standing are taken quite lightly. With the concentration of power in the person of the village chief (a power that has remained concentrated, though considerably diminished in the eras of foreign administration), the horizontal dimidiation of the village clans, with the second clan chief in control of one side-house, no longer constitutes an effective balancing factor in village leadership. Not only has the political power of the lesser clan chief suffered in the historical process, but those techniques, such as assassination, by which the second clan and its federated clans could lead in opposition against the village chief, are no longer available, or legal. We noted the general failure of the village council in earlier paragraphs as part of the same historical process. Here it may be noted that, without an effective village council, the side-house factions cannot be mobilized toward productive competition.

Much the same deterioration of structure obtains for the village clubs. We observed that much of the zest was taken out of village club life with prohibitions such as that against the club-hostess system, against the village feasts, in which the clubs

played a leading part, and that club discipline must have suffered when living in the clubhouse was finally prohibited. The institutions themselves were disbanded by Japanese order to be replaced by Japanese style, age-graded organizations.

The postwar situation with respect to village clubs, where they exist at all, has been quite confused. For the most part the villages maintain loosely organized groups (or informal categories) of residents in three or four age-grades: school age, young adults, and titled elders, roughly paralleling the Japanese system. Leadership in the young adult groups is, by some accounts, "elected" but seems to be maintained by the elite clans. Internal structuring is, apparently, absent or quite informal, borrowing more from the temporary formation of cliques than from such things as side-bai or clan factions. Furthermore, especially in Koror, the press of a salaried job or private enterprise cuts heavily into the time that an individual can spend with his club. The largest club in Palau, the Ngarametal of Koror, boasts about two hundred members, but its leaders do not promise a work force of more than twenty or thirty men and that only on weekends.

In general, in contemporary Palau the vectors of competition can not be clearly depicted through a description of the Palauan social structure -- either in its traditional or contemporary form. In the next two sections we will turn to the group and to the individual in the contemporary scene and discuss competition sometimes within the remnants of the traditional structure.



The Group. -- It remains true that work groups in Palau are more productive when arranged in competition or as opposed teams of some sort. A group of persons working on a single project may be observed to fall into competitive sub-groups, calling and taunting each other toward the completion of the task. It is clearly recognized that competition adds zest and that without it work is, indeed, "work." In those cases where groups in competition coincide with earlier, formalized foci of conflict, the results can be startlingly zestful.

Early in the administration of Palau under the Japanese, there was a revival of war canoe racing, colorful events culminating in spirited pageantry. To ensure esprit de corps, it was determined to designate opposing teams from the two side-heavens. The result was a riot.

Not long ago a large community center was built in Koror by competitive work teams some of which were from the major capital villages of the side-heavens. In the course of the project, scenes depicting the histories of various villages were painted on the gable boards of the building and an argument, a point of interpretation of history, arose between allied groups from the traditional side-heavens. As the conflict seemed headed toward certain riot, word was received that the chiefs of the villages concerned had met and arrived at an understanding. The conflict ended shortly

thereafter. In this instance customary controls over conflict, via collaboration among the elite, served their customary purpose. It was rumored, in fact, that the riot was engineered in a muscle flexing exercise by the chiefs involved.

Not long ago team spirit in baseball reached such a pitch, reminiscent of the loyalty that could be expected by the village club, that pressure was put on the management of a large retail firm to fire an employee who had played on a team other than his own. Some villages impose a blul on their team members, confining them to the village community house the night before the game. A few Palauan leaders in sports urge that the older units of competition, such as village clusters, not be made the regional bases for contemporary baseball teams: effective control over the tensions that traditional animosities may still arouse is no longer guaranteed.

When extant village clubs, now often combinations of traditional club concepts and Japanese instituted young peoples' associations, are put to a task by traditional village leaders, considerable has been accomplished, though seldom without some friction and misunderstanding. In Aimeliik a long coral-stone levee was constructed from the village out to deep water through the efforts of competitive teams composed of women's village clubs. In Ngeremlengui women's village clubs, through money raised selling agricultural products and through an economic exchange ceremony,

financed the construction of a fine community hall. Both instances illustrate the rather greater integrity of competitive group forms among Palauan women, but in both cases the projects were completed in spite of a general lack of community consensus.

In Ngeremlengui, during the past year, the men's clubs have been engaged in the strenuous task of damming a stream toward the production of hydroelectric power. This again has been largely the result of effective traditional leadership in this particular village and, in this case, it is in part a male response to the success of the women's club in purchasing the village community hall..

It is quite difficult for Western administrators to utilize directly the traditional competitive structures toward constructive ends. This is so both because of the complexity of the various reciprocal bonds through which such competition is directed, and because of the current flimsiness of controls that once could be exercised by the elite. However, some projects in the villages have been cosponsored by the administration and the traditional leaders, through the office of the village magistrate.

Thus at the margin of traditional and Western enterprise, a number of elementary schools have been built through government grant-in-aid funds and locally recruited side-village or club labor. Groups involved in these constructions generally fall into a competitive cadence of some sort, but much depends upon the political situation in the particular locale of the construction. Much of the technical work is done on a straight pay basis. Such projects

are particularly successful in those cases where there has been a minimum of outside supervision and where local elected officials, who conduct liaison with the American administration, are of sufficient status to work cooperatively with the traditional leaders, or have been able to persuade local leadership of the importance of the project. In some cases it would appear that competitive work arrangements do not lead to tensions beyond control simply because the essence of competition is missing. Success in competition, in general, leads to an unknown.

The success of the groups involved in producing some desired result -- a cleared field, a community hall, a school, etc., is evident and acknowledged, but the success of the competitive group or individual is not securely guaranteed by formalized and popularly accepted rewards. Success in competition, or the successful completion of some project through controlled competition, once set into motion a complex of exchanges involving, in some balance, feasting, group dancing, sexual rewards, money exchanges, and firm obligations. It is rare indeed that a contemporary work group, tired and relieved with the completion of some community project, receives more than token public recognition -- a feast and a few speeches.

With respect to these and other forms of contemporary rewards, it is too possible to be cynical or for others to deflate the remuneration that may be offered by either the Western or traditional system: a raise in salary, or recognition as some order of "pole."

The Individual. -- Status seeking in contemporary Palau, the meaning of social recognition, or the techniques to be used to obtain social reward, are all aspects of the society that are in flux. Many of the older competitive patterns, formal and informal, that served the political structure and furthered the successful individual along the hierarchical route to fame are meaningless or dysfunctional.

There are actually two ladders to social and political recognition: a traditional ladder, via covert political manipulation or overt demonstrations of ability and compliance in traditionally recognized skills and etiquette; and there is a Western ladder, via overseas schooling, ability in tasks assigned by Western agencies, and successful social intercourse with Western administrative personnel. Combining these two, and consequently fragmenting one's identity and loyalty between traditional and Western, is possible but confusing and difficult. This is particularly so since the character of the non-traditional ladder changed from Japanese to American prescriptions in mid-maturity for contemporary middle-aged Palauans.

Competition in contemporary Palau is quite individualistic, as though Palauans were alienated from one another. This may be somewhat the case, but this too has its background in the individualism of economic self-sustenance, in covert political practices, and in the nature of competition as it occurred in groups.

Competition, as we have seen, while often between organized groups was and continues to be a personal affair: a matter of individual prowess that produces heroes and stories of personal daring and adventure. In productive groups this individual striving could be quite functional, as in land clearing, certain sports, or carrying stones for levees. It is not so much, in the Palauan view, the effective group as the effective individuals in a winning group that lead to success in competition. This may be one of the factors involved in the popularity of baseball as a sport in Palau. When sustained cooperation or coordinated teamwork is called for, as in carrying a house or cooperative business enterprise, the results are occasionally disturbingly close to disastrous. When not contained by effective, competitively oriented groups, this index of individual competition generally registers as rather diffuse personal insecurity or aggressiveness.

With respect to individual enterprise, the traditional ideal-type family in Palau was a self-sufficient economic unit: headed by the male elder who would direct the young men of the house in their fishing enterprises, and the female elder who would oversee the work of the women in the taro marshes.

In general the women appear to have been more "domesticated" to the routine of daily work groups than the men. In the contemporary scene, for example in the urban environment of Koror where kinship relations are considerably weakened, "kompangii" of female

associates based on peer or friendship groupings, have sprung up to replace clan and club groups so important in the assembling and preparation of food for customary feasts. In other villages women have organized their work in the fields in cooperative patterns towards significant increases in food production. In intervillage marketing women's groups have provided their surpluses for sale in organized enterprises that often operate smoothly and profitably.

The men, on the other hand, seem to adhere to the individualistic ideal -- the hero leader or warrior, or the self-sufficient fisherman or hunter of the earlier era. Thus, in the contemporary scene, self-reliance for the men has a very definite meaning: "being one's own, successful boss." In combination with competitiveness, this ideology among the men is evident in Koror in a market economy consisting of numerous, small retail shops and considerable economic acquisitiveness. A common conception among the men would seem to be that life was meant to provide one quick, successful deal. There is little dedication to the tedium of a long, steady climb to economic security, especially as someone else's employee. Palauan men are supposedly unwilling to be employed by other Palauans in business firms, and many shared business enterprises have ended in distrust and failure. Shop employees tend either to be transient or closely related kin of the owner. Craft and trade apprentices rarely remain in training long enough to enable them to maintain the standards of their instructors.

But the picture is not completely in focus with this image alone. Thus, just as club and traditional political structures are fairly intact in some villages, there are also Palauans who have worked over a long period for the American administration and for the government promoted (but Palauan owned) trading company. The competitive pattern, or aggressive content of Palauan personality, is reflected differently in each setting. In the office staff situation, an occasional burst of productive energy punctuates the schedule of departmental routine, especially when there is a specific deadline for some office project. In a way competition against the clock for an office staff has become a specialized pattern for the expression of competition or self-assertion. Outside of the office setting it may find expression in a spree of self-assertion relative to some community project, in a boom of economic productivity, or, as we have seen, in small competitive businesses: retail stores, bars, and services.

At least in one instance study has shown that, where necessity dictates, Palauan business firms can consist of loyal employees. This seems, for example, to be true in the field of house construction. In this field circumstances of supply and financial obligations are such that a number of carpenters have chosen to conduct their trade under the sponsorship of wealthy contractors.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> In three firms studied the rather simple structure of these organizations was copied after the form with which the Palauans



With regard to the personality structure underlying the competitive Palauan scene Mahoney, as we observed earlier, notes a general continuity of what he terms "basic forces" with some indication of an increased intensity in the expression of anxiety. In a comparison between his acculturated and unacculturated samples, however, Mahoney observes that the acculturated male profiles tend toward a representative female response pattern.<sup>15</sup> An interpretation of such a change in personality structure among acculturated Palauan males may be suggested. We have suggested that the Palauan female appears less self-assertive than the male. Reliance upon the provisioning of daily needs by a foreign administration and the acceptance of responsibilities and duties within the same context might have influenced the responses of the acculturated group. Also if we look upon the Palauan female role as a more dependent one, in Palauan male and female interaction, an interesting comparison occurs in conjunction with Hallowell's analysis of personality change among the Ojibwa Indians. Hallowell reports less maturity or a "frustration of maturity" among the acculturated groups studied.<sup>16</sup> These suggested interpretation fit, in some

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<sup>14</sup> became familiar in Japanese construction enterprise, a modified oyabun-kobun (Jap. "master-apprentice") system. See R. K. McKnight, "Oyabun-Kobun in Koror -- A Master-Apprentice System," Anthropological Working Papers, No. 5, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, July, 1959.

<sup>15</sup> Francis Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 146-148.

<sup>16</sup> A. Irving Hallowell, op. cit., pp. 352-353.

degree, with the description of articulate, mature Palauans concerning their experiences as administered people during the previous administration. Under the Japanese, the Palauans (at least in retrospect) viewed themselves as a protected, dependent people whose wants would be met as long as minimal requirements of the Japanese administration in personal behavior and low level skills were met. While the Japanese placed stress upon the development of responsibility in their Palauan school lessons, the school experience was only about five years long and the actual responsibilities of the individuals, even as an employee with the Japanese administration, were not great. Supervision was close and Japanese expectations with regard to Palauan performance on the job do not appear to have been very high. The Palauan contrasts this experience under the Japanese with the contemporary administration in which considerable emphasis is put upon the Palauan as a responsible and assertive person, capable of achieving organizational and technical skills by which he can in time, realize political self-determination.

With regard to individual political behavior, there is considerable continuity with the past, though the structural framework for this behavior is absent or weakened. In the covert arenas of political activity in village and clan, a large measure of competition has always been interpersonal. Today there are loose ideological groupings and political-religious factions, but no

formal political organizations banded together cooperatively around an idea or purpose. Rather there are individuals with small, unreliable followings, seeking support for their ideas or for their personal stature in competition with other individuals seeking similar rewards.

Palauans recognize the risks of public prominence and usually avoid seeking office openly, whether the position is one of title in the traditional structure, or an elected status in the new. A leader is immediately a target in Palau and, commonly, underlings will make some effort to play emergent leaders off against each other as though fearful of the consequences of collaboration between two or more powerful persons. Perhaps this too is a reflection, as an informally patterned reaction, to the traditional atmosphere of Palau with its cartels of political elite.

When a Palauan politician is successful, he is suspected of having the guidance or tutoring of an elder expert usually in one of the more covert political strategies described in Chapter II, especially the technique entitled "The Concealment of the Lizard." Political behavior that has the ring of traditional practice is sometimes viewed by Palauans as inevitably successful. There is little or no distinction, ethical or ideological, between "clever" and "crafty" in the field of political behavior and the successful politician is respected and a little feared.

However, just as there is a noticeable tendency in some fields to look for wider economic solutions and groupings, there is a broadening field of political identity. Political identity once resided in the local village, to the fearful exclusion of other villages. Via the Palau Congress and other elected officials it is coming gradually to reside in the whole island group.

In the villages stores, markets, imported goods, and rapid transportation have brought once self-sufficient communities into close physical proximity and interdependence. In those economic fields where the produce is exported, such as fish, copra, and art-craft, there is a growing inclination for centralization and cooperation.

For the individual in the traditional society social prestige resided in his ability to manage his household and in his manipulation of power in the village political system. The current scene is one of transition. For many Palauans, however, self-realization is coming to mean job security and the prestige of a good income, with neighborhood stores to provide sustenance.

#### Competition, Some Generalizations and Conclusions

In this final section some features of competition in Palau will be reviewed, some basic questions regarding competition in this society asked, and some suggestions with regard to trends in the contemporary scene will be made.

First it should be clear that Palau is undergoing a period of transition. Despite the revival of some traditional forms in the permissive atmosphere of the American administration, change in the current era appears to be more rapid and more far reaching than for any previous period. Few institutions, from the family to the legal system, appear to be so stabilized or committed to a particular course of development that predictions can be made with confidence. Certainly the place of competition in the emerging culture is far from clear.

In the Introduction it was observed that competition occurred as a main theme in studies pertaining to four other island societies, three of them -- Truk, Ponape, and Ifaluk -- quite different, as differences go in Micronesia. Palau itself represents another different society, comparable to the contrasts found among the other three island areas. Competition is apparently represented quite differently in each.

There is seemingly reason for arguing that the control of individual aggression, or the harnessing of competition, is an important aspect of society on a small island area. It seems also clear, however, that this geographic determinant, if it is indeed operative, does not specify the manner in which aggression is to be controlled.

The social devices by which competition was checked or directed toward non-rebellion or productivity in the other societies of Micronesia that have been mentioned are not entirely absent. For

example, some crimes were punishable only by gods or spirits, as on Ifaluk; competition among young men in love affairs, the "sweet-heart complex" of Romonum, was featured in the tale of Ngiratemrang; the competitive production of food, especially as a feature of prestige among Palauan women, resembles competition in yam production on Ponape.<sup>17</sup> In Palau, however, competition was promoted and given expression in a wide variety of contexts and levels, from the individual as a hero leader to the village as a part of one or the other side-heaven.

Tracing down the different specific factors underlying the various adaptations and controls that have been pointed out in these different island settings is far beyond the scope of this study. There would appear to be possible correlates associated with the size of the island area, the availability of an outside or common foe, the economic basis or importance of agriculture (following Barry, Child, and Bacon<sup>18</sup>), and the particular historical development of certain institutions such as religion and the kinship system.

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<sup>17</sup> The main references, again, for these comparisons are: L. Fischer, "Totemism on Truk and Ponape," American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 2, April 1957; M. J. Swartz, "Sexuality and Aggression on Romonum, Truk," American Anthropologist, Vol. 60, No. 3, 1958; M. E. Spiro, "Ghosts, Ifaluk, and Teleological Functionalism," American Anthropologist, Vol. 54, No. 4, 1952.

<sup>18</sup> "Relation of Child Training to Subsistence Economy," op. cit.

The Geographic Aspect. -- In actual size Palau is composed of a number of islands spread out, more or less on a line, over about one hundred miles. Among the inhabited islands, Angaur, Peleliu, Kayangel, and Koror (including the adjoining islands of Malakal and Arakabesang) are very small, only a few square miles each. The main island, Babelthaup, is about one hundred and fifty square miles and may never have been heavily populated.<sup>19</sup> Population clusters on the big island are usually proximate to marshy areas near the coast suitable for taro cultivation. In addition, the Rock Islands, located between Peleliu and Koror, provide a few scattered miles of marginal land which appear to have been occupied on and off prior to contact. We have seen that, in the popular conception, this Palau was the "universe" for aboriginal Palauans. There seem to have been no "Argonauts of the Pacific" in Palau in these early times.

The question of island size involves two areas of interpretation. On Ifaluk the narrow boundaries of the island and the rather dense population were clearly related, in the author's analysis, to the control of interpersonal aggression. The survival of society depended upon the externalization of aggression and this

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<sup>19</sup> Giving Babelthaup a current population around 4,000, this would yield a density of 27 persons per square mile, considerably lower than for many other island populations in Micronesia. Pre-contact population estimates reach as high as 100,000 for Palau, probably too high. But a conservative estimate for population density on Babelthaup might be interpolated as 150-200 persons per square mile.

was effectively accomplished through the rituals and ideology of an enemy spirit world. On the other hand, with an increased island area, or in a continental situation, the possibility exists for aggression to be directed against an actual enemy beyond the range of political integration -- another tribe or another village. The range or scope of political jurisdiction in Palau is not at all clear-cut. The villages were, in the ideology, autonomous political units and there were few political or legislative groups that reached beyond the village level.<sup>20</sup> However, we have mentioned the village cluster, composed of a capital village and subordinate villages, and it can be said that effective political control, if not formal political structure, did extend over a few neighboring villages. Beyond this level were the half-heavens, consisting of nominally allied village clusters. Political control at this level, by the dominant capital village, was apparently quite weak. In terms of the formal integration of political controls, as they existed in aboriginal Palau, the possibility of an enemy beyond

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<sup>20</sup> Folk lore, however, does point to several instances of legislative meetings reaching some degree of formality and including a number of villages. In Chapter II the folk song recounting legislative interaction among the four corner-post villages is mentioned. In Airai there is an unusual stone platform associated both with a particular god and with a council or legislative group involving seven different villages from widely separated areas. The general features of the political structure itself are recounted in another narrative to have been handed down by a demi-god at Peleliu to a general assembly of village elders from throughout Palau.



the scope of political jurisdiction did exist. Intervillage hostility, particularly across the half-heavens was chronic and, in some periods, intense. However, this picture is confused by the political behavior of the elite and, particularly, the super-elite. The elite and super-elite throughout Palau appear to have been integrated or bonded through intermarriage, common high status, and formal alliance. To their mutual advantage, it would appear, the elite bartered friendship and hostility among the villages that they politically controlled. In other words, hostility toward the outsider, considered almost a normal reaction among many societies, seems to have been manipulated or engineered in Palau toward the conscious promotion of ideal tensions which served the same cohesive function so far as the local villagers were concerned.

The Economic Aspect. -- In the Introduction the point was made that Palau was a mixed economy: the women cultivating the taro marshes according to fairly elaborate rules and schedules, the men engaged in individual and (sometimes) group fishing and some hunting. Barry, Child, and Bacon have pointed to the probable dominance of child rearing techniques stressing self-assertion in societies where there is a low accumulation of food resources (roughly nonagricultural groups). Perhaps the important point in Palau was the fact that the weight of responsibility in food production rested upon the women, leaving the men free to meet the requirements of other

roles. However, this economic base in which the men were fishers and hunters, while a contributing aspect of explanation, may be less directly important than the warrior role of the young adult and the competitive and individualistic patterns of intervillage feuding. Village club life did have its disciplinary side, as has been pointed out, but the general pattern of conflict and the ideology of the hero leader do not suggest regimentation as much as they do self-assertion.

The political strategies discussed in Chapter II suggest much the same individualistic approach, capitalizing on the craft of the individual in the manipulation of others.

Techniques to control aggression in periods of peace must have been important, perhaps particularly so given the general competitive tone of interpersonal behavior, and did appear to have been present in the various formal competing half-divisions that have been discussed. Again, as in village feuding, competition was turned, ideally, toward desirable, productive ends: food production, public works, and sports.

Also in the economic area, some observers have pointed to the crucial role of Palauan money in Palauan society. Yanaihara points out that the presence of native money provided Palauans with a concrete conception of private property.<sup>21</sup> Others have

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<sup>21</sup> Yanaihara, op. cit., pp. 78, 83, and 127.

suggested that the possession of wealth is closely associated with the status of the Palauan individual and that the accumulation of wealth in land and money is the single most important means toward the achievement of higher status.<sup>22</sup> Barnett stresses that money is important not as an accumulated possession but rather as an object of manipulation: status is achieved or maintained by the individual who can control wealth or keep it moving in a show of abundance.<sup>23</sup> In this latter aspect, the manipulation of wealth, as an aspect of Palauan economy, is inseparable from the Palauan kinship behavior which will be discussed in a moment. Here it can be noted that competition for wealth in either land or money was integral to competition across the various side-divisions described in the text.

The Religious Aspect. -- The development of religious institutions in Palau prior to contact roughly parallels the development of political institutions. That is, the continuity of loyalty to a particular diety did not, in general, extend beyond a particular village. The village gods of the more prestigious capital villages were considered particularly powerful, and the sharing of a

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<sup>22</sup> Particularly R. Force, op. cit., pp. 51 and 113.

<sup>23</sup> Homer Barnett, op. cit., Chapter 4.

particular god by several widely separated villages was not unusual. As a broader generality, however, loyalty to the local village diety would seem to have contributed to the phenomenon of intervillage conflict.

The totemic gods of clan and village in Palau were not the focus of any great "fondness." Occasionally narratives concerning particular village or clan dieties mention direct collaboration between the diety and the people, but, on the whole, the dieties were figures to be greatly respected and feared.<sup>24</sup> Punishment, in the form of illness or death, by the gods followed some definite violation of a taboo, such as the eating of a prohibited food. With the exception of the spirits of the recently deceased that were unpredictably vengeful, gods and spirits were not apparently considered to be purposefully malicious. Therefore, it would appear that village and clan dieties in Palau served as a focus of loyalty (as on Ponape), rather than as a focus for the externalization of fear and hate (as on Ifaluk).

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<sup>24</sup> Two stories come to mind. The village god of Ngerebeched fought with the villagers in the war by which this hamlet won its location in the Koror cluster. Again, a clan god appeared to a woman who was placing a cursing device in a neighboring taro marsh. In a fatherly way the god discouraged her in the action, but advised her that she should at least be more covert about it, so she placed a leaf over the device. A recent experience illustrates the more typical relationship between totemic god and person in Palau. The suggestion was made (and the writer must share the responsibility for it) to newly formed scout units in Koror that they adopt symbols such as the totemic fish-goddesses as emblems. The

The Kinship Aspect. -- The manipulation by the leader of his subordinates for personal gain, as in intervillage feuding, finds a parallel in the character of kinship relations in Palau. Barnett points out that kinship for the Palauan is a vehicle for the manipulation of wealth.<sup>25</sup> Over and again, in his chapters on Palauan kinship and wealth, Barnett points out instances in which such relations, particularly between a man and his sister's son, are manipulated or bartered as instruments of personal gain. In other sectors of the kinship structure, a man barterers for his wife, she barterers with him on behalf of her clan, adoption patterns can easily be viewed as a form of bartering for the future earning capacity of the children involved. Stepping out of the kinship structure, barter and profit (for her lineage and father) are importantly involved in the sexual behavior of the young girl (especially in the context of the club-hostess system). Interaction between close friends also has an aspect of barter with a close accounting of obligations in terms of service, gifts, and

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<sup>24</sup> suggestion was met with rather cold, uncomprehending stares from the assembled scout leaders. Later, however, one scout group from Ngerebeched did adopt their village totem, a snake, as their emblem.

<sup>25</sup> Homer Barnett, op. cit., p. 34. In many respects Barnett's chapters on kinship and the manipulation of wealth could form an integral part of this study, concentrating on individual interaction rather than, as we have here, the interaction of more or less formally structured groups.

money. At the heart of this bartering is the economic-exchange system with food and service provided by one side (e.g., the wife and her brother) and money provided by the other side (e.g., the husband and his clan).

Rather than view the system as a matrix of "kinship affiliations," the writer prefers the descriptive value of the term "contracted relationships," though the strict legal usage of the word "contract" may not be applicable. The point is that the system was open to purposeful manipulation and abuse. Unlike a conceivable "unconsciously spontaneous" system of kinship, Palauan kinship resembled a system of legal or contractual ties that were carefully developed and consciously exploited. It is interesting, for example, that a concept exists for the definition of such exploitation (either in a kinship or friendship context): the act of an individual deliberately plying another with gifts or services in order to reap a return in money in the general economic-exchange system was called mungulu. As salaried young men who are sometimes the brunt of such exploitation by friends or relatives, English speaking Palauans sometimes use another word for it: "bulldozing." The victim is more or less obligated to respond, despite the obvious and instrumental character of the generosity of the abundant giver.

Just as the bartering and manipulating aspect of the economic-exchange system extended beyond the kinship system to include sexual relations and friendship relations, so the general phenomenon of

manipulation is a focal aspect of interaction in far wider areas and has been central to our description of competition. It would appear, off hand, that barter and manipulation as an aspect of the kinship system extended to and influenced social interaction in the other areas indicated. In any event, whether this casual connection is assumed or not, the presence of barter and manipulation as integral to relationships within these various institutional contexts does show the consistent development of a theme in Palauan society.

#### Competition as a Productive Force

As it was integrated with the fabric of traditional Palauan society, competition was controlled and directed toward a variety of achievements defined as goals by the traditional leadership. Taking the energy of the people as a potential power reserve, the harnessing of competition in Palauan society may be viewed as analogous, in terms of productive achievement, to the mobilization of any potential power reserve: electrical, automotive, and so forth. It follows, then, that the disorientation of competition from the main fabric of Palauan society may be compared with the malfunctioning of any national power source. Of course, the analogy cannot be carried out completely: the spark of competition has not "gone out" in Palauan culture and personality. Occasionally it can still be directed toward this or that desired economic goal. As a

generality, however, competition in contemporary Palau does not find productive expression. More often, instead of welding individualists together toward group achievement, it has the effect of pushing them apart with distrust and insecurity.

The breakdown of competition as a productive force in Palauan society can be portrayed, in part at least, through a description of the changes that have occurred with regard to the possible correlates of competition that have just been reviewed. Furthermore, these changes suggest some possible trends with respect to the character of competition in years to come.

In the first place, the character of Palau as a geographic phenomenon has changed drastically in that it is no longer a delimited universe. This trend, contact with outside cultures, continues with increased communication in various media. Earlier in this chapter we discussed the changes in the sentiments associated with origin and status as a specific aspect of increased contact with the outside world. Now on a more general level, we can observe that Western contact not only brought an end to overt intervillage conflict, but opened up a new potential frontier for competition between Palau and the outside world. This arena of competition, with its potential for unifying former political entities in Palau, has not been realized. The idea of competing with the established nations of the world strikes Palauans as quite



hopeless. But it is interesting to note that the development of a successful fishermen's cooperative in Ponape, more nearly Palau's size and potential, did have some effect in spurring a similar enterprise in Palau.

A related factor, discussed previously in conjunction with the geographic aspect, is the scope of political control. There has been little or no apparent effective broadening of the geographic scope of traditional political leadership in Palau through its recent eras of change. In terms of social status, it is probable that the Ibedul of Koror and the Reklai of Melekeiok today obtain greater prestige relative to other village chiefs. But there has been no corresponding expansion of formal political structure, and greater prestige does not necessarily represent wider, effective political control. The recent development, as an American administration program, of an island-wide legislature may be viewed as the means whereby the scope of political control will eventually be widened to comprehend the entire island. However, this new government is not developing in a milieu in which political control is likely to be a direct instrument for the mobilization of competitive labor toward economic production, as it was in the traditional villages via the village clubs.

The breakdown of Palauan religious ideology has, of course, diminished the importance of the village as a focus of religious loyalty. With four religious groups currently active in Palau

(Modekngei, Catholic, Protestant, and Seventh Day Adventist), membership in one or the other tends to be spread throughout Palau and there is some competition across the fissures of church membership. Currently religious identification (with the possible exception of Modekngei) is not usually intense within any of the groups, and the future of competition in this particular arena is hard to predict. In some specific instances competition between religious groups does broach over into the political arena of elected officials much as it has recently in the United States.

With the curbing of intervillage conflict and the demise of other areas of competition, such as the village club, competition has found considerable focus in areas of individual economic enterprise. With the breakdown of political controls holding it within formal arenas, and with the gradual weakening of kinship bonds, economic competition has been decentralized. A rather expected result of this individualization of competition has been the breakdown of certain codes -- for example, an increase in the exploitation of the economic-exchange system or more "bulldozing."

This breakdown of codes is not, in any sense, limited to the context of economic exchanges but, it would appear to the writer, has influenced the effectiveness of business relations in Palau on a rather sweeping scale. The abuse of contracts, both formalized varieties and informal business agreements, is one of the reasons that Palauans so frequently fail to maintain long term joint

business enterprise. Certainly individual, small scale economic enterprise will be characteristic of the Palauan economic scene for a long time to come. In addition the continued importance of the economic-exchange system, in which the successful businessman becomes a target for donations of money, and the prestige ideology in which the show and manipulation of wealth (rather than the saving of money toward capital development) will continue for some time to limit the growth of private enterprise. However, younger business entrepreneurs and salaried members of Palauan society have demonstrated a standing interest in systems of savings and capitalization and, with the development of credit unions and banking facilities, the potential exists for effective personal savings and experimentation in capital enterprise. The problem of the abuse of contract may also be met through the development of institutions such as credit unions and business cooperatives (e.g., the fishermen's cooperative) which are gradually being guided into existence by the American administration.

Of course these trends are projected more or less with the unrealistic assumption of a status quo. Palau is cut off, under the current terms of American administrative policy, from foreign sources of capital development for its few resources. At some time in the future, presumably when the islands have reached a reasonable degree of political integration and economic sophistication, the door to foreign investment will be opened. Projecting

competition as an aspect of this future era, without a knowledge of when and how this new factor will be introduced, is really beyond speculation.

Similarly, returning to geography, tourism (now nonexistent) is a probable economic focus in the future, for Palau has as much to offer in natural beauty as any other tropical area of the world. Perhaps, as has happened in some other vacation spots, Palauans will eventually mobilize in cooperative enterprise with the tourist as the cooperative and culturally sanctioned adversary.

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## ORTHOGRAPHY AND INDEX TO FOREIGN TERMS

A Note on Pronouncing Palauan. -- The spelling of Palauan words differs greatly from author to author. In this study an effort has been made to adhere to the spelling of Palauan as it is being taught in Palauan schools.

This orthography borrows from German influence in applying the Roman alphabet to the Palauan language. In general, pronunciation follows the usage of the alphabet in German. From the American point of view, three sounds in Palauan are particularly exotic:

1. The letters th (as in the place name Babelthaup) and d (as in amaidechedui) are not differentiated in Palauan and are formed as in the word breadth.
2. The letters ng, which are exotic because of their placement (e.g., as an initial sound in ngara), are pronounced as in the word ring.
3. The letters ch are used to indicate a glottal stop or velar fricative (depending on age or local differences among Palauans). Thus the word cheldebechel may be rendered !eldebe!el.

Finally, there is little or no differentiation in Palauan between the letters p (as in Palau) and b (as in beluu). The sound is medial or more explosive as in b.

Index to Palauan and Other Foreign Terms. -- The following is a listing of non-English terms, excluding proper names, used in the body of the paper. The number references to the right refer to the page(s) in the text where the terms are given specific definition or meaning in context.

<u>Foreign Term</u>	<u>Page Reference</u>
<u>alus</u> (Ifaluk): shortened term for supernatural being.....	13
<u>alusengau</u> (Ifaluk): supernatural being.....	13
<u>amaidechedui</u> : circumlocution.....	94
<u>bai</u> : community hall, council house, clubhouse.....	45-46

<u>Foreign Term</u>	<u>Page Reference</u>
<u>beches el yars</u> : recently adopted lineage in clan.....	55
<u>bital</u> : prefix indicating one side of - .....	61
<u>bital-bai</u> : half-division of village council or village club.....	72, 111
<u>bital-beluu</u> : half-division of village or village cluster.....	73
<u>bital-blai</u> : half-division of village clans...	68
<u>bitalianged ma bitalianged</u> : half-division or semi-states of Palau.....	78
<u>bital-taoch</u> : half-division of village clubs..	73
<u>bitaluach ma bitaluach</u> : half-division of clan.....	62
<u>bitang</u> : side, one side of.....	61
<u>bkokuui ere reng</u> : a political discipline.....	95
<u>blai</u> : house, household.....	53
<u>bldukl</u> : in rank order.....	114
<u>bldukl el mongol</u> : club hostess team.....	114
<u>blolobl</u> : club hostess team.....	114
<u>blul</u> : legal prohibition (not taboo).....	116
<u>chadil</u> : share (?).....	106
<u>chebuuch</u> : commoner status.....	58
<u>cheldebechel</u> : village club.....	106
<u>chochoraol</u> : economic exchange ceremony.....	64
<u>chomeluchel</u> : economic exchange system.....	64
<u>dekl</u> : "pole," a village leader.....	48
<u>delasch</u> : a prohibition, taboo.....	51
<u>dmolch ere reng</u> : a political discipline.....	96
<u>errang</u> : friend, an appellative term.....	111
<u>ideuekl chemaidechedui</u> : a political discipline.....	94
<u>imolblai</u> : household, lineage, one house.....	62

<u>Foreign Term</u>	<u>Page Reference</u>
<u>imoldekl</u> : one pole, one leader.....	49
<u>kabekel</u> : war canoe.....	107
<u>kadil</u> : share.....	106
<u>kauchad</u> : interpersonal or intervillage friendship.....	76
<u>kebliil</u> : clan.....	42
<u>kekere el cheldebechel</u> : younger club.....	109, 121
<u>keril a madechad</u> : ceremony following death of chief of corner-post clan.....	71
<u>ketkad</u> : a fine in food or money.....	115
<u>kipu</u> (Inca): knotted twine as memory or record device.....	81
<u>klaikedaub</u> : to splash water, spear throwing competition.....	113
<u>klebliil</u> : clan or side-house federation.....	47, 68
<u>klemat</u> : lanyard.....	114
<u>klemat el mongol</u> : individual club- hostess system.....	114
<u>klou el cheldebechel</u> : older village club.....	108, 121
<u>kmal mesaol</u> : thank you.....	vi
<u>kojin-shugi</u> : (Japanese): individualism.....	31
<u>kompanyii</u> : from "company," female voluntary association.....	157
<u>kula</u> (Trobriand): trading ring.....	15
<u>kune</u> (Trobriand): trading ring.....	15
<u>kyoso-teki</u> (Japanese): competitive.....	31
<u>llach</u> : law.....	86
<u>medal</u> : head, leader.....	42
<u>medal a beluu</u> : head or leader of village.....	49
<u>mengar ma mecherchr</u> : a political discipline..	94
<u>merreder</u> : teacher, leader, master.....	42, 49
<u>meteet</u> : elite, high prestige.....	57

<u>Foreign Term</u>	<u>Page Reference</u>
<u>miich</u> : almond-like nut bearing tree.....	54
<u>mongol</u> : club-hostess system.....	114
<u>mongul nggekal-ka</u> (Iatmul): act of rubbing anus along another's leg.....	131
<u>muchut el yars</u> : "old sails," old adopted lineage.....	54
<u>mungulu</u> : plying another with service or gifts for personal gain.....	173
<u>murr</u> : a large feast.....	66, 70
<u>mur</u> (Palauan and Maori): the act of taking or pilfering.....	3
<u>ngara-</u> : prefix in club names, to be or to have.....	110
<u>ngurd</u> : vein, or bond of affiliation.....	54
<u>olsisebel</u> : feast introducing adult to new club.....	116
<u>omchar a reng</u> : a political discipline.....	93
<u>omengal mark</u> : feast marking breadfruit harvest.....	76
<u>omengd</u> : leaning upon.....	55
<u>omengdakl</u> : servant, adopted lineage.....	55
<u>orrdoml</u> : village cluster capital.....	58
<u>osebek</u> : subordinate village in village cluster.....	58
<u>oules belu</u> : clans or lineages with titled chiefs.....	58
<u>oyabun-kobun</u> (Japanese): master-apprentice system.....	160
<u>pkul a blai</u> : third and fourth village clans..	58
<u>rail a mekemad</u> : way of war.....	128
<u>rail a redil</u> : way of women.....	128
<u>reng</u> : essence, spirit, heart.....	97
<u>rolel</u> : way or method of doing something.....	86
<u>rolel a kululau</u> : way of politics.....	86

<u>Foreign Term</u>	<u>Page Reference</u>
<u>rrasm</u> : thatching needle.....	81
<u>saus</u> : corner-post, four ranking village clans.....	45
<u>talungalk</u> : lineage.....	62
<u>taoch</u> : dock, estuary.....	73
<u>techel a miich</u> : original or aristocratic lineages.....	54
<u>teliakl</u> : knotted twine memory device.....	81
<u>tuich el kululau</u> : a political discipline.....	93
<u>tuich el kululau e loubuch ra ralm</u> : a political discipline.....	96
<u>tulungalk</u> : lineage.....	62
<u>ultechakl</u> : driftwood, adopted lineage.....	56
<u>uriul rubak</u> : lesser council members.....	47

## AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, Robert Kellogg McKnight, was born in Sendai, Japan, to American missionary parents on January 10, 1924. My secondary education was gained through the Calvert School System and American high school training while in Japan and was completed during World War II in public schools in California and Illinois. I received undergraduate training at the University of Illinois, at Michigan University as an Army language trainee in Japanese, and at Miami University, Ohio, where I was granted the Bachelor of Arts degree, cum laude, in 1950. Following service in the Korean police action, I entered Ohio State University and received the Master of Arts degree in 1954. Prior to this degree I served as assistant to Dr. John Bennett, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, in a study of Japanese student adjustment to American college life, and continued this association as research staff member until 1958. During this period I initiated a program of study toward a Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and served as teaching assistant in that Department. In 1958 I was accepted by the United States Government in the position

of District Anthropologist at the Palau District, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, where I was enabled to undertake the research comprising my doctoral dissertation. The completion of the dissertation was undertaken with the guidance of Dr. Leo Estel, my adviser, at Ohio State University in the autumn of 1960.