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SEX AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE SOUTH FLY: DARU ISLAND, WESTERN PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA,

in two volumes

by Lawrence James Hammar

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

1996

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Sex and Political Economy in the South Fly:
Daru island, Western Province, Papua New Guinea,

in two volumes

by

Lawrence James Hammar

Adviser: Professor Shirley Lindenbaum

This dissertation recounts the results of ethnographic research carried out on Daru island, capital of Western Province, Papua New Guinea. Using various research instruments and strategies--among them, participant/observation, structured interviews, systematic observation, recorded sexual life history interviews, and archival research--I stake out the ethnic, alcoholic, sexual, financial, and even symbolic parameters of a multi-faceted and deeply-entrenched sex industry. This sex industry appears to take several more or less distinct labor forms. Those include a "freelance" form, in which women sell sexual services for money, beer, and food themselves at various drinking establishments throughout the island; a "family" form, in which largely male relatives arrange and facilitate the sale of sexual services of their female relatives in exchange for beer and money; a "sex broker" form, in which various sex brokers arrange and facilitate sexual encounters in both directions. They find female drinking and sexual partners among a coherent cohort for businessmen, clerks, government officials, and villagers. To a lesser extent, they find paying male partners for those same women who indicate a desire to drink alcohol and earn money; and finally, a form known elsewhere in the country as tu kina bus, or two dollar bush prostitution, known on Daru by the term and locale: sagapari, or "small mangrove garden." I set the development and persistence of this sex

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industry within the context of several factors: the near complete and total absence of women's "sexual citizenship," the presence of several sexual double standards, and a high degree of non-consensual sex; mass migrations of some ethnic groups from their villages to Daru and to other sites of sex industries, namely timber camps and sawmills; contact with Westerners during and following the colonial period and the increasing commodification of goods and services; "cultural" factors which influence the participation historically of some ethnic groups over others in various kinds of prostitution; and several ecological, political, and economic crises occuring simultaneously throughout the region. This sex industry has a number of serious social and medical precursors and consequences, among them, barriers to greater condom usage, an increasing sexually transmitted disease (STD) caseload and a perhaps imminent explosion in transmission of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). This dissertation concludes by examining the fitness of anthropologists and anthropological theory to conduct the kind of sex research necessary to help stem the tide of future transmission and to intervene in similar sex industries.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the two people in the world most important to me, my mother, Norma Rigby Hammar, and my father, Lester Everett Hammar. Few parents have stuck by children in graduate school longer! Thank you both for bringing me into the world, and thank you for each and every of the ways you have let me and helped me carve out a life for myself. Whatever excellence this dissertation may possess reflects well on you.

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"...anthropology, like most other modern enterprises,
is largely 'about' itself..."
(Roy Wagner, The Invention of Culture, 1981)

Research Acknowledgements

An adequate list of acknowledgements would surely stretch beyond the confines of the first chapter of this dissertation, but I would like to thank here many of those who helped me in one way get to, stay in, and come out alive from the field.

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I am indebted beyond description to the two best research assistants an anthropologist has ever had: Mr. Suli Malu and Mr. Adori Ganoi. Quite seriously, they deserve enormous respect and credit for the thesis to follow, and deserve credit further for having done things and helped me in ways which I fear I cannot recount herein.

Kate Riley enabled me to get mostly through graduate school, and Arlene King enabled me to complete it. Their love and support of me I cannot quite express in words. In many, different ways they are both in here and in me, and shall forever be.

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While in the United States for a holiday, I was fortunate enough to make contact with many in the health work field who were extremely helpful in providing me eventually a total of 20,000 free condoms and educational materials which helped tremendously when I got back to Daru. Two companies made corporate donations of condoms when requested, and I acknowledge their gifts gratefully: thank you Jennifer Jordan of Okamoto Corporation, and Patricia Balto of the Ansell Company. I would also like to thank the Pierce County Health Department in Tacoma, Washington; the Cascade AIDS Project, Outside/In Clinic, Multnomah County Health Department, and Oregon State HIV Center in Portland, Oregon; the Marion County Health Department in Salem, Oregon; Daniel Bao at the Condom Resource Center in Oakland, California; in Long Island, Lori Darach at the Long Island AIDS Information Center; Joe Ruhkeyser at the Long Island AIDS Resource Center; in the Bronx, the Montefiore Family Medical Clinic; the Morrisania Health Center (and especially Harold Shavuo and Luz Roman; the St. Barnabas Hospital (Mrs. Myra Williams and Dr. Edward Cheslow; Jose Claudio and Dr. Freddy Molano at the Women's Clinic; Randy Godette at the Bronx Perinatal Consortium; Isa Rodriguez at the Bronx AIDS Services; Gwen Bose at the Montifiore Health Center; Orin Laing at the New York City Department of Health; in Manhattan, Dr. Gordon Huff at the Bailley House; these names and places may seem superfluous to a dissertation, but they enabled me to distribute much needed condoms and educational materials.

For particular help on early drafts of individual chapters of this dissertation, I wish to thank members of two "Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific" courses at Lewis and

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Clark College, particularly Missy Kornmesser, Nicole Van Wingerden, and Jessica Goldman. Alanna Moore has been a spectacular research assistant at Lewis and Clark; she in particular, with help by Laura Pilkington, helped me greatly by transcribing several tapes. Beverly Stafford, Elaine Heras, and Willa Ralphs, as friends and helpers in the Inter-Library Loan Department at Lewis and Clark College, have perhaps unknowingly helped me to get whatever sources I wished. Aletta Biersack, Bruce Knauft, Shirley Lindenbaum, Lester Hammar, Glen Petersen, Louise Lennihan, and Donald Tuzin have kindly and helpfully read chapters of my dissertation. Shirley, Glen and Louise in particular pushed me to reconfigure early chapters and to make my dissertation much stronger generally. Jennifer Gayfer read several chapters in penultimate draft form and helped me greatly with writerly and conceptual issues. I want to thank particularly those who contributed a final proofreaderly push (or was that putsch?): Erika Stephan, Amy Eckel, Asbjorn and Joyce Osland, Todd and Christa Little-Siebold, Beth Breiten, John Krussell, Nick Luem, Jenn French, and Steve Kass. Bob Goldman, Deborah Heath, and Chris Wilkes at Lewis and Clark College have been particularly good persons, friends, and colleagues to me as I have tried to pursue teaching alongside Ph.D.-writing pursuits. I acknowledge again my gratitude to Jane Monnig Atkinson for getting me started in anthropology, and to Alexander Alland at Columbia University for encouraging my entry into graduate school and providing well for me during my first two years. These and countless others I cannot mention here have in one way or another contributed to this final product. May it reflect well on the help they have provided. Oh, and my cousin, Bradley Hammar, provided invaluable help (and an

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overloud parrot) in teaching me the rudiments of D-BASE. He has helped me to look more empirically-driven than I am in fact.

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Preface: "Apology and Schema"

Like perhaps all ethnographers who search for the right words to explain to members of their host community, I am searching for the right words to express my thoughts, second thoughts, and misgivings about the process of submitting a Ph.D. dissertation for public and private scrutiny, here and abroad. Those misgivings necessitate an apology up front for any hurt feelings, pain, puzzlement or embarrassment they might feel hereby. It has certainly not been my intention to make them or Daru look bad or to single out individuals for scrutiny or blame. So, immediately below I do apologize, and then go on to give you my readers a better sense of what is to follow.

To protect the anonymity and confidentiality of my friends and informants, I have used pseudonyms, false names, throughout, unless otherwise specifically noted. In order to preserve some ethnic integrity, however, I have tried to make pseudonyms sound appropriate, and so have taken some names from printed sources, books, etc. The system by which I have rendered informants pseudonymously is known only to me. It has never been printed out or otherwise disseminated to anyone else; in fact, I have been using these pseudonyms so long (and have changed my system fully twice) that I have forgotten many real names (though I certainly have not forgotten the people involved). Perhaps that is best. In addition, where possible in such a way so as not to distort wholly "ethnographic truth," I have altered some sociodemographic information regarding specific informants, and have in a couple of cases drawn into a composite two or more informants so as better to protect their identity. I do not think that any readers even on

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Daru will be able to identify them; if they do, I beg that they try to protect those identities until such time as freer communication is possible without adverse consequences.

Writing what I have written has been an extremely trying, often unpleasant experience, one that has led to many bad dreams and much self-doubt. I am not happy to report on what I observed and otherwise learned about during 19 months in-country, namely, social problems which leave me depressed and worried about the future of Daru, Daruans, and other South Fly peoples. On the other hand, if most of my analysis is reasonably accurate, then perhaps it will provide Daruans with the requisite information to do something about the current and impending crises of sexually transmitted disease (STD) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) infection. This has, anyway, been my goal.

That said, I wish to say before going any further that any and all readers, particularly those with personal stakes in Daru and Papua New Guinea, who wish to complain about, argue with, or suggest alternative explanations of what I present here are encouraged to do so (please write to me c/o Norma Hammar, 310 Southview Place, Salem, Oregon 97302, U.S.A.). My interpretation remains completely open to new possibilities, and if I engage a few persons along the way, so much the better.

The snippets of popular, political, and academic dialogue that you will encounter shortly at the beginning of Chapter 1 indicate the serious implications that questions of truth and representation in language have for the way people experience life, the way they hear history told to them and for them, and the way they sometimes tell it to

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themselves and to others. In the following thesis, I have in some ways imagined a set of unfolding crises of sex, politics, ecology, alcohol, disease, and economy. I am concerned with questions as to how one can grasp empirically such unfolding crises sufficiently well to be in a position to represent them to others, to press upon them perhaps a sense of urgency that appears not to be there, not yet anyway. I question implicitly and explicitly what can we (as concerned human beings and social scientists) accomplish together regarding these crises.

At the outset I wish to distinguish between what Ralph Bolton has called in quite another context epidemiological sex research and disease-prevention sex research (1992: 129).[1] I opt clearly for the usefulness of both but for the imperative nature of the latter. In retrospect, I did more of the former than the latter, but had I to do it over again I would

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[1]. I do not endorse (for ethical, as well as methodological reasons) the application by all or even most ethnographers of his particular method. That is, where Bolton suggests the appropriateness of true participant/observation in certain settings, Daru was not one of them, not for me anyway, nor would be head-hunting, gang violence, or wife-bashing. Daru in most ways was a culture foreign to me in ways Bolton's Belgian gay community fieldsite was not to him. And though there were surely differently skin-colored informants and contacts in that Belgian community, these differences may indeed have been crosscut by putative gay cultural understandings in ways my relationships on Daru were not by, for the sake of argument, participation in shared heterosexual cultural understandings. The indigenous/expatriate, participant/observer, and man/woman nature of much of my research interaction as well ethically precludes the kind of "action" anthropology Bolton is calling for, if I understand what he did correctly. As he says, "In my casual sexual encounters with men I picked up in gay cruising situations, my approach during sex was to allow my partner to take the lead in determining which sexual behaviors to engage in" (1992: 135). I believe fervently with Bolton that anthropologists can be where "the action is," but not that they must necessarily become the action itself in order to describe it, analyze it, and occasionally, help to change it. I believe that such a distinction neither renders anthropological practice null and void nor objectivist and objectifying. I believe further that anthropology can remain ethically grounded, and that intervention is the key question here, that a non-interventionist stance with respect to global, national, regional, and local AIDS epidemics is morally and ethically flawed. That said, I wish to indicate that I remain open as to how best and when and on whose behalf to intervene.

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do more of the latter at the expense of the former. But anthropological practice is difficult at best to engage in "correctly," and fieldwork is impossible to do with hindsight.

Despite these reservations which I will only register here, I will begin in Chapter 1 by recounting the events of October 7, 1991 that occurred on my fieldsite, Daru island, the capital of Western Province, Papua New Guinea. Daru is now and has been for over a century an administrative center. Though a small island, it is densely-populated and at the nexus of an extraordinary level of human traffic, and is home to a very complicated set of social, political, and economic relations.

For a variety of reasons I try to clarify below, and because primarily of the preparation I made into my eventual topic, I have chosen to emphasize the complexity of those social relations both in terms of and as they influence that realm of sociobehavioral life among the most tabooed, both in our field and in the field: sex, sexual intercourse, in contemplation, practice, and implication.

I am not certain how hard to push this, but I am increasingly uncomfortable thinking through the consequences of two following ideas. First, other ethnographers might easily have come to the same general conclusions as did I (say, that there is a socioecological crisis afoot in the South Fly region) but they could have done so by focusing their attentions on something wholly different, say, on marine resource depletion or ecological despoliation of the Fly River and its tributaries. I suppose that I studied sex because it "pleased" me to do so, much as Robert Redfield is said to have done in his studies of folk, "little" communities, as against those of Oscar Lewis (one and the same, in this case). I think now that our good reputation as students of tabooed

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subjects is not completely deserved. Despite the reputation of anthropological studies of sex in Melanesia and Papua New Guinea in particular, I still do not think sex has been "done" in the ways it deserves to be, particularly not now, given the presence of AIDS and of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) on the scene. This is an issue I take up explicitly in the final chapter.

Second, that I chose to focus on sex, on STDs, and on condoms and their usage says at least as much about me as it does about them.[2] I mention this now partly to alleviate right off the bat the potential problems some Papua New Guinean readers in particular may have (probably well-founded) with my depiction of contemporary crisis in the South Fly as evinced by matters of sexuality. But in focusing on sex as opposed to marine resource exploitation, I highlight the richness of Daruan and Papua New Guinean modes of sexual practice. That many of these modes have dire sociomedical implications does not to my mind disqualify them from scrutiny, either by insiders or outsiders. To the contrary, only by coming to grips with the full panoply of sexual behaviors exhibited by Daruans (as well as other cultural behaviors and attitudes not directly related to sexuality) will solutions be found to some of the worst consequences. In fact, I believe an argument could be made for the creative potential of "promiscuous" intercourse. Let me point out straightaway that I am using this term in a way perhaps different from normal usage. Using "promiscuous" in a descriptive (implying multiplicity) and even

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[2]. Just after I wrote these words I went back into a book I did not understand very well the first time round, The Invention of Culture (Wagner 1981). That some of the ideas hit me like thunderbolts is testament to their beguiling clarity and simplicity. Like epistemologists, Wagner says, who study the meaning of meaning, and like psychologists who think about how people think, "the anthropologist is forced to include himself and his own way of life in his subject matter, and study himself" (1981: 2).

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complimentary (in its potential), not judgmental sense perhaps opens up a space within which to imagine how "safer" forms of sexual expression on Daru and elsewhere could arise and become part of both individual and cultural repertoires. In Douglas Crimp's most important, almost bellwether essay of 1987 ("How to Have Promiscuity in an Epidemic"), he notes, for instance, that

> We [gay males] were able to invent safe sex because we have always known that sex is not, in an epidemic or not, limited to penetrative sex. Our promiscuity taught us many things, not only about the pleasures of sex, but about the great multiplicity of those pleasures. It is that psychic preparation, that experimentation, that conscious work on our own sexualities that has allowed many of us to change our sexual behaviors... (1987: 253).

I am not calling, therefore, for promiscuity per se, but rather, for the promiscuity of possibilities.

If I have chosen to focus on the implications sexual behaviors have for a likely future explosion of transmission of HIV in the South Fly, others could just as easily focus on the related problems of "fatherless" children, sexual violence, unwanted pregnancies, and so forth. I hasten to point out that each of these are obviously also serious problems in my village, too.

In shining the spotlight on the full panoply of sexual activities and transactions (though this thesis is not really about sexual behavior per se), the forms about which I am most concerned and informed can be arrayed on a continuum. This continuum stretches analytically from more "traditional" types of sexual exchange that expressed and solidified group-level interactions (in marriage, in the cessation or averting of inter-group hostilities, and so forth) to those more appropriately called "prostitution," those which

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express and solidify for the most part often individual, marital, familial, or at most household-level behaviors, in other words, forms of sexual behavior which have been relatively, not absolutely, detached from meanings driven by a unit (tribe, kinship group, etc.) larger than the individual him or herself.[3]

That said, having expressed my awareness of some of the uncountable contradictions in representing Culture (see, e.g., Wagner 1981), other cultures, or aspects of them, I wish to stave off at least one or two wholly understandable objections to my research. Objections can certainly be made generally (viz., my status as an outsider), or about my particular focus (on sex), and to my analysis (of prostitutive forms of sex versus "traditional," or of contemporary, more consensual, mutual forms). If I anticipate "insider" kinds of objections, I am thinking here of the words of Francis Bugotu, a Solomon Islander (quoted in Wagner 1981: 24), who wrote "The buying of wives in primitive societies has no equivalence with the pecuniary exchanges of the West. Money is not important and certainly not the attraction. It is the woman who is valuable." Well, I am not so sure, not now, not on Daru anyway. Apart from objections I would raise to the use of such inflammatory terms as "primitive societies" and such vague abstractions

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3. My chapter-long exercise in ethnographic poaching on this point in an earlier draft of this dissertation was wisely suggested to be omitted. For introductions, though, to the literature and examples I found most helpful and intriguing, examples of sexual behaviors occupying points on a spectrum from fully consensual, non-monetary, not-even-close-to-being-prostitutive forms of sexual exchange to prostitution with a capital P, see Armstrong (1922); Barnett (1979) [1960]; Beben (1990); Burton-Bradley (1972); Codrington (1972); Cotlow (1966); Davenport (1971); Daylight (1980); Deacon (1970); Dibblin (1988); Ernst (1991); Firibo (1975); Fison and Howitt (1967); Fortune (1934); Hogbin (1946-47); Holmes (1924); Kuas (1980); Liberal-Minded (1977); Mead (1953); Nash (1981, 1987); Oliver (1967, 1973); Ouellette (1971); Roheim (1940, 1946); Serpenti (1977); Trenkenschuh (1982); Unlicensed Prostitutes (1977); Warner (1958); Research in Melanesia (1992); and Westermarck (1922).

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as "the West," I sincerely question in the contemporary Daruan context the claim that "it is the woman who is valuable," since truly "valuable" things and persons are not so frequently abused as so many women are on Daru.

On some level, then, I wish to be read as one who is engaging such a claim. That it will take me several hundred pages to do so is perhaps good evidence of how complicated such questions really are, that facile generalizations of the putative differences between "primitive societies" and "the West" are just that, and that real, material consequences flow from such claims.

I often heard, for example, sometimes from people who should have known (and, I am convinced did know) better that "we don't have any prostitution on Daru." Since such a claim has and might even continue to induce more sleepless nights, I would like to give in the pages and chapters to follow evidence that I am not making the whole thing up. I realize, of course, that in the process of "describing," for example, sagapari in Chapter 7, or the residential layout of the town, that I am making my account seem more than merely plausible (cf. Wagner 1981: 14); I want this thing to mean something more than that it is a good description of ongoing suffering. In this sense I hope not to be read as merely having "invented" a local culture, onto which I have projected all of my own misunderstandings, worst fears and anxieties about the state of gender relations in the world. On the other hand, I have to fess up that, like Wagner's Karimui Reverend (1981: 7, n. 1) I surely did and surely have since invented "the local culture." By that I mean that in some ways I did perhaps induce more people to have sex more frequently in more ways than they might otherwise have (the distribution of 20,000 free condoms near the

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end of my stay saw to that). I am certain that I also mistook gifts for payments (and vice versa). This is an issue I take up later in the dissertation, but for now I wish only to indicate my awareness of this most fundamental issue. I am wondering now whether in a sense I tried to "force" the issue, i.e., to collect some data by provoking it, since in so many ways and at so many points I kept wondering how "clean," "true," and so forth, were my data. As Hayano puts it insightfully in his introductory text, Road Through the Rain Forest (1990), "I couldn't imagine myself saying to my committee: Everything over there was a mess; everything I saw was disorganized and incomprehensible; everything I heard was a half-truth or an evasion. I'm sorry. I really didn't collect any data at all!" (1990: 148-49). Well, I collected data, alright, but...

Nevertheless, it seems to me that a multi-faceted system of prostitutive forms of sex (alongside others not so) does exist. Vast numbers of people (primarily female people, young and old) are being irreparably harmed by it. For the most part extremely few are concerned either for these peoples' plight or to attempt to find solutions to it.

Finally, I need to say for myself but to others three things, hopefully to stave off another couple possible objections. First, I could not respect and have affection for Papua New Guinea and Papua New Guineans much more than I already do. Second, I made my best effort as consistently as I could, and I could not have been much more patient or diligent in carrying out fieldwork under conditions fairly stressful to my person and psyche. I tried my best to understand things and not too quickly condemn them. Third, I hope my words and analyses do not cause undue harm to anyone, least of all to

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those already being harmed. I hope, of course, that my findings and analyses can be put to good use.

I have, perhaps, only one wish of my readers, particularly those in Papua New Guinea and especially those on Daru. I have tried my very best to imagine in advance how I and other members of my own village might feel were I and we to be written about as I have about you and yours. Please, then, read my work in its entirety first before condemning the endeavor, if in fact you wish to do so. If I have gotten a part of it wrong, or indeed if I have gotten the whole thing wrong, please tell me how, and if you can figure out, why I might have done so. Of course, no author wants her or his words inordinately misread or otherwise misconstrued, but in my case I wish to say again that I believe my heart (or bel, or kru bilong het, as the case may be) is in the right place. I have struck an unnecessarily defensive tone by having said so, but my purpose is more than that. I am convinced that together we can begin to protect ourselves, together we can help the many less fortunate in both our villages, in all villages--together we may hopefully avoid the worst of the ravages AIDS has wrought.

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents (page xxii)
Glossary (page xxviii)
Abbreviations (page xxxii)

Volume I:
Chapter 1: "What's in a 'Riot': rampage, a people's war, or a socioecological crisis unfolding?" (page 1)

I. Introduction: prelude to a "riot"
II. What's a Meta For?
III. Dissertation Contents

Chapter 2: "Writing History in the South Fly" (page 42)

I. Daru in History
II. A Historical Timeline
III. (There Weren't Any) Port Towns in the Pacific
a. slow starts and big finishes
b. towns theorized
c. dynamism in heterogeneity
d. the ties that bind
e. male/female ratios
IV. Port Towns in Papua New Guinea
a. a chronology of "discovery"
b. seizure of land
c. venereal outbreaks

Chapter 3: "A Walk Around Daru: the cultural geography of sex and 'spinning'" (page 87)

i. Introduction: crisis in the South Fly
a. where'd the money go?
b. overcrowding
c. corruption
d. living conditions
e. problems up north
f. a regional nexus
g. the problems of health care

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Table of Contents, cont.

II. Doing fieldwork on Daru
a. finding my place
b. breakdown, go ahead and give it ta me
III. Contemporary Daru
a. ties to Torres Strait (cultural, social, economic)
b. Daru island itself
IV. A walking tour of Daru
a. let's go for spin
b. let's go to market
c. let's have a beer (or a few million)
d. continuing on
e. an unfortunate aspect of social life

Chapter 4: "Sex and the Sex Industry on Daru" **(page** 166)

I. Introduction: Prostitution--
the Oldest Profession?
II. Sex and the "'Working' Girl"
III. Application to Daru
IV. The Daruan Sex Industry
V. A Pulling Together
VI. Summary

Chapter 5: "Sex and Sex Brokers on Daru" **(page** 209)

I. Pimps in the Public Mind
II. Pimps and Message Passers on Daru
III. The Role of Sex Brokers
IV. Case Studies
V. A Sexual Geography of the Daruan Sex Industry
VI. Tunigi's Gels
a. vital statistics
b. finding a partner
c. getting together
d. drinking behaviors
e. sexual partners
f. getting paid

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Table of Contents, cont.

Chapter 6: "The Political Economy of the Body Prostitute" **(page** 268)

I. Introduction: sex in the South Pacific isles
II. Explaining Prostitution
III. Chapter Goals
IV. Case Studies
V. The Political Economy of Sex
VI. Grounding Sex
VII. Dividing the Body
a. Pretty (unprotected) Woman
b. top and bottom
c. good sex/bad sex
d. seeing the skin
e. kissing bafalo
f. condoms and germs
g. barriers to barriers
VIII. Conclusions

Volume II:
Chapter 7: "The Sale of Sex in a Small Mangrove Garden **(page** 325)

I. Introduction
II. Finding Sagapari
III. Sagapari in the South Fly
a. muddy conditions
b. relative unimportance of fishing
c. importance of black palm
d. sexual practices
e. migration
IV. Locale of Sagapari Throughout Time and Space
V. Connections to Political Economy
VI. Space and Sex at Sagapari
a. bushes and beer bottles
b. time for sex
VII. A Bamu Tragedy
a. males
b. alcohol
c. sexual behaviors
d. contraception
e. risk
VII. Case Studies

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Table of Contents, cont.

Chapter 8: "The Gift that Keeps on Giving" **(page** 397)

I. Introduction
II. Methods
III. Give and Take on Daru
IV. The Place of Exchange in Sexual Life Histories
a. early gift-giving
b. forced sex
c. transition to fuller participation in the sex industry
d. discursive practices
V. Giving Out Condoms
VI. Gender, Exchange, Location and Marital Status

Chapter 9: "Whither Daru?: the sociomedical crisis of sex and STDs" **(page** 437)

I. Introduction
II. Chapter Goals
III. Several Convictions
IV. Sexually Transmitted Diseases
V. The Dangers of Sex
a. untreated Bamu: neglected crisis
b. STDs or stigma: which comes first?
c. STDs and sorcery
d. sexual double standards
VI. STD and HIV Transmission Beliefs
a. clothing
b. drinking containers
c. sexual intercourse
d. food, tobacco, utensils, etc.
VII. The Need for Research and Viable Solutions
VIII. A Few Tentative Suggestions

Chapter 10: "Reflections on Ethnographer Shame and Anthropological Accountability" **(page** 505)

I. Introduction: The Crisis of Anthropology
II. Refocusing on Sex
III. Notes Toward a New Ethnography of Sex

Postscript **(page** 545)

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Table of Contents, cont.

Appendices (page 551)

5.1 ("Ol Stori Bilong Slip Wantaim")
5.2 ("Family Planning Interview")
6.1 ("Ol Stori Bilong Ol Meri Wokabaut")
6.2 ("Sex Working Interview")
7.1 ("Sagapari Watch")
8.1 ("Socks Giveaway")
8.2 ("Sexual Life History, Men/Women")

References Cited (pages 575-633)
Figures: 6.1 ("The Scope of the Sex Industry") (page 303)
Tables: 4.1a ("Family Form of Sexual Exchange") (page 195)
4.1b ("Others Involved in the Family Form") (page 196)
4.2a ("Freelance Form of Sexual Exchange") (page 197)
4.2b ("Others Involved in the Freelance Form") (page 198)
4.3a ("Sex Broker Form of Sexual Exchange") (page 199)
4.3b ("Others Involved in the Sex Broker Form") (page 200)
4.4a ("Sagapari Form of Sexual Exchange") (page 201)
4.4b ("Others Involved in the Sagapari Form") (page 202)
4.5a ("Sexual Behaviors in the Daruan Sex Industry") (page 204)
4.5b ("Monetary/Alcoholic Behaviors in the Sex Industry") (page 205)

5.1 ("A Sexual Geography") (page 233)
5.2 ("Three Places") (page 237)
5.3 ("Tunigi's Gels") (page 239)
5.4 ("Site of Solicitation") (page 245)
5.5 ("Locale of Women When Solicited") (page 247)
5.6 ("Beer Consumption, Women") (page 248)
5.7 ("Beer Purchases by Type of Resources") (page 250)
5.8 ("Occupational Status of Tunigi's Customers") (page 254)
5.9 ("Primary Residence") (page 257)
5.91 ("Wives' Location at Time of Solicitation") (page 258)
5.92 ("Payment Schedules") (page 265)

6.1 ("Women, and the/their number of, 1990-92") (page 299)

7.1 ("Sagapari Roster") (page 369)
7.2 ("Male Customers at Sagapari by Occupation") (page 379)
7.3 ("Drinkers and Drinking at the Drinking Place") (page 381)
7.4 ("Women and Sex at Sagapari, May 6/Sept. 26, 1991) (page 385)

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Table of Contents, cont.

8.1a ("Money and/or Goods Given") **(page** 428)
8.1b ("Money and/or Goods Received") **(page** 428)
8.2 ("Location of Last Sexual Intercourse") **(page** 429)
8.3 ("Last Sexual Contact, Self-Identified") **(page** 431)
8.4a ("Females Giving and Getting Money and/or Goods") **(page** 432)
8.4b ("Males Giving and Getting Money and/or Goods") **(page** 433)
8.5a ("Males Giving Money") **(page** 433)
8.5b ("Males Getting Money") **(page** 434)
8.6 ("Exchange Relations by Location") **(page** 435)

9.1 ("Gonorrhea and Syphilis in Papua New Guinea, 1971-88") **(page** 457)
9.2 ("STD Incidence, Daru STD Clinic, 1979-86) **(page** 458)

Maps: #1 **(page** 2)
#2 **(page** 4)
#3 **(page** 43)
#4 **(page** 49)
#5 **(page** 131)

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Glossary of Terms Used in the Text

K.= Kiwai.
B.= Bamu.
M.P.= Melanesian Pidgin.
M.= Motu.
E.= English or English derivative

abere: K., elderly woman, mother.

ai nibo: K., vagina, no-good smell.

asples: M.P., a person's home village, place.

auwo ai: K., literally, big vagina, a loose woman, slang, derogatory, a curse word. See also **boromo ai** (pig's vagina), **maramu ai** (mother's vagina), etc.

bafalo: M.P., contraction for "bucks/fire," or dangerous money, term used by only a few Daruan females with experience in the sex industry in Port Moresby. **Bafalo soldes** are the women who sell sexual services in exchange for money and beer.

bel: M.P., uterus, pregnancy, stomach.

bili: K., B., palm leaf used as thatch and to wrap sago bundles in.

buai: M.P., betel nut.

Detol: a household disinfectant, akin to Lysol, used also to treat genital ulcers and sores.

disko/disko pati: kid's dance party.

dubaripari: K., literally, banana garden, joking euphemism for tu kina bus (see below, **sagapari**).

dubu: K., B., man, traditionally also house.

giwari: B., name for a Bamu settlement on Daru as well as a form of malevolent sorcery.

gris: M.P., literally, to grease, to persuade, cajole, facilitate.

kaikai: M.P., widespread term for food. **Kai** can also be used in the singular sense to denote a small celebration involving food.

karatai: K., a mad, crazy person, perhaps ensorcelled, unkempt, bedraggled, "spoiled."

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kawarea: K., "butterfly," a man or woman who "goes from woman to woman" or "man to man," a sexually indiscriminate person.

keyadubu: K., white man.

kina: the Papua New Guinean national currency, equivalent during my stay to $1.11 U.S.

koap: M.P., to penetrate, to have sex with, to fuck.

korobere: K., copulation.

longlong: M.P., a mad, crazy person, perhaps ensorcelled.

marila/malira: M.P., love magic.

maski: M.P., the ubiquitous "never mind," or "despite the fact:; "maski, go tasol," never mind, just do it.

maza: K., reef.

mido: K., poison, malevolent magic, sorcery, in Pidgin, puripuri.

mido dubu: K., magic man or male sorcerer, someone who poisons others.

mido orobo: K., magic woman or female sorcerer, someone who poisons others.

na'ati: K., mosquito.

nogere: K., elderly man, respected elder.

Ok Tedi: massive gold and copper mine atop the Fly River, origin of ecological despoliation, site and issue of political protest, some local employment.

Omo: soap powder.

orobo: K., B., woman.

pamuku: M.P., originally Samoan (?, from pa'umutu), a sexually loose or promiscuous person, generally female, who may or may not receive payment or gifts for engaging in sexual intercourse. **Pamuk** can also be used as verb: She **pamuks** too much.

pede: M.P., payday. **Pede fotnait** is fortnightly payday.

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pisirimai: K., sea cucumber, referring both to the creature as it is collected from the sea floor as well as the boiled, dried, scraped, boiled, dried, scraped, boiled, dried, bagged, and sold item. Play or "short-cut" name is "**pisix**."

raskol: M.P., criminal gang member.

rot meri: M.P., a streetwalker, loose woman who walks around at night.

sagapari: K., B., the $2 outdoor, bush prostitution area. Known also in K. as **gudapari** (small mangrove garden), and, jokingly, **dubaripari** (banana garden).

salim moni kwik: M.P., to wire money from a Post Office.

sikmun: M.P., menstrual period, sometimes **munsik**.

SP: South Pacific beer, ranging in price from K1.20-K2.40 during my stay.

spak: M.P., drunk.

spakbrus: M.P., marijuana.

stail bilong koap: M.P., sexual positions.

suguba: K., tobacco.

susu: M.P., breast, breast milk, chest (less frequently), white liquids.

tambu: M.P., forbidden, taboo; also persons and things taboo, i.e., to call a brother-in-law's name aloud.

temeteme: K., sickness, bodily or local pain, infection, swelling.

toea: The Papua New Guinean penny.

tok ples: M.P., the local language in a given locale.

tuba: K., fermented coconut shoot sap, sold in K1 bottles, extremely potent, makes one piss one's pants and bark like a dog.

tu kina: M.P.; can refer to a unit of Papua New Guinean currency, the kina, to the institution of two kina prostitution, and to the women who engage in it.

tu kina bus: M.P., the institution and instance of two dollar, bush prostitution.

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tuk orobo: K., but especially B. contraction of **tu kina orobo**, literally, two dollar woman, two dollar bush prostitute.

tukbus: M.P. contraction of tu kina bus, i.e., two dollar bush prostitution. **Tukbus** can refer to the institution, the person, and the locale.

uba pe: K., literally, no-good canoe, canoe with holes in it. As one word, **ubape**, it means a sexually promiscuous person, usually female.

wantok: M.P., member of the same linguistic group, family, neighborhood, ethnic group, community, etc. Akin to **wanwok** (co-worker), **wanlain** (member of the same kindred), **wanskul** (fellow student), etc.

zelasi: K., jealousy, generally resulting from personal achievement that goes against traditional, communal norms. A well-educated, employed schoolteacher who does not often enough visit his/her family in the village and contribute money and foodstuffs can cause **zelasi**.

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Abbreviations

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

BMS: Budget and Management Service.

CIS: Correction Institutional Services.

ECP: The Evangelical Church of Papua, formerly the Unevangelised Fields Mission.

Elcom: Electricity Commission.

FRPG: Fly River Provincial Government.

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus.

HMS: Her Majesty's Ship, e.g., H.M.S. Burwave.

LMS: London Missionary Society.

MV: Melanesian Vessel, e.g., M.V. Anzana.

NIO: National Intelligence Organization, primarily an intelligence gathering organization.

PNG: Papua New Guinea.

PWD: Public Works Department.

STD: Sexually Transmitted Disease(s).

TI: Thursday island.

TKB: Tu Kina Bus, two dollar bush prostitute or two dollar bush prostitution.

WP: Western Province.

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Chapter 1:

"What's in a 'Riot': rampage, a people's war,
or a socioecological crisis unfolding?"

"I want us to plan and talk about bigger and
good developmental projects and not party
politics" (the incoming Premier of Western Province,
Mr. Isidore Kaseng, quoted in Bengi 1992: 11).

"No wonder there are no meaningful services for the
people--government officers are doing their own thing
[selling betel nut] during official
hours in Daru" (Kamihu Haha,
to Post-Courier, August 24, 1990, p. 4).

"The Honorable Premier [Norbert Makmop] has failed to see that the
Ok Tedi Development funding of K2.5 million
along the Fly River brings no real changes except
complete destruction to people's lives, and
much of the 'development' is made up of cheap
material" ("Concerned Sambo," to Post-Courier
September 25, 1991, p. 11).

"A Timber company operating in Western Province
[Wawoi Guavi Timber Company] presented fibreglass
dinghies, outboard-motors, generators, fishing
nets and refrigerators valued at more than K85,000
to nine villages on the weekend...
Mr Gaeamo said the company would continue
to assist landowners with projects but the
landowners should improve their living standards"
(Ngaffkin 1991: 2).

"After five years of logging [in the same area],
the only signs of infrastructure development
were an iron roof on one school
classroom and one water tank" (Dr. Graham Zerk, to
Post-Courier, June 18, 1991, p. 10).

"In politics, the control of language means

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Map #1 (after Langmore 1989: 2)

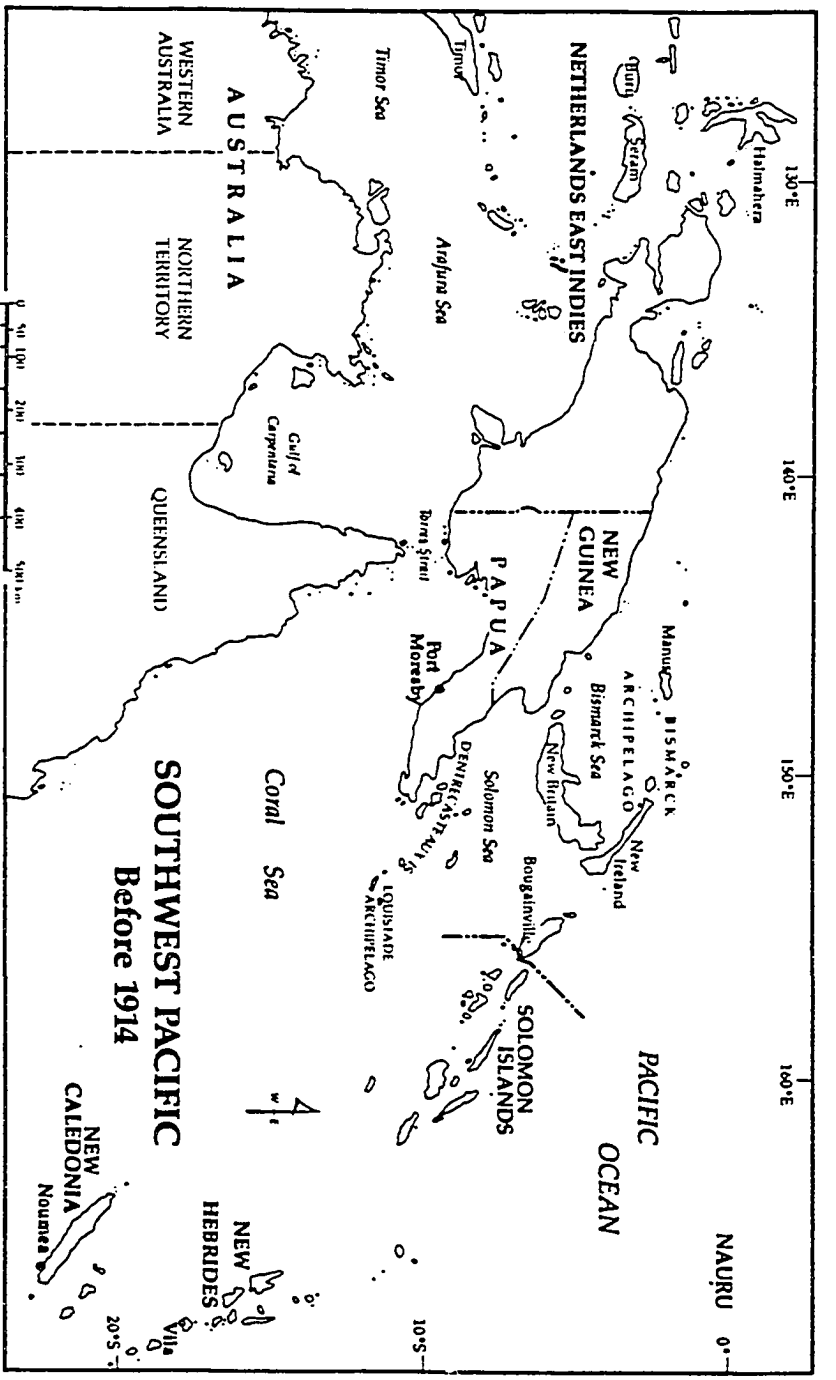


Figure 2.

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I. Introduction: prelude to a "riot"

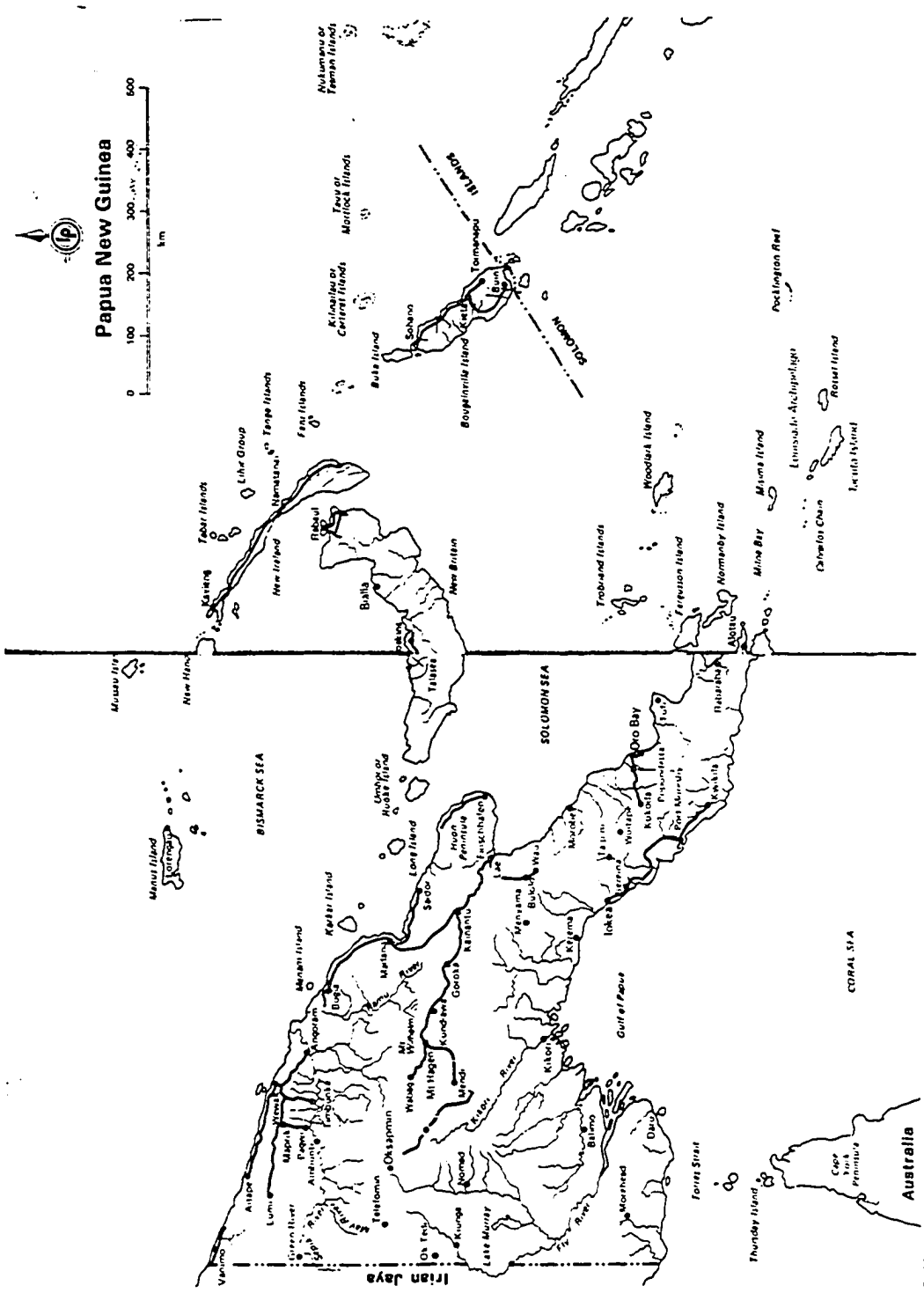
These otherwise disconnected snippets of dialogue indicate to me the seriousness of questions of language and representation. Take for instance the headline that framed the events which greeted me shortly after I stepped off the plane that brought me to Daru for the third time, on October 7, 1991. The headline appeared in the English national daily newspaper of Papua New Guinea, the Post-Courier, published in Port Moresby. It reads, rather ominously, "Chaos in Daru as people run riot," and continues into the lead paragraph: "The little township[1] of Daru in Western Province came to a standstill when about 1000 people went on a rampage at noon yesterday" (see Kone 1991a). The accompanying story recounted that a shopping center (Karuame) owned by a former senior politician, Sir Ebia Olewale, had been ransacked and looted right down to the registers, that a store manager had been hit on the head with a long piece of timber 3" X 2" sufficient to warrant treatment at the local hospital, that glass windows had been shattered and walls broken in the B.M.S. (Budget and Management Services) office, that the Premier's personal residence had been broken into and ransacked, and that the vehicle reserved for his official use had been overturned. Had this been my first day ever on Daru I might very well have turned around and returned from whence I had come (or ended up studying a different topic altogether...).

---

[1]. By the early 1970s, Daru, Port Moresby, and Goroka were the only three urban centers in which indigenous peoples held customary rights to land (Oram 1972a: 1157). Apart from health problems exacerbated by the non-overlapping status of incorporated towns and customary land (see below), land compensation demands continue to drain National Government coffers (see Rea 1991).

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Map #2 (after Wheeler 1988: 8-9)



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As it happened, I was returning that day to Daru from a "holiday" break in-between two stints of what turned out to be a total of 19 months in Papua New Guinea, most of it spent on Daru (see preceding maps #s 1-2).[2] That morning in October seemed hotter and dustier than I had remembered. The air, too, appeared unimaginably humid and heavy compared to the much cooler, less humid climes of my hometowns in the Pacific Northwest. I gathered my belongings together at the airport (including the 20,000 condoms and several hundred AIDS brochures, posters, and pamphlets I now had in tow), hunted for some kind of vehicle to take me and my belongings back to the newest of several residences I enjoyed on Daru, and re-cultivated friendships and acquaintances there at the airport. I found myself profoundly depressed at the thought of doing fieldwork for another seven months or so. Being perhaps both too wrapped up in it and too perplexed by it all, I could not at all imagine an "end" to it, certainly not one tied to a timetable. In addition, I had left family and friends behind once again, I had met and fallen in love with someone very special, and I had recently suffered a bout of malaria sufficient to hospitalize me for several days, an experience I did not wish to repeat. I was not, then, looking forward to more agonizing loneliness, anxiety, and bouts of malaria. "Fresh" off a long international flight and a too-short re-entry via Port Moresby and the welcoming arms of the Ambers Inn, then, I arrived back to Daru tense and jangly, nowhere near being "done."

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2. In addition, I stayed thrice in Port Moresby, made a two-week sojourn to Goroka, capital of the Eastern Highlands Province, and traveled briefly and happily to Samarai, once capital of what is now Milne Bay Province.

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Being still too tired either to unpack or sleep, and being still too wired from a long flight and the events of the past several days merely to hole up, I had my wash, cup and bucket-style, and made another cup of Goroka coffee--the best in the whole coffee world. I decided that by walking around town I might scare up some old friends and informants and thus begin re-immersing myself in Daruan culture for this final stint of fieldwork.

But soon in that sticky late morning/early afternoon heat I found that several main streets were choked with people and protest, throngs and clusters and lone protesters. Some were carrying signs, a few were brandishing gardening implements, several were holding (and a few throwing) rocks--nogere, abere, dubu, orobo, and osiomere (Kiwai=old men, old women, men, women, and children), just about all kinds of people. Although perplexed in the extreme, How Perfectly Ethnographic, I thought. Wow, my first day back. Should I write about this in letters home?; my parents are not going to be happy, accustomed as they already were to the less salutary aspects of Daru by a rash of letters written during the water crisis and partially-related murder spree that gripped Daru a few months previously. I must write my advisors immediately. How am I going to be able to code this field note?[3]

After having witnessed part of this "happening," and after having thought about it at great length in the intervening months and years while finishing up fieldwork and beginning to write, and then completing this dissertation, I am even less convinced that

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3. The only fieldwork "bible" I carried (Bernard 1988) had a entry code for "Brawls, Riots, and Banditry" (579), but that did not seem appropriate here.

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the Post-Courier headline does justice to either the events themselves or to the peoples' motivations in making them come about. For instance, despite the catchy newspaper headline, I saw little if any of what I take to be "chaos" that day. Also, the headline's ambiguous "people" fails to do justice in representing serious social and political cleavages that define contemporary Daru. The accompanying story quotes (but does not name) a "source" as having said that "Kiwai Islanders" (made famous ethnographically by Gunnar Landtman long ago) were behind the disruptions. This contention was followed up the next day by then-Premier Norbert Makmop in a story indicating that sharp retribution was in the offing. While Kiwai are indeed the South Fly region's (and Daru's) ethnic majority, the term fails to capture the depth and complexity of even Kiwai ethnic identity, identity formation, and ethnic cleavage, much less of the kinds of non-Kiwai ethnic solidarities and cleavages that make this island and region such fertile anthropological ground. For instance, Kiwai islanders, by definition, do not live on Daru. Nor do "Town Kiwai," the descendants of the original town's inhabitants, offspring variously of Kiwai, Torres Strait islanders, and Europeans, live on Kiwai island. Though indeed there is remarkable traffic between the two islands, Daru and Kiwai, the latter of which sits remarkably comfortably in the vortex that is the mouth of the Fly River and the edge of the Papuan Gulf, there did not appear that day to be anything particularly Kiwai Islandesque about the protest or the people protesting. In addition, at no time did I see anyone "running" or "rioting."[4]

---

4. Judith Van Allen (1993 [1976]) has examined brilliantly the different political motives involved in the British colonial administrative preference of the terms "Riots" (as in "Aba Riots") and the indigenous female preference for "War" (as in "Igbo Women's War"). Though the difference between the two terms is not immediately apparent to all, these linguistic gymnastics

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What I saw appeared to me to be a fairly well-organized protest by all kinds of Daruans and other South Fly inhabitants, certainly not just Kiwai. These included housewives, public servants, students, fishermen, cray divers, curious schoolkids, and residents from outlying villages on the mainland (Coastal and Fly River Kiwai and other) who had come to Daru for marketing, social and other purposes. I also heard the ringing cries that day, and this was what told me that this was not just a Kiwai thing, nearby and inside this large trade store, "we are living on money," "we are eating money" (cf. Roscoe 1993: 303). As I followed clusters in the crowd around town, down Mangopari Road and up towards Daru's only hotel (though I am not going to name it, I will capitalize its spelling hereafter), I saw that the Fly River Provincial Government (hereafter FRPG) office building that dispenses pay packets. the Budget Management Service (hereafter BMS) had been stoned unto Swiss cheese. (It was to remain so for several weeks following this "riot," an ugly reminder of not just what had happened but what little was ever going to be done about it). As we wound up the road that afternoon towards the Premier's house--the second-highest point on Daru (the Catholic Church having that singular honor), a residential compound surrounded by chain link fence and protected by "security"--we saw the brand new Land Cruiser belonging temporarily to the Premier being rocked to and fro and eventually being overturned. As the Post-Courier story failed to capture in full, his residence had already been ransacked, his stereo equipment

---

must be catching on; on the Arsenio Hall show in 1992, the estimable Cybill Shephard, when asked why she had not made it to the taping of his show during the L.A. "Riots," said, "I prefer to think of it as an uprising." Even Arsenio was slow in reacting, but since that time I have heard "it" described as having been a civil disturbance, a civil war, an outbreak, and a portent of the civil anarchy (an oxymoron?) to come.

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had been stolen, some of his furniture had been smashed or carted away, and his young second wife[5] had been roughed up a bit before being eventually let go.[6]

Two days later, a plane thought mistakenly to be bringing the Premier back from his business junket to Indonesia was shot from long range at the Daru airport as it was attempting to land. A bullet that struck the propeller and another that struck the body of the craft symbolized the still high feelings of Daru residents about the events of the previous few days (and surely the sociopolitical issues that inspired them). When the Premier did come back extra police and special "Force Ten" Mobile Units were called in from the national capital in Port Moresby. These mobile units were instructed to (and they certainly made) official, often punitive raids into settlements, ostensibly to find stolen goods and suspected protesters. These raids into settlements led eventually to many jailings and court cases, and raids into outlying villages continued well into the following year. For instance, it was reported on January 30, 1992 in the Papua New Guinea Times (another English paper, published weekly in Fort Moresby), that "Mabudowan [sic] villagers [were] angered by police brutality" (Miria 1992). The violence, however, occurred as well further up the Pahoturi River, at the mouth of which sits Mabuduwan village. "Leader and chief" GSK Gamea said that "police shot at

---

5. When the Premier recently took as his second wife a ninth grader in the Provincial High School it did not sit well with town residents. This, and an obviously inebriated appearance on stage at the Independence Celebration, at which he threatened to shoot with bow and arrows those responsible for an "unrelated" recent burglarizing of his home allegedly by raskols (criminal gang members), was considered to be just about the last straw by many town residents. Though not exactly overshadowing the larger political economical aspects of the protest, this "taking out" (from school) a much younger bride by a non-Kiwai "outsider" from "up north" seriously alienated many "grassroots" sentiments.

6. According to a health worker informant who was inside the Premier's house that day.

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coconuts, chickens, dogs, water containers and ordered the people to move out of their houses in ten minutes regardless of who they were"--all done at gun point (Miria 1992). Gamea further said that despite Mabuduwan villagers having been "Christians since 1871" and being in other ways "innocent," they were accused by Force Ten personnel of running guns for Fly River people (presumably the "rioters"). Later in the year, villagers upriver from Mabuduwan--Kibuli, Wamarong, and Ngao--were also raided and had several hunting rifles confiscated, despite the complete absence of any evidence that such weapons had any connection to the events on Daru in October or to any other events beyond subsistence hunting.

In retaliation, according to many subsequent acquaintances and informants, mainland village residents and town "corner" (settlement) and "ward" inhabitants vowed to pay back the misbehaving police through the application of mido (Kiwai=poisonous magic, sorcery). In brief, they felt that mido could accomplish in "traditional" fashion what they could not through a court system and legal method they perceived to be sluggish, unfair, and generally ineffective. It was not long before I was assured by corner residents that policemen accused of stealing, beating, drinking, pack-raping, and otherwise inappropriately raiding settlements, villages, and households were already dead or would soon become seriously ill at the hands of mido dubu and particularly mido orobo (magic men and women). One of my many adoptive "sisters," for instance, was surprised in her bra and panties by a Force Ten policeman and forced out of the house while another searched her family's house for weapons. They, too, I was assured, were "paid back" for such affronts to decency and common sense. One of my informants,

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"Leona" (Chapter 6 and passim), was sexually assaulted by Force Ten personnel two weeks later, and many of her "corner"-mates (residents of the same "corner"; see Chapter 3) and extended family members vowed to kill (through mido, but on sight) her violators if they ever came back.

To recap so far, these events, suspicions, and tellings of the story(ies) seemed initially more or less clear to me at the time. Shortly thereafter, though, and certainly with some added distance, time, and fieldwork, I came to appreciate how little I really understand, how little, on several levels, anyone understands. I suspect, however, that that is equally (but differently) so for at least Post-Courier reporters in Port Moresby who both file and write stories by telephone, and probably so, too, for a majority of those who participated in the protest that October day.

This leads me on to the perhaps greater anthropological question--as well, to the thesis I put forward in the pages to follow--as to how much or how little one can understand the events of that day (and all that lay behind them) by focusing on the immediately superficial, empirically observable elements. It is simplistic to ignore the social and economic motivations, physical and psychological constraints of, and historical and sociological precursors to a given act whilst focusing on the duration of the act itself. This is no less true in the realm of sexuality and prostitution.

The thesis I put forward here is three-fold. First, the sale, exchange, theft, gift, and purchase of sexual services on Daru is ubiquitous, as it is in other towns and countries. There is indeed a sex industry afoot, and it has a number of implications damaging to many females, old and young, to families and households, to whole

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communities and to perhaps Daruan culture itself, if such can be said to exist. Second, this sex industry and many of the behaviors manifest within it and the sociomedical implications that spring from it cannot be detached from a consideration of matters of political economy, such as those that proximally triggered the events of October 7. This sex industry is largely explicable on some levels by reference to those matters, and is perhaps even predictable. It is therefore amenable to change should a critical mass of dedicated Daruans and others decide that it should be changed. Thus, while my "description" (see Wagner 1981: Chapter 1) of contemporary Daru may strike some readers as unremittingly, unnecessarily grim, I am nevertheless still optimistic. Third, and of perhaps most pressing humanitarian concern, no Daruan women, as do not virtually all women virtually everywhere have full sexual citizenship, and most do not have even anything approaching it. This social fact is what connects the other two aspects of the thesis I wish to put forward herein. As I see it, it is a fundamental social problem that Daruans are plagued by, one that often contravenes human rights, and one that has a number of serious medical and public health implications.

II. What's a Meta For?

So, how does one go about trying to make sense of such events, of accounting for these problems, and precisely where does one commit analytical (and metaphorical) spade to empirical (ditto) earth and begin the arduous task of digging for answers? Recounting a story I have heard multiply (and thus multiply hallway talk), one kind of historian has argued in essence that history is best rendered as merely "one damn thing after another" (L. White). My shallow understanding of South Fly history leads me to

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believe that this is becoming increasingly true (see Chapter 2). Paraphrasing greatly another kind of historian, people make their own history but not according to their wishes (K. Marx). This resonates strongly on a micro-level with women I discuss in various ways in chapters 5-8. Quoting as directly as I can remember quite another kind of historian, "'What's going on over there?' Who knows? Nobody knows!" (a Columbia University archaeologist). And this is how I feel sitting here at my desk, powerless, agitated, perpetually depressed at the state of the world and of the South Fly particularly. Quoted directly (by Kelly 1991: v), Indian philosopher Rabindranath Tagore's words capture I think my own sentiments on the issue: "We are troubled by a trouble which we know not yet how to name."

In view of Tagore's trenchant phrasing, I have just about given up searching for the most appropriate positivist explanation of what really happened that day, for example, in terms of historical precursors, economic forces, ecological variables, and so forth. Nevertheless, I remain puzzled in the extreme why the day's events unfolded the way they did and what they signify regarding far larger, broader, and more deeply-rooted issues in the fabric of life in the South Fly region, perhaps even more generally throughout Papua New Guinea, Melanesia, even the Pacific. Accordingly, before I launch into the empirical substance of this thesis and attempt to pull empirical data together into an explanatory framework, I would like to examine several of the leading threads of discourse.

I have chosen this form of sewing metaphor consciously. Long, long ago, in a program far, far away, I began to read and think about anthropology seriously for the first

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time. The particular discussion I remember most vividly was sparked by my undergraduate mentor, parked quite ethnographically I thought (cross-legged, comfortably) atop a desk in our classroom in the basement of a dormitory. On that day, early in the term, my first as a budding anthropology student, she launched into what I felt to be at the time a defense of head-hunting (in this case, in the Philippines, among the Ilongot, or rather, perpetrated upon their enemies). "But it's wrong, it's just wrong," I remember saying at the time, to myself, to anyone else who would listen, impatient as I was with anyone, even her, even entertaining the question. I remember equally well my mentor's prediction, something to the effect that "15 years from now you'll still think headhunting is wrong, but you'll think a lot more than that and a lot more about it."

And so it is. I still think "head-hunting" is "wrong," but there, you see, I put both of those terms inside quotation marks because they cannot to my mind be discussed to without being unpacked a whole lot--just as must the events of October 7, or any other ethnographic factotum located in a field note. Although I am not certain that I have been consciously and consistently taught to do this, I have been learning all of these years, in one way or another, that analyzing culture and learning how to represent it to others is like peeling away layers of an onion. I now feel that this is the wrong approach because the layers of the onion represent not just different kinds of (potential) explanation but potentially different levels of explanatory obfuscation, that the onion's layers may represent different kinds of ideological "mask" or "veil," in the words of J.G. Merquior, and not different levels of theoretical or empirical clarification. I may be the only one who feels this way, but if only on this point, I find this to be true about anthropology

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whether one is reading Marvin Harris (e.g., 1979) or Clifford Geertz (e.g., 1973), though there are, of course, oceans of disagreement and discontent between them.

I am equally convinced, however, that this method and form of representation--that Culture and cultures and other things anthropologists study come in layered texts to be peeled back and revealed if the right theoretical tools and degree of explanatory intensity are brought to bear on them--only brings tears. I believe now the onion metaphor to be outdated and a positive (because positivist) hindrance to the kind of interventionist mode in which we must engage in this time of AIDS, in two ways. First, the onion metaphor assumes that there are outer layers and inner layers, and that the former protect from scrutiny the latter, which, when examined closely, almost as if by mere exposure to the light, bring fewer tears and greater wisdom (see, e.g., Geertz' Cohen story or Harris' "riddles" of pork-, beef-, and human-eating). Second, I believe that this onion metaphor is further evidence, despite what some of my anthropological elders told me, of a dying but still extant positivism in our field, one which threatens continuously to be jump-started by new theoretical developments and problems at hand.

Now, whether representing that which I encountered on Daru as a horribly tangled ball of thread is evidence of progress past the representation of it via an onion metaphor I will leave to the reader to decide. Nevertheless, by mentioning these two metaphors--onion-style, peel-away analysis versus disentangling that ball of thread--I mean to call attention to the two very different modes of analysis they entail and to the greater utility of one over the other. Staying with this metaphor for the moment, with perfect cuts whole layers (variables) can be separated (analytically and hierarchically)

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from others (and thus privileged, depending upon one's theoretical predilections, time constraints, and audience). That onion cannot be put back together again because inner layers cannot become outer, and vice versa; skin should not be on the inside, and inner layers would shrivel and die if exposed to the elements. A tangled ball of thread, on the other hand, remains so until the very end, at which point (unless one has employed the wrong tools and has severed it or tangled it further) a single thread still remains. In addition, the thread is itself composed of fibers variously wound together.[7] These fibers help the thread remain as intact as it may, but they, too, can come undone. Worse yet, what we unravel at night, somewhat akin to Penelope's Thread, can be re-woven again the next day; mending social relations, that is, is perpetual. That thread, too, though not infinite, is continuous, and is and can be tied to many other layers of abstraction (historical forces, economic constraints, ecological pressures, and so forth) which presumably can be followed out to their end, perhaps even to other threads, to other balls of tangled thread.

The difference between these metaphors, I am convinced, has real material implications. As I said, onion layers, being forever separated individually, cannot be put back together, whereas the unraveled, tangled ball of contemporary Daruan social relations can be mended or can be re-woven. Social relations can be made non-oppressive, at least potentially. To state that this ball of thread was already "tangled" when white men and white ideas and practices (jail, prescriptive monogamy, wage labor relations, cash-cropping, Papa God, and so forth) arrived in the 19th and 20th centuries is

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7. I owe this insight to Jennifer Gayfer.

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to suggest the obvious (see Bateson 1958 for a north coast example, a notable exception in ethnography which begins with analysis and proceeds to describe in subsequent chapters such seemingly isolable phenomena as "economics" and "social structure"). "Traditional" social formations in the South Fly also evinced male privilege over female, that of married over single, elder over junior, headhunters over hunted heads, initiated over non-initiated, and so forth. These social relations were not merely hierarchical, but cross-cutting in various ways, too, fractured by affinal, trading, residential, adoptive, and many other relations. My understanding, therefore, of what relatively little there is about "pre-contact" South Fly social relations (compared, anyway, to colonial situations in Africa; see, e.g., Knauft 1993) is that they were sufficiently tangled already in nascent form such that Europeans cannot really be said to have brought them and to have introduced many social and other contradictions that did not already exist.

This dissertation is most concerned with prostitution with a capital P. In the pages and chapters to follow, I am implicitly questioning whether Europeans and European ideas can be held responsible for bringing Prostitution to South Fly peoples when all manner and variety of sexual exchanges (involving men and women, boys and girls, fluids, currencies, shells, obligations and favors, groups and individuals, and so forth) were already present to begin with. I will not claim that the highly commodified, spatially, linguistically, economically, and ethnically highly-demarcated, supremely brutalizing form of what is known elsewhere in Papua New Guinea as tu kina bus ($2 bush prostitution) is not a relatively new phenomenon. Instead, I wish to argue in the pages to come that the tangledness of social relations that makes its existence and

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persistence possible, the hierarchies, privileges, and cleavages, and so on, was already there. Europeans and European methods and modes of understanding--that is, prescriptive monogamy, Christianity, capitalism, and so forth--facilitated, however, the expansion of sexual transactions into commodity forms. Alongside the arrival of sexually transmitted and other pathogens, they further laid the groundwork for serious crises in/of the public health. My thesis is, therefore, that the contemporary sex industry may be more explicable and understandable than many might otherwise assume, though no less oppressive to so many and repugnant for being so. It follows that, when grasped, social relations can be changed--they are not constants, unlike relative constants such as soil requirements for taro and sago cultivation, or the heat and humidity of Daru. Make no mistake, the sex industry the parameters of which I describe and analyze below cannot be explained without reference to the colonial period and to changes introduced in local and regional political economies. Nevertheless, shining the analytical and ethnographic spotlight more on several harmful social relations that have surely been greatly affected by colonial contact and administration (e.g., the sexual double standard, poverty, male violence and over-consumption of alcohol) than on political economy (e.g., the price of petrol and the declining size of harvestable sea cucumber) perhaps allows us together to grasp better what to do about them. Among many other reasons, I believe it to be the social fabric in Papua New Guinean social formations that most primarily brings anthropologists there in the first place--and calls them back again. I have taken from Daru and Daruans. I would like to begin giving back to them.

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III. Dissertation Contents

This dissertation is thus primarily concerned with elucidating several forms of sexual behaviors and attitudes as well as their political economical precursors and sociomedical consequences. These include fears, suspicions, and other ideas about condoms and condom usage; sorcery and other ideas and practices about the transmission of various STDs such as Donovanosis, syphilis, and gonorrhea, as well as some of the sexual double standards with which women in particular are punished; barriers to more effective diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of such illnesses and some of the cultural and social codes which help to sustain them; and finally, the relevance of these and other beliefs and behaviors to HIV infection, to the way in which AIDS is (often "mis")understood, and to some of the likely consequences for future generations. In brief, I find that many of the problems with the forms and operations of the sex industry are sustained by and help to sustain further the absence of what Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1994) and others have called "sexual citizenship" (see also Chapter 9).

As I have begun this dissertation with a retelling of the events and possible meanings to various constituencies on Daru of October 7, 1991 (midway through my own period of fieldwork), I want to pick up this narrative thread again at the beginning of Chapter 3 by examining several more proximate explanations for the "riot" that day, each of which is important to consider but none of which can be considered fully without reference to others. I highlight in particular suspicions over allegedly missing money, overcrowding and other problems of daily living, ecological despoliation related to the Ok Tedi mining project north atop the Fly River, and contemporary problems with the

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delivery of high-quality health care under extremely trying conditions. These problems are magnified to the extent that Daru is a regional nexus for an extraordinary intensity of human traffic, poised as it is essentially between three different countries; between several major waterways, reefs and gulfs; and, put perhaps a bit too nostalgically, between several different worlds. That is, compared to everywhere else I have been in Papua New Guinea, I think the Trans-Fly area is the most awesome and lonely (expansive land, sparsely-populated) of them all, where one can still meet people firmly rooted in several different traditions.[8]

Although I have other aims in Chapter 3, I hope that it becomes evident therein, at least implicitly, how important is the increase in the amount of cash available in towns (as opposed to in villages). This has tremendous implications for both male and female lives, sexually and otherwise. That is, while probably the vast majority of migration literature focuses more on male experiences (but see Little 1973; Schuster 1979; Enloe 1989; Sturdevant and Stoltzfus 1992), the flip side of the coin is also important. Surely this cash (real and potential) has also brought with it many more unattached, looking-for-a-suitable-mate women from outlying areas. As researchers among elite educated couples in Port Moresby, Rosi and Zimmer-Tamakoski (1993: 180), put it, "Papua New

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8. Perhaps an example of what I mean is in store. The most "isolated" place I have ever been to is Sogae village, up the Wawoi branch of the Aramia River, immediately previous site of "Kamusi," which is now located several score kilometers due east up the other, Guavi branch. But Sogae village was where I listened to the most Jimmy Swaggart tapes, though on the most severely beaten tape player I have ever seen. There I purchased the least touristy-looking bows, arrows, and sago bags. But the village had a great number of rusted hulks of heavy machinery left behind by the timber company, and at one time, there were "canteens" (really small tradestores) in probably half to two thirds of the village's score or so houses. This left an awful lot of supply, but very little demand.

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Guinean women are also traveling far and wide in search of wealthy husbands in a time dominated by money (taim bilong mani)." Though perhaps on a smaller scale, Daruans also are in the midst of sweeping changes in marriage systems (cf. Marksbury 1993).

Marriage systems are changing in various directions due to both "internal" and "external" reasons. European ideas of romance, sex, and courtship have been introduced via cassette tapes, magazines, language and jokes, and particularly videos. In addition, new forms of wage labor, increases in the price of basic foodstuffs, the increasing necessity to pay school fees, and so forth, must also be considered as likely to lead to further negative changes (see also Bauni n.d., for a Kenyan example). From within, there would appear to be various kinds of evidence supportive of claims that there has been a dangerous rise in "raskolism," or criminal gang activity (e.g., Harris 1988), alcohol consumption, sexual violence and particularly pack rape, and changing sexual mores reflected partially in rising sexually transmitted disease caseloads (see Chapter 9; cf. NSSRT and Jenkins 1994; Dyson n.d.). Probably more Daruans than ever before are consuming alcohol and smoking marijuana, attending video showings, kissing, beginning to be sexually active with more partners earlier in life, and are being ever more exposed to some of the noxious consequences thereof. Young women who smoke spakbrus (marijuana), for instance, are seen as turning into "stupids" and laying themselves open to promiscuous behaviors. The same spakbrus is said to turn young men into raskols (criminal gang members). Violence depicted in Rambo and Kickboxer films (and multiple others of their ilk) is acted out again when men drink (see Marshall 1979 for an example from Moen island in the Truk lagoon). Thus, while kissing and smoking

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spakbrus obviously do not lead inherently to noxious consequences (e.g., promiscuity, criminality, violent behavior), they are often perceived to do so on Daru.

I believe further that women are increasingly bearing the brunt of these widely felt changes. Although I am thinking primarily of Daru, nationally, women seem to be expected to support male interests even more than in the real and imagined "traditional past" (cf. Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1993a,b)--and are expected to pay the consequences if and when they do not. As elsewhere, of course, sex that women are coerced into is ubiquitous on Daru. More particular to Daru, however, are changes in marriage exchange practices themselves. On Daru anyway, as opposed to in mainland villages, ever fewer prospective brides and grooms and families appear to be exchanging brothers and sisters and offspring, though "Eck-change" (as it is pronounced on Daru) is still the operative phrase, perhaps even still normative ideal. Nor are former practices of "sister exchange" necessarily being replaced with inflated bride prices, as is the case elsewhere (e.g., Rosi and Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1993; and see Marksbury 1993). Though that is sometimes the case, growing numbers of parents and families seem to be preferring to marry off their daughters and sisters to wokman (workers, salaried men) instead of peles man (villagers). A new form of "bride service," then, seems to be increasing in importance and frequency. As well, it seems to be carrying with it a level of material commitment much greater and more extensive than, say, meat and labor in hunter/gatherer and mixed horticulturalist communities (cf. Collier and Rosaldo 1981; Marshall 1976; Woodburn 1968). On Daru, bride service is taking the form evinced not just of Woodburn's Hadza, Marshall's Kalahari San, and Collier and Rosaldo's Ilongot

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hunters who give their in-laws meat until their first-born are weaned, but of far longer and more extensive commitments in the form of cash, school fees, dinghies and motors, and airline tickets. Prospective in-laws on Daru expect, demand, and when they do not get, protest the absence of substantial material support from their brothers/sons-in-laws who "steal" their sisters and daughters, particularly if no eck-change occurred or no bridewealth was exchanged or brideprice paid.

This increasingly common expectation by affines that women become the conduits of material support by husbands ramifies I think in essentially two ways on Daru. First, in exchange for this material support the man comes to have greater control over the woman physically, sexually, culturally, and reproductively. Despite treating her in ways palpably bad to everyone, and despite often violent and abusive behavior towards her and her family when, for example, over-drinking, he has relative freedom to do what he wants as long as he remains salaried and gives over some accepted portion of his fortnightly pay-packet. (I often wondered on Daru whether, in fact, affinal obligations and expectations were the cause of some spousal battery.) She will hesitate to leave him despite how bad things are, again, because she is increasingly dependent on him and his cash and not on her own family, village, garden, and labor, and because her consanguines and affines pressure her to conform her own to his behavior, to avoid "provoking" him, to "stay quiet" in the house, and so forth, to give him even less reason to abuse her.

Second, I believe that the "price" of continuing female virginity and the consequent worth of female chastity (and the measures taken to protect it) are also increasing--even in the absence of evidence that such measures are having the desired

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effect. Set within the context of an already fairly well-entrenched sexual double standard (for an introduction to this vast literature, see Herdt and Poole 1982), females have even more to lose when they become and remain sexually active. For this reason, I believe, it is often accepted to be the fault of the young woman who is pack-raped or otherwise sexually violated, not that of the young man or men. And once "marked," few men will marry such a woman. This, for not a few Daruan females, particularly the younger, must push ever increasing numbers of them into what are called elsewhere "multiple partner unions" both prior to a recognized-by-the-community marriage and in the middle of them. A woman toiling sexually in the Pat Bong district of Bangkok expresses some of these tensions:

> [She] had lived with an English man working as a technician on an oil rig. But he left her and went back to England. She said she was not working when she was with him, but returned to her job after some months since he failed to send her money and it was impossible for her to keep such an expensive flat. "What else can I do? After all, these men are good business" (quoted in Enloe 1989: 36).

Marriage, sexuality, and exchange are clearly far less stable categories than they used to be, even perhaps as recently as a couple of decades ago.

I have dwelt at some length on these points here because I wish more or less to leave them behind hereafter. In Chapter 3 I wish to provide the kind of ethnographic and methodological context for such claims. Following an account of some of the personal, intellectual, and methodological problems I encountered, I take the reader in this chapter on a "walking tour" of Daru. In order to convey my sense of the implications and punishments of some of the most prominent social contradictions on Daru, I conclude one section of this chapter by mentioning briefly several persons living marginally on

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Daru and marginalized by Daruans. Obviously, there is little particular and even less peculiar about these case studies from Daru, to which the vast literature on prostitution can attest.

In Chapter 2 I discuss the recent history of Daru and the South Fly region generally, and then discuss the situation of contemporary Daru in terms of the development of other port towns in the Pacific, most notably Lae, Port Moresby, and Samarai. To that end, I present a historical time line of "discovery" and invasion by Europeans, the set-up and administration of colonial outposts in the South Fly, and periodic medical, economic, and political developments culminating in the achievement of National Independence in 1975. Far from being exceptional, Daru's development and current problems are wholly explicable in the context of port town development generally (e.g., Belshaw 1963; Willis 1974; Spoehr 1963a; see also Wallerstein 1974). For rough comparative purposes I will look at other port towns and will show that Daru is not unique, but that it is too small, too geographically isolated, and arguably perhaps not well-suited in other ways to sustain appreciable human social and economic development on a par with Samarai (an inarguably "nicer" place to live in terms of standards of living), much less either Lae or Port Moresby.

In Chapter 4 I begin to lay the groundwork for chapters to follow by discussing the utility of the concept of "sex industry." I provide several ethnographic and historical examples of it, and then lay out schematically forms that the Daruan sex industry takes, at least as I see it. This chapter begins by discussing debates regarding the linguistic and political implications of using terms such as "sex work," "sex industry," the provision of

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"sexual services," and so forth (generally, see Bell 1987; Delacoste and Alexander 1987; Pheterson 1989). Candida Royalle, for example, once an actress in mainstream adult video, now director and producer of adult video for women and heterosexual couples primarily, explains that

> When I was in front of the camera I never felt that it interfered with my personal life at all. It was a job, and it was very hard work, and if I could get any pleasure out of it that was all the better. Any work that you can enjoy is much better. But that's what it was: a job... My work and my sexual life really didn't interfere with one another at all (Royalle 1993: 26).

As another contributor to the special issue of Social Text (Winter 1993) to which Royalle contributed put it, in manifesto form ("Jasmin" 1993: 34, 33), "We want prostitution recognized as work so that we can claim social insurance." "...[O]ur work is not recognized as work... We want the same rights and the same civil liberties as all other workers." As I shall show, however, the point about it being sex work is not at all a given in feminist debates; in fact, precisely on this point is revealed a great tension in second- and third-wave feminism circles. As "Jasmin" above puts it, "As for feminism, I don't like to talk about it, because I don't believe in that women's lib shit. What has it done for us working women?" (1993: 37, emphasis mine). Gail Pheterson, in "The Whore Stigma: female dishonor and male unworthiness" (1993), points out that "Most prostitutes...are not political activists," and thus that they object sometimes to "radical ideology [i.e., anti-prostitution feminist] when it denies basic self-determination to whores" (1993: 59).

As I see the forms that the Daruan sex industry takes, the reader is enjoined not to make too much of the boundaries between forms but rather focus upon what I take to be

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the core features within them, perhaps even the shifting alliances and disjunctures between elements of them. These include but are not confined to timing and amount of payment for sexual services, ethnic and occupational statuses of the male customers involved, location and duration of sexual activities, and contraceptive, alcoholic, and erotic aspects and parameters of those activities. Some of these boundaries are strict, others not so.

Beginning with Chapter 5, I move on to discuss those particular forms. There I primarily discuss women who get paid in exchange for sexual services they provide.[9] They do so with the aid of both three sex "brokers"--among many on the island--as well as sometimes with the aid of messengers on foot or bicycle who help to arrange their sexual encounters.[10] I also discuss the sexual geographic aspects of the Daruan sex industry, the many private houses, work sites, bush areas, and drinking establishments at which the sex trade flourishes. This portion of the chapter should be taken to be yet

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9. I find myself frequently stuck as to which term is most appropriate to employ. To say, for instance, "women who sell sexual services" gives a cast to it that does not do justice to the many and severe constraints (psychic, physical, material) that these women labor under. It imputes to me an agency they do not always have, as do, for instance, farmers who sell eggs. On the other hand, some women operate under palpably fewer and less severe constraints than do others. Hereafter, the reader should know that the term I have chosen at any given point in the text is the best I can offer, for that woman and instance, if still imperfect. The fact that I began learning of gender relations and feminism in the late 1970s and early '80s is important here, for I seldom take "post-modern" perspectives when it comes to agency and "choice." From my perspective, few if any women on Daru "choose" to sell themselves sexually, though many engage in such activities without the direct aid of so many others. Similarly, while "freelance" prostitution is perhaps an inappropriate term to use in reference to Daru, it is on occasion the better between other choices.

10. "Messengers" in the form of friends or siblings (if younger) were used traditionally to pass along word of intent, timing, and locale of pre-marital sexual trysts in many south coastal Papuan and Torres Strait island communities (e.g., Haddon 1904). Beaver (1920: 63) writes that "the overtures in making love should come from the woman," and that "When matrimony was desired or intended a woman who had taken a fancy to a young man sends him a message usually by his brother or sister, if they are small, telling him to come to her house by night" (1920: 64).

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another grid, so to speak, to be laid upon the residential, geographic, and economic foundation I have laid out in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 6 I discuss in greater detail several of the very women discussed in Chapter 5, along with many others. Here I consider some of these women individually and collectively as representing perhaps the end result of a colonial/sexual encounter in which sexual intercourse has become more detached than ever before from traditional, customary forms and restraints. These women are without much hope of a good education, have little access to meaningful, effective political power, lack an effective voice in community affairs, and have little if any access to other gainful employment. Consequently, they are sold, lent, or otherwise prostituted in order to support their children, their extended families, and frequently their husbands' drinking. These women's sexual services are exchanged in rather organized ways, which I represent and discuss in tabular and textual form throughout.

In brief, this chapter is really about the political economy of sex and of the Body Prostitute (see also Anonymous 1981; Lewis 1987; Stoltzfus 1986; Sturdevant 1989). I consider the many forms and meanings of sexual activities that pamukus engage in (Melanesian Pidgin term for "loose, promiscuous woman"[11]) and uba pe (Kiwai="no good canoe," a promiscuous person, usually used in reference to females). I focus on the way that these women divide their bodies, minds, and body parts, the way that they at least attempt to manage their sexual activities (see also Bryant and Palmer 1975; Day

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11. I am not aware of its precise introduction into Melanesian and Papua New Guinean culture and language, but pamuku may be from the Samoan word pa'umutu, for wanton woman (e.g., Mageo 1992: 445).

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1989; Arnold 1977). First, they divide their bodies verbally and actually between "top" and "bottom," as, for instance, by denying breasts, mouth, perhaps oral/genital contact to sexual contacts but not to sexual partners. Second, they divide sexual activities into appropriate and inappropriate categories which denote activities they may or may not engage in with various kinds of sexual partners. Third, they reveal or conceal skin by way of clothing, contingent upon the character of the sexual relationships. Fourth, they attempt to erect barriers between themselves and their bodies, and between their body parts and those of their various sexual partners, via condoms.[12] Fifth, I discuss possible meanings of kissing to these women.[13]

In Chapter 7 I discuss what I take to be the most supremely commercialized and commodified form of sexual exchange there is on Daru, known throughout Papua New Guinea as tu kina bus, known on Daru also by a term which refers both to the locale and the institution, in this case, sagapari. The data on which most of this chapter is based were obtained at and in and directly adjacent to sagapari, as well as in the homes of

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12. Lockett (1987: 158) provides an American example of at least the attempt by Berkeley streetwalkers to protect themselves via condoms. Police officers, however, using their penknives, cut holes in them: "Now go use these." Lockett says that "We used condoms because we were trying to protect ourselves and our customers from venereal diseases," and "to retain a sense of privacy" (1987: 158). Condoms mean, obviously, one thing to prostituted women, and quite another to the men who would arrest them. Police confiscation of condoms makes sex work even less safe, more expensive, and more legally dicey than it already is.

13. In "The Nature and History of the Kiss" (1969 [1929]), Ernest Crawley argues for maternal, sexual, and symbolic aspects of kisses, and that kissing (on the lips?) is rare in "lower" or "semi-civilized" races, but "instinctive" "in the higher societies" (1969: 113). I need not comment upon his crude racism. I do not have the data to support an interpretation of any but the "symbolic" aspects of the kiss on Daru; kissing has symbolic affect to the extent that it minimizes both physical and emotional distance between woman and partner; this is a point which I discuss at some length in Chapter 6. "Barbara" (1993: 21), however, who contributed to the same special issue of Social Text that Candida and "Jasmin" did, expresses this point well: "The worst thing is kissing: if you don't want to kiss them and they want to kiss you. Instinctively, you pull back."

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several current and former tuk orobo, a term which in the Bamu language means "two kina woman." Though I remain saddened at what I perceive to be the plight of all women on Daru, I feel particularly so for these Bamu women. The length of this chapter is testament to the depth and tangledness of the sociomedical and political economical relations which put them there and sustain them. I attempt to trace the arrival to Daru of this institution, its place within the local political economy, and several of its more evident alcoholic, sexual, contraceptive, and spatial features. Sagapari, sometimes known as tu kb, tuk bus, or just tu kina, arrived approximately three decades ago as Kikori, Goaribari, but especially Bamu immigrants set up a distinctively Papuan form of "the floating world" (cf. Gronewold 1982) near the wharf and who, gradually, began settling themselves on Daru. Despite periodic mission and grassroots campaigns to "do something about tu kina" in the form of periodic sweeps and bush clearings, sagapari has changed its locale throughout the island but not its presence. It persists in existence and intensity partly because the political economy (and men) demand(s) it, but also because of several "predisposing" factors. As to the latter contention, I have not the ethnographic data to support it to at least my satisfaction. Nevertheless, if the works and insights of early ethnographers (e.g., G. Landtman), missionaries (e.g., B. Butcher and E. Baxter Riley), and resident magistrates (e.g., W. Beaver) can be trusted, an argument can in fact be assembled around the following factors. First, 1) Lower Bamu River villages, the descendants of residents from which now toil at sagapari, were traditionally low-lying and apparently perpetually muddy, subject to high tides, over-salination, and so forth. This made many Bamu villages ill-suited for intensive agricultural pursuits on a par with

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their neighbors the Gogodala and Kiwai. Second, Bamu exchanged persons (most often female) sexually rather widely in different contexts for shells and other forms of currency, for labor, as favors, and as markers of hospitality. I believe that traces of such practices are evident still on Daru, even outside of the highly specialized trade in sex at sagapari. Third, Bamu people were central in the production and trade of items fairly scarce elsewhere, such as palm bows, canoes, and timber requisite to their manufacture. Trees logged on or near Dibiri island, for instance, at the mouth of yet another massive river system, were traded as far away as Yam island in Torres Strait. The centrality of trade in obtaining scarce items (primarily protein and sago) extended to women and to realms of sexuality. Fourth, according to several sources, Bamu lacked the knowledge of or technology requisite to the making of fishing nets. Consequently, absent fishing nets, absent further, presumably, surpluses in riverine resources, women's sexual services, along with black palm, were "necessarily" exchanged. Fifth, Bamu peoples generally, save for several rather large villages near river mouths in the Papuan Gulf, were nomadic peoples, partly due to the factors mentioned above, partly due to the fact that Bamu people were also probably more heavily involved in hunting and gathering pursuits, necessitating a more nomadic sociopolitical order.

In addition to these "traditional" factors, there are serious contemporary forces that act upon them, too. Bamu informants said almost unanimously during census interviews that "our Member fellows are not helping us out in the village," that there is "too much drinking there," that "too many people [are] dying of giwari" (Bamu=poison, sorcery), that "there is no development," and so forth. Combined with the relatively

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small number of Aid Posts, schools, and churches, and lacking much in the way of other "development" opportunities, migration to Daru and elsewhere in the province for prostitution has become one of the few and dwindling options.

Near the end of Chapter 7 I wish also to discuss some of the serious sociomedical consequences that flow from sagapari, particularly regarding untreated STDs and future transmission of them and of HIV. My investigation of STD Clinic registers from 1980-92 revealed a sum total of only 7 Bamu tuk orobo (including their husbands) treated for STD infections.[14] I suspect that this is an infinitesimally small fraction of the true total, and that the untreated who move thence to tu kina bus locales elsewhere in the province (e.g., Oriomo sawmill and Kamusi timber camp) present significant public health problems.

In Chapter 8 I shift gears somewhat to consider another permutation on the Daruan sex industry, sexual/material exchanges. By engaging in participant/observation and by using a research instrument in the context of free condom distribution, I found that 43% of these respondents reported that their most recent sexual encounters were accompanied by material exchanges of one sort or another. That is, following sexual intercourse, t-shirts, cassettes, photos, tobacco, money, food, favors, soft drinks, and so forth were exchanged, most often uni-directionally (man gives to woman, or woman

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[14]. My research assistant, being Bamu himself, was similarly amazed at the small number of officially treated cases. Our questions during census interviews revealed (lack of) "money" and (presence of) "shame," nearly uniformly, as the two most frequently given reasons why Bamu refuse to go to the hospital, and to the STD Clinic in particular. During my work in Giwari corner, for example, two women died apparently of vaginal hemorrhaging, and many women who toil at sagapari walk only with great difficulty due to concurrent genital ulcers. I had a difficult time, as well, treating non-venereal sores and ulcers in Giwari corner, though mothers more easily brought their young children for same.

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gives to man) but often bi-directionally as well (e.g., man gives woman five kina, woman gives man sex and t-shirt). I begin this chapter by considering some of the historical issues involved in the study of prostitution in the Pacific more generally, proceed to problematize the many meanings attached to it, and then go on to consider the ubiquity of sexual transactions on Daru. Although I do not consider all such instances of sweethearts exchanging gifts as so many instances of prostitution, not a few husbands pay their wives for sex so that the latter will not "refuse," that is, they give them money ahead of time ostensibly to be used to purchase household goods. Such instances and phenomena, perhaps, make more obvious than I can in words how difficult it is for a "splitter" such as myself (a category-parser, not a lumper) to wend one's way through something so ubiquitous. Nevertheless, I believe that presenting such information helps to explain better the existence and persistence of arguably more exploitive forms of prostitution. In particular, in order to demonstrate the lack of "sexual citizenship" of most (all?) Daruan women, I have highlighted early experiences among many of the women in my sample of coercive sex and of extraordinary gift and monetary exchanges in the context of sex.

In Chapter 9 I shift gears again and consider the sociomedical implications that the sex industry has for all Daruans. I discuss first the "function" prostituted women have in the local political economy, and then discuss some of the ways in which STDs are recognized, understood, and sometimes treated by Daruans. This chapter also discusses ways in which STDs are believed to result from mido dubu and mido orobo, and are sometimes "treated" by bathing in Detol, the equivalent of which in the U.S. would be Lysol. The following snippet from a recorded "sexual life history" interview,

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my last on Daru, indicates some of the many ways that STDs are cognized and accounted for, even avoided, on Daru:

> Lawrence: O.K. How do these sicknesses spread? Can you explain to me? Or how your father explained it to you?
>
> Tamari Omai [married, 26, apparently only one sexual partner in her entire life]: Like when you have too many friends, partners, staying together or you sleep with them, you keep your body dirty, your personal part, your private parts, you get a sickness and cooking utensils, like cups, spoons; a dirty house, you can have this sickness or underwears or clothings that you can also have that, when you have intercourse, sexual intercourse you can have this diseases.[15]

A similar belief in the poisoning of men's, but more often women's underwear while drying on clotheslines links sexual jealousies and refusals (usually men's by women) to genital sores and discharges. An interesting tale was told to Wolfgang Laade in the early 1960s by "Aubera," of the "Bamu Camp" on Daru, regarding a man, Messede, who kept his bow and arrow (uma) inside the vagina of his second wife, Sagaru. This man's brother, Kogea, wanted to get his brother's bow and arrow, but finding it lodged thusly, asked for and received his sister-in-law's vagina sexually. When his brother found out, "He wild now. He goes to his house...[and] rolled them [Kogea and Sagaru] in a mat and threw them into water. Water floated them away...That's why if a man goes with married wife uma will hurt him and makes big swell on prick and balls of man. Doctors can't cure him; he must die" (Laade 1971: 57). Thus are the punishments of adultery and thus, perhaps, do STDs come from bows and arrows. Thus does uma come to mean vagina and genital ulcer, mediated once by bows and arrows, now by STD-causing pathogens.

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[15]. Audiotaped interview, 3-31-92, Daru.

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Now I understand what a boyhood friend meant when he explained to me in about 7th or 8th grade that syphilis comes from screwing someone not your wife.

I did not always plan to include this chapter, but a focus on STDs reveals well some of the profound social contradictions of the sex industry. One of my primary informants, "Aberewame," for example (see chapters 5 and 6), was herself perpetually infected with one, perhaps two different STDs, and her mother and father were off and on infected, too. Their persons, activities, and household fit structurally into a sexual network far from rare on Daru. Their household is within a few yards of sagapari, where her father frequently engages in sex. Her father has sold her mother sexually for money and beer throughout much of her life, her brother has sold her sexually for beer, and neither mother nor father have been successfully treated at the STD Clinic. Her mother is convinced that the genital ulcers and lumps she has originated from community zelasi (jealousy) at a sibling's display of fine new clothing. Her father still thinks (I think so) that poisoned sitting mats are to blame.

To take another example, two male informants had between them over 20 different episodes of STDs in their short sexual lives. Significantly, neither had ever used condoms, and one made frequent trips to and from village and Daru. The young wife of the other, during my fieldwork, had at least two episodes of gonorrhea during her first year of married life, and had one, perhaps two miscarriages, each mishap of which she was blamed for. Though her in-laws and the surrounding settlement all "knew" of her husband's activities at sagapari and his long history of STDs and abusive behavior, she was nevertheless the one with the resulting reputation for ai nibo (Kiwai for "vagina,

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no good smell," discharge) and was accordingly given the moniker "gonorrhea cunt" by her husband when he over-drank. I am suggesting that not just this couple, but rather, these processes at work are representative of some of the many salient social contradictions alive and well on Daru. Even if she did manage to leave him (as letters from Daru to me have suggested she finally has) she has been marked, triply--as already married, i.e., sexually active and thus "spoiled" from and by sexual intercourse, as divorced, which carries its own stigmas and punishments along with the occasional liberation, and as venereally infected, at least three times. That she may in fact have been "cured" of gonorrhea (even that is presumptuous) is rather beside the point, since her marked status follows her around nevertheless.

As an anthropologist, the many topics discussed in Chapter 9 are perhaps the most interesting to me; they were certainly among the topics I struggled the most to understand. For instance, many townspeople are convinced that one act of sexual intercourse is not necessarily sufficient to conceive, much less adequately form a fetus. I hasten to point that neither is this exactly an earthshakingly unique idea in the Pacific or elsewhere (e.g., Jorgensen 1983; Leach 1968a,b; Montague 1971). In this case, though, this was why he was convinced that his wife had been sleeping around, and thus why it was okay for him to do so as well. That is, he had only had sex with her twice before she conceived, when everyone "knows" that "in fact" it takes five or more acts. This allowed him to say (and get away with saying) that his (most recent) case(s) of gonorrhea came from her (as well, later, of saying that I must have slept with her, too).

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These beliefs and practices are interesting in and of themselves, not just to the anthropologist. They also have incredibly important implications for the future of HIV transmission dynamics. Such notions regarding conception, venereal disease, and contagion are not so much mistaken scientifically as they are important parts in (a) cultural model(s) of sexual behavior in a contemporary setting, one undergoing tremendous change, but still driven largely by custom and tradition. In a way, dirty cups, dirty houses, dirty private parts, and "too many friends," as indicated in the above quote, really do go together to "produce" STDs. Health workers I interviewed often ridiculed such beliefs, as they did sorcery explanations for what was plainly to them the outcome of long-standing cerebral malaria infections in longlongs. This point can be demonstrated by putting the shoe on the other foot, so to speak. For example, while they may have discounted beliefs about the number of acts of intercourse necessary to produce a fetus, many health workers felt that condoms "produce" pre- and extra-marital sex (as do I, though from a quite different perspective). Moreover, such feelings provided the justification for their (unofficial) policy of not giving condoms to unmarried persons, particularly female. As well, I would say that at least some Daruans, intelligent, industrious, active people that they are, probably do have sufficient medicinal/magical talent to induce genital sores by poisoning.[16] Despite what they may or may not say about their sexual behaviors to STD Clinic staff, people also scratch themselves and get sores and suffer pubic rashes when they sit for long periods in wet, tight trousers in hot

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16. In this case, I mean a more direct (in the "Western" empirical sense of the term) application of irritative substances capable of inducing genital sores (or irritations which when scratched become sores). I distinguish in this sense between this form of "poisoning" and "magic words" "thrown" onto or into panties and trousers hanging on the clothesline.

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boats in the Torres Strait while diving for pearl shell or crayfish. Thus is the relevance of fine-grained ethnographic data and analysis across and between several categories.

In Chapter 10 I shift gears for the final time, in fact, leave Daru almost completely behind, and question anthropological fieldwork in the context of the study of sex. I focus specifically on the fact, despite our reputation as fearless, intrepid explorers of the nitty-gritty aspects of sexual behavior, that we have far to go. We have not done all that we might because we have not yet begun to acknowledge our own fear, shame, and reticence about studying sex, to writing about our own fears, embarrassments, and anxieties we have regarding our own sexuality, and to sharing with our colleagues and the general public our fieldwork failings, and our methodological mishaps. We need to brace ourselves for a new openness and willingness to discuss, for example, the kinds of sociosexual scrapes we get into when studying sexual behavior, the ways in which our own sexual longings and repressions (perhaps even expressions) influenced our research strategies, the kinds of questions we asked in the field, research strategies we employed or gave up on, and so on. I begin by recounting briefly (see also Tuzin 1991) the disjuncture between our popular reputation and our actual contributions to the anthropological, scientific study of sexual behavior, prostitution in particular. I focus particularly on several less than sterling examples from recent work on AIDS. I then suggest several new approaches to the study of sex that involve a greater, more personal commitment to ethnographic research and to writing. This new stance must at the very least discuss openly (perhaps even bravely and controversially, embarrassingly and hurtfully) the fact that we are gendered, sexed, sexualized, sexually repressed, sometimes

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even sexually active beings in the field (cf. Bolton 1992). Such a fact has an impact on the kind of fieldwork we do, the kind of data we come up with, the good and bad feelings (and babies and promises sometimes if male, love and regret sometimes if female) we leave behind, the kinds of reports we write for various audiences, the kinds of messages we attempt to impart to them and to the world, and the misunderstandings we never even recognize, much less repair. In Roy Wagnerian terms, I would suggest that sex--its contemplation and practice--is one of the ways we invent Culture (and cultures). I believe this to be differently perhaps but no less true about ordinary anthropological fieldwork on sex than about tourists abroad (see also Enloe 1989: Chapter 2). Finally, I offer several methodological solutions that I stumbled across while studying sex (that is, primarily by not having it but wanting to).

Following Chapter 10 is a "Postscript" reiterating (as I feel I must, frequently) my many and deeply-felt ambivalences about having presented such a "negative" side of Daruans and Daruan life. There and elsewhere I reiterate my openness to engage further in dialogue with Daruans and other Papua New Guineans regarding the finding of solutions to some of the problems I have highlighted here.

Following this Postscript I have included an Appendix which contains each of the research instruments (life history schedules, two-page questionnaires, etc.) referred to previously in the text. While these were not the only means I had at my disposal to generate (or was that invent, in the Wagnerian sense?) data, I feel it important to indicate what kinds of questions I asked and what kinds of methodologies I employed, under which conditions and constraints. I hope that I am not alone in allowing that in

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philosophy-of-science terms I am probably more of a Feyerabendian--(1975, and thus, a methodological anarchist)--than a Lakatosian--(1970, and thus, a rational reconstructionist). One does do fieldwork, tries to do it anyway, but fieldwork also happens and unfolds, and along with it method evolves. I did the best I could and made lots of mistakes that I will learn from. Where relevant, I mention these mistakes (though of course all mistakes are relevant in that they have consequences).

Finally, I have included a bibliography of all the references quoted directly and cited noddingly to that point. It is overlong, but for perhaps a non-obvious reason. In order to make sense of what I think I saw, heard about, and otherwise experienced on Daru, I found it necessary to begin almost immediately upon my return "retreating" into other ethnographic, sociological, historical, and even psychological works about prostitution. Among many other things, this body of material makes abundantly clear that Daru is rather more "normal" than some might imagine. Particularly for my Papua New Guinean readers, I wish to say here and then leave it implicit that there are many thousands of Darus around the world, at least in terms of the parameters and punishments of a thriving, brutalizing sex industry. I leave it to the reader to decide whether, as has been suggested by various feminists and feminisms, prostitution is not possible without the institution of marriage and whether sexual assault is made possible by male privilege and what Adrienne Rich calls "compulsory heterosexuality" (1980). In short, this is a literature which I believe sufficiently motivated Papua New Guineans may read profitably if only to learn the error(s) of our "western" ways, to help remedy pressing problems, to ameliorate the damages already done to several social relations, and to

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forestall at least, to stave off altogether, hopefully, even worse scenarios. It is my hope that, by demonstrating my facility with all of this "controlling processes" literature I will have encouraged Papua New Guineans to look at their cultures another way as they have encouraged me to look at theirs in their way(s). I am convinced as a human being, social scientist, and lover of Papua New Guinea that there is a crisis afoot on Daru regarding the contemporary sociosexual scene. Moreover, I maintain that the data I obtained via intensive ethnographic study and have analyzed from probably an all-too-"western" standpoint <u>are</u> intrinsically relevant in view of the absolute necessity that certain social relations be mended on Daru. My wish is only to be granted a voice in this dialogue, neither to be discounted immediately for being an "outsider" to Daru and to Papua New Guinea nor to be elevated above anyone else in intelligence or explanatory power.

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Chapter 2:

"Writing History in the South Fly"

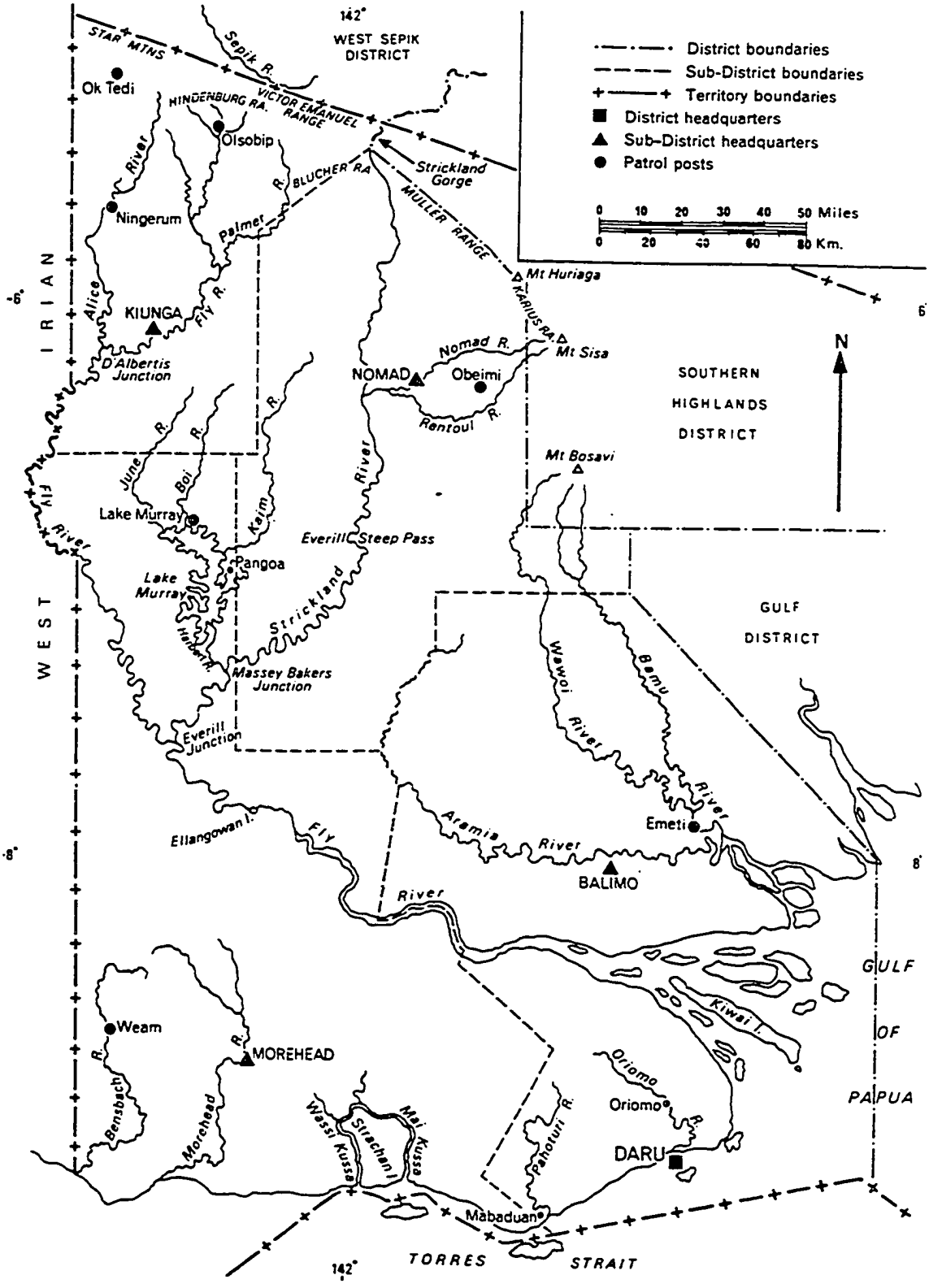
"They [resident Europeans in the 1920s] planted crotons whose
many-coloured leaves shone in the sunlight,
and hibiscus shrubs with glorious blossoms,
and the frangipani with its sweet-scented clusters.
Poinciana trees in flaming red
fringed the shore and made a wonderful splash of colour
against the dark green of the mangoes
that lined the main street"
(Butcher 1964: 37, writing of Daru
in the nineteen teens and twenties).

"The province ranks among the lowest in the country in terms
of health status, education levels, economic output, and
per capita income. Historically, it has received
a relatively small portion of National Government
expenditure, and has experienced considerable difficulty
in attracting and retaining qualified government staff.
These factors have contributed towards the slow progress of the
development of the province"
("Let's Look at Western Province," Policy and Planning 1984)

"Exposure to European life-style is practically [sic] enjoyed
especially in Daru, where most of it is abused, as is the case
with the popular beer-drinking[,] a feature in
Papua New Guinea as well...
Unemployment produces parasite-like life styles on the Island,
where one finds not uncommonly a woman who works and brings
home 'bread and butter', while the husband gets 'drunk'
at the expense of the poor wife's labour--
sometimes beating her over her own earnings"
(Wainetti n.d.: 4, 5)

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Map #3 (after Ryan, ed. 1972, Volume II: 1188)



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I. Daru in History

It is hardly an understatement to say, as Bruce Knauft has (1993: 29), that "[t]he history of the Trans-Fly and Kiwai language areas from 1900 to 1950 is sketchy at best...." It is not much better known prior to 1900, either, nor after 1950, for that matter. For a long time the South Fly region (see preceding Map #3) has been seen as the least developed and furthest flung part of the country, though the province at 40,000 square miles (Handbook of Papua and New Guinea 1964: 246) is I think the largest in Papua New Guinea. I have heard Daru described as the "Black Hole of Papua," have seen it described as an "unhealthy fever nursery," as the "deathtrap of the country," as not evidence of the "lotus-eating life" characteristic of the rest of the Pacific (Beaver 1920: 51, 282, 18) and as "just a big, unhealthy swamp, and not very interesting" (Wheeler 1988: 251). If Papua was the Cinderella of the Commonwealth, as Wilfred Beaver put it, then surely Daru was the Cinderella of Papua (1920: 45). Knauft claims that the Papuan Gulf and Fly River region is the "coastal backwater of what was itself one of the world's most economically undeveloped colonial territories" (1993:27; see also Wheeler 1988: 248). In 1920, for example, the native hospital on Daru received the princely sum of twenty English pounds for its annual budget (Mair 1970[1948]: 175).

Strictly speaking, there is no encompassing history of any depth of the Trans-Fly/Daru area, no synthesizing analysis of the social-structural, eco-demographic, and cultural-systemic problems and transformations of the many peoples inhabiting this region. This is partly due to the fact that European contact came relatively late and was not sustained in the intensity and consistency necessary to produce sufficient historical

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materials. There have been few if any languorous expatriates idling away their inheritance in tropical splendor. There was no erecting of monuments, no building of roads, and no buildings with telltale inscriptions. There may be old battlefields aplenty, but none are strewn with metal buttons, shell casings, and rusted machinery. Knauft (1993: 29-30) suggests that three factors kept Europeans away initially in ways they were not kept away elsewhere: 1) lack of economic potential/profit; 2) an inhospitable, swampy mangrove coastline; and 3) the perception (and reality in some cases) of coastal Papuan males as being cannibalistic,[1] recalcitrant headhunters, and of Papuan females as being unusually sexually aggressive and equally recalcitrant, even when brought to court.[2] It is, of course, possible that the third factor was invented or at least exaggerated in light of the first two. These factors surely made difficult the kind of sustained colonial/exploratory or missionary/administrative contact and impetus necessary to produce sufficient materials for a history of the region. There is little in the way of archaeological knowledge of human habitation in the area or of population densities and dynamics prior to European contact. Oral historical materials are of course valuable on many levels, but also inherently conflicting. I myself collected in one way or another

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[1]. See Zegwaard (1968). Stirling (1943: 20) claims that "unrestricted cannibalism is the rule," and that Papuan males in particular, cannibalistic "connoisseurs," preferred the flesh of women, "such cuts as the arms, legs, and breasts being considered special delicacies" (reminds me of that Saturday night schlock horror staple, Blood Beach, and the immortal line, "...filet dear, filet"). In the New Guinean cookbook, Kai-Kai, Ani-Ani, there is a recipe from Western Province for human flesh mixed with sago.

[2]. Beaver (1920: 45) remarks that though the natives "possessed a reputation for ferocity" not undeserved they were no different from those elsewhere in the region. Stirling (1943: 17) writes mistakenly that sexual restrictions before marriage, partly on account of the nature of women, were "nonexistent." Jmai (1903: n.p.) writes also that the majority of the 121 cases tried under the category of "Forbidden Acts" were for adultery, and that the "the principal offender is the female...at [her] earnest and continued solicitation," owing primarily to her "concupiscent nature."

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different stories as to the "original" inhabitants of Daru (some originally thought "Yaru"[3] or "Iaru") from a variety of informants, some of whom named Turituri people, others Mawatta (Kadawa) villagers, others Kiwai islanders, and still others Mabuduwani, Torres Strait islanders, and even Gogodala villagers as being the original settlers of the island. Beaver (1920: 49), on the strength of Landtman's word, names "Hiamu" as the aboriginal inhabitants of an island he thought never to have had a "large native population," but does not locate their origin.

In any event, Daru seems not to have been an island hotly contested, beyond the fact that it was close to a safer entrepot to the Fly River (the Toro Passage) and that it had at least one fresh water well, unlike the neighboring, Bobo island. Daru was seen by members of some indigenous groups as being the abode of a number of evil spirits (Winter 1896: n.p.), and was not apparently inhabited in 1845 when Captain Blackwood and crew aboard the H.M.S. Fly, an English surveying ship on a three year mission, passed by Daru on the way towards the "discovery" of the Fly River (Jukes 1847: 214-15).

The student of the South Fly region must therefore make do with scattered material and even more scattershot approaches. There are, for example, the early and sterling ethnographic works on the Kiwai people by the Finnish ethnographer Gunnar Landtman (1917, 1927), as well as older, more tentative reports on South Fly peoples in Notes and Queries style (Freire-Marreco and Myres 1912; e.g., Chalmers 1903a,b; Flint

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[3]. "Yaru" is named on a map (Beaver 1920: 122) as a river branching into the Maj Kussa river. "Daru" appears to be a village opposite it and downstream near the mouth, close to Buji.

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1919; Beardmore 1890; Haddon 1920). There are also scattered geographical reports (e.g., Beaver 1911) and sporadic ethnographic/photographic works by other researchers more recently in the Gogodala, Kiwai/Torres Strait, and Oriomo regions (e.g., Crawford 1981; Laade 1971; Ohtsuka 1983). There are numerous memoirs from missionaries (e.g., Butcher 1964) and from Resident Magistrate, headhunter hunters (e.g., Zimmer 1969), and no dearth of hagiographic accounts (e.g., Robson n.d.) of the exploits of "Tamate," the Reverend James Chalmers, who was killed and apparently eaten at Goaribari in 1901.[4] There are in addition the yearly volumes, beginning in 1884, of the British New Guinea Annual Reports and, beginning in the early part of this century, of the Annual Reports of the Territory of Papua to consult. Available at the National Archives in Port Moresby are various station journals and patrol officer accounts written from and often about Daru.[5] These writings, though not historical per se, give occasionally interesting accounts of early development and labor recruiting efforts, the numbers of prisoners residing in the local jails and their daily diets, the number of consecutive rainy days, the arrival of and measures taken to thwart local disease outbreaks, the amount of rock hauled to build the wharf, and the number of ditches and drains dug to ease this "unhealthy fever nursery," the number of cases of adultery that were tried in the past quarter, and, for a while it seemed, the relentless efforts to track down and bring to

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[4]. G. Ruthven Le Hunt's "Despatch Reporting the Massacre..." (1901) is one of the more interesting, though hardly definitive accounts of Tamate and others' demise.

[5]. These patrol reports and station journals are in the process of being microfilmed, but in alphabetical order, by name of province. Imagine Robert Welsch's frustration, having done fieldwork in both Western and West Sepik provinces...

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justice the killers of Tamate and his right-hand man, Oliver Fellows Tomkins.[6] There are also more sensitive (but still mostly anecdotal) functionary/missionary-cum-ethnographer accounts of the region (e.g., Beaver 1920; Riley 1925), as well as scattered treatments of partial aspects of Papuan/Daruan history, such as nursing and health care (e.g., Kettle 1979) and colonial administration and exploration in Papua (e.g., Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991a; Mair 1970). To date, Knauft's attempt at "History, comparison, dialectic" is the first such synthetic approach to coastal/lowland cultures and history, and shall remain the source book for probably a long time to come. Particularly useful is his attempt to join sociodemographic, decapitory, and even pelvic inflammatory phenomena together to "reconfigure" inter- and intra-regional variation (see particularly his Chapter 2). Still, the history we have of this region is maddeningly lacking in a western historiographic sense.

II. A historical time line

I present below a South Fly/Daru history time line (see also Map #4).[7] Such an approach cannot of course do justice to this complex but too shallow history, but will perhaps suggest some of the important developments from which a better history can one day be written.

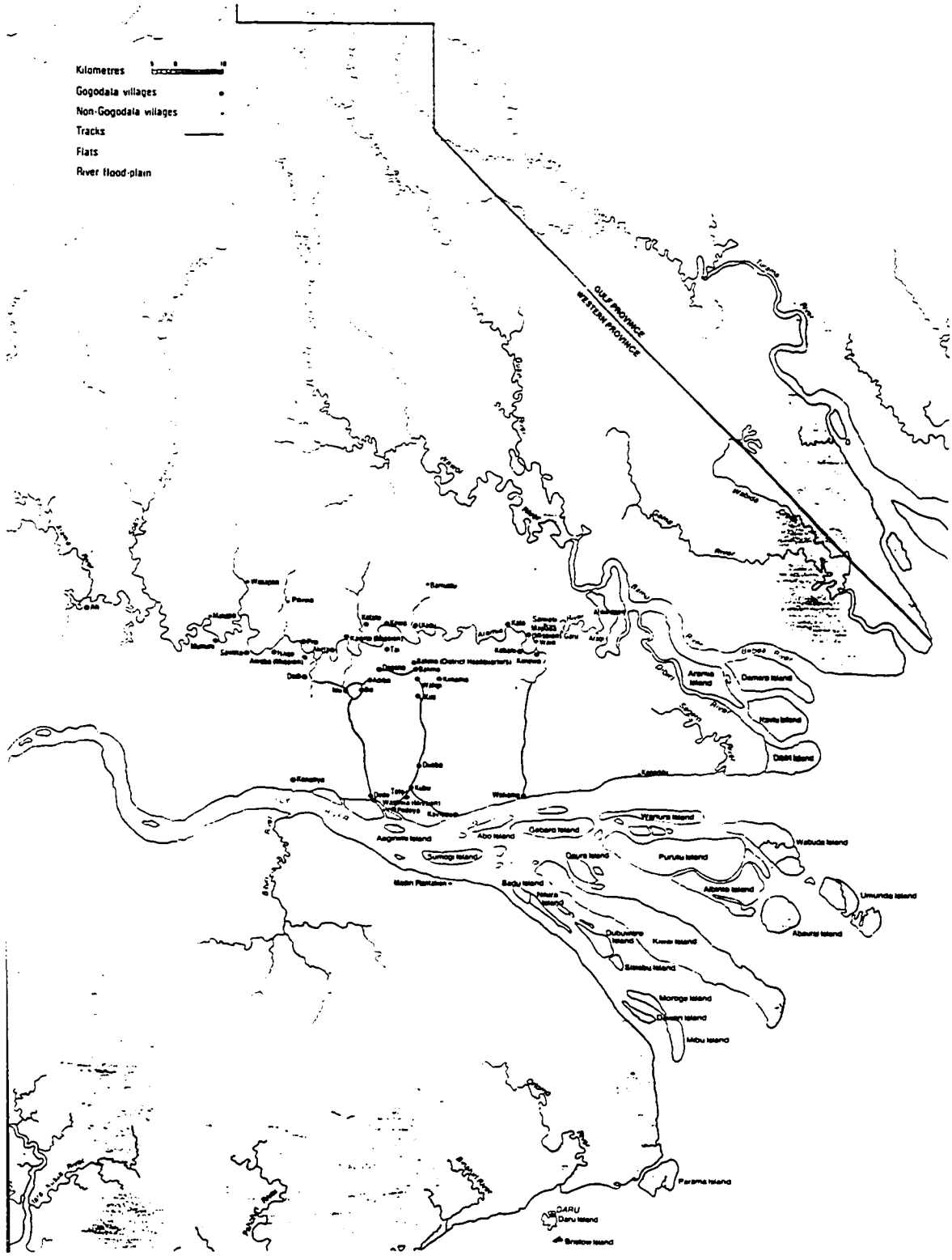
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6. The remains of the remains of Tamate, his second wife, Sarah Eliza Harrison, and his fellow Reverend, Oliver Fellows Tomkins, are buried below an elaborate headstone on Daru, in the middle of Mabuduwan corner, surrounded by a fence, kept clean and bright.

7. I wish to thank Donald Tuzin, who shared with me a paper in manuscript which employed a device similarly. Merchant (1989[1980]: x-xi) also employs a historical time line depicting the significant events of the scientific revolution.

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Map #4 (after Crawford 1981: 18)



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1794 Captain William Bligh, in the Providence, sails past Darnley Island in the Torres Strait (Beaver 1920: 42).

1828 Western portion of what is now called West Irian/Papua claimed as part of Dutch New Guinea (Knauft 1993: 31).

1842/45 Mouth of Fly River "discovered" by crew of the H.M.S. Fly and Captain Blackwood.[8]

1871 Reverends Samuel MacFarlane and A.W. Murray make pioneering voyage from New Caledonia to Torres Strait.

1872 The London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) establishes its first base at the mouth of the Bineturi river (Crawford 1981: 36).

1873 L.M.S. sends teachers to Parama village, in the mouth of the Fly, where they are murdered (Beaver 1920: 56).

1875 The L.M.S. steamer Ellangowan proceeds 150 miles up the Fly, carrying Reverend MacFarlane and the Italian botanist D'Albertis (Handbook of Papua and New Guinea 1964: 4).

1876/77 D'Albertis takes two more navigatory trips 900 km up Fly and Strickland Rivers in the L.M.S. steamer Neva (Champion 1966: 4), paving the way for further expeditions (Blake 1972: 1187), collects bird-of-paradise plumes galore. At the first sign of trouble from natives he launches fusillades of dynamite-tipped rockets (Wheeler 1988: 248). One of his crew writes "the timing was so effective that the charge exploded directly underneath the canoes. In his report, the missionary [the Reverend Samuel MacFarlane] chortled, 'Never was dynamite more harmless and more effective. They felt the shock and saw the water bubbling around them, and appeared utterly bewildered. Those standing in the canoes dropped as if they had been shot, and none of them ventured to pull another stroke towards us'" (Goode 1977: 151).

1883 First government station established at a coastal Kiwai village, Mabuduwan, west of Daru by Mr. Cameron (Beaver 1920: 48).

1884 Eastern part of the south coast of Papua becomes part of the British Protectorate, annexed in 1888 (Knauft 1993: 27).

1885 The Royal Australasian Geographical Society sends a scientific expedition to the Fly under the command of Captain Everill (Champion 1966: 4).

1888 On April 22, the First Torres Strait Expedition anchors off Cape York in the Torres Strait. Expedition is led by A.C. Haddon, who enlists Sidney Ray, C.G. Seligman, A. Wilkin, W.H.R. Rivers, S.S. Meyers, and W. McDougall. For the first time in history, "a team of experts was setting out to study various aspects

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[8]. Handbook of Papua and New Guinea, 4th ed., p. 15. Other sources (e.g., Champion 1966[1931]: 4) claim that 1845 was the date of the Fly River's "discovery" by Europeans and subsequent naming. Surely the definitive date must be J. Beete Jukes', provided in Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of the H.M.S. Fly, in two volumes (London: T. and W. Boone, 1847). Jukes was sick the days (April 29-May 1, 1845) when Captain Blackwood and several crew explored only the mouth of what came to be called the Fly River, but was on board to greet them upon their return.

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of a culture" (Hays 1964: 100; see also Stocking 1983: 75-77).

1889 This District becomes Western Division by decree of Sir William MacGregor, then Administrator of British New Guinea.

1889/ Government "control" consists of sporadic, often violent 1910 patrols into inland villages and regions (Beaver 1920).

1890 The Fly is ascended 610 miles by Sir William MacGregor (Champion 1966: 4).

1892 Reverend Chalmers ("Tamate") begins to establish his London Missionary Society mission at Saguane, on Kiwai Island.

1893 Headquarters of the Western Division moved to Daru (Legge 1972: 117).

1899 Government station moved to Daru (Policy and Planning 1984: n.p.). Road and street-building begin in earnest.

1899/ Daru government station administers whole of Papua west 1929 of Kairuku. Pearling and beche-de-mer (sea cucumber, or in Kiwai, pisirimai) industries lively in Torres Strait area, some laborers conscripted from Daru (Beckett 1977). Western Division regarded as "the principal recruiting ground in the territory..." (Mair 1970: 122).

1900 Oliver Fellows Tomkins arrives to take care of the Torres Strait branch of the London Missionary Society. The Tugeri (Marind-anim) make their last head-hunting foray among the Morehead people. The Dutch Government makes payment of one hundred fifty pounds as reparation (Beaver 1920: 119).

1901 Tamate, Oliver Fellows Tomkins, and an undetermined number of their followers (at least eleven) are killed and eaten at Goaribari during the consecration of a new village long house. Reprisal massacres ensue following European outrage (Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991b).

1901 Robert Bruce travels perhaps 100 kilometers up the Pahoturi River, west of Daru on the mainland (Bruce 1901: 102).

1902 Dutch colonial administrative/police station erected at Merauke, perhaps because of Australian protest over Asmat headhunting raids (Zegwaard 1968: 421). This is one possible source of introduction of Donovanosis (Granuloma inguinale) to mainland of New Guinea (Vogel and Richens 1989; Thierfelder 1928). Richardson (1988: 120) claims that it was Chinese bird-of-paradise traders (and, falsely, that the disease killed 10,000 Marindinese). In addition, despite the erection of barbed-wire fences and blockhouses, indigenous headhunters have little trouble picking off many Javanese convicts forcibly conscripted to help build the settlement (Veur 1972; Bennett 1994: 50-51).

1903 New Bamu tribes contacted by patrols from Daru, one headman taken and jailed at Daru to make an example of him (BNGAP, #G91, Box #6522, Folder #181, n.p.).

1903 201 natives engaged in region, 108 in pearling industry, 42 for personal stewards, 51 as swimmers and divers (Jmai 1903).

1905 Benjamin Butcher arrives on Daru to begin missionary work, and stays for 34 years.

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1910/12 Landtman works amongst the Kiwai, exposing over 500 glass plate negatives taken of Kiwai and Gogodala people (Crawford 1981: 38).

1911 The Reverend Benjamin Butcher and Landtman make a hurried trek in canoe between Gaima and Balimo villages, nearly being killed by ibuwo (tidal bore) in the process (Beaver 1911: 409; Butcher 1964: 64-65).

1913 New magisterial station opened at Kikori, previously administered from Daru (Austen 1934: 20). Deer first introduced to West Irian (Blake 1972: 1191).

1914 Sir Rupert Clark leads an expedition to the upper Fly on a prospecting trip along with the brothers Pryke (Champion 1966: 4).

1915/16 Dysentery epidemic sweeps through Daru (ARTP 1916: 89), depopulating large stretches of the Western Division, including Bamu River and Wabuda villages.

1917 Hospital established on Daru, Dr. Boag appointed. Both gonorrhea and Donovanosis already problems here and at Kikori (Kettle 1979: 17).

1919 Daruans selling copra to buy cutters (Mair 1948: 89); Tabua family owns copra plantation, some also given to L.M.S. Mission, which sold it to copra buyers in the region.

1920 Rusa deer introduced again at Merauke in West Irian (Downes 1972: 241) probably to a game park, from which they escape. At least 30,000 now roam the area between Morehead and Bensbach Rivers (Blake 1972: 1191).

1920 Mango trees begin to be planted by L.M.S. Mission boys, among them, George Luff, still alive, son of Kiwai village woman and Leonard Luff, a Scottish trader active in the area in the early 1900s.

1922/52 Probably several concurrent or overlapping Donovanosis epidemics sweep through Marind-anim area (Vogel and Richens 1989); venereal disease also a problem on Daru and elsewhere in Gulf Division (Knauft 1993: Chapter 8).

1927 Karius and Champion set out from Daru to investigate the central mountains of Western Division, and then proceed overland to the Sepik and north coast. G.F.W. Zimmer, then Resident Magistrate, pursues for several months Middle Fly head-hunters who kill 38 of 45 Weriadai villagers. Captures 18 and brings them to Daru (Zimmer 1969: 83).

1929 Eastern boundary of Western Division (later District, then Province) set (Austen 1934: 20).

1935 Hides and O'Malley begin, from Daru, their exploratory patrol up Fly, Rentoul, and Strickland rivers (Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991b).

1950/60 Daruans served by Local Government Councils.

1961 Western District declared fully unrestricted (Blake 1972: 1192).

1962 Daru Hotel granted a liquor license, Papuans and New Guineans now can legally drink (Handbook of Papua and New Guinea 1964: 78).

1963 Daru District Hospital completed (Handbook of Papua and New Guinea 1964: 177).

1966 Daru's population at 3,663, including 219 non-indigenes (Blake 1972: 1191).

1968 Ok Tedi copper prospect discovered further north in the province (Jackson 1975).

1974 Daru population less than 4,000 (Ohtsuka 1983: 1).

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1975 National Independence is achieved.[9] Constitutional right to free movement allows Daru's population perhaps to double in the ten years following Independence.
1977 Interim Provincial Government announced, September.
1979 Full Provincial Status granted, December 11. Tatie Olewale becomes the first Provincial Premier.
1984 Second Fly River Provincial Government installed, January 20.
1984 June 14, 2,700 containers of cyanide and 26 of hydrogen peroxide lost in a barge transporting Ok Tedi Mining Limited chemicals. Only 117 of the cyanide containers were ever found. On July 4, 500 protesters march on the Provincial Government offices (Hyndman 1987: 29).
1987 First Papua New Guinean (officially) dies of AIDS. He is from the Morehead area in central Western Province. Wife and infant daughter die later, shunned by community and some health workers.[10]
1989 First positive reaction for HIV antibody test in a Daruan (STD Clinic Registry).
1990 Preliminary Census figures show nearly 9,000 people on Daru (Papua New Guinea 1990).
1990/91 9 murders committed on Daru, an upswing in raskol activity as curfew is called in Port Moresby and elsewhere. Bineturi River villagers "lose" key to pipeline pump, which provides fresh water to Daru, water crisis deepens criticism of standing Provincial government. Two more positive reactions for HIV serology (STD Clinic Registry). "Rioting" in Daru over perceptions of official corruption in October.
1992 First time that National Independence is not celebrated on Daru, due to "insufficient funds." New Provincial Government elected.

This historical time line, then, takes us up to and through the time I spent on Daru between 1990-92. As many points on this time line can attest, this short history has been a turbulent one indeed, filled with what surely were wrenching changes in South Fly

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9. I was told by one of my informants in the FRPG, late in my fieldwork stay, that the reason why I was not being granted access to pre-1975 materials once held by the Provincial Government was that such materials did not exist, that they had been dumped unceremoniously in the ocean off the wharf in a pique of anti-colonial anger. Another expatriate informant, a long-time resident and trade store owner, confirmed this story for me, and said that similar batches of invaluable census data, geographical and topological and soil scientific records were dumped in the ocean in Port Moresby when National Government offices were relocated. I do not know whether either story is true, but I did not find any pre-1975 materials on Daruan/Western Provincial history, despite numerous attempts.

10. According to two of my informants in hospital at the time, the only health workers who could bear to touch this first AIDS patient were those who did not know about his case. One eyewitness said that she saw him being fed from a plate held aloft by two sticks.

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peoples' ecology and subsistence strategies, cosmology and belief systems, social structures and cultural codes. Of a "history" this brief I venture not to say with any precision or certainty how "bad," say, living conditions have become in a quantitative sense (expressed, for example, in unemployment rates, or toilets and watertaps per capita); nevertheless, virtually to a one, my friends and informants all said that Daru has continued to decline, and that this decline was most noticeable on some levels immediately following Independence. Spraying for mosquitoes, for instance, was mentioned rather wistfully on occasion as one bit of evidence that Australians had been previously "looking after us properly," as one friend put it, but such is no longer done. To take another example, that Independence was not officially celebrated in 1991 was considered the height of both disrespect of Daruans generally and of provincial governmental corruption, since the ostensible reason given was "insufficient funds," which townspeople perceive to be in no short supply at the Hotel and elsewhere during drinking and sexual activities.

In Chapter 3 I will describe at some length contemporary living on Daru, at least as I found it between 1990-92. The remainder of this chapter, however, is devoted to an explanation of Daru's situation as against that of several other port town/administrative centers throughout Papua New Guinea. My analysis of several trends and phenomena related to port town development suggests that Daru's present condition is rather more "normal" and explicable than one might think. Therefore, in comparison with port town developments elsewhere, there is little unique about the direction Daru and Daruans seem to be heading, little blameworthy of Daruans or pathological about Daruan culture per se.

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Indeed, quite the opposite. In the next section I begin to discuss Daru's historical development as a township as against that of Lae, Samarai, and Port Moresby. My purpose below is not to argue that sexual mania, a high degree of chronic alcoholism, and individual criminology pathology, singly or in combination, even if they did exist, explain the existence, persistence, and punishments of the Daruan sex industry. Instead, I wish to focus on the structural forces common to the development of four port towns, and on the exogenous factors responsible for some of the demographic, developmental, social, and political turns these towns have taken. In terms of the politics of ethnography, whenever ethnographic findings regarding morally or sociomedically "bad" phenomena (e.g., infectious disease outbreaks, grinding poverty) can be rendered within the context of political economy, retreat into cultural pathology to explain them is retrograde. Not only is social scientific theorizing advanced in the process, but one can avoid further stigmatizing one's host community and embroiling oneself in unnecessary, meaning avoidable disciplinary polemics (e.g., Turnbull on the Ik).

III. (There Weren't Any) Port Towns in the Pacific

In contrast to many regions of the world, towns were absent in the Pacific upon the arrival of Spaniards, Portuguese, English, Germans, French, and Dutch (Belshaw 1963: 17; Oram 1972a: 1156). There were no towns at all in either Papua or New Guinea prior to the arrival of Europeans, and few if any settlements there exceeded two or three thousand people at best.

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IIIa. slow starts and big finishes

In (Papua) New Guinea, the first towns were founded in 1884 by Germans and British only a decade or so removed from first contact between them and indigenes. These towns grew very slowly in the beginning; even as late as 1938, Port Moresby had only 1,300 in total population, only three hundred of whom were non-indigenes (Oram 1972a: 1156). Following the end of World War II, towns grew rapidly in size and number; between 1954 and 1964, for instance, Lae's population quadrupled (Willis 1974: 143). Virtually the entirety of Samarai island in what is now Milne Bay Province was destroyed during World War II in 1942, but thirty years later it was "the second largest town in Papua" (Oram 1972b: 1028). By 1966, country-wide, there were thirty four "urban centers" (i.e., rural non-villages, or "RNV," as they are termed by census takers) distinguished as towns by the Territory Bureau of Statistics. At that time, only Port Moresby, Lae, and Rabaul had populations over 10,000. Since then, national and particularly urban population has continued to climb rapidly. By 1990, 79 such "urban areas"[11] had been designated, and the annual rate of increase therein was 3.7%, compared to 1.7% in villages. Urban population now constitutes 15.2% of the national total, up from 12.8% in 1980 (Papua New Guinea 1990: 3). In Western Province, there are now four "towns," up from three in 1980, and the annual growth rate of these stands

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[11]. This is not the place nor is it my intention to criticize census-taking methods, but in the context of attempting to configure demographic patterns in townships such as Daru, "Persons who were present in the household last night" (Papua New Guinea 1990: 3) is perhaps not a very meaningful figure. "Urban" areas are defined in the 1990 census, as during the 1980, as having a minimum of 500 persons, and a minimum population density of 195 persons per square kilometer "with urban characteristics," such as the provision of water, electricity, metaled roads, shops, and so forth (Papua New Guinea 1990: 2).

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at 7%, which is the third highest combined urban growth rate of all of Papua New Guinea's 19 provinces, behind only West New Britain and Northern Province.

I mention demography and population issues and trends all too briefly here, but I wish only to highlight several issues to be explored below. First, there is the problem of rapidly increasing urban populations, both alone[12] and in concert with already rising rural-based populations. Second, there is the problem of fast rising numbers of urban populations, which imply greater demands for the provision of services such as light, water, sanitation, and employment; there are now at least seven urban centers with populations over 10,000, officially, as of 1990. Third, these urban centers, rising quickly in number and size, present myriad social problems that I explore in greater detail in subsequent chapters, namely, in areas of sexuality, alcohol consumption, unemployment, jealousy, and cultural dislocation.

I am not so much arguing that urbanization per se presents wholly unique situations or some sort of predictable form of development, either in Papua New Guinea or elsewhere. Nevertheless, the development of these social problems has been inordinately devastating for Papua New Guineans to the extent that a) they had no experience prior to the coming of the Europeans of living in towns, no preparation for living in densely populated, ethnically heterogeneous groups, and b) these changes were almost completely not of their own making. On contact with Europeans most Papua New Guineans lived in small, relatively less centralized communities that were remarkably

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12. The National Capital District in Port Moresby, for example, now has 193,000 in population, a 56% increase over the population in 1980.

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homogeneous ethnically and socially. In Papua especially, most villages did not contain more than several hundred people at best, though some in the Purari Delta, where perhaps the most densely-settled villages could be found, numbered up to 2,000 (Oram 1974: 170); village clusters around Port Moresby, too, contained in the 1950s up to 2,500 persons (Belshaw 1957: 11). But these are the real exceptions. Even Port Moresby, though now Papua New Guinea's largest and most metropolitan center, consisted in 1870 upon contact with Europeans "ten distinct villages situated within the present town boundaries" (Oram 1974: 171), or, as Belshaw (1957: 2) puts it, the other way round: in Hanuabada, "The Great Village," "the town [Port Moresby] has, as it were grown around the village." The National Capital District now has over 200,000 residents.

VIIb. towns theorized

The new-found phenomenon of urban living, then, of urban-based political institutions, of new kinds of struggles over land rights and land usage, of water and water rights, of the urban character of lawlessness, over-drinking, prostitution, poverty, venereal disease, and so forth, present for scholars of the Pacific relatively novel theoretical and practical problems.[13] To this end, Cyril Belshaw presented in 1963 a "theory of towns" which I wish to apply to Daru, Lae, Samarai, and Port Moresby below--all port towns, two of them on tiny islands, two on the mainland. Belshaw argues that, at

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[13]. To this end, in August, 1961 was convened the Tenth Pacific Science Congress, at which were discussed then- (and now-) urgent problems of urbanization. This Congress resulted in ten essays (collected in Spoehr 1963a) which spawned a further South Pacific Commission meeting in Honolulu to attend to problems raised thereat and to bring together recent work in administration, anthropology, and demography. There also resulted the establishment of an "urbanization research information center" at the Commission's headquarters in Noumea, New Caledonia (Spoehr 1963b: n.p.). Thanks to Glen Petersen for calling attention to this most valuable reference.

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least on the level of culture, Pacific town-dwellers share: 1) values and modes of behavior which derive mostly from their "traditional," presumably rural-based lifestyles; 2) goals which depart from those values; and 3) novel experiences in towns which not only depart from those values but which help further to shape those emergent goals (Belshaw 1963: 17). These shared values, behaviors, and experiences have of course been attributed to Central and Eastern Africans in towns as well (e.g., Little 1973; Schuster 1979). In the non-cultural, more obviously economic and political realms, Belshaw theorizes that there are essentially three different kinds of towns. First, there are "villages of cultivators," composed largely of peasants, wherein the village is a residential unit for farmers, where markets are local, and where, if there is development of services, they stay within the confines of the village. This would appear to describe aptly the Hanuabada/Port Moresby connection (see also Belshaw 1957), at least during the early decades. Second, there are towns "developed on alien initiative administrative and entrepot centers" (Belshaw 1963: 21). This clearly describes Daru, recalling that Daru was not traditionally inhabited and only became an administrative center in 1893 because colonial and missionary authorities thought it wise. The function of such towns is to "distribute and control goods and services," though I would add "ideas," "values," and even "punishments" in the case of Daru, which early on was a Divisional and then District jail. Since in the Pacific historically the main channel of communication has been by sea, and since roads and other forms of land communication have never been particularly well developed, it is not surprising that surrounding hinterlands have been "developed" very little in a Western sense. Port Moresby clearly fits into Belshaw's

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second category, developing as it did alongside the arrival of European trading companies and light manufacturing, as opposed to on the intensification of agricultural production. The third kind of town is a "small service or trading center" with an administrative establishment "directly in touch with surrounding villages" (Belshaw 1963: 21). This, too, describes both Daru and Samarai islands, though the administrative apparatus eventually moved from Samarai to Alotau in 1968 (Oram 1972b: 1029). The early decades of Lae's history as a growing town developed along these lines, too, particularly when Lae exploded in growth and potential following the discovery of gold at Edie Creek and the construction of an aerodrome in 1927 (see Connolly and Anderson 1987; O'Neill 1979; Willis 1974: 80).

IIIc. dynamism in heterogeneity

This seemingly simple schema, admittedly low in predictive value, is nevertheless greatly useful in explaining dynamic elements of town development when additional features of Pacific towns are injected, among them social, ethnic, and many other forms of heterogeneity. Of the 34 "towns" in Papua New Guinea in 1966, non-indigenes formed less than a fifth of the total population, the majority of those being Europeans (in Rabaul, though, Chinese formed 30% of the population). By the end of the 1960s, in Lae could be found "Chinese and Europeans of almost every nationality--Australians, British, Americans and Canadians, Hungarians, Turks, Italians and French--[as well as] West Indians, Ceylonese, Indians, Filipinos, Indonesians, Japanese and Tongans" (Willis 1974: 143). Daru has never been quite so cosmopolitan, though there have been, in addition to native Papuans, English, Scottish, Americans, Rarotongans, a few Germans, and

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Australians, of course. As of the late 1960s, fully 80% of the indigenous population of Port Moresby were actually immigrants from elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Oram 1972a: 1156-57). While only 5% of the population in Papua New Guinea was urban in 1965, the percentage had increased by 1989 to 16%; the annual urban growth rate in the decade and a half following 1965 was an astonishing 8.2%, though it was reduced almost by half during the 1980s (Wolf 1992: 30), owing mostly to the arrival of intra- and inter-provincial immigrants.

This social and ethnic heterogeneity, at least on Daru, owes partly to remarkable heteroglossia--though Kiwai, Bamu, Oriomo, and Gogodala are the linguistic majorities. But there are other factors, too. First, even in its comparatively short history, Daru has become the home of quite a few international emigres, not just European but from elsewhere in the Pacific. As a friend put it to me in a letter recently,

> many people came in to settle here. There were people from Africa [I could have sworn so as I examined the face of one particularly West African looking woman], Fiji and from the Torres Strait islands that came, got married to Kiwai women and settled to live in Daru. So today you see the Tabuas, the Lifus, the Sampsons, the Songoros, and the Travertzes. My daddy said there were many white men too and some got married here and left wives with children and they went back to their countries (letter, 2-28-95).

Second, being a provincial capital, Daru by definition draws a number of well-educated personnel from outside Kiwai and other South Fly villages, and draws as well upon personnel from outside Western Province. Third, given Daru's placement at the nexus between three different countries, it draws both professional personnel and others from Australia, from the Torres Strait, and from West Papua. These persons come and go from Daru for a variety of reasons, among them to visit, for recreation and marketing, as part

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of military forays, to engage in gun- and drug-smuggling, to attend gravestone openings and church dedications, and to collect royalty payments.

These factors are far from unique to Daru (see, e.g., Willis 1974), but the very ethnic, linguistic, and social heterogeneity that make towns so dynamic also produce profound social strife. Daru is the provincial capital, for example, but South Fly people do not appear to be as powerful politically and economically as those from the North Fly; Ok Tedi, that is, is located at the headwaters, not the mouth of the Fly River. This has led at several points in the past to calls to split Western Province into smaller, North Fly and South Fly provinces (see, e.g., The Times of Papua New Guinea September 20, 1991). Non-Kiwai also appear over-represented in some administrative divisions including the Provincial Premier. I do not believe there has ever been a Kiwai Premier, for instance. Representatives from Bamu-side especially decry their relative non-representation at the provincial governmental level. They point also to the relative lack of "development" opportunities in their villages, to the degradation forced upon Bamu when they arrive on Daru, namely, that related to sex industry locales, as at sagapari, around trade stores, inside the Hotel, and at other bush areas as well (see Chapter 7).[14]

These aspects of social and ethnic strife resulted, during my stay anyway, in several and in general "disturbances" that seemed to some to have sprung up from nowhere. Just prior to my arrival on Daru, a Talair pilot from Chimbu "drowned in mysterious circumstances at Daru Wharf" (Post-Courier 8-9-90: 4). Another high-

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[14]. For instance, a recent letter from a friend and informant on Daru told not so much of sagapari's shift but of its extension further, to the other side of the wharf, along the road in front of Hotel, and on into the bushes where it used to be located, between the eastern end of the Hotel and another of Daru's four Bamu "corners."

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ranking highlands man was blamed (though never arrested) both for the mysterious death and for the ensuing cover-up. This incident had serious repercussions, curtailing (officially, if not actually) thereafter all fishing (and drinking) activity at the wharf, which had previously been a sort of "commons." It led further to increasing ethnic strife, not coherent or large-scale enough perhaps to constitute "tribal fighting," but serious and deadly nevertheless, characteristic perhaps of the "payback" variety. Nine murders were committed on Daru during my stay, and as I recall each one had little if anything to do with individual personalities and culpability but rather with inter-settlement, inter-tribal, even inter-national intrigue and insult. A water crisis also occurred when villagers living near the pumping station on the mainland twelve miles away, from which Daru's "fresh" water supply originates, claimed to have "lost" the key to the pump inside the pumping station in protest of non- or under-compensation by the national government for the use of their river. Also, the first official casualty among Papua New Guinea Defence Force troops of the Bougainville crisis was a Daruan Kiwai man. Two years later, within hours of the arrival of a Buka man to Daru to help his brother pay brideprice for a local Kiwai woman, he, too, was found dead in a ditch, apparently having been stomped to death, allegedly by Defence Force personnel (in town during the October 7 disturbances) and/or their local supporters. Death threats were made against non-Kiwai higher up in the health field; the omnipresent zelasi (jealousy) had been invoked to protest ethnic disparities, as when counter death threats were made by non-Kiwai against Kiwai in the medical division. Daru, then, on some levels, is not some "melting pot" of ethnicity; simmering cauldron, perhaps, about to boil over, maybe, but hardly melting. Despite

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these more obvious and sometimes even deadly ethnic cleavages, Daru is remarkable perhaps for the fact that people and groups manage to get along so well, particularly so given the fact of great church denominational diversity, too.

IIId. the ties that bind

Pacific towns are also dynamically heterogeneous in a number of other ways. First, owing to the intensity and importance of kinship ties, it is not surprising that kinsmen and women follow one another to towns:

> Visitors and new immigrants, venturing into a new world, or finding it necessary to obtain board and lodging where impersonal institutions for this purpose are not available to them, would in any case tend to gravitate toward kinsmen or friends of the same linguistic and cultural background. This tendency is reinforced by the need to transmit messages and news, and to transfer wealth (Belshaw 1963: 18).

Toaripi villagers who migrated in droves to Port Moresby in the 1950s, to take only one example, made it in many ways an "urban village," as Ryan (1993: 222) puts it, whose inhabitants "were linked by preexisting socially significant ties and who were able to maintain frequent contact with those still in the villages so that there was no feeling of being cut off from home." These "preexisting socially significant ties" have implications for the development and persistence of forms of prostitution. Another quasi-brothel form of prostitution in the Boroko area of Port Moresby I found to be organized thusly. In two different cases an elder male papa bilong haus (homeowner) had become something of a magnet for younger females, sometimes accompanied by their male siblings, who then lived there and were "taken care of" in exchange for a portion of the earnings from sexual transactions elder males arranged.

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IIIe. male/female ratios

Another dynamic factor in Pacific towns has been the excess of males to females in towns (though in some historical examples elsewhere the trend is reversed, as, for instance, in sex industries formed around military bases). In Lae, when hundreds of mostly male, mostly single European, New Guinean and Chinese migrants arrived, "they sought out the local women and introduced a new element in to the village social system--prostitution" (Willis 1974: 107). In Port Moresby, at least in the National Capital District, of the 193,242 persons officially counted during the 1990 census, there was an excess of 21,722 males (Papua New Guinea 1990: 4). In Lae, among indigenes, in 1966 and 1971, respectively, there was an excess of males over females of 4,509 and 7,818 (Willis 1974: 140, table). On Samarai, in 1966, at which time there was a population of 2,464, there was a European male/female ratio of 170/114 and a male/female ratio of 1,566/614 among indigenes (Oram 1972b: 1028). For Daru, of a total official population of 8,490, there was an excess of "only" 442 males (Papua New Guinea 1990: 1). The true number, however (of both the total population and the excess of males), could easily be double that. Some families do bring village girls and single women to stay on Daru so that the latter will help them with domestic chores, but there are obviously far more teen males and young men roaming around town than teen females and young women. And while both sexes come to market garden foods, meat, and so forth, there is a decided male tilt to the composition of the several score dinghies, canoes, and other craft that come to Daru daily. Few women (married or single) come by themselves to market garden, marine, forest, or riverine resources, whereas many men (both single and married) do.

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That they do, and that they do so so frequently and often spend most if not all of their market earnings before leaving town may suggest that other factors beyond mere employment (or its earning equivalent) are at work in this village-to-Daru-to-village migration and traffic. Indeed, this appears to be Belshaw's hypothesis:

> when towns undergo rapid spurts of growth based upon immigration, the motivation for that immigration is not based entirely, and perhaps not even primarily, upon job-hunting in a simple sense. The primary motivation is to share in a new and exciting way of life (Belshaw 1963: 20).

IV. Port Towns in Papua New Guinea

The preceding discussion is designed to have set the stage for a presentation below of similarities in port town development, focusing particularly on Daru, Lae, Samarai, and Port Moresby. I begin by reiterating Belshaw's claim regarding towns, namely, that they are artificial creations having less to do with indigenous developments (demographic, political, migratory, etc.) than with impacts upon them related to the introduction of particularly colonial, and capitalist ideas and relations (I must mention missions and missionization here, but will not discuss either any detail). I am not claiming that no one lived on or in what became Daru, Port Moresby, Samarai, or Lae prior to the arrival of Europeans in the 1870s, but rather, that Daru, Port Moresby, Samarai and Lae represent the first stirrings in those areas of what Wallerstein (1974) and others refer to as linked, but "dual economies." As Willis (1974: xv) expresses it in the case of Lae, "Lae really has three histories, that of the city, that of the local village community, and that of the contact between city and village...." Referring to the European context, Wallerstein (1974: 18) notes that proponents of the concept of "dual economy" imply the existence of "a market economy of the towns and a subsistence

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economy of the rural manors." Wallerstein argues, though, that "dual economies" in the strict sense, at least for European communities after about 1150 A.D., did not exist, constituting, rather, a

> series of tiny nodules whose population and productivity were slowly increasing, and in which the legal mechanisms ensured that the bulk of the surplus went to the landlords who had noble status and control of the juridical machinery. Since much of this surplus was in kind, it was of little benefit unless it could be sold... As towns grew, of course, they offered a possible refuge and place of employment for peasants which began to change some of the terms of relationship on the manor (1974: 18, 19-20).

Substitute "settlements" for "nodules," "colonials" and "capitalists" for "landlords," and "villagers" for "peasants," and one has a more apt comparison of the kinds of processes at work in the Pacific in a comparatively short and more recent time. The implications of such an argument are potentially profound for the history of (Papua) New Guinea. They suggest that coastal/towns such as Daru, Port Moresby, Samarai, and Lae are not mere points on an evolutionary trajectory from un- or under-developed, subsistence-oriented (villages) to developing or developed, exchange-oriented (towns). Instead, port towns evince a developing pathway for the extraction of resources from the one (villages, villagers) to the other (towns, colonials, administrators, capitalists). Urbanism, that is, serves particular and extremely important functions in the global network and constant movement of international capital. I believe that in the main this perspective can usefully be applied to each of the four port towns I discuss below, in at least the three ways I highlight here (in common with many colonized areas elsewhere).

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IVa. a chronology of "discovery"

Most of what are now major towns and urban centers in Papua New Guinea were contacted, named, and claimed by European powers within the period of two or three decades. Portions of New Guinea were sighted and claimed by the British in the middle of the nineteenth century. Captain John Moresby sailed into what is now the eponymously named port in 1873, fully 25 years following first sighting by the British explorer, Yule. Captain John Moresby named this port, a "deep, land-locked harbour" after his father, Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, following son John's "discovery" of it in February of 1873 in the H.M.S. Basilisk. He was joined almost immediately by mission teachers from the London Missionary Society, who dropped off several South Sea islander teachers in Hanuabada. The Reverend W.G. Lawes arrived in 1884, and he and his wife built a mission station. The first-sea cucumber trader erected his first trade store in 1880, and the entire Territory was annexed in 1888 (Oram 1972c: 954).

Daru has an almost identical chronological time line. The Reverend Samuel MacFarlane (see below) arrived in 1872, the first mission stations were established soon thereafter at nearby coastal villages, and Daru officially became a Division administrative post in 1893, only five years following the annexation of the entire Territory.

Samarai was "discovered" by the same John Moresby in the same H.M.S. Basilisk two months after his discovery of Port Moresby, in April of 1873. In 1878, only five years after its discovery, the L.M.S. Reverend Samuel MacFarlane (one of my paternal grandmother's relatives, I believe) established a permanent and the chief mission station. The L.M.S. was later granted by the British Administration rights to exchange the land it

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held at Samarai to purchase outright the island of Kwato nearby. Samarai, too, like Daru, became the headquarters of the Division of which it thus became a part (Oram 1972c: 1028-29).

Lae, too, both the site that later became a town and the surrounding area, began to experience the arrival of Europeans in the final quarter of the 19th-century. "In this period a variety of individuals passed through the region: explorers, officials, prospectors, recruiters, scientists, missionaries and adventurers" (Willis 1974: 20). These early contacts, Willis notes, were "important for they established precedents which influenced dealings between the people and the settlers" (1974: 20). The first European to visit the area was probably the French explorer, Bruni D'Entrecasteaux, in 1793. Nevertheless, it was not until 1874, when the H.M.S. Basilisk, still captained by John Moresby, that further, sustained contact with Europeans ensued. German trading ships (purveying in labor recruiters, bird-of-paradise hunters, sandalwood traders, pearlers, and so forth) in particular were likely to have visited the area or nearby areas in the years immediately prior to Moresby's arrival. In 1884, at just about the time that Port Moresby, Daru, and Samarai were being established as missionary, colonial, trading stations and centers, the Berlin Neu Guinea Compagnie gained its first foothold in the Lae area and in the Huon gulf area particularly (Willis 1974: 21-25). At this time in the South Fly region, particularly westward in the Torres Strait area, pearlers and sea cucumber collectors were experiencing their first big booms, and mission stations and teachings were flourishing.

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IVb. seizure of land

Following initial contact there began the historically inevitable and to us morally repugnant task of expropriating land from indigenous peoples. Land expropriation both established, as an index of colonial, missionary, and capitalist power, the likely trend of things to come, as well as laid the foundation for pulling local peoples into wage labor, forced taxation, and conscripted labor (see Bauni n.d. for a Kenyan example). The particular timings of and instances in which land was expropriated, as well as the particular means by which it occurred, appear in subsequent writings to have been the object of no little amount of linguistic gymnastics. By that I mean that much of the land that was seized outright and otherwise controlled is written about as not having been, originally, much prized. Daru, for instance, was described above as "an unhealthy fever nursery." For Samarai, "[i]n the early years Samarai was unhealthy because of the existence of a large malarious swamp, but health conditions improved after it had been filled in by 1898" (Oram 1972b: 1029). That is, by the way, the time at which Daru began being scribed by patchwork ditches (dug largely by convict labor) in order to drain off as much standing water as possible, so as to reduce the threat of malarial infections to both indigenes and Europeans. Port Moresby was considered well into its fifth decade of existence an "unhealthy place for Europeans to live in" (Oram 1972c: 954).

Land seizures began in the manner they did aided by two rationales: "the land was largely unoccupied anyway," said to be nothing but unhealthy, fever-inducing swamps, filled with evil spirits and ill feelings, "and besides, we (Europeans) drained the place for you (Papuans)." This kind of argument has much in common with those regarding the

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gradual replacement of "slash-and-burn" economies around the world, the rationale being that "if I do not see land under cultivation at this moment, it is mine." In the case of Samarai, the L.M.S. was in a position of power such that they simply "made" Samarai "the chief mission station in south-east Papua" (Oram 1972c: 1028).

In the case of Daru, Wilfred Beaver writes obliquely of one chief, Sisa, who "voluntarily gave up to the Crown a large portion of the foreshore and planting land... With the exception of a sufficiency of land for the few remaining people, I succeeded in acquiring for the Crown all the native rights" (1920: 50). Therein ensued a process whereby the Crown was able to parcel out blocks of land to certain people and peoples, and deny such parcels to other people and peoples.[15] Land at Mabuduwan, too, was believed at least initially "not owned by anyone," so "the Crown took possession of it without more ado" (Beaver 1920: 103). Later representatives of two claimant parties

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[15]. Though I lack the space to go into this here, another suitable issue to take up would be the function of punitive, military, and police raids and other methods of control and "pacification." Anyone familiar with South Fly history will surely know of the killing and subsequent consumption of "Tamate" by the Goaribari. Fewer will know of the several punitive, retributive raids led from Port Moresby that resulted in the slaughter of at least 200 Goaribari, men, women, and children (see Le Hunt 1901; Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991b). In the area around Lae, representatives of the then German administration attempted to roll back Laewomba coastal raiding that disrupted, among other things, Empire. One punitive expedition was aborted in 1907, but then several other real, live Strafexpeditionen were made into the Markham valley, such as the one mounted against people near Yangina village, one among whom had killed "Richard," a bird-of-paradise shooter. Leo Berghausen, the Madang District Officer, marched 46 New Guinean troops into the fray along with 400 armed Buang warriors, the Yangina villagers' traditional enemies, "burnt the village of its victims to the ground, killed forty of the people and dispersed the rest" (Willis 1974: 41). These punitive raids, Willis notes, "probably had a marked impact on the people. Their destructiveness was intended to impress on villagers the omnipotence of the white man and the power of his government" (1974: 41). And so it did. Speaking just about Daru, I do not believe that I ever heard of a single instance of a white man being harmed physically by Papuans, and I know that I felt often times that I could have gotten away with a lot on account of my white skin, as I saw same in the behaviors and attitudes of lots of expatriates.

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were gathered at the administrative station and paid, though Beaver does not say how much. Many of those Mabuduwani came to Daru when Mabuduwan was abandoned as an administrative center.

By the end of the last and turn of this century, Daru was quickly becoming an enclave of a few European residents, mostly missionaries and their families, British administration representatives, and traders. In 1896 it was reported that "There is quite a small settlement now on the island...There are several private houses besides the various Government buildings, most of which are of native material" (Winter 1896: n.p.). Francis Winter, reporting on a despatch he made to Daru near the end of the century, notes the wharf under construction (by convict labor), the increasing amount of cultivated land controlled by the Administration (now at ten acres), the location of the cultivable land (near the Government-owned houses), and the general and growing prosperity of the place. In 1903, Jmai reported that "[t]he township continues to improve. Several new premises have been erected by private owners, and there is every promise of a further increase in the coming year. Roads and streets have been extended and much improved...Speaking generally, the town has advanced during the year" (1903: n.p.).

In the case of Lae, the Neu Guinea Compagnie made a massive land acquisition of 4,743 hectares, "comprising all the land between the Markham and the Bumbu, from the coast to a line drawn between the two rivers about seven miles inland. The Compagnie asserted that this was unoccupied, ownerless, virgin forest" (Willis 1974:

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24[16]). An Imperial Governor's certificate to the Compagnie was issued in 1903 to this effect.

In Port Moresby, perhaps the most important time period involved in this process was between 1884 when a Protectorate was declared and 1888 when the Territory was fully annexed to the British. During this five year period, 552 acres of land in the Port Moresby area were "acquired" by the Administration "for future urban development" (Oram 1972c: 954). As the town boundaries expanded historically, the Australian administration continued to purchase ever-increasing numbers of plots of land to make way for largely European settlement. Between 1966 and 1970, for instance, the administration began acquiring "settlement" land (on which sat primarily Toaripian immigrants), such that by 1970 it owned 90% of even that land (Ryan 1993: 226).

Though I have by no means plumbed the depths of any of these issues, I have tried to indicate that seizure of land proceeded apparently almost without disagreement, primarily because land appeared to be unoccupied at the time, partly because it was said to be not healthy anyway, but partly because the various administrations, companies, and other players in existence at the time were in a position to do so. How empires come about is, of course, a matter of great debate among historians, political economists,

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16. Beaver, too, seems at pains to argue that no one really wanted the land on Daru anyway, that even the Mawatta people "seldom spend more than a day or so in the place. Daru was full of devils and spirits" (1920: 50). My point here is not to question whether or not there were in fact devils and (bad) spirits, but rather, to argue that even if that were true, Daru was not therefore there for the taking, and that the presence of devils and spirits is important to a people's cosmology anyway. Further, that the ideology of the existence of devils and spirits helped perhaps to check other competing interests in the island's strategic location vis a vis the Toro Passage into the Fly River, to forests directly opposite, to a water well on the island, and as a stopping place between the Fly and the Torres Strait westward.

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anthropologists, and others. Vladimir Lenin, for instance, drawing upon the economic theories and treatises of Marx and Hobson, once argued that

> imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism.... The division of the world is the transition from a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unoccupied by any capitalist power, to a colonial policy of monopolistic possession of the territory of the world which has been completely divided up (quoted in Hempenstall 1994: 29-30).

Hempenstall, in a brief outline of colonial maneuvers in the South Pacific, argues that an economic revolution underway in Europe from about 1860 onwards began to tie Pacific islands and Pacific islanders much more tightly to the world economy (1994: 31), to what Wallerstein and his followers refer to as "The Modern World System."

Of particular relevance here is the increasing separation of land from its indigenous populace. Papua New Guinea is somewhat different from other Pacific island nations in this regard, in two senses. First, there is much more land to begin with (New Guinea being the world's second or third largest island, depending on one's perspective). Second, relatively little land overall has been completely alienated from indigenous owners. Nevertheless, the "development" of the land that has been purchased, stolen, or otherwise alienated from local peoples has not for the most part been beneficial to them. It many cases, the land has simply been turned by various means and mechanisms from being the source of subsistence-oriented production to the source of production oriented more to cash-cropping (e.g., Grossman 1984; Hayano 1990; Finney 1973), thereby altering greatly indigenous lifeways. In particular, these processes have altered greatly and sometimes subverted completely subsistence strategies and exchange networks, human traffic and migration, and marriage forms and demographic patterns. When the

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purchase, theft, or alienation otherwise of land and its resources occurs, when new sets of productive relations (such as wage labor, private property, or marketing) are introduced, when new sets of social relations are injected (such as Christian worship, monogamy, and so forth), they combine both to push people out of the rural hinterlands and pull them into growing townships. When "development" becomes a new buzz word but there are not any roads leading from the village to it, or when "education" replaces that buzz word and there are not any schools in the village where people can get it, then administrative centers, provincial capitals, and even mission stations become likely candidates for such migration.

To my knowledge, no one has described Daru, Port Moresby, Lae, or Samarai as particularly paradisiacal by themselves prior to the arrival of Europeans and the establishment of colonial and capitalist relations of production and sociality. Though dry and relatively uninteresting topographically, Port Moresby, for instance, has become the most important and largest market for Papua New Guinea peoples, as well as the most accessible one for markets and peoples overseas. By 1970 it housed fully one quarter of all of Papua New Guinea's 400 factories (Wilson 1972: 548-9).

For its part, Samarai, though a small, conically-shaped island without impressive resources or wharf possibilities, became the center of "an important plantation and mining industry and until about 1914 was a more important urban centre than Port Moresby. In 1902 the value of goods exported from Samarai was three times the value of those exported from Port Moresby" (Oram 1972b: 1029). At that time, Port Moresby began to usurp Samarai in importance as a port facility; electricity was introduced in

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1925, piped water in 1941. When it became the capital of both Papua and New Guinea in 1945 the "development of the town was rapid" (Oram 1972c: 954).

Lae, too, though inhabited on contact with Europeans by residents of at least five villages nearby, became the important town, port, and link with the Highlands region (via the Highlands Highway) due at least partly to its proximity to (being at the mouth of) the Markham River. Daru's strategic function is at least partly due to its proximity to the Fly. In Lae's case, oddly, it has no harbour, just a bare stretch of coast (O'Neill 1979: 41), but had a superbly placed spot for the construction of an aerodrome. (This was to be, unfortunately, Amelia Earhart's final port of call.)

The development of such port towns and administrative outposts, then, proceeded apace alongside other developments in political economy. Here and there poll taxes were introduced and collected, and missions were established and teachings instilled. Jails and roads were built (often times the latter by residents of the former), hospitals were constructed and diseases treated (and sometimes further spread), and peoples were pulled into commercial agriculture and wage labor relations (with their few rewards but many promises). Fish canneries and pearling stations sprung up in the 19th and early 20th-centuries in the Torres Strait and South Fly areas. Sydney-based sea cucumber collecting boats began operations as early at 1846 in the Torres Strait, and beginning in 1868 mother-of-pearl began to be harvested (Beckett 1977: 80). Those traders who wished to establish footholds in these industries learned to trade in items made of iron, in alcohol, in fabrics, in mirrors, and so forth. A company called Papua Industries was formed in 1904 to help stimulate Torres Strait islander recognition of the profits that could be made

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by "the great wealth of marine produce at their very doors" (Reverend Walker, quoted in Beckett 1977: 86).

The German administration in Lae introduced a head tax in the first years of this century of between 5-10 German marks per capita, either in kind or in the form of corvee labor, as much as fifty days' work per annum. Local peoples in and around Lae were encouraged or forced to participate in commercial agriculture on village lands and on kiaps' plantations, and the proceeds from which were intended to be put toward payment of their head taxes (Willis 1974: 44-45; see Hayano 1990, Finney 1973, and Grossman 1984 for several highland coffee examples). Throughout Papua more generally, at least during the early years of the Administration, it was understood by men such Hubert Murray, then Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, that were the Territory to gain self-sufficiency in a budgetary sense, plantation-based export agriculture would have to be given a huge boost. In 1918, the Australian Administration introduced the Native Plantations Ordinance and the Native Taxation Ordinance, which constituted a "two-pronged strategy to induce the Papuan villagers to earn cash, either by paying tax to the state from wages earned in capitalist enterprises or by compulsorily providing labour for a set number of days on communal village plantations" (Amarshi, Good, and Mortimer 1979: 16).

In Lae, the imposition of a head tax on New Guineans by Europeans did little other than impress upon the former the dominance of the latter. The government at Lae collected little tax in kind, but the District Officers did impose rather strenuous labor demands. Berghausen, for instance, the same fellow cited above who led punitive

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expeditions amongst villagers, ordained in 1913 that "in place of the tax the natives are instructed to build a 6-metre road the whole length of the coast from Finschafen to the Markham," an undertaking, Willis notes (1974: 45), that has not been completed until this day. The L.M.S. mission on Daru had an exceedingly small coconut plantation on which mission charges worked, and plantation economies were established only minimally in the South Fly, for instance, at the Midiri plantation on the south bank of the Fly, twenty or so miles away from Daru. That does not mean, however, that Daruans were never introduced to new forms and frequencies of labor and wage labor. According to both official records and unofficial remembrances, it was largely convict labor that built Daru's wharf and roads. Convicts were also responsible for the digging of Daru's ditches and drains. Converts to local missions built local mission stations and erected trade stores, and toiled to produce copra. When the Resident Magistrate G.F.W. Zimmer, for instance, decided to mount a punitive raid in 1927 against Middle Fly villagers who had nearly exterminated Weriadai village by head-hunting, he brought with him 18 armed native constables and 20 "long-sentenced prisoners from the Daru gaol" (Zimmer 1969: 83). These prisoners, it was hoped, would build a semi-permanent camp for the military detachment, and then prepare, cultivate, and harvest a garden so as to make the detachment "as nearly self-supporting as possible" (1969: 83). In this example can be seen the tight network of various relations which frequently constitute colonial political economies. These include racial divisions which help to buttress hierarchical social and productive relations, the increasingly class-based relations which provide models of proper behavioral comportment, and the colonial relations which establish new notions

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(and punishments for the breach) of justice and civilization. Each of these new relations can be seen, for instance, in the panic and fear (little of either of which were well-founded) which European settlers of Port Moresby expressed in the middle 1920s following several sexual assaults on European females by non-European males. Though the number of sexual assaults on Papuan females by Papuan males and of assaults on European females by European males surely was greater than the number of European females assaulted sexually by non-European males, it was the latter phenomenon that received the bulk of settler attention and punishment. As Bennett points out (1994: 49), "[a]lthough in theory white men could be charged...with similar offences against native females, none ever was. The law was aimed at Papuan men and was widely promulgated in the villages."

These above-mentioned instances should not be taken as suggesting that local villagers came to abandon rural, subsistence-based lifestyles, but rather, that a new set of obligations needed to be met, and a new set of social forces began to impinge upon them. In mild contrast, perhaps, to the sort of "dual economy" approach that Wallerstein and other "world systems theorists" decry, Beckett writes of forms springing up in the North Queensland, Torres Strait region that resemble "internal colonialism." He describes this process as founded upon colonial relations of inequality between two territories along three axis: "power, economic exchange and status" (1977: 78). What makes the model so dynamic, in contradistinction to a "dual systems" approach, is that it allows for, even prescribes uneven, variably sustained developments, owing in part to geographic distance

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from the metropole, and from often competing colonial, missionary, and business interests (see also Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991b).

In general, the historical trends that I wish to have highlighted here involving Samarai, Port Moresby, Daru, and Lae involve both pushes away from village, subsistence-oriented agriculture and pulls toward probably first plantation, and then town, living (see, e.g., Hempenstall 1994; Amarshi, Good, and Mortimer 1979: Chapter 2). Though voluminous historical, anthropological, and political economical literature shows that rural-based agriculture can support, if with dwindling efficiency, rewards and standards of living, urban-based developments in non-agricultural production almost indefinitely, town-based "development" does not necessarily do so for those remaining in rural areas. That is, not everything about town-living is salutorious, nor are much-fabled developments in improving health and wealth and literacy necessarily sustainable in town, much less in terms of reaching out to lift up living conditions in the village. "Development" is thus classically uni-directional, extractive of persons, Culture, labor, and resources from the village and surrounding hinterland. "Development" is thus constitutive of growing economic, social, and particularly political power of those who control access to the means of production, including land and its resources, credit and capital, tools and their application, and labor and its deployment.

In the section below I wish to indicate a final (and similarly unfortunate) similarity in the development of Daru, Samarai, and Port Moresby: namely, venereal diseases. Though the history of STDs in the Pacific has yet to be written (see Chapter 9), I will suggest that much can be gleaned towards that end even by focusing particularly

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upon only two, gonorrhea and Donovanosis, or Granuloma inguinale. My purpose here is to indicate that the current situation which I will describe and analyze for Daru in ensuing chapters is not at all uncommon in terms of the development of port towns generally.

IVc. venereal outbreaks

In (Papua) New Guinea, there have occurred three major outbreaks of varying intensity of Donovanosis: among the Marind-anim in then Dutch-controlled South New Guinea, in the Trobriand Islands (involving Samarai), and in Port Moresby. Between 1905 and 1914 in what is now Milne Bay Province, gonorrhea and particularly Donovanosis erupted with serious implications for local peoples. During that time, a total of 1,919 admissions were made to the Native Hospital, and over half of those admissions were for STDs, these new, frightful, fearful and shameful illnesses. In his oft-cited text, Plagues and Peoples, McNeill notes of syphilis in the 16th century that initially "symptoms were often peculiarly horrible so that the disease attracted a great deal of attention wherever it appeared" (1977: 193). Kettle (1979), for instance, notes that when syphilis first arrived in the Trobriands some people even paid others to bury alive their own family members, due to the horrible disfigurement of victims and fears it induced in the non-infected. These were peoples well used to the disfigurements caused by endemic yaws, caused by the treponemal cousin of syphilis, Treponema pertenue, so these were likely serious new problems. One of the first doctors stationed in the Trobriands, Dr. William Bellamy, treated 422 patients in 1905, 361 of whom were STD cases. He found STDs so prevalent that he began in 1908 to survey about seven thousand

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villagers each year to treat and prevent STD infections. That first year Dr. Bellamy found an STD prevalence of 5.22% among the total population--men, women, and children--but by a combined medical and educational campaign, was able to decrease that prevalence to 1.37% by 1915 (see Maddocks 1967; Kettle 1979; Jones 1911; see also Bellamy's various reports in the Annual Report of the Territory of Papua). When gonorrhea and Donovanosis first arrived on Samarai and nearby islands in the Milne Bay Division in 1905, "the incidence of venereal disease was causing grave concern and syphilis was said to have been diagnosed with certainty...due to the movement of shipping, traders, miners, and the return of Papuan men who had been recruited for labour elsewhere" (Kettle 1979: 14).

Between 1905 and 1916 there seems to have averaged at least 100 new cases per year treated at one or another of these native hospitals on or near Samarai. Throughout that time, there were erected special STD clinics at Kitava, Gesele, Eboma, Losuia, Woodlark Island, Normanby Island, and Samarai (this last of which I visited in 1991, just as a new hospital was being built). One of the European doctors stationed at Samarai, Dr. Harse, candidly described his surgical technique as "radical," involving as it did circumcisions, vulvectomies, and penectomies. At that particular time, no specific (no "magic bullet") had been discovered to treat Donovanosis effectively, and so a variety of acids, surgical operations, dusting powders, and injections were used (see Hammar 1994). By 1913, Government Officer, R.L. Bellamy, wrote of the native STD hospital that "the hospital accommodation is so fully taken up with venereal and genital cases that

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I can only admit really serious cases of accident or general disease" (1913: 149[17]). During a five day visit to Samarai in 1991, medical personnel said to me that STDs had "always" been a big problem, and that they feared greatly for future HIV transmission due to an already high STD caseload and due to their knowledge of the sexual networks in which at least one confirmed HIV antibody-positive patient had been involved.

The introduction of Donovanosis into Papua (see also Chapter 9) can be traced in part to Dutch activities further west, as early as 1902, at the Dutch administrative center founded at Merauke (see Zegwaard 1968: 421; van Baal 1993: 129; see also Vogel and Richens 1989; Thierfelder 1928; van Baal 1966: 25-31, 807-21). Among the Marind-anim, the ones most prominently affected by the disease (up to 35% of some villages, man, woman, and child), were found an "abnormally high incidence of sterility, not only among women who had suffered or were suffering from venereal granuloma, but among non-infected women as well" (Cnopius, quoted in van Baal 1966: 26).

Though I have no sound information how, at what pace, and with what frequency Donovanosis and gonorrhea made their way to Daru, they have been particular problems on Daru at least since 1917 (Kettle 1979: 17; see also Knauft 1993: Chapter 8). During Landtman's time on Kiwai island in the nineteen teens, for instance, the disease had apparently been well enough entrenched that the name for the ulcers caused by Donovanosis was the same as that for vulva (Landtman 1917: 75). Recall as well in Chapter 1 the story of Kogea and uma. Kettle (1979: 17) notes that there was even a

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[17]. Though many official references could be cited here regarding this first serious Donovanosis outbreak in the Pacific, it must suffice to point to the yearly issues of the Annual Report of the Territory of Papua, housed both in the National Archives and the Library at the University of Papua New Guinea.

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special section of the hospital on Daru erected just so as to treat Donovanosis sufferers. It is of interest that one Dr. Boag, who had served previously in Milne Bay Division on Samarai during Trobriand epidemics of Donovanosis, was appointed as Doctor on Daru at this time. Since that time, it is difficult to say with any precision the incidence and prevalence of Donovanosis among other STDs on Daru. Nevertheless, what I do know (see Chapter 9) suggests that it has surged in importance and in incidence more or less directly related to the intensity of human migration to and from Daru. For example, around Independence, at which time all restrictions on human traffic were removed, at least by law, there ensued shortly thereafter an outbreak of Donovanosis and genital herpes.[18]

Port Moresby, too, has battled its share of venereal outbreaks, both minor ones related to the arrival of persons infected in the massive Goilala region epidemic of the 1940s and 50s (see, e.g., Zigas 1971)--and then treated--and ones apparently more localized, owing to the pace and newness of town living. In urban areas generally, upwards of 10% of some examined groups of (male) laborers in Port Moresby have been revealed to be suffering concurrently from venereal infections (Vines 1972: 261). Maddocks, Anders, Goldring, and Collins (1972: 2) noted during a conference

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[18]. Interview conducted with an anonymous health worker stationed in Balimo who consulted on Daru during this outbreak. In addition, both Dr. John Richens, then at the Goroka Base Hospital, and the then Acting Medical Superintendent (who requested anonymity), told me during conversations in 1988 that Donovanosis chronically had been a problem on Daru. In particular, they highlighted outbreaks frequently traceable to upsurges in human movement. These would include the great numbers of South Fly residents who "came for spin" during the first Independence celebration in 1975, those who attend annual Independence and Mei Show celebrations on Daru, and those raskols who travel temporarily to Daru when curfews are announced elsewhere.

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proceeding in the early 1970s that of the 73 Port Moresby patients they saw personally suffering from Donovanosis during a recent outbreak, "all except one...came from outside the Port Moresby urban area." In a fuller write-up of this material (Maddocks, Anders, and Dennis 1976) they argued that these several outbreaks of Donovanosis in Port Moresby had everything to do with migration: "[m]ost of the patients were unschooled labourers who had migrated to Port Moresby from other parts of Papua New Guinea and were living in settlements with limited hygiene facilities" (1976: 195).

To conclude this chapter, and to make way for Chapter 4, in which I lay out the parameters of the many forms of prostitution on Daru, I wish to indicate two things. First, I have discussed Daruan development in terms of developments in other port towns so as to indicate the non-uniqueness of the contemporary situation. Daru is not and never has been a singular blight on the reputation of Papua, Papua New Guinea, or Papua New Guineans. Indeed, it shows the signs and symptoms of nascent towns everywhere (e.g., Longmore 1959; Little 1973). Second, I wish to impress upon the reader nevertheless, the very real urgency of the social, economic, political, and particularly medical problems I will begin to discuss hereafter. Donovanosis, for instance, is a genital ulcer disease, like syphilis, genital herpes, and chancroid. As such, not only does it predispose persons infected thusly towards being more infectious to others, but it makes such infected persons more susceptible to the transmission of less treatable, potentially fatal pathogens, such as HIV. Moreover, those already infected with HIV--and eventually therefore subject to a certain immune system depression--show less likelihood of being treatable, much less cured by antibiotics which would otherwise be used (see Richens

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1991: 441-42). This potentially lethal, ramifying process worries me in the extreme regarding both the treatment and prevention of "garden-variety" STDs--which present, clearly, serious problems already in Papua New Guinea--and the likely future explosions of HIV transmission that will occur on Daru, the South Fly, and perhaps even Torres Strait.

In the next chapter I examine the state of contemporary living on Daru, and take the reader on a sort of "walking tour," indicating along the way not only matters of ethnographic interest but aspects of alcohol consumption and sexual networking, the implications of which are then examined more fully in subsequent chapters.

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Chapter 3:

"A Walk Around Daru: the cultural geography of sex and 'spinning'"

"I'd mention a few things about Daru Island.
I have never read a book on Daru itself,
but my daddy used to tell stories.
Daru used to be a very beautiful Island
and not many people lived here"
(letter from a dear friend, 2-28-95).

"[Among the Meru of Kenya] the social, political, economic,
and moral changes of this century removed sexuality from
the control of the community. Subsequently the purpose
of sexual intercourse evolved to include procreation,
recreation (i.e. sex for pleasure) and cash. In
pursuit of these goals, sexual intercourse was
removed from the hut and taken to the market..."
(Bauni n.d.: 349).

"There's no culture here anymore"
(George, Daruan informant).

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I. Introduction: crisis in the South Fly

In the introductory chapter I pursued the notion of a discursive ball of thread and the necessity as an ethnographer of disentangling it as opposed to conceiving of the task as peeling back so many layers of an onion. In the previous chapter I also examined some of the socioeconomic and historical precursors to the state of contemporary living I experienced between 1990-92. I will now return to some of the threads mentioned above and try to disentangle them one at a time, as if they were in fact separate, not part of the same tangled ball of social relations as perhaps all anthropologists are faced with while doing fieldwork. Following Wolf (1982: 3), my goal here is to disentangle the manifold "totality of interconnected processes," and then begin "placing them back into the field from which they were abstracted." If the events of October 7, 1991 represent that totality, of which interconnected processes were they constituted?

Ia. where'd the money go?

First, on the surface, the events alluded to above were caused by suspicions that 3,000,000 kina (kina=$1.11 U.S. at the time of my research) had seemingly disappeared. At the time, FRPG officials allegedly had yet to inform townspeople about the way in which a Special Support Grant (SSG) of K3 million had been used. South Fly Member of Parliament, Perry Zeipi, claimed that Ministers and the Premier of the FRPG "had misused the funds and that the people have been frustrated over this" (quoted in Kone 1991a: 3). Assurance the next day by the Provincial Premier that K800,000 had already been paid to a German company to begin a "capital works" project and that part of the remaining monies would be used to rebuild damaged government buildings (Bengi 1991:

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3) re-fueled this anger. Of those with whom I spoke that day, many of whom happened to be prominently placed within the Daruan political scene, "bigshots" in government and business, allegedly missing kina appeared to fuel the most resentment. My sense, however, is that several of the factors alluded to below fueled rather more resentment among the "grassroots" than missing funds. This loss constituted the final straws breaking their already heavily loaded backs, not the loads themselves.

Ib. overcrowding

Overcrowding on Daru, for example, remains a serious problem which, to date, neither national nor provincial governments have addressed satisfactorily.[1] Allegedly settled originally by ancestors of two brothers, Mabuduwan[2] and Turituri,[3] Daru was once limited by colonial decree to a population of 2,000, the remainder being periodically rounded up, put on canoes, and sent back to their respective villages.[4] There cannot have been more than a hundred or so residents on Daru at the turn of the century, since in

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1. This is manifest in many ways, but while doing a corner census, I inquired of the number of people sharing watertaps and toilets. It was not uncommon to find 20-30 sharing a water tap, or that fights resulted from disputes regarding water bills, number of villagers overstaying their welcome in town, etc. During census interviews, for instance, I asked of the number of people using a given toilet bucket; 15-20, more if including visiting villagers, was not uncommonly the number given. During census of two of three corners, I found that most houses had more than ten inhabitants, but that in Giwari corner most had well fewer than ten. One house, though, had 27 at the time of census, including a man with four wives, and 16 children from various mothers (field note, 4-28-91, Daru).

2. Like many other village, personal, and place names, "Mabuduwan" is spelled many different ways, e.g., Mabaduwan, Mabuduwan, Mabudawan, as Wilfred Beaver spelled it, Mabaduan, or Landtman, Mabuduvane. I have tried to spell names phonetically as I heard them most consistently pronounced.

3. According to the oldest informant in my sample (field note, 11-20-90, Daru).

4. This information was according to an expatriate, long-resident informant who took part willfully and happily in some of these roundups on Daru.

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1894-95 there was only "quite a small settlement now on the island on the side facing the mainland. There are several private houses besides the various Government buildings, most of which are of native material" (Winter 1896: n.p.). Daru had a population of under 4,000 as recently as 1974 (Ohtsuka 1983: 1). Another informant put the population unofficially in 1980 at about 7,000.[5] However, since Independence, at which time all migratory restrictions were removed and the constitutional right to free movement was guaranteed, the official population has climbed steadily.

Daru's population now stands officially at 8,490 (Papua New Guinea 1990: 1),[6] though fifteen thousand, crammed tightly in houses too small and closely-spaced, seems closer to the truth. Twenty-five to fifty people not uncommonly share a water tap, and those lucky enough to have "pan toilet" (actually, toilet bucket) removal service not uncommonly share said toilet with another 15-25 (see below). Although Daru is not a large island (see below), the residential area is squeezed terribly into small, densely-packed corners, wards, and settlements. These sites of habitation are more or less tightly organized according to consanguineal and affinal, and above all, village-of-origin links. Drains, ditches, paths, and roads, for instance, denote clearly recognized boundaries between, say, Boze and a neighboring corner, between Mabuduwan and Agobaro corners, and so forth. Some houses do not have enough space and sleeping mats and beddings to allow all its inhabitants to sleep comfortably; some have to sleep in shifts, under the

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5. Robert Welsch, personal communication.

6. Other population increases in the province have been more spectacular, as in the plateau surrounding Tabubil, which turned into an "instant township" with the arrival of 5,000 outsiders in 1981 (Hyndman 1990: 163).

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house, on verandas, and so forth.[7] In the first corner I lived in, close to 400 people on any given day--more here, less there--were crammed into 32 houses, sharing by my count seven watertaps and about five toilet buckets emptied twice weekly, if lucky. Those 32 houses were settled into an area bounded on one side by path and on the other by bush, an area no more than about a hundred and fifty yards in length, about forty in width. Other corners nearer town routinely had 15-30 houses occupying a space no larger than an average supermarket parking lot.

Ic. corruption

Third, almost without exception, informants, friends, and acquaintances said that they distrust elected officials of the former and current FRPG, just as they do elected officials on the national level. The Ted Diro scandal, for instance, involving Indonesian military generals, timber, the Barnett Report, and substantial gifts and apparent payoffs, seemed to reverberate frequently on the local level, made all the more relevant for his being one of the relatively few Papuan, that is, non-New Guinean elected officials at the upper echelons of power. These governmental representatives are perceived to squander needlessly on beer and pamukus monies that should instead be used to build schools and roads, to fund development projects back in the village to absorb surplus labor, and generally to improve the health, educational standards, and well-being of the people. The decision to open a Talair link between Daru and Cairns, Merauke, and Thursday island,

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[7]. These sleeping and residential arrangements have greater implications than mere satisfaction with standards of living, too. Bauni (n.d.), for example, discusses the effect upon sexual behavior and rising incidence of STDs, "fatherless" children, and sexual jealousies of housing and other changes introduced by the combined forces of British colonials, capitalist relations of production, and hut taxes.

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for example, was seen by one letter writer, "Concerned Sambo," as "just a sheer paving of the way for the privileged to have joy rides and go for holidays and shopping on direct flights." He wanted his representatives to explain "how this helps infrastructure development in the province" (Post-Courier 9-25-91: 10). Ok Tedi Development funding of K2.5 million has brought, he explained, "no real changes except complete destruction to people's lives, and much of the 'development' is made up of cheap material," apparently referring to the water tanks gracing many Fly River Kiwai villages. Even further north in the province, benefits accruing from employment at Ok Tedi are not as significant as is often assumed; at the time of their population census of border regions in 1984, Pula, Jackson, Butuna, and Tapari (1984: 42) found that more men were absent from villages due to imprisonment in Daru jail than working at Ok Tedi![8] Daruans wonder, correspondingly, where all the big money is that they hear so frequently about: "when is development coming to us?" Whenever the FRPG is in session, and when, thus, beer drinking and female sexual victimization go up accordingly, these complaints are voiced all the more loudly.

Id. living conditions

Fourth, and related to overcrowding, is the difficult state of living conditions for the majority on Daru. Many of my older informants commented on how beautiful, safe, clean, and even sweet-smelling the town used to be. "Though low and swampy," said the

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8. There is some historical precedent for such a claim. Daru has been home to a Division, then District, and now Provincial jail for the vast majority of its history. In 1903, for instance, the Daru Prison had a population of 143 prisoners, and another 113 prisoners had been recently discharged (Jmai 1903: n.p.). Absence of reliable census data in the intervening years make it difficult to say what percentage of the town's total population was thus jailed.

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missionary Benjamin Butcher, in his memoirs, "its few white inhabitants slowly transformed it" into a beautiful place (1964: 37). Wilfred Beaver, too,[9] wrote in 1920 of a Daru "ablaze with crotons and hibiscus, the flower of the Kiwai" (1920: 52). This visual and olfactory delight of a place, however, is in sharp contrast to "the shocking state of the colonial township of Daru," as "Concerned Sambo" above put it. Recently, for example, crocodiles grown and readied for sale were put in pens right in the town center, which was a serious health regulatory breach (Avei 1989a: 2). Women in particular struggle mightily to maintain their houses and surroundings neatly and in a cleanly fashion, but oil- and rubbish-filled roads, ditches, and drains, as well as the areas in-between corners and settlements, are an eyesore and a public health nuisance. The "beach" after high tide is often depressingly rusty, for instance, for all of the tin fish, lard, and corned beef tins washed up, where they sit and rust a bit more until being washed away again. In contrast to the personal surroundings of most houses, which are often kept often immaculately clean, usually by mostly women inhabitants, are the public areas--the beach, the roads and pathways, ditches and drains, and so forth, which are a blight to body, eye, and psyche.

Ie. problems up north

Fifth, effluvia is released into the Fly River at its headwaters by the Ok Tedi mine.[10] This creates ecological disturbances problematic for Daru and Daruans, since

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9. Sadly, Beaver was one of many who perished in World War I, at the age of only 35. His major work, Unexplored New Guinea, was published posthumously.

10. Among the several score large-scale incidents and figures that could be cited here, in 1984 a landslide occurred, 50 million tons heavy and a kilometer long, on the Ok Ma River, which "destroyed all prospects of a permanent tailings dam as a limitation to pollution problems.

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Daru is situated only a few kilometers away from the mouth of the Fly River, which empties into the Papuan Gulf. Villagers living along the Fly and its tributaries complain of the taste and color of their drinking water and of the sharply declining yields and quality of fish. When I visited Doumori village, the last Kiwai-speaking village up the Fly, during Christmas holidays in 1990, villagers hotly complained about not only the shift in the river's contours[11] but about the nature of the river's inhabitants. The following are indicative of the statements they made: "There are no barramundi anymore, only small catfish." "The fish have no meat, they are only the heads." "We cut them open and they have no blood."

These ecological disturbances related to Ok Tedi, to other mining projects, and to deforestation and the ravages of timber camps have become extremely volatile issues in Papua New Guinea, partly because they are linked to issues of overseas investment, official corruption, non-sustainable resource extractive processes, and declining standards of living. The National Government is apparently not yet comfortable admitting to them nor attempting to rectify their causes (see Barnett Report 1990; Hyndman 1987, 1990; Jackson 1975). Something in the area of 40,000 villagers

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Unacceptable quantities of sediment, tailings [there never has been constructed a permanent tailings dam], and chemical wastes are routinely discharged into the headwaters of the river system, including cyanide and heavy metals with concentrations of 2400-4400 ppb [parts per billion] of copper" (Hyndman 1990: 162-63). Two major cyanide spills occurred in June of 1984, the latter of which released 100 cubic meters of highly concentrated cyanide waste into the Ok Tedi River (Hyndman 1990: 163).

[11]. Doumori was an island in the stream not more than fifty years ago, but as the course of the river has changed (naturally [cf. Beaver 1920: 132] and because of added Ok Tedi effluvia) so has the location of the village. The guest house, which now sits 40 feet from a precipitous drop into the Fly River, used to be at the extreme rear of the village. Wasua, a nearby, largely Gogodala-speaking village, was not long ago connected easily to the Fly River by a creek, up which came even mid-sized cargo barges. This is not so anymore.

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(Hyndman 1990: 162) living along the Fly River and its many tributaries feel bought out and used because all they have received in exchange for dirty,[12] polluted, mercury-infested[13] water are already-rusted water tanks and lots of village basketball courts.[14] Many of the promised economic benefits in the form of development projects, increased access to schools and aid posts, and so on, have simply never come. These mine-related ravages combine with the fact that boundary lines were originally drawn between New Guinea and Queensland in such a way as to exclude from Papua almost every island (save for Daru, which no one apparently wanted traditionally anyway.) One nogere (Kiwai=elderly man) in Gaima corner said to me rather trenchantly that "the kina are still flying around, but they all fly north" (to Kiunga, Ok Tedi's administrative center). A petition was circulated to the FRPG on November 27th, 1989 which indicated that

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12. Hyndman (1900: 162) states that the 1982 Ok Tedi Environmental Study predicted that 200 millions tons of sediments would enter the Fly River from waste dumps, a level 10,000 times greater than that allowed by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

13. One informant in Doumori village told me of a Japanese investigative team which had arrived in the Fly River region in about 1986 to investigate mercury levels in particular. After taking, apparently, urine and hair samples, they concluded, said he, that 50% of all the villagers tested had dangerously unsafe levels of mercury in their bodies and that the fish were absolutely riddled with it. He said one afternoon as we paddled across the river to check on his net that not long ago one could predictably come to one's nets and see them verily "'shaking' with fish in them" (field note, 1-3-91, Doumori village). On May 25, 1988, 34 final-year nursing students from East New Britain's Vunapope School of Nursing attended an address by Environment and Conservation Department First Assistant Secretary, Mr. Kembi Watoka, who informed them that "People living along the Fly River system in Western Province are suffering from mercury poisoning" (quoted in the Post-Courier, May 26, p. 3). Those living along the Fly and those residing near the Murray Lakes area in particular were singled out as "showing signs of loss of hair by consuming barramundi."

14. A Post-Courier story of May 26, 1988, p. 3, for example, claims that aquatic life has been polluted by mercury effluvia draining the Ok Tedi gold and copper mine, and that Fly River peoples have been contaminated also. This was denied in another newspaper article of July 31, p. 2, penned by Health Minister Robert Suckling, who called such allegations "irresponsible nonsense [perpetrated for] malicious political purposes."

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> the people of Western Province and particularly the people living between and along the banks of the Fly have realized that the Fly River Provincial Government is weak and not able to speak for its people well on the Fly River Pollution issue... It is true that you have misrepresented us. You have even gone as far as willingly and happily accepting the national government and Ok Tedi's greedy plans on our behalf. To us this means that you have agreed that the Fly River peoples lives are worth nothing compared to money... [these ellipses in the original] You are greedy...[ditto] you have acted against humanity...[ditto] you have no respect for life...[ditto] you are murderers... [ditto] (quoted in Darika 1989: 1).

If. a regional nexus

Sixth, Daru is located only kilometers away from two other international borders--Indonesia and Australia--and is the economic and administrative center of the province and region. Despite what would appear to be a reasonably obvious police presence, Daru is also a center of gun and drug-smuggling.[15] In one particularly interestingly case, a Briton, Fancy Stuart, allegedly arranged the shipment of 286 kilograms of high-grade marijuana from Port Moresby (to whence it had come from the highlands regions) to Daru (via shipping containers provided by Maru Trading Company) to Cairns, Australia. Unfortunately for him, an outboard motor broke down midway between Daru and Cairns and the entire shipment drifted ashore to Nagir island in the Torres Strait, where it was

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15. A front-page headline in the Post-Courier, for instance, on October 16, 1991 read "Guns-for-Drugs Trade Runs 'Out of Control.'" The accompanying story described Daruan Police and government officials as being at a loss as to how to proceed. That Daru is a regional and international nexus is clear from repeated incidents during which high-grade marijuana is consigned from the Highlands region and then sold to Australia. Western Province police commander, Peter Taian, also decried the fact that Papua New Guinea lacked proper surveillance technology, resulting in drugs going out of the country and guns coming in. Of great relevance for a point I will expand upon later, Taian said that the vast coastal area of southern New Guinea was difficult enough to patrol as it is, much less given "the traditional ties between the Daru people and Torres Strait" (quoted in Kone 1991b: 1). At the time of this story, one Australian had already been caught transporting K2 million worth of marijuana from Daru across to Australia. Another Briton had been charged several months previously for the shipment of 286 kilograms of cannabis from Daru to Australia (Kone 1990: 4).

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interrupted. Police were incensed that he was able to obtain release on bail, saying that "the massive drug haul was linked with the international drug trafficking network" (quoted in Kone 1990: 4).

Daru is a more or less safe haven for raskol (criminal) gangs during curfews announced elsewhere. Daru has a beach, a wharf, an airport, a Hotel, two banks, and at least fifteen church missions. It is thus a center of a remarkable level of local, regional, and international traffic including by canoe, dinghy, fishing boat, cargo barge, research vessel, helicopter, and airplane. Politicians and health officials want villagers to stay put, foreigners to stay home, and raskols to stay in Port Moresby. Politicians, however, have neither the will nor the power to enforce their wishes, and free movement is a constitutional right since Independence was gained in 1975.[16]

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16. Oram (1972: 1161) notes that in 1969 the Australian Administration's House of Assembly passed a motion that would have reintroduced restrictions of movement to towns (thus reinforcing expatriate/indigenous social and residential boundaries; until 1942, for instance, the majority of Papuans in Port Moresby were required by law to live at Koke, outside the town boundary). This motion was passed under the assumption that these restrictions were to have been adjudicated under the Vagrancy Ordinance. It cannot have been easy for Australians to tack between generally negative attitudes about swelling urban populations and the problems that generally come with them, on the one hand, and the desire to install Western-style rights and freedoms, and Western-style perquisites and amenities of town living (wage labor opportunities, sanitation, water, etc.), on the other. The tendency seems to have been to discourage wherever possible any migration that threatened to outstrip the availability of employment and services. As Belshaw notes (1963: 20), "[c]olonial governments dislike to see large numbers of unemployed or underemployed persons congregating in large cities, and they take steps, as far as practicable, to prevent this from happening." For instance, the persistence of "Keremas" in Port Moresby was disconcerting to the Australian Administration, members of which "decided to make the settlements [in Port Moresby] unattractive, in the hope that it would induce the inhabitants to leave and deter further migration. To this end, settlements were denied water supplies and garbage and sanitary services" (Ryan 1993: 222). Oram also notes (1974: 173) that neither the Administration nor private employers "accommodated more than a small fraction of their migrant employees," though obliged to do so by law.

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Ig. the problems of health care

Seventh, in several different areas health care delivery is strained nearly to the breaking point. Overworked and undersupplied health care workers struggle courageously to treat rising caseloads of leprosy, tuberculosis, malaria, and pneumonia. Typhoid also broke out in January of this year, according to a letter I received recently: "we [health workers] have been going out to corners and schools giving health talks on Typhoid for the transmission of it and the preventive measures." Perhaps more tellingly, worm infestations related both to poor hygiene and to sub-standard sanitation systems cause incredible misery, which health workers battle daily.

A story in the Post-Courier in March of 1989, for example, entitled "Daru in Major Health Worry Over Sewerage," recounted the rotting, now overflowing septic tanks built during colonial times, and decried the lack of sanitary toilet facilities for the majority of Daru's residents, who use bush, drain, shower, water tap, and beach for toilet.[17] Human waste collected in toilet buckets dumped into the sea "is washed back on the shore when the tide is high." A Daru Health Official quoted in the story, however, said that the problem was partly that much of Daru's land is customary and therefore that health regulations apply only to the incorporated town (see Waho 1989: 4). Two weeks later, a member of the FRPG called on the National Government to move provincial headquarters from Daru to Kiunga if only for health reasons. "The health hazards of the whole town," he is quoted as saying, "...have contributed drastically to the increase in

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17. One household whose members I interviewed for census, for example, shared a single water tap with 34 people spread between four households.

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communicable diseases" (Avei 1989b: 18). "There is sufficient evidence to prove," he said, "that human beings residing on the island are at great health risk. Health authorities must stop pretending that Daru is clean and must declare the whole town unfit for human beings and to close it down" (Avei 1989b: 18).

The overburdened health care infrastructure also struggles to treat everyday sores and tropical ulcers, to take care of victims of domestic violence, and to treat and prevent rising caseloads of STDs. As a letter from the field I received recently put it, "There are many people with sexually transmitted diseases as usual [see Chapter 9], some chronic cases continue coming for drugs." Condom supply and usage remain low, despite my efforts in a free distribution of 20,000 condoms near the end of my stay. As confirmed by the 30 audiotaped sexual life histories I conducted, sexual hygienic education in homes and workplaces, churches, communities, and schools is virtually nil, and the knowledge of STD transmission dynamics, much less those of HIV, is inadequate to the coming AIDS epidemic, just as it is everywhere else in the world. Health workers on Daru are doing a magnificent job in several areas of health care, among them family planning, infant mortality and nutrition. Nevertheless, despite these efforts STD and HIV prevention campaigns remain just about nil outside of the health care arena. Also missing for the most part are educational efforts in schools and homes regarding contraception and sexual hygiene issues, unplanned pregnancies, the availability of safe and inexpensive abortions, and condom usage. Little if any official attention is paid to issues of sexual double standards in the provision of contraceptives and information requisite to their use. The results of endemic domestic violence bring many women to

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hospital for treatment, but domestic violence per se does not appear to be considered a health problem; evidence for this position also consists in the far greater number of women and other family members who suffer in silence, which must also have health side effects. Over-consumption of alcohol in and of itself destroys internal organs, too, and is correspondingly considered a health problem. Nevertheless, alcohol's relationship to male violence and to the corresponding danger for many women and children does not appear to be seen truly as a health issue.

Finally, AIDS is not yet on the map as far as overall, longer-range planning efforts go. Despite, then, the presence and efforts of a cadre of well-trained, dedicated, hard-working health workers, Daru is truly on the verge of even more serious problems of the public health, particularly as they touch on STDs and AIDS.

II. Doing Fieldwork on Daru

These factors I have isolated above I take to be on the minds of Daruans today; together and singly they contributed to the disturbances in the street that October day. In the section below I would like to go back in time several months to the point in time when I arrived on Daru to begin fieldwork and trace out the implications of these factors in terms of my resulting ethnographic practice.

IIa. finding my place

Following eight weeks that I spent in Port Moresby, during which time I had consulted any and all sources on the South Fly region in both the National Archives and the library at the University of Papua New Guinea, I finally made my way to Daru. As I touched down from a Monday morning Talair flight, I thought back to April of 1988 and

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my first trip to Daru, during which time I learned from various health workers with whom I spoke that, yes, Daru did have a significant STD problem and that, yes, STD problems would be a suitable though not very pleasant topic to pursue, and that Daruans would welcome such efforts as I might be able to expend.

As I touched down that morning, greeted first by the blast furnace of heat and humidity, I consoled myself that at least I had a host family to stay with, one I had previously stayed with briefly in 1988. As I was to learn several months later, however, the reason that I was forbidden from staying with that family was because its male head was now a local N.I.O. (National Intelligence Organization) representative, and that therefore it was unseemly for him to extend typical Melanesian hospitality given his role in my resulting security investigation and eventual clearance (see also Weidman 1986: 255 and Landes 1986: 126-27 for other examples of initial security problems). As I was to learn, some of what few Europeans who remain[[18]] on Daru are sometimes suspected of (though not generally stigmatized for) running drugs through Daru, and therefore I was not allowed to stay with that family.

Upon I forget whose urging, I contacted and then ended up staying for five days with a British volunteer worker teaching at the local high school. This was good--and not so good; she had the same name, hair, interests, glasses, body type, sense of humor, and even vocation as the woman who only recently had become my ex-girlfriend. But she also had a Daruan "husband" during her stay of three years, and the three of us quickly

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[18]. As recently as 1964 (Handbook of Papua and New Guinea 1964: 246), it was reported that only 320 Europeans lived in the entirety of Western District (now Province), along with 250 "mixed race people." The electorate rolls for that year show 184 names of people based in Daru.

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became friends; we met, in fact, during my stay in Port Moresby at a school celebration outside of town. I then stayed for about three weeks with another health worker and family and finally, upon the urging of a passerby, established a residence in Gaima corner. Gaima was a mixed Kiwai, Gogodala, Pahoturi, and Kiunga settlement nestled uncomfortably next to and seemingly underneath the bushy swamp area on Daru's eastern side. Until about 1974 it had been a rubbish dump for the Public Works Department.[19] Gaima became my home for the first eleven months of my stay. I lived initially with a wonderful family in an unfinished house of theirs I helped to finish (contra Hayano 1990), and ate and socialized happily with my new family for several months until both became too expensive and painful.[20] They were in so many ways good to and good for me, but I began to feel too keenly the many household tensions which predated me, and probably began to foment a few of my own. I still miss each family member very much and love them deeply, but I was just barely able to hold up under the strain of fieldwork in general, much less under the added weight of the psychological traumas induced by a recent break-up, by frustrations related to managing social relations between members of various institutions kind enough to sponsor my work, by having been cast ashore somewhat as a man without a project. I extended feelers to other families for several

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[19]. Field note, 11-18-90, Daru.

[20]. Two fights between my own adoptive and other families erupted early on regarding zelasi and me. One fight was precipitated by the comment by a close neighbor that "You [my family] can't even feed yourself, because the white man buys all of your food" (field note, 11-16-90, Daru). For the record, I was stuck between appearing to give too much money for food (given the kinds of fights that broke out between families), too little money for food (because, among other things, I wanted to be liked and, being European, I was expected to have lots of it), and none at all (since pretty soon I noticed much of this money disappearing into card games).

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reasons, and I gave money weekly to several families in exchange for suppers and camaraderie. From each of whom but one I received unfortunately very little of either, but then I met members of a large extended family from Pahoturi side during a census interview. With this family I was to become very close. With them I began to eat nightly and socialize daily, and eventually accompanied them twice to their village. My brother Babdu (his real name), my tambu (sister-in-law, whose name I cannot by rights speak), my father Dari, my friends Kwaidai, Alice, and Margaret, my uncle Dono (all real names)--these and many more friends and family members originally from and now residing again in Ngao village are among those on Daru I miss with all my heart. In significant ways I owe to them initial insights into the Daruan sex industry. More importantly, to them I owe the food, a sense of place, profound sociality that helped to sustain me, and many, many wonderful story-telling sessions following supper. In this family, in ways it did not always feel in town, being called "marakai" (in their language, "white man") always felt good, particularly when I could call them (at least the males) "marabo."

IIb. "breakdown, go ahead and give it ta me"

I have mentioned perhaps too briefly several problems I had initially not to castigate or single out individuals or families. I mention the resolution of some of them not to castigate others thereby. Nor do I wish to reflect poorly on Daruans in general, who with a few exceptions were on a personal level extremely supportive of and likable to me. Instead, I wish merely to point out that an unhappy, often volatile living situation, some health problems at the start, and depression induced by lack of fieldwork direction,

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much less success, made certain aspects of fieldwork even more depressing, difficult, and occasionally bizarre than they already were.[21]

In the main I found doing fieldwork on sexual behavior virtually impossible for all the contradictions it engendered socially and otherwise. Much as I tried to adhere to what I considered to be proper Papuan standards of behavior, for example, I was obviously not Papuan. I conformed, for instance, to some Papuan male standards to the extent that I learned to chew and appreciate chewing betel nut, to walk where and when I pleased. But I did not conform to Daruan expectations of European males in many other ways. I attended very few church services, out of stubbornness more than anything. My money source seemed to flow from no obvious source; I did not captain a fishing boat or manage a Hotel or work in a bank. Moreover, I did all my own laundry, cleaning, food-shopping, and most of my cooking (all but about five to six dinners a week, which I took with my host families). I cooked frequently and well for others. I fit some expectations

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[21]. My diary and a few letters home to various friends and family indicate that I had one "breakdown" relating to tensions in and between host family members and yet another the night that I could not manage to kill (and could not get to die) a mouse in a mouse-trap, into which, in some ways, were galvanized many of the more notable and tangled social relations of fieldwork, in my case anyway. It was with no small relief, therefore, to encounter Hayano's (1990: 40) remembrance of same in his Awa village:

> The [rat] traps, however, were not entirely foolproof. Often, a rat would be caught by a looped twine around the waist or leg, and it would squeal and run helplessly in circles while it was attached to the bamboo and twine chain. Awakened by the shrieks of the half-trapped rats, I would have to pull myself out of the sleeping bag each night and swiftly do them in with a sharp machete.

The former breakdown was resolved for the most part when I thereafter gave up trying to please everyone (to maintain consistent, ordered social relations). With respect to the latter, I gave up trying to maintain personal, hygienic boundaries (by mosquito net, mouse-trap, boots and socks, and so forth), just gave up, and was much healthier as a result. I did not at all go or even attempt to go native, but I did manage to give up many my efforts to remain European.

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for apparently liking to drink cold beer, just as did most of the fishing boat captains based on Daru. But I apparently had not taken several Kiwai mistresses.

Or had I? Many corner residents certainly seemed to think so, and delighted in spreading the news; despite any evidence whatsoever, and mostly because of (by even local standards) outrageously gossipy family members and neighbors, it was assumed that any and all females who entered my house or sat upon my patapata (Kiwai=wooden veranda, platform) were then likely to do sex with me. No matter that it was abere (old women) or sobomere (Kiwai=small children), no matter that I was dressing sores or showing pictures, all in full view of family members, other corner residents, and the odd passerby. I had clearly come to Daru for just about one purpose only and was clearly engaging in it. After all, as Herdt and Stoller note in their intriguing analysis, "it is a fact...that ethnography occurs in a context of people who (just as you do now as you read) load the interaction with their subjectivity, that is, their private meanings" (1990: 34). That is no less true of members of my host community than of my readings of their perceptions of me. I discovered one day during an interview several pairs of intrusive eyes peering in through windows, and even from underneath the house, on one occasion, and began altering my behavior accordingly.[22] If even one tiny clink from a tell-tale,

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22. The first time I had women over for story and food, they were (already, but also later) stigmatized as uba pe. I could not understand why so many people, mostly women, were so upset. In one field note (4-11-91, Daru) I wrote:

> She [a neighbor] was honestly very upset, and was acting as if I had a dangerous criminal in my house--and didn't know it... "She [Leona]'s one of those big pamukus," she said, "and this Tunigi fellow [soon to be my primary research assistant], he's pamuku, too...he goes around selling these girls."

In my naivete I expected my neighbors not to confuse my work with the social relations that upset

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full beer bottle was heard at any point from the marketplace to my house a half mile away, there went another accusation of my pamuking. If I failed to share the six- or twelve-pack on the road on the way home, there went another accusation of stinginess, despite my proclivity for sharing widely and by my standards generously. Despite the fact that I was at one time supporting a household of eleven non-working people, and despite that usually when I did share alcohol with family members fighting would erupt between them, I seemed caught in the disjunctures of fieldwork (cf. Hayano 1990; Anderson 1990; Barley 1982).

My fieldwork thus proceeded slowly and painfully, full of misunderstanding and rumor, gossip and occasional accusation,[23] made better only by loving letters from home, by reports of a fabulous Portland Trail Blazer season, by an occasional bottle of imported Bombay gin, and by some apparently fanciful information which just often enough bore out.[24] Some corner residents stopped me on the street to tell me, "sorio brada, we are not like dose people, sorio for you." In addition to being unusually angry, now regrettably single and celibate, inordinately depressed, I also felt completely decentered. I was without extensive research funding, I lacked yet a viable topic (much

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them, even though those were what I was in fact studying.

[23]. Judith Okely reports (1993: 6) that all it took was an "innocent" ride in a police car to "confirm" local suspicions that she was in fact collaborating with the police in her work amongst gypsy populations.

[24]. But how to deal with informants who, on the one hand, remark carefully and correctly about all manner of social relations, and on the other appear to believe whole-heartedly in "some Kung Fu fellow from Central" (Province) who killed 3,000 villagers with the aid of a single canoe paddle? How is one to ferret out "The Truth" from the many such "truths" as ethnographers encounter?

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less a research strategy), since my originally approved and -funded project had been tanked, and I felt desirous only of going home. How was I ever going to last the whole year? All in all, I felt very much like the Roy Wagnerian Beginning Fieldworker:

> ...dazed [and confused] as he may be, he often encounters a good deal of trouble in getting settled and making contacts. If a house is being built for him [and it was, with my help], all sorts of delays occur in the work [no kidding; cf. Hayano 1990]; if he hires assistants or interpreters, they fail to show up [tried nine, only two worked out, two turned eventually into research subjects...]. When he complains about delays and desertions the usual lame excuses are offered [along with lots of "good" ones]. His questions may be answered by obvious and deliberate lies. Dogs bark at him [or worse, in this hot climate, want to be petted, or even worse, scratched on their sore-infested ears] and children may follow him about in the streets [or worse, run away, screaming, often egged on by their parents, who shout "keyadubu (white man) is going to kill you"] (1981: 5).

I had great difficulty manufacturing, revamping, and then using a census instrument which seeks to record inherently unstable phenomena.[25] As I began to eat and socialize with various families, I learned graphically how shifting is residence, how quickly and sometimes totally household composition changes--the implication being, among other things, to question the validity of any research instrument. Father gets mad and leaves for Yam island. Mother gets angry and goes to live with her sister in village. Daughter fights with husband, who goes to live with his buddies elsewhere. Kin arrive from village to take to market deer meat and sago bundles. Brother arrives from another island and expects feeding and clothing for the duration of his stay. Father comes back and brings two brothers and a brother-in-law with him. Second brother-in-law gets drunk and smashes entire house and most of the saucepans. Daughter leaves husband altogether

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[25]. Other methodological epiphanies came to me during informal chats, as when, for instance, I invited men to talk about sex if they asked for condoms. I eventually discovered, for example, that men answering questions about number of different sexual contacts, lifetime, consistently did not count their wives (if married) or Bamu women at sagapari (field note, 6-3-91, Daru).

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and establishes her own hearth in the same house. Husband takes meals during the day, but not night, and does not sleep there for awhile. Son becomes married and brings his wife, his wife's small sister, and his wife's two children from a previous marriage with him. Another son wishes to marry a "detty Parama gel" (resident of another three Daruan corners, Parama #s1-3) but knowing that his family disapproves, moves her in secretly through the window and keeps her there out of sight during the day, urinating in the indoor shower out of shame and fear. No research instrument I devised was sensitive enough to capture this degree of residential fluctuation, and soon I took this to be symptomatic of virtually every aspect of potential study by an ethnographer. Among other things, this aspect of Daruan sociality fascinates me and makes me miss them all the more.

But this seeming un-rootedness frustrated me immensely; not only, in Confucian fashion, was I not studying the same river anymore, I was perched precariously on one of those floating islands in the river, and thus had a shifting vantage point from which to view the residential and behavioral fluctuations I was beginning to witness, perhaps even egg on, to the extent of my material and social support of them. Had I decided to turn around and take a census of the entire corner again, I am positive that in terms of the persons actually residing there, not just their number, my data would be significantly different.

In addition, I had extreme difficulty just carrying out the census. Linguistic difficulties abounded, but I managed to pay for the assistance of or ask the favor of multilingual corner residents to accompany me as I slowly, painfully worked from one

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end of Gaima corner to the other. Many days consisted of only failed attempts and unkept appointments, and the nights of sleepless angst and anxiety: what was I doing wrong? But as I neared one end, some household heads refused outright to meet with me, as was their right. The majority, however, at least of those with whom I was not already now related by kinship, friendship, or co-residence, simply would not "show up," i.e., be there "on time" for an interview appointment. Time in Papua New Guinea is a rubber band, and clearly my notions of time and responsibility are different from those of Papua New Guineans. Consequently, on average, census appointments were made twice or thrice, and I was lucky actually to meet with the persons in question within two weeks of the original date "agreed upon." I found in particular that wives/women would take off for toilet, bush, market, or bedroom upon or just prior to my arrival. Clearly, I had done, said, or thought incorrectly several things. I frequently arrived ON TIME to an empty house, carrying food and drink, even presents to give and photos to show. I knew then that this was obviously their right, but I am coming to understand now their behaviors were relational (to me) in ways I thought true only of me. Here, "Sue"'s frustrations in another fieldwork context are germane:

> The most torturous aspect was visiting informants who weren't there. You would make an appointment and show up and they wouldn't be there. You would feel shut out then. You've wasted valuable time, and you wonder if there's something going on that you can't understand. The culture is like that. There are no schedules. People don't make appointments... (quoted in Wengle 1988: 90).[26]

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[26]. In a field note (10-23-91, Daru) I wrote to myself that I was coming to understand what a dear friend had said in a letter about me in general, that I set myself and others up for disappointment and failure by expecting them to have and to meet standards I set for myself, a point which could be demonstrated by quoting in full this and many other field notes. Perhaps, though, the most germane observation is the following: "It never ceases to amaze me how often it happens [by my standards, blown appointments and dishonesty], how blase people are when

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Those first seven depressing months before I really found my topic were punctuated here and there with a few cold beers and several exhilarating trips to various villages in the Fly River and Balimo region, by roundworm, and by what I know now to have been bouts of malaria. Nevertheless, the near constant fights in Gaima corner I witnessed over water, low wages,[27] noise, the battered cassette deck, adultery,[28] money, drinking,[29] sex, wife-beating, sorcery accusations,[30] mud, overcrowding, gonorrhea, food, chickens, urine, excreta, and menstrual blood in the showers and toilets I helped to build, raskols, snakes in the bush, privacy, niggling disputes over a fifteen-

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confronted with it, and how trusting I am that it won't happen again, ever... [But m]aybe what I'm saying here is that their continual blowing me off gives me much to whine about, and I've noticed that I whine a lot more than I ever did."

27. Though wages for salaried or contract workers on Daru were undeniably low, they were even lower for many domestic workers and gardeners. I knew one couple, for instance, the man of which made about 25K per fortnight for yard work, and the woman of which made another 30K per fortnight doing domestic tasks and child care. They survived only through the charity of wantoks and wanlain. Bamu families not involved at sagapari routinely made 2-5 kina per fortnight returning empty beer bottles, another 20-30 selling bundles of bili leaves, and another 15-30 selling firewood. Non-skilled labor (security guards, stevedores, etc.) appeared to make 70-90 kina per fortnight when working full-time.

28. or their many local tokples equivalents, e.g., kole tiena in Tok Ningerum, or popa agal ngulmakul in Tok Gisara.

29. As apparently is the case for Wopkaimin further north (Hyndman 1990: 164), much drinking is competitive, and corner- and village-residentially arranged. However, given the degree of residential heterogeneity on Daru, it is not surprising to find much more individual, though still exaggerated claims to generosity (or to the absence thereof).

30. Sorcery, the "bane of every Papuan," according to Wilfred Beaver, also appears to have been responsible for many rather large-scale migrations from the Fly River Delta. Further up the western side of the Fly, for example, in the village of Tirio, used to exist perhaps the largest single long-house in Papua, six hundred feet long in 1908 when Beaver visited. A sorcery "epidemic" (Beaver 1920: 133) was blamed in a number of deaths, the village fractured into two houses much smaller, and then fractured further into dispersed settlements. Along with "too much drinking," "no schools or Aid Posts," and "Member is not helping us," "too much giwari" (Bamu=sorcery) was consistently enumerated by Bamu as among the reasons they migrated in droves to Daru in the 1980s.

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years-unpaid brideprice, rubbish, and perhaps above all, gossip, finally got the best of me.

I left Gaima, not without tears, but with a sigh of some relief, just two weeks prior to leaving for a much needed fieldwork break. Once I had established a research "focus" and a research strategy--making contacts and "storying" with local pamukus and "messengers," sex brokers, in other words, pimps in perhaps another time and place--research quickly became impossible to carry out while I lived there in Gaima. Being a single, white, friendly, European male, and being one who regularly socialized, chewed betel nut and drank beer with potentially anyone, including (to be honest, especially) uba pe, I became the topic of near-constant rumor and gossip, only a small part of which I was ever able to reel in and deal with directly. I remember wanting to slap once, later in my stay, an often-stoned, unusually-cheeky fifteen year old male who tittered publicly, "So, I hear you are fucking Ogamea [see chapters 5 and 6] now," directly after I had conducted a recorded interview, in full public view, an interview that had taken at least five or six weeks to set up and a day and a half actually to carry out. Initially, as I pointed out above, I was suspected of doing sex with every female who appeared on my doorstep or on my veranda, whether it be old women, young girls who needed dressings for their perpetual sores and ulcers, my female in-country advisor and the occasional visitor, or the wives, sisters, and daughters of my eventual research assistants. Eventually, females stopped coming to my house because of these rumors and this gossip and because of the perceived nature of my fieldwork. I do not feel as if anyone, despite my repeated efforts to clarify things, ever really understood what I was doing on Daru

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(does anyone ever understand the ways of a fieldworker?).[31] People came to think that anyone going to my house must either be doing sex with me or must already have AIDS, or both. I would not be in the country studying STDs and AIDS if I did not have them, right? For that reason, many households and potential informants were soon closed off to me; people suspected many households and potential informants that I did manage to visit as being either "AIDS houses" filled with uba pe or the scene of yet another sexual conquest by me.

Upon moving away from Gaima, I rented a room in a house in a "ward" only several hundred meters away, but light years away in terms of privacy, wind, smell, and safety. I lived there for the remainder of my stay, sometimes unhappily because of the rumors and gossip that never died down about my project and reputed sexual experiences, often happily for the fresh breezes and many kindnesses extended to me by Uncle Meka and Auntie Padini (their real names), by affines of and by the 17 children she bore. Though still too sensitive and complicated to go into here, and I am really trying hard not to whine, I learned how hard it is to do fieldwork as a single white male on such a politically- and socially-charged topic as sex. I suspect now that my problems would have been magnified in some ways, but almost surely drastically lessened, had I been sexually active, at least as long as it was with the "right" person, of whom there probably were very few on Daru, perhaps a widow or schoolteacher. To do sex research

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[31]. Gerald Berreman (1962) discusses his case in North India in which townspeople took him for government agent/spy. Hortense Powdermaker's African-American informants initially took her to be one attempting to "pass" (1966). A friend of mine reported to me in a letter that his research on sexual networking, AIDS, and so forth. led to townspeople taking it to be a ruse for meeting sexually available women, and that his male research assistants were understood to be merely helpers in introduction to them.

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again would be to be accompanied by at least a "pretend" wife or girlfriend, at best a "real" one.

Over the span of many months and many false starts in this direction, I came to have under my employ two primary research assistants. One lived in a mixed-Kiwai corner, Samari, composed of 12-15 rather ramshackle houses near Daru's freshwater well (which became not so fresh during rainy season. The other lived in Giwari corner, a Bamu settlement on the other side of the wharf, about a 20 minute walk through several other corners when the tide was high, or, when it was low, down several roads, along the "beach" in front of sagapari, and across several tidal creeks. For extended periods I conducted fieldwork there and ate and socialized with my research assistant and his wife, Adori Ganoi and Gani Adori, and their two, then three small, lovely children, Ekani, Gilbert, and Ronald (real names, all). Between these several residences, host families and situations, then, I conducted fieldwork. In the next section, I wish to lay out the physical, environmental, and particularly residential setting of contemporary Daru.

III. Contemporary Daru

At the end of a 70 minute Talair flight from Port Moresby (or 40 hours by cargo barge, which I took in 1988), while circling in preparation for landing, I observed Daru to be not a terribly prepossessing island. Daru is formed mostly of volcanic ash (Blake 1972: 1190), located just a few kilometers from the mouth of the Fly River and from the Toro Passage, the preferred channel through which to bypass a major part of the dangerous, swirling tidal currents at the mouth of the Fly. This gargantuan river has been described as being anywhere from 14 to 60 miles across at its mouth (that is, where does

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one measure the beginning and end of a delta?). By any standard, though, it is a formidable river indeed, a river tidal fully 150 miles upstream (!), depicted on most world maps and even on many globes. It extends 700 miles in length in its slow, twisting journey (Blake 1972: 1191) down from the foothills of the Star Mountains, dropping only 20 meters in altitude along the way (Wheeler 1988: 252).

Directly across from Daru lay two of several "coastal" Kiwai villages, Katatai and Kadawa. There are also the many "island" Kiwai villages, located both on Kiwai island itself and many others that lay seemingly unconcernedly in the mouth of the Fly. There are also several "Fly River" Kiwai villages upriver, the furthest up of which, Doumori (literally, in Fly River Kiwai dialect, "sago/exchange"), I visited twice in 1990. "Fly River," "Coastal" and "Kiwai Island" are three different dialects of the same language, and in the case of "Coastal" and "Fly River" Kiwai villagers, they look perhaps in different directions for culture, history, cuisine, and tradition, the former more in the direction of Yam, Dauan, Saibai, Boigu, and other Torres Strait islands,[32] the latter more in the direction of Gogodala and other inland, "bush" peoples.[33] Some Fly River

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32. One informant, during my house to house census of one "mixed" settlement, for example, called attention to the fact that both coastal Kiwai villagers and Yam islanders knew how to make big canoes with three sails and two outriggers. These were known in Kiwai as motomoto pe (really big house/canoe). Beaver (1920: plate between pp. 32-33), notes that they can sail equally well on either tack, and that Kiwai people borrowed the idea of the double outrigger from Torres Strait islanders. The Reverend James Chalmers notes (1895: 252) that when he traveled up the Fly River he found many names in Kiwai villages "corresponding to those on Saibai and Mabuiag in Torres Strait."

33. I found some, though not a lot, of enmity between Kiwai and Gogodala peoples; some of it appeared to relate to origin stories, where the legendary culture hero, Sido, really was born and died, how Daru and Kiwaian villages got their names, and so forth. "Mabuduwan," for example, was seen to be a Gogodala invention, from "to dig up all the trunk and roots of the ginger plant," "digging it all out, with mabu."

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Kiwai called Coastal Kiwai "saltwater Kiwai,"[34] while the latter, given their extensive social, affinal, and in some cases consanguineal ties, sometimes called Torres Strait islanders the same thing. These ethnic divisions and identities are real enough and have material markers to them. Doumori villagers, for example, have far more extensive gardens than do Turituri and Mabuduwan villagers along the coast put together who subsist primarily on marine resources and the cash obtained therefrom.[35] In my experience, the former castigated the latter thereby, for living thusly more on money, fish, and beer than on sago, coconut, sweet potato, pumpkin, and watermelon. Coastal Kiwai villagers generally did not make much if any sago traditionally, either, and purchased it from villagers further up the Pahoturi River, the mouth of which is where Mabuduwan village is located. But Coastal Kiwai also obtained many of their means of production from Torres Strait islanders south and west. As this feature of contemporary Daruan culture--ties to and with Torres Strait islanders, expressed to varying degrees by different kinds of Kiwai--is so relevant to much of what follows, it bears a short digression.

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34. Field note, 12-30-90, Doumori village.

35. Just regarding sago versus fish as primary subsistence items, I found early on a lot of animosity between Coastal and non-Coastal Kiwai. Villagers of the former say "They [others] are shit," "we own the reef," "which tastes better, sago or fish?" Non-Coastal Kiwai villagers, for their part, said frequently that Coastal Kiwai females had loose morals, that they did not know how to make gardens, drank too much, and so on. And regarding sago, one informant said "this sago food, our grannies, they grew up with this food until now...sago fills us up, it satisfies us" (field notes 11-18-90, 12-1-90, Daru).

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IIIa. ties to Torres Strait (cultural, social, economic)

Though I lack the space and inclination to develop this argument fully here, ties that are social and cultural in nature--trading for culturally valuable items, socializing with friend, kin, and affine--obviously have important economic components as well. In a local political economy as strained as Daru's, one which cannot adequately address the rights and satisfy the needs of all its citizens, much less do so equitably, traveling to and from Daru and Torres Strait islands offers I believe a way of periodically relieving social and economic stress. Let me examine, then, some of these ties below, beginning with the cultural, proceed to those more fundamentally social, and then discuss briefly some of the economic implications. It should go without saying that the boundaries between these various ties--cultural, social, and economic--are more analytically driven (and relevant) than they are empirically grounded: social ties are often economic ones, and economic relations have obvious cultural components as well.[36]

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36. Peter Sahlins writes in Boundaries: the making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees (1989) of an apparent paradox in the history of relations of and between France and Spain across the French/Spanish border. Though the border "has not shifted location since France annexed the province of Roussillon and part of the Cerdanya valley in 1659-1660," and though contemporary theorists consider the border to be "'fossilized,' 'cold,' or 'dead,'" protests and disputes over many issues "continue to occupy the press and the foreign offices of Spain and France" (1989: 1). The apparent paradox is dissolved somewhat by noting a difference between "boundaries" and "frontiers," between linear, political, military qualities and zonal, social, broader ones of contested areas and rights (1989: 4). The paradox is dissolved further by noting more interplay of notions of jurisdictional and/versus territorial sovereignty (1989: 7). This argument has relevance to the Daru/Torres Strait example in a number of ways. That is, the linear, territorial borders may not have changed, but rights to fish at the maza (reef) or to collect pisirimai off the sea floor are constantly disputed. Second, while neither Daru nor islands in the Torres Strait may not move (as islands do perpetually in the mouth of the Fly River), and are therefore boundary-stable in ways the France/Spain boundary has been since 1659, the residents thereon are not. Friendship, consanguineal, affinal, religious, and many other ties can be activated, terminated, extended, downplayed, or emphasized in multifarious ways with regards economic and other relations. Some of my coastal Kiwai informants, for instance, spoke of their normative rights to "go for spin" to, say, Dauan, Yam, or Thursday island to visit their people in ways that Fly River Kiwai

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cultural ties

Some cultural ties between Daru and Torres Strait islanders build upon cultural similarities, others upon differences, some upon both. It should be noted that it was Sido/Sida, the great Kiwai culture hero, who is often credited with having given at least certain food plants and knowledge requisite to their cultivation, harvest, and consumption to Torres Strait islanders (cf. Laade 1971: 1). From Murray island, where he is said to have been given the handsomest girl sexually in exchange and "emptied his bag there" [!] (Laade 1971: 1), he went directly to Kiwai island. In the more properly Kiwai tellings of Sido stories, he is said to have done the bulk of his traveling after death/his murder by Boiguans, and in a generally westward direction. Regarding cultural similarities, though Daru was apparently uninhabited in the early 1840s, J. Beete Jukes, who served aboard the H.M.S. Fly with Captain Blackwood, noted as far up the Fly as he went (which was not far) cultural similarities to "Eroobians" in the Torres Strait (1847, Vol. 1: 29-30). Reverend James Chalmers, too, when he traveled up the Fly River in the late 1890s, heard many personal names "corresponding to those on Saibai and Mabuiag in Torres Strait" (1895: 252). "Baudu," for instance, "Aniba," "Waia," "Ase," "Kogu," "Kogea," "Mesede" and many other names more properly Torres Straitean in origin are fairly common on Daru among Kiwai and even among some Bamu from villages closer to Dibiri island. Beaver notes, too (1920: 174), that the "Pipi" dance performed on Kiwai island was incorporated partly at Mawatta, where the song of Kwoiam (Kuiam, a Torres Strait culture hero akin perhaps to the Kiwai Sido) is sung.

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could not.

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At least during the initial European-promoted inhabitation, Daru appears to have been populated not only with villagers from Coastal Kiwai settlements but from Torres Strait peoples to the west. These were apparently brought partly by missionaries, and partly by pearling rigs and beche-de-mer merchants. These pearling rigs, for instance, took away many a Mawatta and Turituri man, who "used to sail away on the pearling vessels which were continually putting into the river [Bina?] for fresh water and vegetables" (1920: 60). Some who returned to Daru following the cessation of their contracts became "Daru Pioneers" or "Town Kiwai," some of them having taken Torres Strait islander women as wives. Their offspring on Daru now, in ways evident to even me, look different than do most other Kiwai, being slightly lighter in skin color, also very attractive, a bit more round of facial structure, mildly Aboriginal-looking of eye and brow, and often without the characteristic and beautiful aquiline noses and more chiseled looks of Kiwai proper, what Beaver referred to in a different time as "popularly termed the Jewish type" (1920: 61).

These Town Kiwai also appear to do substantially more traveling to Torres Strait islands, as for instance when they travel for gravestone openings and marriages and for celebrations more properly (and still properly) English/Australian, such as Boxing Day. When they do travel, they also sometimes stay on not just for days and weeks on end, as do mainland villagers who come to Daru, but for weeks, months, sometimes even years. Some expressly say that they prefer going to Torres Strait because of the "dry" condition of Daru, that is, that times are often harder, food and money are more frequently scarce, social relations more tense, and so on, on Daru. Some Town Kiwai are mildly castigated

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by "pure" Kiwai for not speaking Kiwai perfectly, for speaking in the "Broken," or what Laade (1971) calls "Jargon English" that some Torres Strait islanders are accused of committing.[37] Speaking generally of my friends and acquaintances, Town Kiwai or the affines of them seemed far more Australianized than did their Kiwai cousins north and east. They used words such as "reckon" and "mate," for instance, and phrases such as "good on you" (pronounced "goodonya") in ways and frequencies that non-Town Kiwai, much less mainland villagers, did not.

Another significant cultural similarity, at least during the immediately pre-contact period, was the adoption by first Coastal then Kiwai Island Kiwai of Torres Strait canoe types, methods of manufacture, and forms of usage. When I asked during census interviews, for instance, about Kiwai/Gogodala, Kiwai/Torres Strait and Coastal Kiwai/Fly River Kiwai/Kiwai Island Kiwai cultural similarities and differences, many respondents mentioned foods and canoes in the same breath. Gogodala, for instance, are not known for being ocean-going folk, for paddling canoes that do not have outriggers.[38] Another several informants noted that Coastal Kiwai (but not Fly River or even Kiwai Island Kiwai) knew how to harpoon momoro (dugong) and gamo (turtle), that Coastal Kiwai knew how to make big canoes with three sails and double outriggers, known as motomoto pe. One informant's great-grandfather had come from Boigu island,

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[37]. On the Radio Torres program I listened to at mid-day, the female announcer spoke in Australian-inflected English with a few half Pidgin pronunciations, or with a few "yumi"s.

[38]. The only ibuwo (tidal bore) I was ever in personally (a minor one) occurred in a trip between Balimo, in the heart of Gogodala district, and an upper Bamu River village. Two of the men in the dinghy had never seen one before. What Gogodala canoes lacked in outriggers traditionally, though, was amply made up for in extensively and beautifully-carved prows and other decorations (see Aida, Crawford 1981).

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and she said that this great-grandfather's people used to trade turtle and dugong meat and harpoons in exchange for Coastal Kiwai-manufactured kundu drums and fine mats. (Peoples as far away as the Bamu, for instance, made use of fine wap [hafted harpoons], ten to fifteen feet in length, made from a very heavy black wood available apparently to Torres Strait islanders but not others.) These Coastal Kiwai, in turn, were middlemen and -women in an exchange of sago with people who lived up the Pahoturi River, at the mouth of which sits Mabuduwan village. Beaver notes that Saibai men (along with those from Boigu) used to sail up the Pahoturi in search of garden foods, the "bushmen" being "paid or not just as seemed good to their unwanted visitors" (1920: 101-02). Beaver's Unexplored New Guinea contains many fine plates detailing Kiwai double outrigger canoes, and he says that "the Kiwai-speaking tribes adopted this style from them" (1920: plate opposite page 32).

Though there could be mentioned more cultural similarities, it is enough for my purposes to note significant cultural borrowing so as to make more understandable the significant social ties that exist to this day on Daru between Daruans and Torres Strait islanders. These cultural similarities undoubtedly facilitate greater likelihood and actuality of travel, for whatever purpose and of whatever duration. Cultural material differences existed as well, of course, and are important to note. Torres Strait islanders neither had land on which sat trees with which to make canoes nor cultivated sago for domestic consumption. For the sago, for other garden foods they did not produce themselves, and for drums, arrows, bird-of-paradise feathers, and boars' tusks they traded a number of cultural materials most valuable to Kiwai and other peoples. Beaver lists

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"shell armlets...pearl-shell crescents, dugong spears, nose shells, various shells used for all sorts of purposes...[and] dogs' teeth" (1920: 75).

social ties

The cultural similarities noted above have implications for a number of prominent social ties between the two areas. For instance, "going for spin" is not just a local phenomenon, but also encodes significant migration to and from Daru and villages for days, weeks, sometimes months at a time. In the immediately pre-European contact period, it appears that the original inhabitants of Daru, the Iamu/Hiamu, had been nearly exterminated by head-hunting raids, and "the survivors journeyed to the islands of Torres Straits" (Beaver 1920: 50), primarily Yam island, it seems. This led of course to renewed or wholly new kinds of sociality obtaining between the two islands. When Beaver "succeeded in acquiring for the Crown all the native rights" (1920: 50, to land on Daru), he had to summon one female owner who had married into a Yam island tribe. Significant ties also existed between Yam islanders and Bineturi folk just north and west of Daru. Beaver writes of a "quite large tract" of fertile garden patches owned by Yam islanders whom he suspects of relating to this land by intermarriage with Bineturi peoples.

Initially, I thought that the significant "spinning" was primarily between Daru, Port Moresby, and the Highlands region, but I came to appreciate that far more travel occurs between Daru, coastal Kiwai villages to the west, and from thence to Torres Strait islands such as Thursday, Boigu, Dauan, and Yam. Some of these coastal Kiwai villagers who make such trips so frequently are thus referred to as "saltwater Kiwai"; one

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joke I heard frequently early on told by non-Kiwai was in regards to how one might obtain a visa to travel between Daru (Papua New Guinea) and Thursday island (Australia), the answer being "a canoe and a half-caste Kiwai."

These social ties have a number of material, often economic implications to them (see below). For instance, the numerous visitors coming and going to Daru, particularly of those who come without visible means of support, often severely strain household social relations. My very first census interview was inordinately strained thus because I asked of this visiting issue and the respondent called out the names of his two brothers who had recently arrived from Yam island (and two wives) who had already stayed "several weeks," of his other brother from elsewhere in the Torres Strait, with kids and wife in tow, another sister who had already stayed for several months with her two children, and another big brother who had recently arrived. He struggled to support this household on a hospital clerk's salary of about 85 kina/fortnight, and complained sometimes that his affines from Torres Strait were too used to living on the dole (as wards of the Australian state) and expected more of the same when they came to Daru.

Significantly, those "used to living" from the dole did not bring with them food or cultural material items, much less money, when they "came for spin," quite unlike, say, mainland villagers who bring sago bundles, watermelon, sometimes tobacco and buai, bilums, mats, baskets, and so forth, in exchange for being allowed to "come for spin" to Daru for short-to-indeterminate periods. No Daruan worth her or his salt would dream of "going for spin" to the village without bringing a panoply of store-bought items, cassettes, a radio (and batteries if possible), soap, Maggi noodles, rice, wash basins, and

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so forth. Another member of a family I was adopted by seemed perpetually on the move between Daru, village, Daru, Yam island, Daru, Dauan island, Daru, Boigu island, and so on--significantly, never to his mainland village of direct origin. I suspect that this was because, being himself in some senses a man without a country, he had nothing to trade on, no money, no presents, and so forth, to "gris" (facilitate) his entry to a village. In addition, he had apparently never worked, and did few if any domestic chores while on Daru.

Though visiting, "going for spin," "coming for spin," and so forth is ubiquitous, it would appear that far more arrive from Torres Strait islands to Daru than vice versa. As well, Torres Strait islanders seem to have far more social, affinal, and even consanguineal ties to other islanders (namely, Daruan) than they do to mainland villagers. Significant travel thus occurs between Daru and Torres Strait islands due to desires that Daruans have to reside temporarily with those "on the dole." Correspondingly, those in Torres Strait already living with those already on the dole, always have the option of easing social and economic tensions somewhat by "going for spin" to Daru. Significantly, spray-painted on the side of one cooperative trade store on Daru was "We survive on unemployment benefits: old habits die hard." This strongly implies a Torres Strait islander artist/critic, since there is no such social security or welfare system for Papua New Guineans.

economic ties

Finally, and not surprisingly, given the above, there are a number of significant economic ties between the two areas. Some of these ties are a long time in the making

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and persist in the face of socioeconomic changes. For instance, though there is now a small fish-processing plant on Daru (Aramina Seafoods) that employs perhaps a score of workers, this is a relatively recent innovation. Until such time as this plant began operations (well into the 80s, I believe), all fish caught by Kiwai commercial fishermen living on or with ties to Daru were disposed of on Thursday island (Handbook of Papua and New Guinea 1964: 247). To take another example, cartons of beer sell for somewhere between twice and four times as much as can cartons of beer be purchased on Daru. Many cartons of beer are purchased weekly for re-sale first in coastal Kiwai villages (primarily Turituri and Mabuduwan) and from thence elsewhere in the Torres Strait. By my reckoning, the price per bottle goes up between roughly fifty toea to one kina in the first re-sale (to coastal Kiwai villagers), and then up again doubly or triply when cartons arrive on, for instance, Dauan, Boigu, and Yam islands.

Another economic tie between the two areas was linked to the above-mentioned cultural borrowing of canoe elements. In Chapter 7 I will discuss briefly the trade in canoes and logs requisite to their manufacture that Bamu peoples were heavily involved in, but suffice it here to note that neither Saibai, Murray, Darnley, nor Thursday islanders apparently had canoes or logs sufficient to make them until trading first with Coastal Kiwai who traded with Kiwai Island and Fly River Kiwai and finally Bamu peoples further east. "As a rule," Beaver notes, "Saibai used to buy from Mawatta and Murray or Darnley from Parama, but at the present day many of the Torres Straits buyers, after having received permission, buy direct from the Fly River traders" (1920: 76). Apparently, then, although Bamu and some Kiwai Island Kiwai groups provided either

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canoes or logs requisite to their manufacture, it was Torres Strait islanders themselves who advanced the technology; as Beaver notes, though the dug-out canoe is a New Guinean, not Torres Strait invention, "if New Guinea gave the dug-out to the Islanders it obtained the double outrigger sailing canoe from them" (1920: 77). Perhaps it was this canoe/canoe technology trade that enable Turituri, Mawatta, and later Mabuduwan tribes to stake claims to fish in the maza (reefs) at least a score miles west of their villages, down into territory that was then and is now across the Queensland boundary. Perhaps what were once canoe-, fish-, and currency-related forms of exchange have been extended recently so as to provide a form of fluctuating or pulsating social security involving the dole, profits from beer-selling, and significant cash obtained in fishing and pisirimai collection.

IIIb. Daru island itself

Next to Daru sits Bobo island. It is uninhabited and without fresh water, but provides much of Daru's firewood (see below). Like Bobo island (or "Bristow," as it is rendered on most maps), Daru is ringed three quarters around by a densely thicketed mangrove swamp, and there are probably fewer than five navigable tidal creeks that can float canoes into the edge of settlements. Daru is 4 kilometers in diameter and egg-shaped, about 2,500 acres in size (Beaver 1920: 48), is comprised largely of bush and scrub-land, and has a relatively small area suitable for intensive gardening.[39] The

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39. Some household gardening of root crops such as taro, yams, and bananas yams is done, and I do not wish to minimize the significant efforts of the men and (primarily) women who labor in these small, not-very fertile, swelteringly-hot plots on a twice or thrice-weekly basis. However, I question the wisdom of cultivating crops grown amidst so much human and animal waste. Similarly, the origin of shellfish (clams and crabs and small crayfish, primarily) was usually ascertained in the marketplace prior to sale. Though only a few hundred meters away, for

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western and eastern ends are completely swampy, and have few if any inhabitants, though "Mosquito Camp" residents live more or less temporarily on the northwest corner, where they live during and between pisirimai-collection expeditions and -processing activities, and from which they depart near daily by outrigger canoes and a few dinghies for the maza. [40] Some Daruans harvest shellfish from the tidal creeks in the eastern end, but these creeks unfortunately drain both the cemetery and the many bush toilets, and so present health hazards. At the northern end is the wharf, stretching from the shore about 400 yards and about 50 feet in length. At this wharf are serviced everything from small boats which ferry food and building materials to and from villages; to fishing and crayfishing boats which anchor nearby; to research vessels which refuel and resupply on Daru; to the larger cargo barges such as the M.V. Burtide and M.V. Burwave, which unload cargo from Port Moresby every 8-10 days.

At the southern end, referred to as "Perfume Point," essentially three kinds of human activity take place. First, this is the point from which many Bamu canoes depart from in their treks across to Bobo island to collect firewood. Second, this is where Daru's

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example, and therefore affected also by circulating human waste, Bobo island crustaceans and shellfish were deemed suitable for eating, whereas Daru's were generally not.

40. Not everyone has access to maza resources, however. A meeting was held on November 13, 1990, for example, at the Montfort Catholic Mission, and this issue was one of many discussed therein. According to an informant, it was "decided" that residents and kin of residents from only two Coastal (as opposed to Fly River and Kiwai Island) Kiwai villages should be allowed to fish and collect pisirimai at the reef. Neither Gogodala nor Fly River Kiwai traditionally made and used outrigger canoes, so didn't sail open seas. Turituri and Mabuduwan villages are the furthest western Kiwai villages and the only two with legitimate claims to maza resources by traditional decree, not including, though, some Torres Strait islanders (field note, 11-14-90, Daru). Parama villagers apparently were the only ones traditionally to fish off of Bampton island, passed on one side by the Toro Passage into the Fly. In Beaver's time, only Mawattans fished there, for some twenty miles westward of Daru (1920: 279).

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several hundred toilet buckets are dumped every few days, and near the part of the ocean into which the island's septic tanks empty. "Perfume" trucks travel up and down the roads in the wards (and in the few corners whose residents can afford toilet bucket removal service), and male workers collect full, reeking buckets, lift them onto the flatbed trucks and then transport them to Perfume Point, whence they are dumped into the sea. (Not surprisingly, this effluvia circulates Daru perpetually, washes up on the beach, and fouls the tidal creeks.) Third, being largely bushy, relatively deserted, and therefore safer and a bit more private, this is an area to which men and women repair for sex and drinking. I saw the Hotel van, Police trucks, FRPG vehicles, and other private vehicles being used for such purposes.

Daru is a primarily flat island, rising to a height of 18 to 20 feet or so just above the wharf (where the Hotel and Premier's residence are), but generally no more than a few feet above sea level. Thus, although shaped and ringed by mangrove just as is Saibai island, Daru is twice as high at its highest point as Saibai. Daru is nowhere near as high as the similarly shaped Dauan island, though, which is visible a long way in the distance for the nearly perfectly conical face it puts forward to expectant sea travelers. High tides come up underneath the houses in Gaima corner and elsewhere, and all of the outlying camps and settlements (see below) flood regularly, if not daily by high tides. Under European colonial instigation, Daru was cross-cut with an extensive system of deep ditches and drains which helped to alleviate the mosquito problem, but they are perpetually fouled by rubbish, motor oil, and waste, as are ditches and drains everywhere. The two seasons I endured on Daru (and elsewhere in the region) were officially

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droughts; daily temperatures seemed to range between about 85 to 95 degrees Fahrenheit with matching humidity usually.[41] Settlements next to the ocean receive refreshing wind, but those stuck underneath or next to palms and mangrove are stiflingly hot and sticky. The rainy season was short and intense in both 1991 and 1992, apparently and uncharacteristically late in the latter. The "normal" rainy season occurs twice between December and May, and the average yearly rainfall on Daru is 81 inches (Blake 1972: 1187), only about one third what it is atop a branch of the Bamu River north and east of Daru. Particularly in 1990-91, days, weeks, and, during one torrid stretch, months went by without any appreciable amount of rain. As I tramped out from the house to conduct fieldwork, recorder, food, condoms, and supplies in tow, the sun burned hot as early as 7:30 a.m. During the water crisis of 1991, the shortage of water was felt even by mainland villagers, living well up the river mouths, whose rivers had lowered, and whose "fresh" water had thus turned salty.

IV. a walking tour of Daru

Though Daru was once perhaps a rather beautiful and nice-smelling place (e.g., Beaver 1920; Riley 1925),[42] it is not now. Indeed, an airline travel/tourist campaign once had as its first prize a one week's, all-expenses-paid stay on Daru...second prize being two weeks (Wheeler 1988: 255)! Apocryphal story or not, tourism is not a primary industry on Daru.

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41. The 1964 Handbook of Papua and New Guinea, 4th ed., enumerates that Daru gets about 90 inches per annum of rainfall (1964: 9).

42. One informant, for example, used to remark continually at how nice it was when she was a small girl, and how Daru is "now, really worse, really worse place."

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Though an administrative center of the region/Division/District/ Province for a century now, Daru has never been home to a great many Europeans, to probably fewer than thirty now. Daru has been home for many decades, however, to quite a few Polynesians, apparently the descendants of the first missionaries who accompanied "Tamate" from Rarotonga. No Europeans inhabited Daru in 1935, says Williams (1936: vi), though surely Benjamin Butcher could not have been missed until about 1939, when he left after 34 years spent on Daru and elsewhere in the District. Several score Europeans inhabited the place by 1964 (as enumerated by the Handbook of Papua and New Guinea 1964).[43] Imagine one of these infrequent, early European residents--a colonial Assistant Magistrate such as A.P. Lyons perhaps, or Daru's first resident doctor, Dr. Boag, or the Assistant Resident Magistrate W.N. Beaver, or the missionaries James Chalmers or Edward Baxter Riley--coming back to life and revisiting Daru in 1990,

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[43]. Finding this document, quite by accident, and the electorate rolls for the South Fly region in 1964 contained therein, really made me wonder what kind of place Daru was just three decades ago. These rolls are rather difficult to fathom in terms of the age, gender, marital status, etc. of those enumerated and thus offer not much in the way of analysis of Daru's occupational class structure at the time. Kiwai/European intermarriage, the adoption of one non-Christian name (e.g., Bessie Waia) or two (e.g., Tom George) makes things even more difficult. Double first, European-sounding names, however, are in my experience almost always those of non-Europeans (e.g., John Ezekiel). In addition, many have adopted names of those Europeans and European things they are not the biological descendants of, e.g., "Mande," "John Lennon,", "Neil Armstrong," "Fraide," "Tamate." "Nelson Mandela" also lives on Daru, an extremely cute son of his wonderful parents Peter and Lizzie.

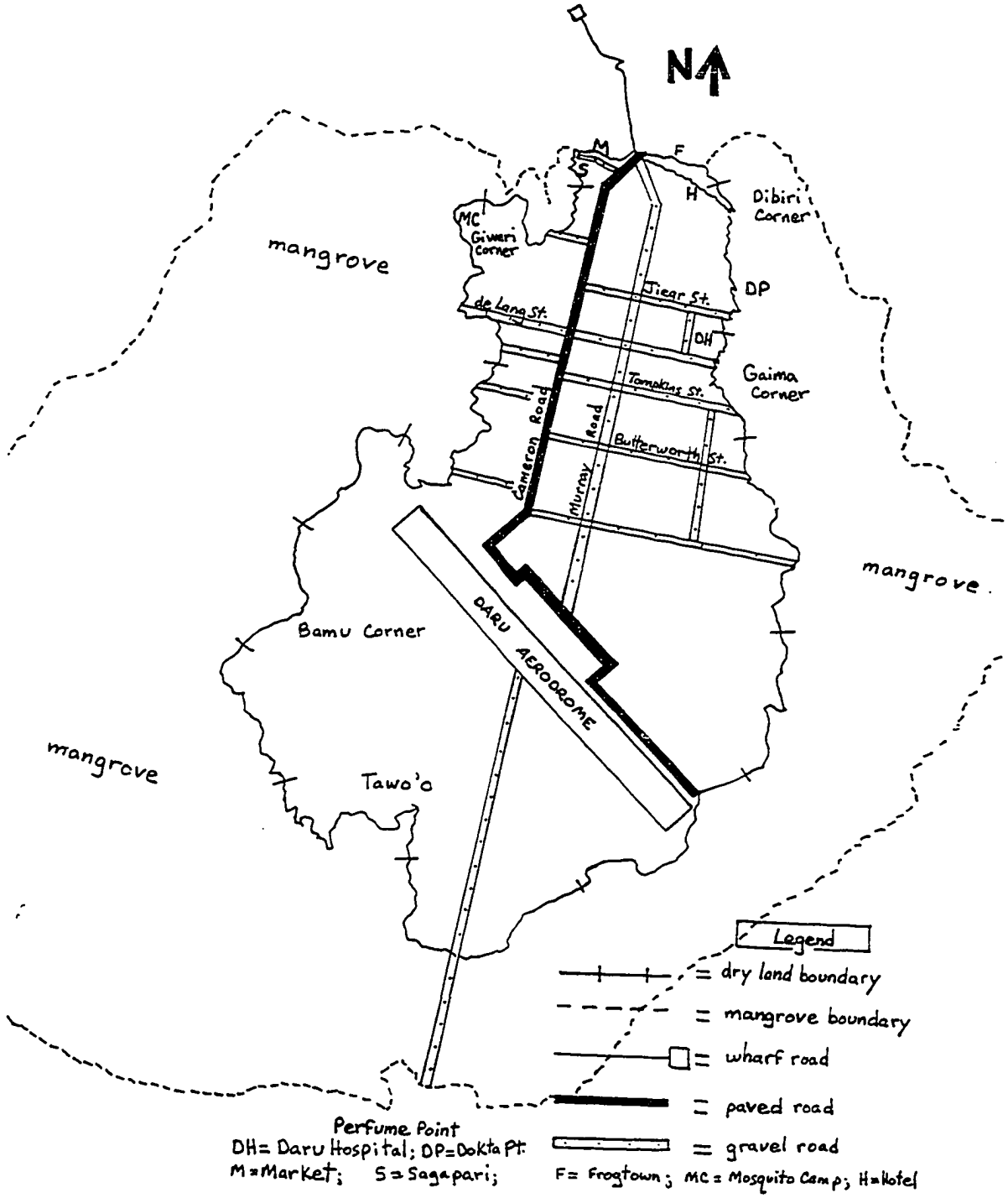
Regarding the rolls themselves, I found 53 occupations enumerated between the 184 voters from Daru. At this point, the only thing worth pointing out is that the only occupation in which non-European females predominated was in the Health Division. There was one European male each in the "Medical Worker," "Medical Practr.," and "Med. Ass't." categories, three non-European male "medical workers," and then only one European male listed under the "H.D." (Health Division) category. Twenty five European females were thus employed, not a single non-European male, but forty six non-European females. If there be an occupation outside of prostitution which on Daru females (none European in this case) predominate in, it would surely be in the medical field.

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arriving at about 4:30 in the morning on the M.V. Burwave. Imagine one of them in 1990, revisiting Daru for ethnographic purposes, duffle bags and backpack, cassette recorders and paper supplies, condoms and STD brochures, and electrical transformer and cooking stove in tow. How would Daru now appear to them?

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Map #5 (Daru)



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IVa. let's go for spin

In order to begin answering this question and thus set the stage ethnographically for chapters to follow, I would like to take the reader on a walking tour (see also Map #5). Visualize if you will Daru as an egg-shaped island, the end of the wharf as positioned at 6 o'clock, and the swamp on the other end of the island, in line with the airport runway, at 12 o'clock. The wharf, built almost wholly by prison labor in the first two decades of this century, extends for several hundred yards, past rusting boats, overturned turtle shells, and several Fisheries and assorted marine resource buildings. Several trucks and mini-vans whiz past, ferrying workers and cargo to and from boats and several local tradestores. Trucks throughout the island kick up choking clouds of dust during the dry season, sheets of mud during the wet. As you near the end of the road, leading away from the wharf, you see a huge satellite dish beaming Australian T.V. and ideas to the Hotel and to the Premier's house up on a hill.

On your left, at what would be 7:30, you might see a Bamu settlement, Dibiri, its 30 or 40 houses up on slender stilts, sides and roofs crudely thatched with the help of bili-leaf bundles, only one water tap in evidence. At that water tap you can look slightly uphill and see a family of four crammed into a hangar-shaped structure, in actuality an overlarge cargo container cut lengthwise and planted almost in the ground, with enough space barely to sit up in. Dibiri corner is now located where once was located sagapari. It is still a significant locale in the sex trade, as men from Dibiri and other corners sometimes accompany their wives and solicit for them in front of the Hotel or to passersby, who then accompany the wives into the bush for K2 sex.

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On your middle left, at about 7:00, much closer in, you see "Frogtown," a largely Kiwai island settlement devoted officially to pisirimai collection and processing, unofficially to cards and Bingo, drinking and prostitution.[44] It has only a couple of watertaps and no toilets, so most take their morning (if the tide is right) constitutionals on the slightly elevated tidal flat a couple hundred feet away which contains a few scraggly mangrove bushes. Right now, it is high tide, so a foot and a half of sea- and rain-water slaps and flows underneath the 75 or so similarly-thatched, but even smaller houses built more sturdily, more closely to the ground. Several dinghies and outrigger canoes are tethered nearby, several barrels are still smoldering from the fires that dried the last batch of pisirimai collected at the maza. They smell unusual and briny (unpleasant to some, not so to others), but neither quite marine nor particularly salty or like seafood. On your immediate left are about 12 large sea-faring outrigger canoes parked up near the road

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44. Frogtown, according to a Malay pisirimai-buyer informant, was named thus because, to him, from the road above it, these Kiwai island village residents, engaged primarily in fishing and pisirimai-collection and -processing, looked like frogs. The local explanation has, I think, more to do with real frogs which, on Daru, at least during the rainy season, create an enormous but an enjoyable din in the evening and following each rain. At night sans flashlight, and particularly following evening rains, I used verily to jump out of my skin as I stepped into, over, but never quite on top of one of these brown-skinned, stipple-backed snake killers. At some point in the 1960s the cane toad (Bufo marinus), was imported to Daru to take care of the extremely venomous Papuan Black Snake (Pseudodechis papuanus) which inhabited bushy areas between residences and shoreline (see Campbell [1967] for a discussion of its incidence and venomous effects). These cane toads have four glands in their back which, when punctured by snake fangs, release an extremely toxic poison. For that reason, Bufo marinus venom is one of the many ingredients in zombi poison in Haiti (Davis 1985). I met a Gogodala woman near Balimo who said that it was one of her "aunties" who brought a sack full of these toads to her village and who is therefore responsible for the profusion of toads in and around Balimo Station. One of the more bizarre sights I encountered once was the several score frogs, large and small, perched on a concrete foundation, next to a wall, underneath a neon light, gorging themselves on the kamikaze flies, insects, and other buzzing creatures. The only occasional snake sighting and killing suggests that these cane toads have in fact been quite effective in keeping the snake population down.

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which runs perpendicular to the wharf, people still sleeping inside them. Whole families are encamped in, on, and next to them, ready for another daily round of selling sago bundles at the market place, or perhaps fish and crabs, garden produce, and pig, wallaby, deer, and sometimes cassowary meat, both fresh and smoked.

Just on this side of them, at about 6:30, between canoes and road, lay another 8 or 10 lean-tos, made out of firewood, blue tarpaulin, cardboard, corrugated tin, and bed sheets, each housing 6 or more inhabitants every night. Smoky fires are still burning, and you can hear sounds of hacking and wheezing, babies crying and mothers comforting them, broken glass crunching under your feet, the first radios of the morning broadcasting news on Radio Western. Soon, perhaps, a female will warm last night's roasted sago over the fire, boil water for tea, and begin serving breakfast.

If you were to back up slightly and shift your gaze to the extreme right, at about 4:30, well down the "beach," you would be able to see another Bamu settlement, Giwari corner,[45] composed of precisely 61 houses, one working water tap, and no toilets, perched rather precariously next to the shore, the muddy beach area strewn with stumps, evidence of the physical changes that have occurred on Daru over the years. This is how I described Giwari corner to myself in a field note after my first visit:

> There was an incredible amount of rubbish and rubbish piles everywhere, with literally an ocean of tin cans and broken bottles and broken shells, dead and decaying batteries, paper, shit, awful smell of pis-pis, etc. The children looked

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45. "Giwari," in Bamu language, means sorcery, or black magic, and relates to the "founding father," so to speak, of all Bamu settlements on Daru. Back in a "Middle" Bamu River village, Miruo, one murderous sorcery specialist was "chased away, and came here to Daru with some cousins and other family. Since he settled there on the beach and he was a sorcery fellow he or they named the corner Giwari" (field note from an unrecorded interview with two Bamu informants, 4-7-91).

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> extremely unhealthy. Many had swollen bellies from malnutrition and probably too much malaria, probably more than a few had parasites. I saw a lot more cases of grille (skin-skin) than I've ever seen before, and many, many sores and some ulcers too on knees and ankles, some as big around as their fists. Now I know why so many [health workers who refuse to visit Giwari corner] had referred to this corner as the peles bilong sikin pukpuk, tukbus, na pekpek [place of grille, prostitutes, and excreta].[46]

Though my evaluation of the physical setting and environmental conditions at this corner never did change, I came to know and love and respect many, many Bamu people. This corner and these people became my personal favorites for many, perhaps inexplicable reasons. I had many, many enjoyable meals and times there. It was an inarguably difficult, insanitary, unhealthy place for Bamu to live, however, and many Bamu are very angry not only at their "elected" leaders but also at those Kiwai and others in town who shun them. These people deserve more and better food, shelter, and services, medical among them.

On your middle right, at about 5 o'clock, you can see a rather large, gaping tidal flat, across which will walk throughout the day hundreds or thousands of townspeople and villagers, going about their business, walking to and from the market, "going for spin," loading and unloading canoes and dinghies. Many of them come straight up to the hardware store or to Aramina Seafoods, Daru's seafood processing plant. At a really low tide you can see broad expanses of flat stone on which to walk, miniature crabs scuttling for cover as you walk over them, and many, many tin cans and bits of broken glass. One tidal creek drains into this tidal flat area, and is barely navigable when the tide is high. Beware if you wear thongs in this stuff, because they may get stuck:

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[46]. 4-7-91, Daru.

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> As the corner is right next to the water it's plagued by high tides, which fill in every conceivable depression, from footprints to tin cans to canoes. The resulting muck is brown to black and grainy, oily and gaseous... I wore my boots there, but then took them off...to show them that I could walk around more or less as they do. I could just feel the worms coming in through the soles of my tender, European feet.[47]

You might even be able to see to the left a large bush area, which you have heard about (we will get to that later). Just to that bushy area's left you can see a hardware store and beyond that, adjacent to the side of the bush area, what looks like an area devoted to male drinking, judging from the number of empty beer cartons and bottle tops strewn about on the ground.

IVb. let's go to market

As you continue down the wharf road, immediately on your right, at about 5:30 you begin to detect the presence of food. A huge rotting pile of fruit skins and pumpkins, grass-woven carrying baskets, and spoiled seafood--fish, clams, and prawns, for the most part--sits behind a second-hand clothing store, in between you and what looks to be the public market. An enormous mango tree provides shade, and its massive exposed roots provide cover and a place to sit on and around. You see a covered building, surrounded and locked by a chain link fence at night, which must be the public market. Inside, outside, and nearby this enclosed market are where villagers from the mainland sell fruits, greens, fresh and smoked meat, fish and shellfish, coconuts, poison root for fishing (Derris scandens? [Beaver 1920: 56]), flour scones, tobacco rolled inside newspaper strips, and garden produce. Coconuts and various sweet bananas are always in season

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[47]. Field note, 4-7-91, Daru. Interestingly, several of my Bamu informants told me that this mucky "beach" used to be sandy and clean but that, owing to animosity between Kiwai and Bamu over activities at sagapari, the former "spoiled" it for the latter by mido.

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and reasonably priced. Mangoes, two kinds of pineapple (one the size of an overlarge rugby ball, but without the prickles of regular pineapples), passion fruit, lemons, watermelon (even yellow ones) and guavas are sharply seasonal but not cheap. Sago bundles in neat rows are stacked both outside of and underneath the market structure. They sell from K5 to K15, and constitute sufficient staple for a large family for several days. Bundles average 8-10 pounds, some double or triple that, and represent considerable effort, mostly female, and substantial ingenuity. There is usually a wide variety of fish and meat available, though townspeople justly complain of high and rising prices.

Rising petrol costs (up to about $5/gallon during my stay) more than anything contribute to these higher prices for marine, forest, and garden resources. Sometimes, and using the Fly River Kiwai names for them, strings of small flying fish (jaberi), or woven baskets filled with tiny shrimp (gagikaisi) and shellfish (ipa) from the mainland are available. Occasionally, often late at night, one can sit on one's patapata and be hailed quietly from the roads and paths by a couple of youngish males selling strings of jaberi suspended from a pole balanced atop two shoulders. Turtle meat (gamo), kaie (crab), and crayfish (ope) heads are other delicacies frequently available, but whole crayfish are usually sold to wholesale buyers who export them. Inside the "meat department," laid out on two waist-high tables 40 feet long in total are often piles of the above, plus various fish, such as bata (barramundi, another export), irona (mudfish), gaisa (catfish), and gabora (shark), and various kinds of meat in fresh and smoked variety, including magani (wallaby), diwari (cassowary), and the valuable Rusa deer (dia)

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and wild pig (pik), names for the latter two of which indicate their relatively recent introduction to the South Fly area. Small children and old men stand guard, shooing flies away, taking coins, greeting people. Markets are fun, and buying meat is always a treat. "Dry" houses, by contrast, have little money and seldom eat fresh fish and vegetables, much less fresh meat.

Down beyond the meat department, in another enclosed, outdoor setting is where betel nut, lime, and mustard are available. Chewing buai (Piper betle) on Daru is an expensive habit indeed, as individual nuts cost 20-50 toea, mustard, or the catkins of another pepper plant, another 10-30 toea, and small sandwich bags of lime another 50 toea to one kina. Lime was once constituted in ground coral or heated and then pounded shell, but nowadays is chemically-produced. This is the lime of which mission-inspired posters and leaflets tirelessly promote the dangers, for the oral cancers it allegedly produces. Bags of buai arrive daily from Port Moresby and elsewhere on Talair and Air Niugini flights, and there is an extremely lucrative business in it, each bag earning potentially a couple hundred kina for its owner.

One thing you might notice with a bit more residence on the island, then, is the availability of cash, though not necessarily its equitable distribution. Apart from the formal employment sector--mostly found in the FRPG, in three tradestores and in stevedore activities, in the school system, and so forth--and outside of prostitution, marketing probably constitutes the biggest income-earning activity on Daru. Unfortunately, the vast majority of marketing is engaged in by non-Daruans (as sellers) from mainland villages. Daruans with money (but no gardens or canoes) and Daruans

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with little or no money (much less gardens or canoes) are equally dependent upon this market for food and are thus captive to high and rising prices. Some "dropped" mangoes (usually green, dropped by throwing sticks and stones up into mango trees throughout the island) provide a little income, as do occasional piles of guava sold three to a bunch. It is usually children and adolescents and older, married, often Bamu women who sell them individually for 10-20 toea each.

This aspect of Daru thus explains much of the growing economic and occupational divisions on Daru. Though Daru does contain some fertile, arable land, there are remarkably few cultivated gardens. What few banana plants there may be growing between houses in the corners seem stunted and not terribly productive. There are also some coconut trees on the island bearing nuts, but I never saw anyone climb them or otherwise drop nuts from them; coconut trees probably provide more income by releasing the sap that is fermented and sold as tuba (see below). Some gardens of yam and taro are cultivated on Daru, but again, they are not major productions. There are a few betel palms, but the nuts they produce are small and apparently not as pharmacologically active as those that arrive daily to the airport. Small garden plots next to or between houses used for primarily household or even occasional consumption are extremely rare. Though I seldom asked so explicitly as to the reasoning why so little gardening or even "household" cultivation was done on Daru, my suspicion is that the reasons are the following: 1) health workers may have rightly discouraged people from making too many gardens likely to be fouled by human and animal waste, 2) periodic high tides over-salinate the soil where many banana trees are planted, 3) theft of bunches

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of bananas and betel nuts are perhaps more likely on Daru than in the villages, and 4) not everyone has title to such potential garden land, but must lay claim to it by exercising long-lasting and -standing ties at least of residence and possibly co-production, if not outright ownership. It could also be that gardening skills, tools, and proclivities are less highly developed on Daru as opposed to in villages. Significantly, what relatively little intensive gardening I did see was for the most part done by primarily villagers likely to stay weeks and months but not forever.

Another income-generating activity for Daruans, though not perhaps quite as lucrative as marketing, is the selling of "iceblock." Iceblock in essence is frozen "cordial," sickly sweet liquid sold by the quart and half gallon in tradestores in four or five colors/flavors. This cordial is diluted, poured into plastic molds, and then frozen. Jibia's Iceblocks, for instance, was one such business located near me, and it employed probably 12-15 people on any given day, either making iceblock or selling them out of Coleman ice chests--or the national equivalent--at the market place, near the rugby oval, and so forth. Virtually any household fortunate enough to have a refrigerator had the potential to make and sell iceblock for special occasions. In addition, though Jibia's seemed the biggest employer of iceblock-sellers, it was not the only one. Those who sold iceblock all day received extremely low wages thereby, however, not often more than about 6-8 kina for their efforts. Iceblock is often sold by families fortunate enough to own a fridge, the proceeds accruing to the kids who sell them or to the youth and church groups who sponsor.

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Back to our walking tour. Standing again at the end of the wharf road, if you decide not to take just yet the right-hand, rocky road in front of the market that leads down to the Hardware Store, you will not find the drinking place, and sagapari. You can not help but see, however, on one side of the road the 40-50 rusting wrecks of cars, trucks, and boats and the small groups of men clustered about and underneath them, drinking, telling stories. On the other side of the road is the crayfish- and barramundi-buying outlet where crayfish divers and fishermen sell their daily catch. There is where their catch is cleaned, prepared, frozen, crated and sold on the international market.

As you continue on down the road, you notice a not-very-well-paved road, Daru's only, which rambles eventually all the way to the airport, about two kilometers away. On the left you notice several dinghies, and clapboard buildings, built during the 1950s and not apparently fixed since then. On your right, and then several yards down on your left, you see two of Daru's three major tradestores, each of which sell small quantities of "fresh" produce from Port Moresby, dairy products such as milk and eggs, cold drinks and bakery goods, garden produce not available on Daru, such as potatoes, tomatoes, and the occasional cabbage, and everything in between, from tin fish and rice to flour to cooking utensils to hardware and school supplies to clothing and radios and cassettes to gardening tools and outboard motors. Adjacent to each trade store is a "kai bar" selling sheep's tongue, sausage, hard-boiled eggs, scones, soft drinks, ice cream, and fish and chips.

Also attached to each, and only open during severely restricted hours, is a liquor shop. Each sells S.P. (South Pacific) beer, several Papua New Guinea-manufactured

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varieties of rum, whiskey, and gin, a limited number of bottles of wine and wine coolers, cheap jug wine, and ridiculously expensive imported brands of "hardstuffs." Cold bottled beer averages K1-1.20/bottle at the liquor shops, K1.20-K1.60 or more at a score or more "black market" establishments for lukewarm beer, K1.60-K2 at both the Police and Correctional Facility clubs, to, eventually, by the end of my stay on Daru, K2.40 in the Hotel lounge bar.

IVc. let's have a beer (or a few million)

The planning, purchase, consumption, and consequences of beer and other forms of alcohol are extremely significant in Daruan life. Daru has the regional, even national reputation as being a boozy town.[48] Because of the centrality and often dire health and social consequences of drinking on contemporary Daru, particularly in terms of its relevance to the sex industry analyzed in chapters 4-9, a short digression is necessary.

My last formal interview on Daru was carried out with the manager of the local store, the one most responsible for alcohol sales to the three licensed larger stores, to the Hotel, to the Police and C.I.S. clubs, and to other licensed beer outlets. Roughly 70% of all the arriving beer, he said, is sold to the above licensed businesses, and about 30% is sold throughout the week to the three major shops. When asked about beer sales and

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[48]. See, for instance, novels by the expatriate Australian author now with a Papua New Guinean name and citizenship, John Kolia. One novel (lost on the way home and whose title I thus cannot remember) has a protagonist named Daru, a youngish, Kiwai, hard-drinking fellow with criminal experience. Daru has apparently been plagued, however, by alcohol over-consumption for much of its history as a colonial administrative center. Jmai (1901: n.p.) noted, for instance, at the turn of the century that Daru was troubled "a good deal of late" by Europeans "supplying grog to natives," which constituted at the time a twenty pounds fine. I recently met (9-23-95) here in Portland a Peace Corps volunteer once stationed for two years in Madang who apparently heard early on as well of Daru's reputation as a hard-drinking town.

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frequency of cargo barge shipments, he said that the (precise) average weekly shipment (he happened to have, fortunately for me, the figures in front of him as we spoke) was 59,040 bottles and cans of beer.[49] This average total, however, he pointed out, was doubled during the two weeks of the Mei Show and of the Independence Celebrations each year. Moreover, this average total was tripled during the six weeks of the Christmas/New Year holiday season, again, each year, almost to the number. My stay in the country (a total of 81 weeks) overlapped two sets each of these various holidays. There were, therefore, 12 weeks of tripled beer consumption (two six-weeks-long Christmas/New Years holidays) and 8 weeks of double beer consumption (two two-weeks-long celebrations during the Mei Show and Independence Celebration). In addition, there were 61 weeks of "normal" beer consumption at 59,000 per week. The

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[49]. Field note, 3-26-92, Daru. I do not count consumption of "hardstuff" (or spirits), wine, methylated spirits (the group drinking of which has led on Daru and elsewhere in Papua New Guinea to several cases of blindness, hospitalization, and even death) or the locally-produced, fermented coconut-shoot sap known as tuba. Nor do I count the drinking of one form or another of gamada (Piper methysticum), known elsewhere in Polynesia as kava, yangona/yanqona, etc. Beaver (1920: 92-95) suggests that gamada was once a lot more commonly consumed, sometimes to stupefaction, than ethnologists have suggested. Tuba is made by attaching a dirty (bacteria-laden) plastic container (usually of "cordial") to a cut coconut palm spathe, into which drips a sap which ferments for three to four days and is then sold for 1K/bottle. It is not unpleasant to drink (indeed, young tuba is used to nourish babies in the Carolines [Bates and Abbott 1958: 76]), but there is some truth to the contention of one informant that when imbibed too heavily, tuba makes one "singaut olsem dok, va, na pispis long pans" ("bark like a dog and pee your pants"). Marshall reports (1979: 52) that local Trukese traditionally made achi, the Trukese equivalent of tuba, and learned to make viis, or "homebrew," from the contents of yeast packets mixed with sugar and water. In my experience tuba-drinking led to surlier attitudes, to more domestic quarrels and wife-beatings, and to more frequent, poorly-mimicked kung-fu fighting. There is, nevertheless, quite an informal sector production and sale of it (e.g., field note, 4-9-91, Daru). I did not find any elderly informants who remember drinking gamada, and I do not know whether frequent over-consumption of it can be said at all to have "predisposed" Kiwaians towards over-consumption of alcohol. Beaver notes, anyhow (1920: 171-72), that while even in the 1880s Sir William MacGregor thought gamada drinking to be a potential remedy against growing alcohol abuse, the former was beginning to appear to be "just as harmful."

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total number of beers consumed on Daru, then, during the period encompassing my stay in the country from July 30, 1990 to April 30, 1992 was an estimated 6,277,000.

For argument's sake, and remaining purposely conservative in my estimates throughout unless otherwise noted, I will assume that the real population total of Daru is 16,000, or roughly double the "official" census count. Again, for argument's sake, and even though the census figures show a more even sex ratio, let us assume that 60% (or 9,600) of those 16,000 are male, and that 60% of those 9,600 (or 5,760), are over the age of 17 and therefore are of drinking age. Of course, some beer is sold and consumed off-island, some women drink, a few of them drink a lot, and some under age-17 males also drink. But the vast majority of females do not drink at all, nor do a significant minority of males in my experience, particularly the more avidly church-going,[50] so we shall retain the figure of 5,760 Daruan male drinkers. Remember, too, that in the spirit of my conservative estimation I will not count wine, "hardstuff," tuba, or methylated-spirit consumption.

Now, given 81 weeks of residency in the country and 6,077,000 beers sold during that time, there were something like 74,938 beers sold weekly. This works out to roughly 13 bottles of beer weekly per male drinker, or 26 per fortnight. Twenty six beers per

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[50]. Though I do not have the empirical figures to prove it, there would certainly appear to be sharp denominational differences in terms of food, tobacco, betel nut, and, in view of my purposes here, alcohol consumption. Put briefly, the evangelical churches (Seventh Day Adventist, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Evangelical Church of Papua, New Life Church, and so forth) discourage smoking and drinking. The United Church mission, however, and the Catholic Church to a lesser extent, have no such explicit or explicitly followed sanctions. In contrast, say, to Trukese on Moen island in Marshall's Weekend Warriors (1979), one does not necessarily have to give up smoking and drinking in order to become powerful in a religious hierarchy if one is "United," where "everything is free," i.e., where smoking and drinking are not expressly forbidden.

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fortnight may not sound all that impressive or dangerous in terms of health and social consequences,[51] but three factors bring this figure into sharper relief. First, I have remained conservative in my estimates throughout, and I suspect the true figures of consumption per male drinker are substantially higher. Second, although beer is purchased and consumed seven days a week, much beer-drinking is binge-style, organized around paydays,[52] and is therefore frequently more drunken and violent. Third, money spent on beer and uba pe is not spent on food, clothing, household items, in-laws, and school fees, which become then the sources of many domestic quarrels. If the average fortnightly pay packets for laborers (grass cutters, "yard boys," janitors, security guards, etc.) are somewhere between K50-80, if they are somewhere between K90-100 for clerks, teachers, Police and Correctional Staff, and lower-ranking officials, then somewhere between one quarter to one half of many salaried males' pay packets are going towards beer. Now, of course, some crayfish divers and fishermen often make

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51. Assuming even a population of 16,000, per capita beer consumption is still astonishingly high. With "normal" beer consumption as our guide, 3,068,000 beers (1,089,140 liters, 286,615 gallons) are sold annually. Divided by 16,000, that is slightly over 68 liters (nearly 18 gallons) per annum per capita. Were we to divide those three million plus beer bottles by the "official" estimate of Daru's population (8,960), that would equal 121 liters (nearly 32 gallons). These figures, of course, do not include spirits, wine, and tuba consumption, nor do they include inflated figures during holiday periods. By contrast, Marshall (1979: 44, table 8) notes that Japanese in Japanese Mandated territories (Micronesia) consumed roughly 55 liters (about 14.5 gallons) of "beverage alcohol" per annum per capita. For an example closer to home, in 1975, Nevada led the United States in adult per capita alcohol consumption with a figure of only 42 liters (11 gallons) (Marshall 1979: 44). So, whether one takes the figure driven by a conservative census figure (121 liters per annum per capita) or the one driven by a more liberal estimate (68 liters), alcohol consumption on Daru is clearly high.

52. "Government" payday makes money available to workers (and potential drinkers) from Thursday afternoon onwards, every two weeks; "blue" day (the Thursday/Friday of "loose week") is the payday of construction and contract workers, and follows essentially the same schedule, but in-between government paydays.

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more than this, and some higher-ranking officials and businessmen make a lot more than this, but then again, neither are most Daruan males working for regular pay packets (and many pay packets are even less than K50 fortnightly). Also, a goodly sum of money is by definition spent by males on their mates' drinking habits, "shouting" each other and thus confirming sociality and its expectations and obligations. Buying "black market" beer at inflated prices at midnight depletes household coffers more, as does the purchase of "credit" beer, putting households ever deeper into the hole,[53] not just financially but interpersonally as well.

Id. continuing on

Now that we have considered several aspects of drinking, and now that we have passed the alcoholic hub of the town's center, let us continue on down Daru's paved road. On your left, you pass a bakery, an as yet unopened restaurant, the Mormon church mission located next to a Filipino pisirimai-buying business, and then, the Oval, the sports ground at which rugby and soccer, and less often, basketball and (once only) softball are played, and at which National Independence is usually celebrated. This oval now is overgrown and unfortunately ratty-looking, strewn as well with cans and paper. On your right, you see another, new pisirimai-buying and -processing outlet. This more than others has angered residents because of the foul smell, noise, and long-burning fires

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53. During my stay, canteens seemed to spring up and go out of existence virtually overnight. By far the biggest problem for owners of such is outstanding credit. When I asked to look at the books of some, it was not uncommon to find totals of several hundred kina outstanding, leading not only to financial collapse of these small ventures but to periodic flare-ups of hostility. Those extending credit, however, were often accused of being greedy; zelasi (jealousy) results from the fact of canteens, their existence, not necessarily practices and relations arising therefrom. Having it made known, however, that one does not pay one's debts is even worse, and one's social credit goes down accordingly, necessitating sometimes, unfortunately, further requests.

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directly next to their homes. Beginning now on your left and right are roads cut perpendicular to the main road which take you into the many "corners" where approximately 75% of all Daruans live. Most of these corners have "shortcut" names. Turituri corner, for instance, is known as "T corner" or "TT" or "T squared." Packed-dirt and stone-strewn streets and paths provide major pathways, and, as everywhere, ditches and drains overflow with kids, tin cans and paper, motor oil and broken glass, food scraps and old thatching. Youth and church groups, however, periodically organize to cut grass and clean ditches and drains. These corners are organized primarily by village of origin, so there are, for example, beginning at the back of the hardware store mentioned above, and extending for a half kilometer or so, Sepe, Agobaro, Oromosapuwo, Iasa, Ipisia, Samari, Parama #s1-3, and other Kiwai Island Kiwai corners. In between are small, scattered Bine corners with a few houses each, such as Boze. Two coastal Kiwai villages--Turituri and Mabuduwan--are represented here, contiguous to one another, directly behind the hardware store, near another trade store. These corners abut sagapari, and residents often offered me "glimpses of the unmentionable" from their patapata.[54] Scattered throughout the island at, say, from the perspective of the wharf road, 1 o'clock, 2 o'clock, 4:30, and 7:30 are four Bamu corners: Dibiri and Giwari corners, Tawo'o (a popular bush area for drinking and sex) and "Bamu corner" proper, the latter seemingly the most prosperous of the four). There are also "mixed" corners, such as Gaima (at 8:30), which house immigrants from Kiwai, Bamu, Gogodala, Suki, Morehead, Pahoturi,

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54. With my apologies for lifting the title of Edmund Leach's lovely essay (1984).

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Kiunga, and other villages and regions, and "Wesco," named after the West Papuan refugees who settled here on Daru into one corner in the early and mid-1980s.[55]

If you follow this road out towards the airport, towards Bamu and Tawo'o corners, you will eventually begin to see on your left the Evangelical Church of Papua mission, and on your right many well-kept, blue-trimmed houses occupied by members of Police force and their families,[56] the Police Club, Daru High School and its court yard, classrooms, and dormitories, Daru Montfort Catholic School and compound, and eventually, twisting and turning around this road, the Waterboard, to which people pay their water bills, several large businesses, and then the airport, one of 83 airstrips of one size or another in the province serving a population of 108,000 (Papua New Guinea 1990: 3).

Here at the airport, Talair and Air Niugini each have several flights daily to and from Daru. Various mission aviation flights also embark and disembark, and occasional flights are chartered from Daru to game parks and tourist resorts elsewhere in the region, such as the Bensbach Lodge. Talair has also recently opened up a direct link to Thursday island in the Torres Strait.[57] Now that you have neared the airport area and have thus

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55. Why oh why did I not investigate this corner and its people?

56. This Police Compound is one of four on Daru, the other three being Hospital, C.I.S., and Elcom, composed of health worker, correctional facility, and power plant staff and their families, respectively.

57. A few female informants spoke with disdain of this new link, owing to the legendary drinking and sexual exploits of "dose T.I. [Thursday island] pamukus," infamous partly for shouting men beer and proposing sex to them. Haddon (1904: 222), for instance, writes that in Torres Strait communities generally, "It was the custom for the young women to propose marriage to the young men," and that the custom "still lingers on in a modified fashion." It could be that, because so many marriages during the recent historical period were of a rather temporary union nature, females saw it as in their interests to get married quickly and establish whatever

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left the primary residential hub of Daru you can see it for what it is--a largely uninhabited, open-scrub-in-the-middle and mangrove-swamp-surrounding-it island. Most of the population density is concentrated on our clock face between 3:00 and 7:00. There are residences scattered throughout the bushy areas, most of which are owned by expatriate businessmen, some of whom have married Papua New Guinea women and raised families here, but again, these are scattered and not very numerous.

If, walking back from the airport, you decided to cut diagonally across Sikani Bus (a most popular drinking and sex place), you would eventually emerge at the end of two more roads, unpaved, which more or less parallel Airport Road all the way back to the wharf. To your right lay the C.I.S. Compound and a popular mango-dropping bush area. These roads are cross-cut by several other unpaved roads, dusty beyond belief as Works, Hotel, and Karuame and Daru Trading trucks whiz past. These roads become almost comically muddy and hazardous during the rainy season (imagine me standing in flip-flops, bending over tentatively to pick up condoms on a mogully, muddy, slicker 'n snot road, books, posters, and pamphlets slung in a bilum over one shoulder, other equipment slung in another bilum over the other, on my way to an AIDS video show...). Lining these streets are the more permanent tract-style houses, some rather nice sitting atop iron stilts, many with flower gardens and shade trees, hibiscus, and the occasional banana plant. The residents strewn throughout these streets comprise Daru's two major "wards":

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claims they could over male earnings from sea cucumber, pearling, and other ventures (cf. Rivers 1904: 235). Two of fifteen male informants during "sexual life history" interviews recounted trips to Thursday island and recall having been shouted beer and propositioned sexually thereafter. I believe that these facts may have some bearing on why it is that Daruan "bigshots" were particularly anxious to have this Talair link established.

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Karekare ("KK Wod," with its own community school) and Boumana ("Bombex," named after the correctional facility in Port Moresby, at which are housed many of the longer-term, harder-core criminals.[58]) Boumana on Daru is where C.I.S. is located.

Were one to do a class analysis of contemporary Daru, Daru's "middle classes" would surely be found here in the wards.[59] These houses and compounds have lawns, for starters, which is a welcome feeling indeed compared to the dirt, gravel, hot pavement, glass, and underbrush of the remainder of Daru. Most bush and grass is cut with the ubiquitous grass-knife, swung expertly, low to the ground, person bent at the waist, hand on the small of the back, palm up. A few families own a lawnmower, and whenever I came close to napping on those hot afternoons, the smell of grass, the sound of lawnmowers, and the buzz of small planes circling lazily in the distance made me reminisce of summers in my hometown thirty years ago. Most of these houses have at

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58. During my stay, the Correctional Institution known as Boumana was closed down once because of the health risks it posed to prisoners. Ironically, it was during the height of the murder spree and the water crisis when all of Daru's prisoners were loaded onto planes and taken to Port Moresby. Some townspeople thought this the height of insanity.

59. Jean Guiart proposed three decades ago (1963) a kind of pyramidal, quasi-class analysis of Noumea, New Caledonia. Though at the time he lacked much empirical support for such an analysis, he proposed several things about Noumea then that strike a chord in me regarding Daru. First, the "most powerful group" was the fewer than 20 expatriate technical, administrative and financial personnel not in good contact socially with "grassroots." The second level of this "irregular pyramid" was constituted by "members of the older-settler families," among them being counted those who directed commercial activities. The third or base level of the pyramid was actually constituted by three other levels, the middle class, the working class, and a sort of under-class, which he said was comprised of "poor whites" [of whom there are few on Daru], unemployed Melanesians [of whom there are many], and a few prostitutes of various origins [of whom there are many]" (Guiart 1963: 31, 28-31). Although I find the prospect intriguing, of doing a sort of classical marxian analysis of Daru in terms of differential access to the means of production, of a corresponding set of social relations of production, and of corollary forces of production which mystify inequalities built into two prior categories, such a project lays in the future. I find much useful in Guiart's analysis, however, in terms of social, technical, and commercial criteria.

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least nominal electricity, they have more water taps per person, they have more or less regular toilet bucket removal, and they have quite a lot more space, clean air, and clean surroundings within which to work, play, and live. These wards are generally where the more affluent Daruans live, where the public servants, retrenched workers, FRPG staff, businessmen, police, and so on, have purchased lots and nicely maintained them.

Another significant income-generator on Daru for some are the probably several score or more "canteens" (really small tradestores) that can be found up and down each street, spread throughout wards and corners. Some of these tradestores sell only a few items (seemingly only to themselves; some corners have half as many tradestores as there are houses), but others have regular dairy and beer deliveries and freezer facilities for cold drinks and chickens. Some sell lantern mantles, scones, razor blades, soap and tin fish, and fewer sell buai, Maggi noodles, large sacks of rice, and small amounts of school supplies.

Continuing down these sometimes shady and better-kept, gravelly lanes you will also find posted handbills advertising video showings and prices for that evening, dance parties and other fund-raisers. These, too, generate income, though much of it goes to charitable causes such as church and youth groups. Lots of houses are these days selling bundles of "second-hand" clothing; bought by the lot, sometimes on consignment, these bundles of largely unused but irregular, sometimes "pre-owned" clothing can be sold sometimes for handsome profits. They are often purchased by relatives who travel to and from Port Moresby, but are especially prized if they come from Indonesia for their relative cheapness and more exotic designs (in the case of t-shirts at least).

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Everywhere and anytime one will see mostly women sweeping, cleaning, burning the trash from around and otherwise tending to their lean-tos, shelters, houses, yards, and corners, trying to keep themselves, their residences, and their families as clean as humanly possible under often extremely difficult circumstances. At each water tap you can see people cleaning the morning's dishes, baby's face, and father's work shirt; some watertaps double as showers, rigged to garden hose and shower head. Yards and compounds are generally swept in the morning, somewhere between first cock's crow and the first fire of the day, and sweeping is almost solely the province of female labor. Cook houses are attached to if not separate from living/sleeping spaces, and these elevated haus win (in Melanesian Pidgin) provide in the evenings some relief from the normal heat and added heat of cooking fires, as well as the locus for the card-playing and "storying" that make the days and particularly nights bearable. Daru can be an extremely pleasant place to be at night in and around these haus win, after the sun goes down, after the last na'ati (Kiwai=mosquito) has hung it up for the day, as the evening meal settles into belly, and as aunties and bubus (grandparents) emerge for a few minutes of well-deserved rest and much appreciated story telling.

Continuing down these roads and streets you will eventually pass the radio station and transmitter field. "Radio Western" broadcasts for about an hour each in the morning and evening in the country's three lingua franca--English, Pidgin, and Motu. They broadcast everything from national and sometimes international news, to messages intended for villagers anxious to hear news of court appearances, births and deaths, and of canoes and dinghies going back and forth between Daru and coastal and inland

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villages. Musically, 1960s country-western seems to predominate. Not much liking Christmas anyway, I was inordinately disoriented during each of the two 6-weeks-long Christmases I spent on Daru, since 1960s country-western Christmas music infested the airwaves morning and evening. Sleigh bells, hot toddies, snow drifts, and Santa Claus seemed absurd possibilities while swatting na'ati and swarms of flying ants which descend upon Daru in November/ December (cf. Beaver 1920: 25). It seemed absurd to ponder bundling up one's toes against the likely nipping ravages of Jack Frost all the while mopping sweaty brow and neck, and trying unsuccessfully to keep too many visiting villagers not used to toilets out of mine. Tapes of "The Porter Wagoner Show" circa 1963-68 (some featuring an unusually perky Dolly Parton) were usually broadcast alongside small slices of pop from Australia and news from the FRPG.

Reaching the end of either of these two roads which dissect KK Wod and Bombex lengthwise, one can either take the right-hand fork and go past, on the left, the Police Station and jail, and on the right, the Daru Hospital and compound, or, take the left-hand fork which cuts up and over a hill, next to the United Church mission station, and down onto Mangopari Road. The latter road is lined with the immense mango trees planted several decades ago by or at the command of early European residents. This road takes you past the bulk of the Provincial Government buildings, two community schools, some nice and heavily barricaded housing, a third, cooperative store which opened and closed several times throughout my stay, several more buai-selling locales, and eventually down into the Post Office at the junction, across the street from one of the two banks on Daru.

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From the Post Office issue salim moni kwik, wired money transferrals. While I have not the empirical data sufficient to sustain the argument, salim moni kwik seems an often used service on Daru. I suspect that more than half of the time money is sent to Daruans, typically from Port Moresby, perhaps also from Torres Strait, because people spoke more frequently of this direction. Nevertheless, since Daru is the provincial capital, since fish, crocodile skins, crayfish, and sea cucumber are bought and sold here, and since guns and drugs are smuggled through here, money must surely be sent from Daru as well. My sense, too, is that remittances are not sent necessarily only via salim moni kwik or even through the salim moni not so kwik (regular mail), but rather delivered by hand, as when mainland villagers depart from Daru to the villages, or when Daruans periodically visit the villages, as during holiday.

If you take the former road, past the hospital compound, you will walk up to the highest point on Daru, occupied by the Catholic Mission station and Church, and eventually past "Dokta Point" where health workers and administrators live, and which looks down on Dibiri corner, the old location of sagapari, which can be glimpsed from the exactly opposite direction while standing on the wharf road. "Dokta Point" once had somewhat of a double-meaning, the other of which referred to some of sagapari's clientele, the male health workers who came down during breaks and lunch and following payday for K2 sex, sometimes in exchange for antibiotics, so I was told. I can say from direct observation that they still go there, but it is now a markedly longer walk to and from.

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Winding around the road a bit you will see the Premier's residence and the back end of the Hotel. Down the hill a bit, nearing the wharf and at the junction with Mangopari Road, you will find Daru's Post Office and a residential/business compound known, sometimes not very affectionately, as "Soweto." Some of its residents are considered to be among the Town Pioneers, the second- and third-generation descendants of European/Kiwai/Torres Strait marriages, and they are both a little bit feared and a little bit scorned for their partying ways, alcoholic behavior, for driving too fast and kicking up dust, and for mistreating women and longlongs. Despite this, their parties and dances are often anticipated eagerly.

We have now just about done a complete circuit. At this junction you can stare across at the Bank and at the major trade store near which we began our walking tour of Daru. If you turn right at the Post Office, walk down past the other hardware store and kai bar, and then turn right again, you will be walking parallel to the shoreline, past the lean-tos and canoes which greeted you from the entrance to the wharf road. On your right is the steep, gravelly driveway to the Hotel, and to its right, set back a bit, is the public tavern. This "grassroots" hangout has "snooka" tables and a video monitor for sporting events, and sells cold beer more to "grassroots" than to "bigshots" who generally prefer to drink at the lounge bar inside the Hotel or in the privacy of their own homes. The Hotel itself is owned by the FRPG, but is managed by an expatriate couple not often seen off the Hotel grounds.[60] Lining each side of or just inside the Hotel driveway,

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60. Expatriates generally do not show themselves on the street or in public places. Every several weeks I seemed to meet yet another expatriate or couple whom I had never seen before. Expatriate store owners, for example, or retired/retrenched expatriates, lived in houses connected to and protected by, or hidden at the back of their stores and businesses, or else on their fishing

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throughout the day, but particularly around paydays, are individual and small groups of Bamu women, sometimes accompanied, sometimes not by their husbands, who solicit for them. Laborers, village men and boys, and occasionally groups of work mates sometimes solicit these women, and they walk further down the road, past "Frogtown," between the road and the shoreline, into the bush areas to the right of Dibiri corner (see Chapter 7).

These, then, are the major structural, business, and residential features, and this is the physical layout of Daru town. Probably 70-75% of Daru's inhabitants live in one of the approximately 25 corners, and another (10-15%) live in one or another ward, primarily Boumana and Karekare. Perhaps 8% or so live in more temporary camps and settlements ringing the northwestern and northeastern shores of Daru, and the remainder, on any given day, live on or around canoes perched precariously at the "canoe place." Most come to Daru to sell meat and garden produce and remain to buy store-bought foods and other items to bring back to the village.

Another extremely important aspect of the local political economy concerns firewood collection and sale. Although it is not true to say that the entirety of the local wood supply is provided by Bamu labor, skills, and persons, nevertheless, they predominate in this important income-generating activity. As stated above, though some wood is collected from Daru's bush, the vast majority comes either from bush across from Daru near the Oriomo River mouth or from neighboring Bobo island. In this firewood

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boats. Weekends they infrequently emerged to drive the several hundred yards up to the Hotel for dinner. Except for an occasional white visitor, I only rarely saw expatriates at the market or in stores, much less in the corners and settlements, socializing, eating, gambling, drinking or storying with nationals. At Independence in 1975, I was told, there was a mass exodus of the European population, but I do not know how many left Daru (or how many remained).

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collecting business, residents from all four Bamu settlements predominate. They leave on a daily-to-weekly basis from a point on the southeast end of Daru, and paddle several hundred yards across to Bobo. This is usually the work of smaller groups of men, though married couples and the occasional individual man sometimes paddle across, too.

Having disembarked at Bobo, they scout out likely cedar trees, cut them down, bring them back to Daru by canoe, and then set to splitting, chopping, and eventually bundling and tying them into K1 and K2 sizes. Smaller bundles will last a medium-sized family for a couple of days, and the larger ones for three to four. In many cases, the husband's task is merely to deliver the trees to the wife, who then performs virtually all the labor thereafter. In Giwari and Dibiri corners, for instance, I frequently saw women reducing half-chopped trees into bundles, tying them off, and carrying them away. Actual sale of firewood bundles is a completely female task. Nearly every day, one can see Bamu females, old to young, carrying multiple bundles of firewood on their backs, tumplines across their heads, neck cords straining with the weight, not so much up and down roads but in between houses, generally walking between kitchens, from haus win to haus win. Along with kerosene primuses, which must be fed increasingly expensive kerosene and which cost money to begin with, firewood is the primary fuel supply for the majority of Daruans. Its collection, processing, sale, and usage evinces some of the socioeconomic cleavages on Daru hinted at above. As with many other consumption patterns, those who must sell firewood in order to survive, do, and those who do not have to collect it themselves and can afford to pay for it, do not.

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Another two income-generating activities deserve mention here. First, there is the purchase and sale of crocodile skins. It is for the most part native Papuans who are fronted sums of money, often provided with dinghies, supplies, and sometimes helpers, and are instructed to collect skins by roaming the villages and waterways of the south coast, extending sometimes well up into Suki, Nomad, and Morehead areas, sometimes up as well into Bamu River regions. They purchase as many skins as they can, then come back to Daru to sell them and reap their rewards, pay off their sponsors, if any, gear up for the next trip, and set off again in a few days. Though this is not an employment option for very many Daruans, it does generate significant income and is, perhaps inherently, given the personal characteristics of its practitioners and the large amounts of money involved, linked to the sex industry. Most of these dealers are not Kiwai or from Daru, and few seemed upon questioning to be married. They are accordingly perhaps able to choose drinking and sexual company with relative impunity. It will be seen below, for instance, in the following chapter, that the highest average number of beers purchased per drinking/sexual encounter were paid for by crocodile skin dealers, upwards of 39 per encounter, double if not triple what, say, village men pay. Accordingly, said some female informants, these dealers pay more for sex, too, particularly soon after being paid.

Second, there is the collection, bundling and sale of bili-leaves, used in food preparation (to roast delicious sago-based dishes in) and as thatch for housing purposes. Most of the bili-leaves on Daru come from the bush near the mouth of the Oriomo River, and to my knowledge this labor, too, is mostly Bamu. Not all Bamu people have equal

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access to such bush, though; Torobina and Bunigi villagers, apparently, were not involved in a set of strategic marriages made at some point in the recent past which allowed Bamu access to land and water on the mainland opposite Daru. Nevertheless, those who do have such access are able to sell bundles of bili-leaves for K15-30/bundle. The fact that Bamu (an ethnic group, not a class in the marxian sense) predominate at the bottom rungs of Daru's socioeconomic ladder--by selling bili-leaves, firewood, sex, and empty beer bottles--is evidence not only of the increasingly class-riven nature of contemporary Daru but of possible limitations of traditional means of class analysis.

Bamu are virtually precluded from the formal employment sector due to educational, social, geographical, and even historical disadvantages. However, it could be argued that, outside of the formal sector anyway, it is Bamu who generate the most income per capita compared to all other ethnic groups, that it is Bamu (women there, men here, couples there again) who are the most industrious. This is not to suggest that their material and social positions are thereby greatly improved, but to point out that laziness is not a Bamu trait, although many husbands of tu kina orobo (see Chapter 7) drink and play cards and do little otherwise. Bamu collect empty beer bottles, they cut and collect and sell firewood, they sell small quantities of kerosene, they gamble, and above all, they engage in the selling of female sexual services. Though it will take subsequent fieldwork stints perhaps to support this, I believe that for the most part, Bamu people enter into the sex industry not of their own "choosing" so much as but due to the fact that there are so few other income-generating options available to them, either on Daru, or in their own villages.

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Stigmatized already for being at the bottom of the heap politically and socially, Bamu nevertheless reproduce themselves, under admittedly horrific conditions, in the sex industry until such time as other options present themselves. In some instances it means a mass exodus back to the village, in others, another mass exodus to another timber camp or sawmill in the province. In my view, prostitution is not intrinsic to Bamu ethnic identity, but it does generate necessary income. Within these parameters, men's control of women's sexuality is key to understanding the reproduction of these labor forms, but women's labor--sexual, for the most part, as in this case--is the fundament of the entire system. These points will be demonstrated in far greater detail later, primarily in Chapter 7).

IVe. an unfortunate aspect of social life

There are many other features of contemporary Daruan life that add character to the local scene which I could mention here, many pleasant, some uniquely Papuan, others unforgettable. I will add only one, rather double-sided feature to this brief portrait, and that is the number of "mentals," "longlongs" (in Melanesian Pidgin), karatai (Kiwai for crazy), and so on--the mentally disabled--who walk around day and night throughout Daru. Some may in fact be the victims of organic, genetic, or congenital disease (cerebral malaria is an acknowledged factor, according to health workers with whom I spoke). Nevertheless, many longlongs are rumored to have been poisoned by spouses, family members, or Daru residents, either because of zelasi (jealousy) or because of perceived greediness or some other character flaw, i.e., having other wives secretly,

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being the only person in a family or household to get into high school or get a job. In any event, they are a prominent and unusually sad feature of contemporary Daru.

For reasons to be made clearer below, I will mention here six persons considered by locals to be longlongs, three men and three women. The first, sort of a cross between a leaner Ernest Hemingway and a more tan Karl Marx, is rumored to have once been a vital man, intelligent, and employed in a FRPG office. He was allegedly poisoned by his second, Daruan Kiwai wife who did not, until too late, find out about his first wife from Rabaul. He now sleeps in the morgue at night and wanders throughout the day, clothes and body in tatters. In exchange sometimes for leaving the scene or for not creating one, he is given coins, tobacco, soft drinks, and occasionally food. He can be violent, and threw rocks at me and at others several times. He is also a rather interesting and undeniably prolific scribbler of graffiti everywhere, some with an under-acknowledged political, social content. Some of his graffiti mixed themes of European men, Kiwai female genitalia, and V.D., of unemployment, and of "prostitute," which were rendered in several local languages throughout the town in some of the oddest places.

The second man is often employed as a "message boy," and lives in several mental worlds simultaneously, one of which includes his "girlfriend," a former Peace Corps volunteer on Daru. He is still waiting for a T-shirt from "Barbara," whose unannounced visit over a weekend near the end of my stay added weight to at least one of his claims and fueled his certainty that they would soon be married. During chats with me he claimed that my female informants preferred him as a sexual partner for his huge penis.

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The third man is an intelligent, once married but then abandoned man with a debilitating defect. He is supported by his remaining family, particularly by one of his brothers. He was a frequent condom recipient from me and also requested almost as often as he saw me "Pawa Krim," a penile anaesthetic he claims to have heard about from Europeans, who never gave him any, who denied him, so to speak, the sexual cargo. He was concerned about sex and germs in a way that any venereophile would appreciate. He visited sagapari frequently because his ex-wife no longer slept with him and because his longlong status precluded socially approved couplings.

The fourth person considered longlong I wish to mention is a woman apparently in her middle twenties who walks silently around town, but primarily to and from her Bamu settlement residence, stopping usually at or in sagapari. She lives with her parents, but neither of them is working and she apparently makes a living partly by collecting empty beer bottles. Because of her "diahon" hairdo (a not uncommon and quite attractive style on Daru), this woman was frequently known as "diahon orobo" or "tuk diahon," that is, "two dollar woman with a deerhorn hairdo." According to one of my primary informants, paraphrased here, if one does sex with such "half-sense women," one risks becoming half-sense oneself. It is because, she noted, "these half-sense ladies have small bubble inside their vaginas, and if the penis breaks it, you will get half sense from her. Okay to do sex with her, but be careful [of the bubble]... One glory day, if you break it, you will have chance to get half-sense from her."[61] I asked my informant about this woman's usual sexual partners, and she replied (again, I am paraphrasing) that they were

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[61]. Field note, 11-9-91, Daru; cf. Orubuloye, Caldwell, and Caldwell (1993).

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primarily Kiwai boys "mucking around in the night," but that "it's okay, one glory day they will have half sense from her." As to why she in particular made a good partner, he said "Yes, the boys have interest in her. Boys are interested because they'll try their best with normal sense girls, but the normal sense girls aren't interested, so they have to grease the lady," by giving her a biscuit or two, 50 toea to two kina," and they [she] "will have no sense [to know how little or much that is]."[62]

The fifth is a woman nearly everyone despises because of her dirty clothes, her disruptive behavior in public, and because of her treatment of her small daughter, whom she sends begging frequently. A stick, a plastic sack, and harsh language are her usual accompaniments as she walks around town, between houses, across fields, and down dusty roads. She, too, was once considered vital, attractive, and friendly, but was recently given a tubal ligation immediately upon miscarrying, without her knowledge or consent.

The sixth died before I arrived on Daru in 1990, but I saw her on my first trip in 1988 and have never forgotten her. She was perhaps 10-12 when I first saw her, a just-pubescent, bare-breasted little slip of a girl, speech disabled. Health workers told conflicting stories about her demise, but each one had a tragic ending. Some said that her brothers, tired of caring for her, clubbed her over the head, others that she had died of septicemia from untreated sores and ulcers all over her body, and still others that she was thrown off the wharf following sexual assault by corner boys.[63]

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62. Field note, 11-9-91, Daru.

63. One male health worker who treated her for septicemia, for example, said that "most" longlong meris (mentally disabled females) were subject to "abusive sex attacks" from village and

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Each of these persons in their own way are related to the sex industry and to its participants that I will begin to discuss in the following chapters. For example, four of the six showed up on the STD Clinic Registry, some multiply over the years, with a variety of STDs, symptoms, and outcomes. To the best of my knowledge, each of the above six persons were treated at one time for another for these various infections during my stay, whether officially or through the wantok system.[64] At least two, however, were suffering currently from untreated STDs. The woman who had recently miscarried and been given a tubal ligation was also treated at the time for an STD. According to virtually all the informants I had who spoke at all about her, including those close to one of her primary residences, she was the frequent sexual partner of corner boys and young men, known in teen parlance as "25" and "50," as "fipti" and "twenti faiv hos," meaning a female to whom one gives 25 to 50 toea in exchange for sex. This was partly how she supported herself and her small daughter.

She and the other two females sold themselves or were sold sexually by family members, typically fathers and brothers. The diahon orobo, for instance, sold herself sexually for food, soft drinks, even for cartons and half-cartons of empty beer bottles, which she would then lug up to the Hotel to return for five toea deposits each. She was

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settlement boys, "maniacs" (field note, 11-7-90, Daru).

64. The wantok system is too complex a phenomenon to go into detail here, but it is essentially a mutual aid system, and is, for better or worse, one of the shining examples of Papua New Guinea sociality and mutual care. In this example, a person might obtain antibiotics, obtain a clinical examination or other treatment of an apparent STD, without having to go to the STD Clinic or through some other official channel. Only one of my seven primary sex worker informants in another cohort, to take another example, has ever shown up on the STD Clinic Case Registry, though each has been infected (and treated) multiply through the wantok system.

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also sold sexually by her parents, some of my Bamu informants told me, out of their house, near that of one of my research assistants. The girl dead at 12 had also been sold sexually by older brothers and victimized by near continual sexual assaults by corner boys.

Finally, though each of the above were sexually active, and though each had gone for extended periods without treatment of their STDs, only one had ever used condoms. Tertiary syphilis, not cerebral malaria, was given by some health workers as the cause of two of the men's and one of the women's mental conditions. At least one of the men told me once quite graphically about his own genital ulcers and how he acquired them; they had come from one of the females mentioned above. So, sexual networks are particularly dense even when considering the mentally and physically disabled (cf. Dyson n.d. for further examples of models of sexual networks).

In the next chapter I begin to lay out just what those sexual networks are like, how they are arranged, and what implications they have for the various forms of the sex industry to be covered in four consecutive chapters.

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Chapter 4:

"Sex and the Sex Industry on Daru"

"You get a wife, warm clothing for your wife
and the chance to exchange her if you're not satisfied"
(German mail-order bride package, reported in the
Chicago Tribune, 4/5/93, p. 2).

"[For Sula] the men...had merged into one large personality:
the same language of love, the same entertainments of love,
the same cooling of love.
Whenever she introduced her private thoughts into their rubbings or
goings, they shared nothing but worry, gave nothing but money"
(Tony Morrison, Sula, p. 104).

"Because, when you are a woman,
you don't just sit still and do
nothing--you have lovers...
One man can give you very little.
One man gives you only one kind of food to eat.
But when you have lovers, one brings you something
and another brings you something else.
One comes at night with meat,
another with money, another with beads.
Your husband also does things and gives them to you"
(Nisa, to Shostak 1981: 271).

"The mature and sexually experienced [chimpanzee] female
trades upon her ability to satisfy
the sexual urges of the male"
(Yerkes 1943: 86).

"And the gold is the same. You want a tomahawk, we want this.
You can buy a pig with gold-lipped shells,
or a wife or all sorts of things..."
(Wamp Wan, New Guinea Highlander,

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I. Introduction: prostitution--the oldest profession?

> The thought occurred to me that if prostitution truly is the world's oldest profession, then men writing about it is certainly the second oldest (Roberts 1992: x).

Giving, taking, receiving, paying for, saving, sharing, and otherwise trading in sex--taken together these notions reflect the ubiquity of what to some marks (if not causes) women's universal second-class status. To others, however, the social networks within which such exchanges occur provide women's income and occasional empowerment, whether collectively or individually (cf. "Barbara" 1993; Nestle 1987; Delacoste and Alexander 1987; de Zalduondo 1991; Rosen 1982; Nelson 1987; Oldenburg 1990; Rosaldo 1974; Walkowitz 1972, 1977, 1981, 1982). Prostituted women sometimes form collective unions and burial societies (Igbinovia 1984; Busia 1950: 108), for instance, and meet to exchange information about troublesome clients, co-workers who undercut them, and new STDs and the requisite preventive measures. Even when women and their earnings from prostitution are severely stigmatized, those earnings nevertheless prop up failing family farm fortunes (White 1990) and "is often used to build new houses for the[ir] families...a young woman who has acquired some wealth from working as a CSW [commercial sex worker] may become an attractive marriage prospect in her home area" (Ford and Koetsawang 1991: 409; see also Humphrey 1983).

Given its implicit ubiquity and apparent inevitability across time and space, prostitution often is seen to act as a kind of moral barometer in the rise and fall of customs, cultures, societies, even whole civilizations, a mark of the moral development

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(or demise) of, for instance, American frontier towns (e.g., Leonard and Walliman 1979; Myers 1977). In Africa, some say it signals the collapse of "tribal custom" in Africa (e.g., Muga 1980), or the transition from "tribal" to growing State control over sexuality and the latter's ability to profit thereby (e.g., Pillai 1982: 313). The State can, for instance, collect fines against the commission of sexual activities deemed illegal, and can profit more directly from other goods and services consumed under systems of prostitution, including the payment of rent, food, and alcohol, taxation on same, and so forth. The State's functionaries also, of course, profit personally, if illegally.

To perhaps the majority of writers and members of the general public, prostitution is "the world's oldest profession" (cf. Basserman 1967; French 1988; Brooks 1925), one which may even "predat[e] history" (Vorenberg and Vorenberg 1977: 27). To others, it is "the oldest sexual issue" (Cooper 1989: 100) or the second oldest (Reitman 1931; Barry 1979; Tannahill 1980: 78).[1] However, some attribute it, or personal impulses towards it, more directly to specific historical economic conditions, the result, for example, of "working in crowded, overheated rooms ten to twelve hours daily at a machine" (Emma Goldman, quoted in Musheno and Seeley 1986: 245).

But by a long stretch, a majority of high, mass, lay, and academic voices see prostitution as "the world's oldest profession," as being inevitable, ubiquitous. "There have always been," wrote the infamous Mayflower Madam, Sydney Biddle Barrows,

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[1]. Tannahill remarks in an extremely lively, though exceedingly androcentric book, Sex in History (1980: 78), that shamans and priests probably preceded prostituted woman by thousands of years. Barry (1979: Chapter 5) argues that pimping is the oldest profession. In an intriguing recent essay on "Prostitution and Citizenship in Classical Athens," Halperin (1989: 158) writes that prostitution there and then "was the creation of democracy." I have quoted just this most ambiguous phrasing to indicate how subtle (and problematic) is Halperin's argument.

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"men who were willing to pay for the company and the favors of the opposite sex. It's not called the oldest profession for nothing" (1986: 367). Prostitution was so rife in Nashville, Tennessee in 1860 that one historian can claim of one woman that "Her name was something like Mary Brown" (Kaser 1964: 382), implying a certain ubiquity to both it and to names such as hers. Prostitution figures prominently in the Old Testament, too, particularly in the books of Genesis, Deuteronomy, and Leviticus. In Leviticus, for instance (XIX: 29), Moses commands the faithful: "Do not prostitute thy daughter...."

Historic evidence suggests that early forms of "commercial prostitution" developed out of what Gerda Lerner and others call "cultic sexual services" devoted to fertility cults and goddess worship (Lerner 1986). Prostitution thus represents quantitative and qualitative decline in women's status. Ancient Israelite women often had difficulty paying for vows, which "ranked especially high in their devotional life," and they resorted to prostitution to pay them (van der Toorn 1989: 204). The New York physician William W. Sanger, in his monumental 1897 work, The History of Prostitution, asserts that prostitution was already well established among Jewish populations following their sojourn into Egypt by the 18th century before Christ (1937[1897]: 35-36). The Greek historian Herodotus, writing in the first century B.C., found that every Babylonian woman "must once in her life go and sit in the temple and there give herself to a strange man" (quoted in Tannahill 1980: 79-80).

Some argue for an even longer history of prostitution. As the above quote on the first page of this chapter indicates, drawn from the work of the Yale primatologist, Robert Yerkes, indicates, some see the "profession" of giving, selling, or otherwise

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exchanging sex for money, food, or other goods as even extending to our evolutionary cousin, the common chimpanzee (Pan paniscus; but see Ruth Herschberger's prescient 1948 savaging of Yerkes' work, in Adam's Rib). Some see prostitution as being not even uniquely human,[2] perhaps not even mammalian, but as something that still accrues inevitably to female halves of species. Given its ubiquity, it is no wonder, then, the popularity in the U.S. of films featuring prostituted women (Whore, Miami Blues, Pretty Baby, Klute, Pretty Woman, and so on), systems of prostitution (Hustling, etc.), or worse, forms and acts of prostitution which are not labeled as such, such as Indecent Proposal, Honeymoon in Vegas, Twisted Obsession, Consenting Adults, and so forth, ad nauseam. Prostitution and portrayals of it and prostituted women so saturate our consciousness that we do not even notice certain media-driven staples. Many initial, framing scenes in cop dramas are set in the precinct office upstairs and feature a white cop rudely escorting generally non-white women portraying trashy, foul-mouthed, deserving "hookers," sort of as if they come with the territory (cf. Barbara 1993: 13). The thread that ties these examples together, even when they are not labeled as prostitution, is the fact that sexual services are things that avian, mammalian, primate, and particularly human females can,

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[2]. In Herschberger's glorious satire, the female chimpanzee, Josie, questions Yerkes' interpretations and motives: "Jack [the largest male chimp in the captive colony] and I can go through almost the same motions, but by the time it gets down on paper, it has one name when Jack does it, and another when it was me" (Herschberger 1970 [1948]: 11). As to the latter, Josie wails, "Can't I get any satisfaction out of life that isn't allowed me by some male chimp? Damn it!" (1970: 10).

Models of early hominid social relations in which food provisioning is exchanged for "preferential copulatory access" and other overblown euphemisms are common (see Lovejoy 1981; Isaac 1978). Prostitution has also been imputed to hummingbirds (Wolf 1975), among many other mammalian and even non-mammalian, avian species.

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do, and sometimes must exchange with males as part of their material, social, and cultural existence.

Evidence of this growing realization of the ubiquity of forms of prostitution can be found in the proliferation of terms referring to it. For example, there emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s a more politically-correct alternative (in some circles, anyway) to "prostitution," namely, "commercial sex," engaged in by "commercial sex workers" or "CSWs" (e.g., Wirawan, Fajans, and Ford 1993; Ford and Koetsawang 1991). Nevertheless, this term is giving way to an even more politically correct (still, in some circles) term, namely, "survival sex": "many women in the United States and around the world engage in sexual intercourse in exchange for shelter, food, clothing, money, and sometimes drugs" (Hein 1993: 492). A woman in the New Zealand sex industry says that meeting and having sex on the first night with a man is "disgusting and humiliating," but "I can meet a man and sleep with him for money--that's survival" (quoted in Jordan 1991: 9; see also McDonald 1992). In Thailand,

> A generation of girls is being turned into commerce...Many girls accept prostitution as their fate, the only way to support families whose rural ways of life are disappearing (Reaves 1993: A4; see also Ford and Koetsawang 1991; and especially Vollman 1993).

The terminological quandary, then, lies between the apparent ubiquity of the provision of sexual services, on the one hand, and of distinct types and meanings that sexual service provision takes. How does one begin to think about prostitution that does not yet have a name (e.g., compulsory housewifery, "village harlotry" [Roheim 1940, 1946], female payments to males in proof of sexual self control [Nash 1981, 1987], spouse exchanges [Spencer 1968; Spencer and Gillen 1968 (1899); Thurnwald 1934;

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Westermarck 1922], or gifts between sweethearts [for a Lesu example, see Powdermaker 1971; for a Kapauku example, see Pospisil 1963])? Then, how does one distinguish between or differentiate these instances and types from forms of prostitution that are not yet named (e.g., the situations depicted in recent films such as Consenting Adults, Honeymoon in Vegas, and Indecent Proposal)? How does one grasp something so various and subsume it under concepts so totalizing, so highly reified? If it be true that globally and historically females have survived partly by exchanging sex for food, shelter, and clothing, they have done so in ways as varied and numerous as are the cultures to which they belong. But how to analyze those ways and forms?

One concept that has emerged fairly recently has great application to the case of contemporary Daru, but it nevertheless raises more questions and problems than it answers. That is the notion of a "sex industry " (for rather wide-ranging introductions to the concept and reality, see also Bell 1987; Wynter 1987; West 1987; Verbeek and van der Zijden 1987; Sax 1987; and see the special issue of Social Text 11 [Winter] 1993).

II. Sex and the "'Working' Girl"

Minimally, the concept of a sex industry has a "sex" part and an "industry" part. We will get to the sex part in later chapters, but for now I wish to theorize about the industry part. For some, to employ the term is as simple a thing to do as to label, say, a copra industry, or a mining industry. Historian Ronald Hyams, in his fascinating work, Empire and Sexuality (1990), for example, suggests that "[t]he historian, however, must treat it [prostitution] as a service industry like any other, subject to the laws of demand and run by entrepreneurs" (1990: 137, emphasis mine). Another historian (Rotenberg

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1974: 33) insists that "the prostitute is indeed a worker, a service worker who provides her body for use in the sexual act in return for a fee from her clients."

Not everyone, of course, is so certain about the reality of or the linguistic and political implications that spring from the concept. In order, however, for analysts and activists to operationalize the term, the notion of industry is often broken into more manageable parts. Sex industries are analyzed, for example, in terms of sexual services (massage, fellatio, phone fantasy, genital penetration, lingerie modeling, exotic tanning, etc.) being sold by workers (streetwalkers, masseuses, sexual "escorts," lingerie models, tanning salon attendants, etc.) or their controlling agents (male or female madams, pimps, escort services, etc.) to their customers (johns, clients, tricks, dates, "spare tires," etc.) at or in particular locations (cars, brothels, hotels, parlors, stag parties, truck stops, and bushes). Though the work that sex workers do may differ from that done by tin miners (Nash 1979) or by factory drones (see Hamper's riveting essay, 1986), there are similarities. Sex workers are also exploited economically by bosses. They face myriad occupational hazards. They often have little or no "choice" in the pursuit of their "careers" (cf. Jenness 1990; Barry 1979; Bell 1987; Simons 1993; Reaves 1993). Despite the glamour and high visibility suggested by Sydney Biddle Barrows' and Dolores French's accounts, by Margo St. James' frequent guest appearances on the Phil Donahue show in the mid-1970s, or by the brief fame and enduring quality of Xaviera Hollander's several "Happy Hooker" books (e.g., Hollander 1972) and apart from the humdrumness and banality of the sex trade suggested in Lizzie Borden's film, Working Girls (1987), the vast majority of "sex workers" face undeniably high degrees of stigmatization and

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exploitation. Their work is usually illegal, often violent, perhaps inherently degrading, and they are also subject to jail terms, fines, STDs, societal approbation, and even feminist scorn (see esp. Bell 1987; for an incredibly grim series of case studies drawn from the streets of Brooklyn, see Maher and Curtis 1992). As well, they have horrific developmental precursors. National surveys indicate that 75% of all women in prostitution in the U.S. were once victims of incest as children (Vogt 1994: (6): 3; see also Lowman 1987). Samuel and Cynthia Janus report (1993: 347) that 78% of the cohort of prostituted women they worked with had been raped and otherwise molested before the age of 12.

Nevertheless, so say proponents of the concept of sex workers, they labor, sexually, and they do so in ways akin to (though perhaps not identical with) the ways other workers work non-sexually. "Viccing dates [victimizing them, before being themselves victimized], conning guys, and retaliating when male crack users try to intimidate, harass or rip them off may be forms of adaptation to a fucked [sic] market" (Maher and Curtis 1992: 249; "[sic]" is in the original). Some feminist prostitutes (their term) have argued that in an already imperfect, patriarchal world, prostitution is simply the best among a limited set of alternatives:

> We don't think any woman should have to make the choice to work as a prostitute any more than any woman should be forced to work in a factory or forced to be a lawyer or a doctor, for that matter (Scott, Miller, and Hotchkiss 1987: 207).
>
> I've seen what prostitution, as a trade, can be like at its best (Participant #1 1987: 50).
>
> In private the whore has power. She is in charge, setting the terms for the sexual exchange and the financial exchange (St. James 1987: 82).

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> I was in control with every one of those relationships...Being able to manipulate somebody sexually, I could determine when I wanted that particular transaction to end... What I did was no different from what ninety-nine percent of American women are taught to do (Roberta Victor, in Terkel 1972: 102).

Sex industries have been described as the collectivity of several overlapping and organized sets of workers, services, buyers, sellers, and controllers (Morgan-Thomas 1991; see also WWW News 1988). Feminist and prostituted women' rights organizations (e.g., C.O.Y.O.T.E. [Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics], I.C.P.R. [International Collective of Prostitutes]) argue that prostitution is a voluntarily chosen occupation that should be free of stigmatization and exploitation. Margo St. James and Priscilla Alexander, for example, co-founders of C.O.Y.O.T.E., wrote in 1977 that

> [i]n reality, a prostitute is being paid for her time and skill, the price being rather dependent on both variables. To make a great distinction between being paid for an hour's sexual services, or an hour's typing, or an hour's acting on a stage is to make a distinction that is not there (quoted in Jenness 1990: 405).

Dolores French, President both of the Florida C.O.Y.O.T.E. chapter and of H.I.R.E. (Hooking Is Real Employment), has argued that:

> a woman has the right to sell sexual services just as much as she has the right to sell her brains to a law firm where she works as a lawyer, or to sell her creative work to a museum when she works as an artist, or to sell her image to a photographer when she works as a model or to sell her body when she works as a ballerina (quoted in Jenness 1990: 405).

In her own memoirs, Working: my life as a prostitute (French 1988: 3), she describes a 27-year pursuit of "my chosen career." The conceptual thread of prostitution-as-work, then, runs through feminist prostituted woman discourse, and it replaces notions of prostitution-as-sin, -depravity, and -grinding debility with ones of work and career:

> I work primarily as a prostitute, but I also do some work in porn mostly in live sex and some photography. What a lot of porn workers would like to see is the

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> right to exist, the right to work without being ostracized from society, the right to work without being charged and prosecuted (Scott 1987: 179).

One of the prostituted women Lewis Diana worked with, when asked about the morality of prostitution, replied, "I don't believe it's immoral... Look, I'm doing what I want to do. It's my choice. I can stop anytime I want to. I have something they want and I give it to them for a price. It's a mutual thing, an agreement" (quoted in Diana 1985: 128-29).

This conceptual thread, however, does not go unchallenged. The national organization, W.H.I.S.P.E.R., and a local (Portland, Oregon) organization, the Council for Prostitution Alternatives, both abhor any imputation of the concepts of choice, occupation, career, or work to prostitution (May 1993; see also Bell 1987; Wynter 1987). Instead, their focus is on women in prostitution (i.e., "WIP" in de Zalduondo 1991), or on women who are prostituted. The extent of social agency imputed to prostituted women, sex workers, and women in prostitution, therefore, along with the ultimate versus proximate causes of their misery (e.g., patriarchy, colonialism, incest, capitalism, heterosexuality) is an aspect of practical and political tension within, between, and completely without feminist circles. As I read this literature, it appears that prostituted women, feminist or not, feel more deeply and frequently misunderstood by non-prostituted feminists than the other way around. As Nickie Roberts puts it while attempting to "reclaim" "whores" in and from history, "To put it bluntly, the feminist movement has failed the prostitute, and failed her badly, in my view" (1992: x).

Regardless of how one chooses to describe the degree of agency inhering in women's sexual servicing, sex industries can be either an abstract category related, say, to uneven development, capitalism, and patriarchy (e.g., Lewis 1987) or be extremely

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localized in time and space. They may take the form of "freelance" prostitution (e.g., French 1988), state-sponsored and municipally-controlled bordellos (e.g., Guy 1988), streetwalking (Anonymous 1959), "tribal women" (Hooja 1970), "business women" operating in South African slums out of schebeens (Schurink and Levinthal 1983, presumably like the "kiosks" in Kenya [Nelson 1987]), massage parlors (Armstrong 1978; Bryant and Palmer 1974; Simpson and Schill 1977; Sills 1973), brothels (Cromwell, with Dougherty 1966; Best 1982; Engle 1980; Shumsky and Springer 1981; Arnold 1977; Washburn 1934; Adler 1953; Kimball 1970; Wolsey 1945; Brooks 1925[3]), truck stop and roadside diner prostitution (Diana 1985; Klein and Ingle 1981), remarkably stable bar prostitution in Mexican/American border cities (Roebuck and McNamara 1973), upscale "call-girl" or "escort services" (Barrows 1986), "executive clubs," "Go-Go" bars and coffee shop/tea houses (Ford and Koetsawang 1991), or "sex for an office"-type transactions (Forsyth and Fournet 1987), to name only a few (see also a more personal approach in Vollman 1993: 74, 76). Priscilla Alexander, co-editor with Frederique Delacoste of Sex Work: writings by women in the sex industry (1987) has suggested that in America, prostitution is organized into the following primary forms:

1) street prostitution, involving street solicitation and either a pimp/prostitute relationship or women working independently.
2) massage parlors and other euphemistic businesses, obvious and open to the public, involving male and female owners who act as pimps and panderers, occasionally as masseuses themselves.
3) bar and cafe prostitution, in which women meet clients in and around public bars and cafes and either escort them upstairs, to their own residences, or to the residences of their clients.

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[3]. Virginia Brooks warned the readers of her Northwest classic, Tilly From Tillamook (1925), that "this book is expressly intended as an expose of law enforcement conditions in Oregon and especially in Portland."

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4) brothels, which are enclosed, not open to the public, sometimes separated from the rest of the town or city, managed by men or women, involving severe restriction of prostitute movements. And finally,
5) outcall, which involves prostituted women who work outside of "houses," who may in fact have "pimps" in the form of "escort service" staff who arrange sexual encounters for them in exchange for part of their earnings (adapted from Alexander 1987a: 189-90).

By contrast, Luise White has elucidated in The Comforts of Home: prostitution in colonial Nairobi (1990) a different set of primary forms that prostitution took in the historical colonial period in and around Nairobi, Kenya:

1) watembezi is streetwalking, solicitation of men in public places, the "only form available to homeless women and...runaways" (1990: 13).
2) malaya prostituted women wait in their rooms for men to come to them, and perform a variety of other domestic labors, from the provision of food, tea, and bathwater, to conversation. In this form, non-sexual services are stressed; "malaya women in Nairobi charged for each foodstuff provided and said that profits derived from their ability to convince a man of their financial need" (1990: 15).
3) wazi-wazi women "had considerably more control over their clientele and their labor time than malaya women had" (1990: 19). In this form, women waited for men outside their rooms and called to men, and specialized in "brief sexual encounters for which they charged a fixed price."

Historian Sue Gronewold has written of the "beautiful merchandise" of Chinese brothels located down the "five streets and seven lanes," ranked in the following ways:

1) the highest-level brothels, "sing-song houses," housed courtesans, the "elite of the profession" who were "elegantly dressed and coiffured, displayed small bound feet and were skilled in entertainment arts."
2) outright brothels, or wine houses, restaurants and taverns also had singing girls. The prostituted women here were skilled at the entertainment arts, but the establishment was nowhere near as"lavish or exclusive." Clientele consisted primarily of "lower officials, middle-level scholars and merchants."
3) the third category consisted of inexpensive brothels whose women had little if any training. These houses had barely furnished rooms, and provided "cheap, quick, and convenient sex for poor men, soldiers, and young scholars going 'slumming'."
4) flower boats anchored along the waterways were another venue of prostitution, boats grouped together by class. These floating brothels had compartments for

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food, sex, and opium smoking.

5) finally, there were the "prostitutes without brothels" who sometimes practiced open solicitation (adapted from Gronewold 1982: 5-8).

Virtually all historical and sociological treatises on prostitution array class- or caste-like divisions, in terms of price, location, age, morality, location, duration of sexual services exchange, degree of visibility, degree of sacredness and so forth, whether for Athens (e.g., Basserman 1967: 4), France (e.g., Dufour 1967: 4), "Black Africa" (Igbinovia 1984; Tannahill 1980: 80), Manhattan (Exner, et al. 1977), truck stops (Klein and Ingle 1981), or Ancient Babylon (Tannahill 1980: 80). Sex industries can thus take on local forms and characteristics even when the surface, seemingly unalterable elements of "barter, promiscuity and emotional indifference" (Flexner 1914: 11) are present.[4]

So, the concept of a sex industry, by uncovering at least caste- or class-like divisions, by specifying certain local, historical, and geographic conditions, problematizes a great deal of what is commonly assumed about prostitution, such as that it indexes individual pathology, psychological debility, and immorality of the women in question. For example, schemas that result from thinking about sex industries raise questions as to the degree(s), if not source(s) of exploitation. In addition, the concept of a sex industry requires that one specify the kind and degree of danger and illegality for the men and women involved, as in any other industry. In addition, it virtually forces one

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4. A New York cop on the beat once expressed this definitional problem a bit more ethereally when asked how many prostituted women there were in New York:

> Well, that's like talking about clouds. You look up at the sky. How big is it? I don't know. When you get up there you find out it isn't there anyway. It doesn't have any form, you know. When you get there you can't see it (quoted in Goldstein 1979: 26-27).

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to consider the panoply of controlling interests, in the cases of examples cited above, ranging from madams, pimps, and procurers; to policemen, undercover cops, and customs officials; to highbinders, family members, and politicians; to cab drivers, zoning officials, and landlords; to mobsters, bouncers, and vice cops; to "feds," receptionists, and truck stop attendants; to Jews, Abyssinians, Parisians, and burial societies; to priests, snake charmers, and vice commissions (cf. Bell 1980; Adler 1953; French 1988; Kimball 1970; Gentry 1964; Pillai 1982; Tannahill 1980: 357-87; Stanford 1966; Hirata 1979; Diana 1985; Hyams 1990). The advantage to the term, then, is that, as Morgan-Thomas notes (1991: 1), "when the term prostitution is used, people tend to focus on prostitutes as though they were acting on their own," when clearly they are not.

The concept of a sex industry also enables us to locate institutionalized forms of sex work and workers more precisely and culturally appropriately. For example, in Bombay, there are the male maalishwallahs, aged 12-50, who operate on and around public beaches offering massages, masturbation, fellatio, and sometimes anal penetration to customers in the evenings (AIDS Action 1991: 4). Elsewhere in India one finds the emasculated hijras (not men/not women) who are forced into prostitution as much by religious mentor gurus as by economic hardship (Nanda 1990). In Lucknow, India there are the famous courtesans who resisted patriarchy, British taxation, and compulsory heterosexuality even as they were exploited by them (see Oldenburg 1990). On another continent, there are the miches, or street hustlers of Rio de Janiero, poor male teens earning money temporarily by prostitution, expressing (or repressing) their homosexual erotic preferences by adhering to roles of homem and bicha, penetrator and penetratee

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(AIDS Action 1991: 5). In Peru, prostitution is legal, and several forms/positions of sexual intercourse are available in well-organized and -managed brothels for the men who can pay for them (Arnold 1977). Fine-grained ethnography reveals spatial and temporal restrictions on sex work, too, the erotic and linguistic markers of sexual behavior, complex forms of negotiation, ethnic, racial, linguistic and other boundaries of participation, and various other parameters of institutionalization.

The concept of sex industries is an advance upon "prostitution" in another way as well. It requires one to look towards the sexual systemic features of and specific experiences under colonialisms, patriarchies, and capitalisms, among many other controlling historical processes. Evans has written, for example, that prostitution is a "functional consequence of the rise of the urban society created by early industrial capitalism" (1976: 106). Hyams argues that "[e]verywhere in Africa, as urbanisation expanded, the number of prostitutes tended to increase..." (1990: 140). Van Onselen (1982) has traced brilliantly the relationship between commercialization of sex and the proletarianization of Transvaal labor between 1886-1914. Forms that sex industries take depend partly upon the extent of rural-to-urban migration involved, on the degree to which state policy and collusion make housing and the reproduction of family units difficult (Bujra 1977; White 1988, 1990), on debates over nationalism, public health and "white slavery" (Guy 1988), on the movements of military and the development of cantonments (Oldenburg 1990), on the extent of capitalist "development" in rural areas and urban peripheries, founded on the promulgation of legislative acts such as the Contagious Disease Acts, which were enacted and enforced in England (Walkowitz

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1977; Sigsworth and Wyke 1972), the Cape Colony (van Heyningen 1984), North Queensland (Evans 1975), Brussels (Schaepdrijver 1986), and Singapore (Warren 1993), among many other bastions of Empire. Some historical examples of sex industries span two or more continents, for example, between Japan, China, North Queensland, and elsewhere throughout the South Pacific (e.g., Hoon 1992; Sissons 1976, 1977; Takahashi 1980). Prostitution networks exist currently which involve women from formerly Eastern bloc countries; these women are rotated by their "handlers" from their home countries to "Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Greece" (Simons 1993: A3). Modern-day "sex tourism" in Thailand, the Philippines, South Korea, and elsewhere throughout Southeast and Island Southeast Asia, originally developed during the Vietnamese War and from the explicitly and implicitly stated need to provide sex to American soldiers on leave (Enloe 1989; Sturdevant and Stoltzfus 1992; though in Thailand at least the major consumers of commercialized sex are in fact local Thais, say Ford and Koetsawang 1991: 407-08). Male tourists from Japan, Malaysia, Burma (now Myanmar), the Middle East, Europe and the U.S. now flock to several centers of the sex industry in Thailand (Reaves 1993). In addition to the "daughters of the working class" in northern Queensland in the mid-late 1800s, Japanese females were imported to serve the sexual passions of "coloured" indentured male pearling and plantation labor. "In 1897 more than a hundred of these women were reported to be acting as prostitutes at Childers, Innisfail and Cairns alone" (Evans 1975: 13). Sexual networks were developed in the 19th century that began in Canton and Beijing, extended to coastal ports such as Portland, Seattle, and San Francisco, and extended further inland

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to frontier towns such as Butte and Helena, Montana, and Denver, Colorado. These bi-, tri-, and even quadri-continental industries may have originally approximated what some now call "sexual slavery" (e.g., Barry 1979; Reaves 1993; Schmetzer 1993; Simons 1993; Hicks 1993), but in some cases they only <u>became</u> so, having evolved into and out of forms of contract labor and indentured servitude (e.g., Hirata 1979; Hyams 1990: 140). One example reveals many of these links and the utility of the term "sex industry":

> From the 1870s China and Southeast Asia were the major overseas destinations of Japanese prostitutes. As an organized traffic, women were taken normally to the port of Nagasaki, and then smuggled out to Hong Kong and Shanghai, and later to Singapore, there to be sold and forced into prostitution... Other young women were abducted or lured under false pretenses... Some of these women may have been sent to America by the Chinese, in particular those who had been sold to Hong Kong merchants before the late 1880s. For how else can the presence of Japanese prostitutes in Butte, Montana in 1884, a booming mining town with Chinese laborers, be explained? The women in Butte, and perhaps others, having been sold to Chinese merchants in Hong Kong, were probably rerouted to America to work as prostitutes in Chinese labor camps (Ichioka 1977: 3-4).

More recently, it was reported at an international conference that cash-strapped Southeast Asian governments "indirectly sponsor slavery and bonded labor by encouraging migrant labor, which earns hard foreign currency in remittances and lightens the burden of unemployment at home" (Schmetzer 1993: 2).[5]

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[5]. It was also reported at the conference that 25 Myanmar (Burmese) women sold into sex slavery in Thailand were lethally injected with cyanide by Myanmar "health officials" upon their return to prevent the women from spreading HIV. Another group of Thai women escaped from a brothel only to be caught by the police, "locked up, assaulted and raped, and then released" to the same racketeers (Lintner and Lintner 1992: 31; see also Vollman 1993).

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III. Application to Daru

With some reservations of an ethnographic, linguistic sort, I find that there is much to be said for applying the notion of a "sex industry" to Daru. On Daru there are certainly specific locations involved, public and private, indoor and outdoor, safe and less so, places where men can pay for or have arranged for them sexual services. Locations include bush areas and store fronts next to them, the Hotel lounge bar, and several private houses. At the periphery of several settlements on Daru men sell their wives sexually, next to and at the back of a hardware store, for instance. Daru does not have "outcall" or "escort" services advertised in phone books or by weary, bedraggled men wearing sandwich boards, as in New York, but nevertheless, Provincial Government Members, Ministers, and workers and Hotel staff use the telephone to arrange sexual encounters, to order alcohol, food, and videos for in-room use, and to arrange transportation to and from. "Escorts" are provided by family members, by same-gender friends and fictive kin, and by sex brokers:

> Pare: [about 22, twice married and now in the midst of a protracted divorce] No, when they [paying sexual partners] used to find me, they used to tell the girls to drink with them, you know, when they go around, they talk to him, Tunigi comes back, he says, "Oh, this fellow said this and that, we are going to meet up there, this Hotel or that house...." because they call him, they call him the "meh-send-jer."[6]

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6. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-18-92, her emphasis.

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On Daru, as in previous examples cited above, particular persons arrange sexual encounters. They include small boys on bicycles and girls on foot[7] who pass messages to and from men and women; sex "brokers" (male or female) such as Tunigi above (and see Chapter 5) who arrange sexual encounters, act as escorts, and who fetch alcohol, food, tobacco, and betel nut; and Hotel workers in and around the lounge bar who provide alcohol, food, and privacy for paying Hotel guests (and often free rooms to their friends). Here is how Pare's sexual encounters were arranged:

> Pare: ...I went and joined them, that sister there, you know, he [her eventual customer] was telling my sister, he was telling my sister, "oh, you tell your sister I like her, I want to get married to her," and then from there, they told me to come and sit with them.
>
> Lawrence: Did they pass the message or did they come to you straight?
>
> Pare: Yeah, they pass the message, I was sitting on the other table, and the message come they send the sister, "tell your sister" I went and sat down with them, and then, he was telling me, he bought the beer, all of us, planti.
>
> Lawrence: How did you get to Daru Guest House [now defunct]. Did the fellows come straight to your house, or did you go to them?
>
> Pare: No, because they send Tunigi down, send Tunigi, "you go and tell these two ladies to come," and myself and Taniato went up, played with them, and then went to sleep.[8]

---

7. Throughout 19 months I saw nary a Papua New Guinea female ride a bicycle. Male informants said that a sexually mature female riding a bicycle typically wobbled the front wheel, which indicated her willingness to perform fellatio. Fear that bicycle-riding would signal sexual activity, in other words, keeps women off them. This reasoning speaks also to the second-class access that females have to bicycles, trucks, and cars (see also Strathern 1981), as well as to fear of pollution of bicycle seats by vaginas.

For a comparative example from Africa of teen male procurers, see Little (1973: 93), who refers to the boys and young men who direct customers to women as "pilot boys" and the fees accruing to them as the "tow ropes" (see also Canaan 1990 for an American example, and van Baal 1966: 128 and Williams 1924: 53, for two New Guinean examples).

8

8. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-18-92. "Sleep" in both Melanesian Pidgin and English

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Again, as with other examples cited above, there are rather sharply defined ethnic, monetary, alcoholic, sexual, contraceptive, and other markers of the Daruan sex industry. For example, on Daru, Bamu women have staked out their own particular tu kina bus area (see Chapter 7). Though sexual positions and lingo there are numerous and rich, the prices for sexual intercourse are kept low (two kina) by supply and by name. "Modern" contraceptive usage is virtually nil, virtually none of the women drink alcohol whereas most men do, Bamu men are with only a few exceptions not their clientele, and there are definite daily, weekly, and bi-weekly cycles of intensity of business.

In addition to the theoretical advantages I have mentioned above, employing the notion of a sex industry is advantageous three more ways. First, a focus on sex work and the sex industry is by definition a focus not on prostitution and prostituted women, on putative pathology and vice. Not for nothing did Xaviera Hollander title her first book The **Happy** Hooker (1972, emphasis mine). She did it partly to counter psychologistic stereotypes of prostituted women as mere degraded wretches. When William Masters and Virginia Johnson became interested in sex research, they were not interested in social behavior as, for instance, Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin (1948) were, but rather, on minute sexual anatomy and physiology. To that end, Masters and Johnson employed prostituted women to have sex, since they were "regarded as knowledgeable, cooperative, and available for study," and in addition provided "invaluable" tips on sexual response and technique (quoted in Tisdale 1994: 78). Prostituted women are stigmatized enough,

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can carry the double connotation of laying down and engaging in intercourse. "Playing" here means sexual intercourse as well as foreplay.

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in other words, without being further stigmatized by notions of dirt, disease, and deviance.[9] They were expelled en masse from European towns in the sixteenth and

---

9. Although prostituted women are commonly blamed alongside gay males for the spread if not origin of HIV, Cohen, Alexander, and Wofsy point out in their useful survey (1988), "Prostitutes in the US are not and have not been significant vectors for the transmission of STDs, including AIDS" (1988: 20; see a non-feminist but clearheaded statement of essentially the same position in Decker (1987); see Exner, Wylie, Leura, and Parrill (1977) for a sound introduction and empirical test of some of these propositions). In this claim, Cohen, Alexander, and Wofsy are turning on their heads many a 19th-century claim to the contrary, namely, that prostituted women are the sources of contagion. One contributor to the Lancet, writing at the time of the third Contagious Diseases Act, in 1869, wrote that "Again, the women do not as a rule know the names of their paramours, and even if they did we do not see how they could identify them, so as to identify the sources of contagion... Lastly, there is every reason to suppose...that a women [sic] gives twenty diseases of this sort for every one she receives..." (quoted in Sigsworth and Wyke 1972: 97). Such misinformation as this led quite directly in many hundreds if not thousands of cases to medical and penal surveillance. More contemporarily, Carovano (1991: 136) has reported that a Guatemalan national daily newspaper published a picture of a young Salvadoran woman who had recently tested HIV antibody-positive and had left the city; the object was to alert citizens that she could be in their midst and to place her under "'medical surveillance' in order to control the further spread of HIV in Guatemala."

Choisy (1961) is a stereotyping example from a psychoanalytic approach:

> As analysis progressed Carmen realized how much prostitution was a defense mechanism... It was a revenge against father frustration... Carmen was freely indulging in castration of the male... Prostitution is a provisional marriage between the man-hater and the woman-hater (1961: 29-30).

Von Krafft-Ebing, in Psychopathia Sexualis, writes that "Prostitutes of gross sensuality...seek compensation in the sympathetic embrace of persons of their sex" (1922: 398). Gibben (1957) argues that the prostituted woman has a burning desire to vent hostility towards men and to treat them as pigs. Prostitution-as-learned-deviancy is another frequent trope in some of the sociological literature of the 1970s (e.g., Akers 1973: 165-73; for a more sensitive treatment though still steeped in the language of stigma and deviance, see Kilbride 1979). There is a truly massive literature on the prostituted women-as-AIDS-source trope in journalism and public health; see King (1990) and Treichler (1989). Interestingly, to the very extent that they themselves and their profession were considered polluted, they functioned to keep non-prostituted women and their professions (as housewives, primarily) clean, unsullied (e.g. Sigsworth and Wyke 1972). Prostituted women became thus, "protectors of the home," as well as the repositories of "seminal excess," the alleged pollutive aspects of which weighed heavily on the minds of many prominent French public health regulationists (see Corbin 1987). St. Thomas Aquinas represented the early Church's position that "prostitution was a necessary condition of social morality, just as a cesspool is necessary to a palace, if the whole palace is not to smell" (Rattray Taylor 1954: 21). A portion of this prostituted woman-as-polluted trope can also be laid at the doorsteps of 19th century thinkers who were beginning to apply Darwinian, neo-Darwinian, and Social Darwinian theory to, among other things, the role of natural selection in prostitution.

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seventeenth centuries in the wake of contagious disease outbreaks. They were jailed or exiled while other women were kept under "house arrest" in Brazil in the 1600s, and incarcerated again en masse during World War I (cf. Tesh 1988; Brandt 1987).

Second, specifically regarding what we now call STDs, prostituted women were scapegoated in the 19th-century in the context of the great debates and activism surrounding the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869 (Guy 1988: 65; Tannahill 1980: 366[10]), as well as the implementation of the French system of reglementation of prostituted women in America, beginning in St Louis in 1870 (Burnham 1971). Rattray Taylor notes (1954: 219) that Victorians "needed prostitutes as objects on to whom to project all the negative part of their feelings for women." Prostituted women have also been individually and collectively blamed for the spread of the global AIDS pandemic (Alexander 1987b). In California as recently as 1973, suspected prostituted women could legally be quarantined in prisons until various medical test results came back (Pheterson 1993: 43). This phenomenon is known by others who have direct experience in the sex trade as "whore stigma": "I endured years of bitterness and frustration before finally realizing that the whore-stigma was indeed a form of oppression. My main motivation, therefore [in writing this book, Whores in History],

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Edvard Westermarck, for example, among others, assumed that prostituted women were frequently sterile and that therefore natural biology selected against promiscuity and selected for more monogamous unions. One might wonder aloud about the marital statuses of the sexual partners of the remaining prostituted women...

[10]. Tannahill (1980: 366) says of venereal disease that "Prostitutes were the main transmitters, naturally enough...," though without any backing evidence (see Cohen 1989).

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was to explore the origins of this prejudice" (Roberts 1992: x; see also Jennings 1976; Moselina 1979).

Third, the concept of a sex industry--contra prostitution as a loose confederacy of prostituted women--enables the identification of sex workers as potential agents of positive change, as key nodes in the distribution of condoms and information, as technicians employing novel strategies in the campaign to encourage safer sex practices. To the extent that prostituted women have been linked to crime and to actual and to tropes of pollution (e.g., Bernheimer 1987; Corbin 1987; Marcus 1964), a focus on the work that they actually do (as opposed to their legal, moral, social, and political status) may help to undercut the moralizing, sexist, punitive, and regulatory instincts of politicians, police captains, and evangelical groups. Bernat's important study of bail settings in upstate New York (1984a,b), for example, reveals striking gender disparities relating to prostitution "offenses" (see also Burnham 1971).[11] Until recently, sex workers have been left out of mainstream and feminist discourse about STDs, HIV prevention, and "safe sex" (see, e.g., Bell 1987), and this is surely misguided. They are first and foremost human beings deserving of rights, but also, in effect, a vast, untapped educational resource for each other and for all others. As a contributor to Social Text put it (in "Jasmin" 1993: 35), "Prostitutes practice the safest sex there is."

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[11]. Lowman's important studies of prostitution and public policy in Vancouver, British Columbia (e.g., 1986), shows graphically the way in which the sexual double standard underwrites "official" treatment of prostitution, from entrance to activity to entrapment to conviction to imprisonment. In one case in 1976, for instance, responding to a case in which police had attempted to charge male customers with soliciting prostituted women in public, a local judge claimed that "a man could not solicit since he had nothing to sell. This decision ended the practice of charging customers in Vancouver" (1986: 10).

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IV. The Daruan Sex Industry

> The thought that there are parts of the world where wives can be purchased has often presented a kind of imaginative fool's paradise for those who could bring themselves to believe that the control of women could ever be so simple... Moreover, the assumption that wives are "bought" and "sold" in tribal societies involves the most profound misunderstanding of these peoples (Wagner 1981: 24).

Substitute the word "sex" for "wives" in the above quote and you can imagine the kind of difficulty I am going to encounter shortly in parsing analytically between categories of acts, partners, meanings, and forms. But to come even closer to a central paradox of this thesis, imagine substituting for "wives" "wives' sexuality" or "girlfriends." Better yet, imagine substituting "wives' acceptance to engage in sex," and you will get a good sense of how difficult it is to distinguish analytically and otherwise between "marital" sexuality, "sexual exchanges between sweethearts" and the highly commodified forms of prostitutive sex with which we are familiar in the West, and which appear to be gaining in popularity in more institutionalized form even in Papua New Guinea.

Bearing these caveats in mind, therefore, and given the existence of several of the features of contemporary life on Daru that I have alluded to above, I wish next to begin laying out an argument for the existence of a sex industry on Daru and to press for the analytic utility of such a concept.

To suggest such is not to suggest that all on Daru are aware of the existence of prostitution, much less that there is a sex industry afoot, that everything is so obvious. I remember meeting, for example, a new, young Mormon missionary from my own hometown of Salem, Oregon who was absolutely shocked to hear that a major portion of

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his congregation[12] was involved in prostitution (and equally shocked that I was showing AIDS videos in and giving condom demonstrations to residents of corners and to members of other congregations). To take another example, the expatriate female half of the couple who managed the Hotel, one who rarely showed herself outside of her quarters, also refused to believe (or at least said so) that prostitution was occurring right there in her Hotel, for all to see.[13] I, too, for that matter, did not "see" its institutionalized and geographical features until several months had passed.

I believe that I reached this understanding only after coming to grips with Political Economy more than, say, Culture. As I have suggested above, I am coming to understand the development and persistence of a Daruan sex industry more in terms of exogenous factors pressing upon internal social contradictions. Laura Longmore's study of Bantu women in and around Johannesburg, South Africa (1959) is instructive in this regard, portions of which read eerily similar to my understanding of contemporary Daru. As she argues, the demand for African labor in urban areas is primarily for male labor, such that the townships have a decidedly unbalanced sex ratio. Town living is, relatively speaking, free of many "tribal," rural mores, and there are thus relatively fewer

---

[12]. The representatives of the Mormon mission on Daru eventually stopped driving into the Bamu-speaking corners to pick up prospective congregational members for services, on orders from mission headquarters in Port Moresby. Owing partly to several well-substantiated rumors of "sexual" (by Daruan standards, perhaps Salem) activity on the part of some of the "Elders" with Bamu girls and young women, the truck was grounded for all but cargo hauling.

[13]. Perhaps I sounded or appeared extra incredulous when she indicated her "ignorance" of Hotel-based prostitution. I had just interviewed a fellow who aired all the "tricks of the trade" regarding the significant day trade at the Hotel. Particularly on and just after gavman pede the day trade apparently picks up, as public servants can rent rooms between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. for only 40 kina. If higher-ranking, they can have their office "boys" make the reservations by phone, pay for the room, buy and deposit beer, and then sort of make sure the woman in question finds her way there (field note, 10-12-91, Daru).

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customary sanctions on sexual behavior. Maintaining in an urban clime whatever may have been "traditional" standards of sexual behavior is well-nigh impossible, particularly by comparison to European prosperity, in the face of low African wages. "The practice of having a 'back-door husband,'" she writes,

> or indulging in prostitution, is a natural outcome of the poverty of urban Africans and a direct result of illicit liquor dealing which attracts many men to the township. Women, in an environment where adultery, illegitimacy and prostitution, even if not wholly condoned, are accepted as social norms, may be expected to resort to prostitution as an additional means of supplementing incomes (1959: 139).

Substitute "guns" or "marijuana," perhaps, or "pisirimai-processing" for "illicit liquor dealing," and we have in some respects an apt description of contemporary Daru. Longmore's analysis of the general aimlessness of much of the urban Bantu population also fits my own impressions of the boys and girls, younger and older men and women for whom "going for spin" several times daily is about all there is to look forward to. Canoe-making, traditional craft-making, and traditional dancing are no longer integrated into daily life (see Beaver 1920: 56). Traditional dancing in particular is prohibited by many church missions, and wherever allowed, restricted generally to holiday periods. There is, in essence, very little else to do for pleasure on Daru beyond "spinning." Longmore found for urban African centers that they are communities

> little organized or planned, and in the township young people have nothing to do but to stand about or walk aimlessly looking for something to turn up to relieve the monotony, the dreary sameness of life, in an area where nothing happens unless you make it happen. What happens is gambling and fights, sex and drink (1959: 144-45).

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Some of these problems related to urbanization are found now nearly pan-Pacific. As Penelope Schoeffel notes in her recent contribution on "Social Change" to Tides of History (1994: 355),

> By the 1960s squatter settlements were becoming a recognised problem in Papua New Guinea. The indigenous landowners in urban areas, who had already suffered the alienation of large portions of their land, now found the little they had left occupied by strangers from other parts of the country. [M]any settlements were overcrowded and insanitary, and the houses in them were in most cases inferior to village houses....

The fact that there is such a well-entrenched sex industry, therefore, does not indicate to me any sort of moral "decline" of Daruans, or of the "natural" promiscuity of Papuan peoples (cf. Schoepf 1988: 630), but rather, that there are objective economic, social, and political reasons for its existence and likely continuance. Comparative support for such a position may be found by looking at many predominantly Muslim societies (see Henriques 1962: Chapter 8) or others in which widowed or divorced women must wait a stipulated period until they are allowed to re-marry: in the interim they have no visible means of support and may in fact often resort to prostitution in order to survive. Prostitution thus does not so much index their morals, but rather, the few options that many social formations present to women trying to make a living otherwise. As Schoepf notes for Central African women, "various forms of multiple partner relationships are proliferating in response to economic crisis" (1988: 627). This is a pattern emerging in Thailand and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, where "polypartnerism" is growing rapidly (e.g., Ford and Koetsawang 1991).

In chapters 5-8 I will present ethnographic data and discuss in some detail several different forms of prostitution, forms which, taken together, suggest to me the empirical

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and theoretical utility of "sex industry." In order to lay the groundwork for those subsequent chapters, I would like to present here, via a series of tables, sociodemographic data regarding the women, their customers, and others involved in four different forms that the sex industry takes: 1) a "family" form, in which husbands and male relatives procure paying sexual partners for wives and female relatives; 2) a "freelance" form, in which women (more) by themselves engage in paid-for sexual intercourse without the help of sex brokers but with the aid of girls and boys who pass messages for them; 3)a "women with sex broker" form, in which the broker finds women for potential customers or vice versa, escorts the woman/man to/from the site of sexual activity, and often fetches alcohol, tobacco, food and other items in exchange for a share of the proceeds in beer and money; and 4) "sagapari," the outdoor locale of sexual activity, the Daruan equivalent of tu kina bus. Each of these forms shall be represented by two tables (e.g., 4.1a-4.1b), the first illustrating variables pertaining to the women and their male customers, the second illustrating data pertaining to some of the others involved.

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Table 4.1a

FAMILY FORM OF SEXUAL EXCHANGE		
VARIABLE	FEMALES	MALE CUSTOMERS
AGE	~12 to 40	~18 to 45
M/STATUS	75% single	90% married
ETHNICITY	Kiwai, Bamu	potentially all
SCHOOLING	0 to Grade 6	Grade 6 to Grade 10+
WORK	pisirimai	businessmen/public servants
RESIDENCE	corner/camp	wards/elsewhere
COMMENTS	family gives escort for beer/money, sometimes acts as marriage broker	can be family members, typically uncles or cousins

There is of course great variation within and between all the various forms that the Daruan sex industry takes. Glancing above at Table 4.1a, there are, for example, females younger than 12 and older than 40 who are prostituted by other family members. Perhaps a few have worked at other than pisirimai-processing activities, and some may occasionally reside in wards as opposed to corners, camps, and canoe places.[14] Table 4.1b directly below illustrates some of the other persons and aspects involved in the "family" form:

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[14]. To speak of "patterns" is to beg questions such as: in terms of what? within samples how large? "patterns" in an empirical sense? These questions are difficult to answer in some ways because "the sex industry" is so ubiquitous on Daru--the "pattern" is the totality, as in the form I discuss in Chapter 8. "Patterns" are more easy to quantify in other ways. Sagapari, for instance, has a precise location, at which toil about 1/3 to 1/5 of all the Bamu women who live in the nearby settlement, not the women who live in Daru's other three Bamu settlements. I have not the slightest idea how many situations fit the "family" form, though virtually all informants who seemed or were proven to be knowledgeable at all about such matters mentioned specifically many different families in different settlements who sold females sexually.

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Table 4.1b

OTHERS INVOLVED IN FAMILY FORM			
FAMILY	HUSBAND	MESSENGERS	COMMENTS
brothers, fathers	yes, if Bamu, Kiwai, Suki	wantoks and male relatives	family friends can be messengers, too. This form active when ships, FRPG in town

The "family" form involves family members in a variety of ways, primarily in the passive-to-active solicitation of customers for female relatives and for spouses. Often this involves escorting women up to the Hotel lounge bar or down to whichever cargo barges, research vessels, and other boats may be in town. Sometimes it involves more actively soliciting for sisters in the lounge bar or public tavern, particularly when the FRPG is in session. On other occasions it involves family members, often mothers and fathers and siblings, who send out their daughters or sisters onto the streets until they come back with a certain amount of money. One informant, a public servant who frequented both Bamu women at sagapari and Kiwai women up at the Hotel, remarked during an interview that the "mother and father will decide on the amount of money to have [obtain], and tell the girl to go out at night and get the money. Next day, they have the money to spend." Only a few days prior to the interview he had been confronted by one such Bamu girl on the street who said, "Oh, sorry, my brother, I have no money, can you give me some coins," and who indicated that he could do sex with her if he wanted.[15]

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15. Field note, 12-17-90, Daru.

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Table 4.2a

FREELANCE FORM OF SEXUAL EXCHANGE		
VARIABLE	FEMALES	MALE CUSTOMERS
AGE	~18 to 45	~17 to 60
M/STATUS	15% married/single, 85% divorced/widowed	85% married/15% single and divorced
ETHNICITY	mostly Kiwai and Suki, some Bamu and Gogodala	potentially all
SCHOOLING	Grade 6+	Grade 10+
WORK	pisirimai, housekeeping	businessmen/public servants
RESIDENCE	corner/camp/ward	wards/corners/elsewhere
COMMENTS	often work with sex broker, use boy/girls as messengers	many are expatriate, boyfriends who come to town infrequently

This form is labeled "freelance" primarily to distinguish it from other forms in which women are more actively prostituted by others. These women also work with sex brokers, though. Only rarely are they employed otherwise, but a few process pisirimai for male relatives. Those few who are married must keep their drinking and sexual activities secret from spouses, even though both spouses probably "know" that husbands, if they work at all, are incapable of supporting them adequately. This is apparently the case during periodic scares on a pop cultural level regarding "housewives in prostitution" (for a Long Island example, see Newsweek 1964). Unlike their Long Island counterparts, however, Daruan women are involved in "freelance" prostitution to survive, not merely to "keep up with the Joneses." To that extent, they maintain a network of "boyfriends" with whom they drink and engage in sex more or less frequently in exchange for money, beer and occasional gifts. One young corner woman, harassed and beaten frequently by

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her father and other male relatives for her sexual escapades, received money secretly from her "boyfriend" to buy the things (including food and clothing) that her parents refused to. Several informants said during household census interviews that the difference between garden variety pamukus and ubapes, on the one hand, mere sexually promiscuous women, and Bamu tu kina or "rot meri," on the other, was the degree to which parents/spouses of the latter (but not the former) knew of their activities and put the earnings to use. This suggests that neither income per se nor frequency of intercourse have inherently to do with the ways in which Daruans cognize forms of prostitution.

Table 4.2b

OTHERS INVOLVED IN FREELANCE FORM			
Family	**Husband**	**Messengers**	**Comments**
passive solicitation	rarely	girlfriends and family	many regular boyfriends and some ex-husbands

Not surprisingly, in the "freelance" form husbands may be knowledgeable of, but not generally conducive to their wives' solicitations of other sexual partners. However, the drinking habits, low rates of employment, infidelity, and abusive ways of these men, like those of other family members, mostly male, more or less pressure women into it (see chapter 6). If message-passers are used, they are usually cousins or other female relatives, small boys and girls, and girlfriends. This form of prostitution, probably in ways similar to the "family" form, is not heavily institutionalized and is perhaps not as visible, if at all visible, to the casual observer. It is accordingly difficult to estimate the number of those involved in it. However, while visiting a non-Bamu friend who lived in the only one of the four Bamu corners with significant services and amenities (some

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electricity, water-taps, toilets, etc.), I asked her whether a particular divorcee received material support from the latter's apparently numerous boyfriends. She replied with a sweeping arm gesture across the corner and said something to the effect that virtually all Bamu widows and divorcees (i.e., those perhaps no longer part of their natal families) have to have lots of boyfriends in order to survive.

Table 4.3a

SEX BROKER FORM OF SEXUAL EXCHANGE		
VARIABLE	FEMALES	MALE CUSTOMERS
AGE	~12 to 40	~22 to 45
M/STATUS	50% single, 10% married, 40% divorced or widowed	65% married, 35% single
ETHNICITY	in order, Kiwai, Suki, Gogodala, Bamu	potentially all
SCHOOLING	0 to Grade 10	Grade 6 to Grade 10
WORK	pisirimai	laborers, public servants, villagers, pisirimai, FRPG Members and Ministers
RESIDENCE	corner/village/ward	ward/corner/village/ elsewhere
COMMENTS	sex broker provides contact, escort, beer	wives usually away

Though perhaps not as supremely commodified as the "sagapari" form to be discussed shortly (and in Chapter 7), the "sex-broker" form is nevertheless highly rationalized. Though accurately labeling women in terms of "marital status" is difficult, each of the three sex brokers to be discussed in Chapter 5, and Tunigi in particular, at least professed to shy away from arranging sexual encounters for married women. In at least Tunigi's case, this was because of "moral" considerations as well as those of

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logistics and bodily harm. It is virtually impossible on Daru without others knowing for another non-relative man to come between a married man and his wife, even if the couple is Bamu and the wife toils at sagapari. In my experience, when husbands are away, drunk or otherwise incapacitated, or when the marriage is in the process of dissolution, then sex brokers can arrange sexual encounters between customers and a married woman.

Table 4.3b

OTHERS INVOLVED IN SEX BROKER FORM			
FAMILY	HUSBAND	MESSENGERS	COMMENTS
male relatives	rarely	sex brokers, girlfriends, family	sex brokers sometimes arrange marriages of variable duration

Of interest here is that my feelings toward and understanding of the "work" that sex brokers do changed greatly near the end of my stay as I discovered that at least a few "marriages," of variable duration, intensity, and legitimacy had been arranged by them. This is not something commonly encountered in the literature on pimp/prostituted woman relationships; when the former sheds the latter, it would appear to be for business considerations, to recruit new prostituted women to replace ones not sufficiently productive for them. It is generally not for nuptial reasons (e.g., Reynolds 1986: 31-32).

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Table 4.4a

SAGAPARI FORM OF SEXUAL EXCHANGE		
VARIABLE	FEMALES	MALE CUSTOMERS
AGE	~18 to 35	11 to 65
M/STATUS	98% married	35% married/65% single
ETHNICITY	Bamu only	potentially all
SCHOOLING	0 to Grade 2	Grade 0 to Grade 6+
WORK	firewood collection, empty bottles	laborers, villagers, pisirimai, lower-ranking public servants, no Europeans or higher ranking businessmen or FRPG workers
RESIDENCE	Bamu corners only, has the fewest amenities	village/corner/ward
COMMENTS	locale and personnel shifts frequently	many young boys, disabled, longlongs. heavy drinking

Though each of the forms and instances of the Daruan sex industry involve the brutalization of women, sagapari strikes me as being the most brutalizing. It would appear as well to be the most heavily commodified; prices are kept low by supply and by name: tu kina bus. It is sharply demarcated along ethnic lines; only Bamu women go to sagapari, and only rarely does a middle-to-higher-ranking public servant go there, and Europeans never do.

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Table 4.4b

OTHERS INVOLVED IN SAGAPARI FORM			
FAMILY	HUSBAND	MESSENGERS	COMMENTS
siblings/ cousins	almost always	unnecessary	husband escorts wife, "protects" her from riff-raff, but abuses her, takes earnings and drinks with them, never works; heavily commodified form

Apart from the easy-to-decipher socioeconomic parameters of this form, sagapari also often involves violent, drunken males, both the women's customers, who range in age from pre-pubescent boys to elderly men, and their husbands. Husbands "protect" them from certain customers, sexual positions, and, during my stay, the suspect condom. But they abuse them more often, not simply by forcing them into prostitution and keeping them there, but by drinking away their earnings, belting, cutting, and otherwise abusing them, both when they do and when they do not "go out." When these Bamu women come home with "too much" money, it may lead to an accusation of having "outside" boyfriends; if they return with "not enough" money, it may lead to an accusation of "giving it away for free," again, to boyfriends. Given these women's desperate situations, however, boyfriends are vital assets, helping them out by giving them money and food, in exchange for sex, which is not always or necessarily engaged in at sagapari.

V. A Pulling Together

Taken together, then, recognizable patterns in the Daruan sex industry emerge along several lines. Regarding ethnicity, Kiwai and Suki tend to predominate in certain

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forms, Bamu in another.[16] While virtually no single Bamu women toil at sagapari, single women make up a majority or at least a substantial minority of the women involved in "family," "freelance," and "sex broker" forms. Educational achievement is near-universally low on the women's side (almost non-existent in the case of Bamu) and rather more variable in the case of male customers. Regarding employment histories, again, those of males are more variable, ranging from villagers who sell produce at the market to regularly occupied fisherman and pisirimai-collectors, to lower-ranking clerks and public servants, all the way up to FRPG (and in a few cases, National Parliament) Members and Ministers. Drinking activities vary, but significantly, Bamu women toiling at sagapari are the only participants who seldom if ever drink (though not all male customers there or elsewhere do). Alcohol consumption is a prominent feature of probably 95% of all sexual encounters--among women, among men, among both--that occur in the context of the Daruan sex industry. Employment history is also near-universally lacking in these women, and the stigma of having been tu kina orobo, uba pe, and pamuku virtually guarantees no better opportunities in the future.

Shifting gears now, a series of tables below presents further data on sexual, alcoholic, and monetary behaviors that occur in the context of each of these four forms.

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16. I have two records of sagapari being used by two different Kiwai women for sexual activities. Interestingly, the younger is herself half-Bamu, and the elder is spoken of derogatorily as "almost like Bamu" for her sexual promiscuity.

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Table 4.5a

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE DARUAN SEX INDUSTRY				
FORM	SOLICITED WHERE	OCCURS WHERE	OCCURS WHEN	DURATION
Family	road, Hotel, drinking places	road, bush, Hotel, boat, club	afternoon or evening	1-10 hours
Freelance	Hotel, road	bush, Hotel, office	afternoon or evening	1-3 hours
Sex broker	virtually anywhere	bush, Hotel, customer's, broker's, or woman's home	anytime	1-10 hours
Sagapari	bush, market, front of stores	inside bush, on edge of bush later in day	8am--5pm, later around paydays	5-20 minutes

As one can see from this table, there is some but not a lot of variation between the first three forms in terms of where and when sex is solicited and takes place. The fourth form, sagapari, differs greatly in that duration of sex is much shorter, that it is solicited almost wholly at the location (the bush itself) where it shortly takes place (though there is some solicitation at store-fronts), and that little sex takes place in the evening (owing primarily to darkness and the presence of na'ati and raskols). What information I do have about actual sexual practices (see later chapters) suggests that very little other than penile/vaginal intercourse takes place. More oral/penile and perhaps some penile/anal intercourse probably takes place under situations of greater privacy, leisure, and intimacy, none of which obtain at either sagapari or at most other places, such as bush areas, the occasional office or abandoned building, or the woman's house.

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Greater variation among the four forms, however, appears to exist for another set of parameters involving alcohol and payment, as Table 4.5b indicates.

Table 4.5b

MONETARY AND ALCOHOLIC BEHAVIORS IN THE DARUAN SEX INDUSTRY

FORM	KINA PER ENCOUNTER	BEERS PER ENCOUNTER	GOODS/OTHER
Family	0-150K/ 5-20K	0-48, women< men	tobacco, food, presents to family, beer to male relatives
Freelance	0-200K/ 20-40K	6-24, women< men	beer, food, tobacco, occasionally school fees and clothing
Sex Broker	0-100K/ 5-30K	6-48, women> men	beer, tobacco, food, video, goods to broker later
Sagapari	0-20K/ 1-2K	men half-to-full drunk, women never	tobacco and food if boyfriend, sex in-between

legend: women<men=women typically drink less than men; women>men= women typically drink more than men; figures in "Kina Per Encounter" indicate range and usual amount

Several issues deserve further comment here. Regarding the "family" form, presents given by the male customer (food, clothing, etc.) and extravagant gifts of beer (sometimes kina) made to fathers, appear to signify intent either to marry the woman or at least to have a bond, however temporary, recognized between them. Two informants said in so many words that this represents gifts to the father in expectation of absence of brideprice payments should a marriage result as well as some promise that the woman involved will "stay quiet" (i.e., not pamuk around) until the man next visits. Interestingly, brideprice payments are already low or nonexistent for most of the ethnic

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groups women among whom are active participants in the sex industry. In addition, one could reasonably expect these women's bride prices to be lower if not actually socially impossible, given their sex-related stigmas. One hundred kina was given, for example, thrice to the father of one woman, along with multiple cartons of beer, and in each case, according to her, "he [her sexual partner that evening] wants to marry me." Second, in the "freelance" form, women at least occasionally can count on regular-to-irregular boyfriends and even ex-husbands for support provided that the women at least occasionally socialize and engage in sex with the men. This is also the case for at least a few Bamu women who see their "boyfriends" "on side," behind sagapari, in bush areas, and so on. It is hard to say whether this represents payment for sex or recognition of an on-going bond that involves sex. Third, whenever message-passers and sex brokers are involved, payment in the form of toea, kina, sweets, and tobacco is given both directly and indirectly to them (see chapters below), both on the spot and later.

VI. Summary

As with previous tables, Table 4.5b indicates patterns. First, in terms of alcohol consumption, women who work either "freelance" or with the help of sex brokers often consume copious amounts of beer (normally 6-12, but often double or triple that), but Bamu women almost never drink alcohol. Some male customers outside the context of sagapari do not drink at all, but many others are often fully drunk by the time they stumble in.

Second, regarding payment, lots of "exceptions to the rule" exist. Sometimes women working "freelance" are tricked into giving themselves sexually for free or they

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run away for various reasons before they can get paid. On other occasions they can make 50-100K or more, sometimes doubling that with a deft pickpocket. Probably half of the time the sexual/drinking encounter in question takes them out of commission until the next day, due mostly to the amount of alcohol consumed and the lateness of hour. There are regular exceptions in the case of two or three women; the latter not only have a higher tolerance for alcohol, but are also married and so cannot "sleep" all night with a customer, as might happen if the drinking/sexual encounter took place up at the Hotel, for instance. Other women are not considered by some men "fit" enough (attractive enough, or well enough mannered) to have it be known that they actually "slept" together, as opposed merely to engaging in sex together. Some of these women (and their genitalia in particular) are spoken of in most derogatory fashion. To take another example, Bamu women working at sagapari make only 1-2K per sexual customer, but they generally have 5-10 sexual partners[17] per day, and therefore have steadier earnings. However, boyfriends also give them suguba (Kiwai, Bamu, "tobacco"), as one informant put it to me, "to please heah need, or biscuit, comb, lollywater, because it's sem as monay, it costs monay."[18]

Third, regarding affinal relations, "husbands" of whatever stripe may or may not know about "boyfriends." The issue would appear not to be whether or not a man's wife, if she is tuk orobo, has a boyfriend, but whether such boyfriends make payments to the

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17. I found out later that women, too, as I have noted in reference to men elsewhere, often understated the number of sexual "partners," fortnightly, monthly, and lifetime. Magena, for example, one of my female informants toiling at sagapari, consistently enumerated only her two husbands, despite probably several hundred sexual contacts lifetime.

18. Field note, 11-9-91, Daru.

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husband more or less frequently and openly: "he has to give the money on the side so the husband won't get cross" was how another informant put it.[19]

In this chapter I have endeavored to depict generally for the reader the geographical, monetary, alcoholic, ethnic, and sexual layout of the sex industry on Daru. I will turn in chapters 5-8 to a fuller consideration of the four different forms the sex industry takes that I have sketched briefly in this chapter, beginning with the women who work with sex brokers.

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19. Field note, 11-9-91, Daru.

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Chapter 5:

"Sex and Sex Brokers on Daru"

"The pimp as he exists in the world of the call girl rarely
performs any sales function. He is generally only a paid
companion, a kept man...the chief relationship...
seems to be an emotional one" (Greenwald 1958: 147).

"Murder in pimp terminology means that a girl isn't producing
and is giving it away instead"
(Madame Sherry, Pleasure Was My Business, 1961).

"They're no match, the New York pimp and the female runaway.
Police say he spots her faster than they can in or
around [the] Port Authority Bus Terminal off
New York's seedy Times Square...
One way or another, he breaks the ice..."
(quoted in Armstrong 1983: 204).

"Conning a girl or young woman by feigning friendship or love
is undoubtedly the easiest and most frequently employed tactic of slave procurer...
Young women readily respond to male attention and affection..."
(Barry 1979: 5).

"I had two great enemies all the time I was in the business
One was drugs, the other was pimps"
(Polly Adler, A House is Not a Home, 1966).

"Gangs of these pilot boys used to stand around the harbour,
and when ships called they offered
to take sailors and passengers round the town.
They guided them to the shops, restaurants, and
principally to the bars (pubs) where they could buy drinks.
Those who wished were led to the prostitutes"
(Busia 1950: 96).

"Small boys of six to nine years ran errands and acted as
punkah wallahs [message-passers]"
(Hyams 1990: 125).

"So, your boyfriend became your pimp, or is

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I. Pimps in the Public Mind

Pimps, pander(er)s, procurers, "pilot boys" and "punkah wallahs" are under-acknowledged in many studies of prostitution, at least by contrast to the women whose persons, bodies, and sexuality they help to exploit.[1] Pimps, the occasional male madam (Marlowe 1964), "pilot boys", taxi-drivers, bell-hops, parking attendants, message-passers, and bartenders--males all--are integral players in the sex trade, but their activities are often obscured by misogynous focus on female "deviancy." These males' activities, in other words, must be known in order to understand better the totality of local sex industries, whether they be in Detroit, Des Moines, Dakar, or Daru. Pimps also serve an ideological function in political, particularly reformist discourse on changing sexual mores and behaviors. It was the notion of the pimp, argues Africanist historian Luise White, that did away with Kenyan women's ability to move in and out of prostitution in colonial Nairobi as it suited their various needs. "Indeed," she says, "the very idea of a pimp--with all the violence and expropriation the word conjures up--is one that separates prostitutes from their own accumulation" (1990: 5).[2]

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[1]. but see Slim (1969); Barry (1979: Chapter 5); Winick and Kinsie (1971: Chapter 4); Benjamin and Masters (1964: Chapter 7); White (1990: 5); Reynolds (1986: Chapter 3); Horowitz (1966); James (1972, 1973); and Carmen and Moody (1985: Chapter 5). Interestingly, I've found this to be true as well for the clients of prostituted women, both prior to and in the thick of the AIDS pandemic. See Holzman and Pines (1982) for a fuller discussion of this point, and Pickering, Todd, Dunn, Pepin and Wilkins (1992) for "a Gambian survey" of clients of prostituted women.

[2]. Nici Nelson also reports (1987) that in Mathare Valley, Kenya, many extra-marital sexual relationships are "carried on in connection with each woman's private business of retailing the local maize-millet beer. Women sell this beer in their own rooms... There is no pimp or madam" (1987: 225). These sexual relationships with an exchange component form a continuum, she says, from "Quick Service" to "Town Marriage." When pimps are necessary among the Nepalese Badi, it is as often as not mothers and daughters of prostituted women (Cox 1993: 12, n. 9). The anthropologist Thomas Cox recounts being offered the sexual services of women's daughters and

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So, why does the word conjure up violence and expropriation? What do pimps do all day (and night)? What makes them different from panders and procurers? First, while pimps may pander and procure, panders and procurers generally do not pimp. The pander is the (usually male) person who aids or abets in procuring clients for prostituted women, sometimes vice versa (see Vollman 1993). Procurers induct females into prostitution, whether that be via notices from a "theatrical agent" (Hornblower 1993: 46) or wildly romantic letters from boyfriends or fathers, uncles, and husbands who sell their girlfriends, daughters, nieces, and wives into prostitution in order to survive economically (Reaves 1993; Barry 1979). Sometimes parents make such deals with daughters in exchange for trips to the Circus and to F.A.O. Schwartz (Inciardi 1984). In Brooklyn, procurers "recruited girls from fourteen to sixteen years of age, meeting them in candy stores and near schools, tantalizing them with visions of fine clothes and parties" (Stearns 1966: 6). In the context of the "White Slave Trade" at the turn of this century, procurers were referred to by the moniker "friends," who met the unfortunate young woman at Ellis Island or Grand Central Station,

> who attended to her entrance papers and took her in charge. These "friends" were two of the most brutal of all the white slave traders who are in the traffic... Where these two men took her she did not know--but by the most violent and brutal means they quickly accomplished her ruin. For a week she was subjected to unspeakable treatment and made to feel that her degradation was complete and final (Bell 1911: 55).

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sisters by women, but not by men. With regards White's trenchant comment, in addition, I would argue that the notion of pimp separates individual from state complicity in the organization and protection of and profit from sex industries: the State is the "biggest pimp of them all" (Vorenberg and Vorenberg 1977: 27). Legalized brothels in rural Nevada, for instance, were paying upwards of $1,000 a month each to the counties in which they operated in 1977, and in some counties brothels remain the single biggest contributor to county coffers.

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The pimp, on the other hand, is the person who lives primarily off the earnings derived from prostitution, not from the initial selling of prostituted women.[3] To the "Happy Hooker," Xaviera Hollander (1972: 277), this is what separates pimps from boyfriends: "a pimp lives off a girl's earnings, a boyfriend rarely does." Various other "bit players" such as "go-betweens," "cadets," "steerers" and "wigwaggers," "lighthouses," "ponces," and "Murphy Men" intercede in one way or another on behalf of prostituted woman, client, both, or themselves (see Winick and Kinsie 1971: Chapter 5). In some of the seaport towns of West Africa, in Sekondi and Takorodi in Ghana, for example, "pilot boys" and "rarrays" were two terms given to the boys and young men who procured customers for prostituted women (or vice versa). "Tow-ropes" was the name given to the fees they earned for guiding customers to women (Busia 1950: 96; Little 1973: 97; see also Henriques 1962: 380-81). Pilot boys came into being during World War II, but as the soldiers departed they were forced into stealing and gambling to make ends meet. "Jagudas" is the term now given to car-park attendants in Lagos, Nigeria who steer customers to prostituted women (Little 1973: 97-98). On Daru, there are "messengers," just as likely boys on bicycles as bartenders and in-laws, who convey interest in sex, money, and alcohol between women seen to be pamukus and prospective clients.

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[3]. This definition, however, opens the door to include doctors, police, grocers, drug dealers, etc., each of whom also profit from the earnings of prostitution or who otherwise exchange "sex" for money, goods, and drugs. Might this include the standard practice (e.g., Corea 1992: 218) of using anaesthetized female genitalia in teaching hospital settings, particularly those of prostituted women?

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While each of these characters play prominent roles in sex industries, the pimp is assumed to have a somewhat deeper involvement in prostitution and in prostituted women themselves. Pimps are seen as the managers of "girls'" and "wives'" sexuality by coercion, brutality, or persuasion. "Pimps and their prostitutes," says Reynolds (1986: 26), "form an economic team to produce revenue according to he [sic] division of labor set down by the pimp." As one New York "Mack" (a term derived from a famous Kansas City pimp) is quoted as saying, self-servingly, "You think I take it easy? I have to take care of my hole, keep her away from other guys, get her welfare check on 'mother's day,' and take care of myself. It's a tough life" (quoted in Winick and Kinsie 1971: 118). This is part, says Reynolds (1986: 30), rather incredulously, of the "psychic costs of being a pimp." Kathleen Barry, in her landmark study, Female Sexual Slavery (1979), argues that there are essentially five patterns of recruitment by pimps worldwide, ranked, though she does not say so explicitly, in terms of being less to more brutal and exploitive. Those are 1) befriending, or love, 2) actions of gangs and organized crime members, 3) recruitment agencies, 4) outright purchase, and 5) kidnaping.

Technically, pimps make their livelihood from the earnings of prostituted women. These may be rather small-time operations involving one or two women upon whom the pimp is dependent for money and status, or they may involve crime syndicates, police, financiers, and politicians who control near-globally now the movement and sale of bodies and sexual pleasures. Prostituted women work for pimps on the streets, in brothels, on an out-call basis, at roadside diners, out of cars and trucks, or at a combination of these locales (see Merry 1980), suffering greater or lesser collusion on

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the part of legal and political authorities.[4] Prostituted women already stigmatized by and subjected to work hazards have not uncommonly found themselves working "on the other side." The Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.) conceded in 1979, for example, that it had used prostituted women to extract information from potential informants and witnesses in C.I.A.-sponsored "safe houses" (cited in Rosen 1982: 172). In addition, laws against pimping, pandering, procuring, and prostituting usually carry disproportionately penal consequences for the women involved.[5]

Despite these empirical realities, the popular stereotype of the pimp in America (see e.g., Armstrong 1981, 1983) is often otherwise. In the minds of many policemen, politicians, playwrights, and members of the general public, culminating perhaps in the spate of movies in the early 1970s of the "blaxploitation" genre, the pimp is often seen as a flashy black male[6] with expensive tastes in drugs, cars, and clothes. He has an explosive penchant for violence, he "turns out" his stable members, he occasionally "protects" them from customers, and bails out his "girls" when they land in jail (see, e.g.,

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4. The relationship between pimps and madams, pimping and brothel prostitution is not treated much in the literature, excepting prostituted woman and particularly madam memoirs (see, e.g., Adler 1953; Wolsey 1942; Sherry 1961; Stanford 1966). In several of these memoirs, call-house madams complain high-handedly about the exploitive nature of pimping, and rightly decry the physical abuse suffered at the hands of pimps. On the other hand, not a few madams (Madame Sherry, for example) did not mind on occasion having a few girls working for them who had on-going relationships with pimps, who "kept the girls in line," working harder.

5. I wish to acknowledge inspiration provided by a reading in the same 24 hour period of essays by Baldwin (1992) and Chesler (1993), both of whom greatly altered how I look at prostitution.

6. Author-sociologist, Sara Harris, for example, claimed in the 1950s that 90% of all pimps and 50% of all prostituted women were African-American, and that European-American pimps with African-American prostituted women were extremely rare (cited in Benjamin and Masters 1964: 227).

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Carmen and Moody 1985: Chapter 5). To a greater or lesser degree he also extorts by whatever means necessary a portion of their earnings, sometimes by promising that he is investing the money for the two (or is it twenty?) of them. Streetwalker (Anonymous 1959: 135) includes this dull reminiscence about one such relationship:

> He takes my hand. "Okay, kid. Don't get the needle--I didn't mean anything. But if we're going to retire in a year, like we said, we both need to make as much as we can. I'll be doing my best. If you do too, we'll be out all the sooner. Work it out for yourself. If you're making an average of a tenner a night clear profit, that's over three thousand in a year. With what I get, we'll be laughing. But you can't do that in a place like this [a brothel], straight you can't.

Pimps generally have on-going affective, usually sexual relationships with each of the women who work for him, one or two of whom may be considered his "main ladies" or "wives," "bottom ladies" who may act towards one another as co-wives or wives-in-law. The "bottom woman" may also help him turn out other girls and women. As Winick and Kinsie (1971: 110) note, "[i]n as much as the prostitute's body is for sale, her giving it to the pimp is one expression of her commitment to him." He may use vicious beatings or the threat thereof to keep his women in line, and may see to it that they become addicted to drugs in order to create in his women even greater dependence upon him. Great debate exists, of course, about the reality of each and every aspect of this stereotype of the pimp (cf. Barry 1979; James 1977; Armstrong 1983; Winick and Kinsie 1971; Rosen 1982).

Turning from ideological or sociological emphasis to historical, the relative prominence of the pimp is also a function of other political and economic features. Changes in the technologies of sex, for example (the use of sex toys, telephone, video, pornography, waterbeds and mirrors, etc.), as well as in the sexual activities themselves

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(more and less sadomasochism, the periodic popularity of flagellation, AIDS-phobia, and so on), reflect changes in the social systems in which sexual services is bought and sold. The advent of citizens band radios, for example, revolutionized at least for a time in some locales the solicitation and performance of "truck stop" forms of prostitution, opening "a lower niche in the profession of commercial sex service" (Klein and Ingle 1981: 61). "Red-light" districts, to take another example, have virtually disappeared in America, replaced in many urban centers (such as Portland, Oregon) by topless clubs, lingerie modeling and "exotic tanning" salons, escort services, and so on (there are now over 150 such establishments in Portland alone). Streetwalking, too, says Rosen (1982: 172), has correspondingly increased in importance, and with it, the pimp. Luise White, on the other hand, finds nary a pimp in the entire history of prostitution in colonial Nairobi, Kenya (see 1990), and notes helpfully that there is "nothing inevitable about pimping" (1990: 6) in systems of prostitution. Changes in sex industries, then, perhaps mirror or index changes in gender roles, economics, politics, and society. Periodic, often hysterical "exposes" in the popular press of housewives and New York City co-eds turning to prostitution to supplement family incomes and to help rising tuition often ignore the systemic nature of women's oppression. If, following White, there is nothing inherent in prostitution about pimping, then perhaps there is nothing inherent about other important roles and relationships in prostitution, either. The solution may be, therefore, to look more closely at local, cultural aspects of sex industries, instead of at more mechanical, deterministic theories of prostitution. After all, though exceptions are few,

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prostituted women are not everywhere a stigmatized group (e.g., the southern Nepalese Badi; see Cox 1993), and even when they are stigmatized, not uniformly so.

I have tried above to isolate several characteristic, stereotypic) features of the pimp: 1) an on-going, affective, usually sexual relationship with the women who toil sexually for him; 2) an exploitive economic and often violent relationship to his "girls" and "wives"; 3) a multifaceted relationship with the customers and authorities he encounters; and 4) a lifestyle dependent on and expressive of his domination over women.

II. Pimps and Message-Passers on Daru

On Daru, each of these four characteristics are present in some men, but to greatly varying degrees. (For the present, I am omitting mention of the role of Bamu husbands in the sagapari form, which is discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 7. Though they be husbands, their behaviors certainly approximate most closely those of the Western stereotype of pimp.) "Pimps" on Daru do have on-going, sometimes sexual relationships with the women whose sexual activities they manage. They are exploitive, though rarely violent. They certainly relate variously to authorities and to these women's sexual partners; sometimes they even relate literally, that is, affinally and consanguineously. Finally, while none of them drive cars (much less flashy ones), or wear flashy clothing, they do to some extent express gender domination materially. That expression may take the form of increased beer consumption, raised prestige when they eat and socialize with "big-shots" in the lounge bar or other locales they could not otherwise afford to go to on their own, and when they watch videos in hotel rooms and

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recount them to others. In addition, they receive (albeit little) money and occasional "free" sex from these women. Their sexual relationship to them, however, is usually rather furtive. One sex broker says, for instance, "I just give them [woman and customer] backside." "Maski" [never mind], he used to say, "I just turn around, big deal."

Beyond these superficial similarities, therefore, "pimp" conveys little of the role these men play. "Sex broker," by contrast, a term I much prefer, highlights the negotiatory aspects of their roles, particularly when "marriages" result. Sex brokers arrange sexual encounters either by direct introduction or by passing messages. Some sex brokering involves no money at all. Sex brokers also sometimes escort man and/or woman to the site of sexual activity, whether that be to hotel rooms or, bushy areas, behind water tanks, under the lounge bar stairwell, or to private houses.

Having provisionally distinguished on several quantitative grounds between sex brokers and pimps, the problem of more satisfactorily defining the former emerges. Message-conveyance on Daru, for instance, is ubiquitous. I remember one morning sitting on the patapata of my own house, writing something up or down, when a young woman from an inland, mainland but nearby village arrived with a several-times-folded handwritten message from a young woman visiting in the corner. The note implored me 1) not to "make friends" with any other female, ever, 2) not to accept notes and messages from any other female, ever, and 3) not to employ any other message-passer than the one delivering this note. Boys on bikes, girls on foot, friends around town, family members, best friends--potentially everyone passes messages back and forth, for and between prospective and eventual sexual partners, whether for themselves or for others. For this

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reason, I wish further to distinguish between message conveyance whose outcome is rewarded with money, beer, or other material items and that which is merely a one-time or infrequent favor one might do for one's cousin, mate, or acquaintance, without payment. Kids on bikes receiving biscuits and lollies, in other words, in return for conveying messages to eventual or potential sexual partners are not sex brokers since they do not solicit customers directly, escort them anywhere, or receive any other form payment. Three case studies below illustrate such complexities.

III. The Role of Sex Brokers

To begin, there is a variety of forms of sex brokerage. First, there are married couples, Bamu and otherwise (see Chapter 7) who together procure for and arrange the sexual activities of the wife. Tunigi, for example, sometimes left his wife at the house of one of his patrons, a high-ranking man in the Education Department. She would clean his house and sometimes afterwards engage in sex with this patron. Aberewame's brother (see Chapter 6), to take another example, sold her sexually on occasion for beer to his mates. Her father, Gaima, sold her mother, Obea, sexually.[7] Another key informant sold two, perhaps all three of his now non-resident wives.

Second, there are teen males, "boys," as one informant told me on the street one day, "dealers, they take the girls up to some people [at the Hotel]." They walk around

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7. Father Aloys Kasprufs (1973), writing on the basis of his missiological work done among tribes of the Middle Ramu and Upper Keram Rivers in northeastern New Guinea in the 1930s and 40s, writes that prostitution was more or less common to "all the Ramu tribes except some Banaro" (1973: 86), in addition to wife-lending and wife-exchange. In addition, he notes, many girls and women were forced into prostitution by their husbands and brothers, and that these women had very little leeway in refusing. "A brother prostitutes his sister even against her will, and, even after her marriage, he may influence his tani [in-law] in this respect" (1973: 93).

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town or ride bicycles up and down the roads, visit drinking areas and video places, stores, always "going for spin," "6 to 6," around the clock. Along the way they encounter men who request that they provide them sexual partners later in the day or evening, or at least that they pass messages to their intended recipients. These young men also escort their sisters and cousins up to the Hotel lounge bar or to various store-fronts and solicit them. Sometimes the men who make such requests are close personal acquaintances of the boys or of the boys' fathers and live in the same wards, corners, or compounds. In exchange, these boys and young men are given lollies, coins, tobacco and future favors, sometimes free beers and food and free sex in the form of "chance" or "second chance." There is a particular trade at the wharf when cargo barges and research and other vessels come to town. One stevedore informant said

> I have only seen the boys or say, men, selling a females, for example, beer, they taking them mostly some people or some boys they take them to the boat, the boat which coming the cargo boat they take them in there. And then those crews they pay the man give the money and then how many nights or days that prostitute will stay in that boat.[8]

Third, Hotel staff--cooks, bartenders, security, drivers, front-desk personnel, and so on--procure for, sometimes become the customers of women. These staff are male, but female staff are also sometimes propositioned by guests or are employed as message passers to other female staff, some of whom do eventually accept sexual propositions.

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8. Tape recorded interview, 1-9-92, Daru.

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Given these examples and definitions, the number of "sex brokers" on Daru must be in the hundreds if not thousands.[9] In this light, Kenneth Little's analysis of "Freetown" is instructive:

> In Freetown these touts are known as "rarray" boys and, in general, each professional prostitute employs her own pimp whose fee is known (following Naval parlance) as the "tow rope...." In Lagos, pimping is also done by car-park attendants. These jagudas, as they are known, make the introduction. For example, a customer who does not "know the ropes" can walk into a hotel after speaking to the attendant outside and the latter will bring a woman to his table. If she and the client agree to go back to her flat the jaguda receives a fee from both parties. Acting in this way as the woman's broker, the jaguda controls a good deal of her activity because, as explained, girls new to professional prostitution need contacts (Little 1973: 97-98).

It is not clear, however, what kinship or other ties these women share with these men. I consider such social ties below as they exist in the context of the Daruan sex industry.

IV. Case Studies

Case Study 5.1

> Andrew is in his mid 30s, handsomely built with a pleasant, though sometimes dour demeanor. Though he has fewer than six years of formal school training, he is one of the more articulate, worldly-wise fellows I met on Daru. He lives in one of Daru's many corners, and though not "working" per se, supports himself and one of his several wives, primarily by selling marijuana, by arranging break-ins with some of his criminal "associates," and by arranging sexual encounters. He moves easily between "grassroots" in corners and camps and "bigshots" in the FRPG, and particularly in Police and Correctional circles, among which he counts many friends and customers. Though I was warned away from him by various friends and officials, he was one of the nicer, more helpful friends and informants I had on Daru. His normal daily movements are between house, Hotel lounge bar, public tavern, trade store, and market, at and between which he encounters friends and associates, passes messages between women and potential customers, and, not infrequently, arranges his own, extra-marital sexual encounters.

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9. By this definition, for example, would have to be included the "office boys," drivers, and so on for FRPG Members, Ministers, and other workers who book rooms, purchase alcohol, and rent videos for the couple.

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I begin with Andrew because he is such an articulate and engaging fellow. His mother came from a highlands village and his father is from Yam island, Torres Strait. I became friends with Andrew one day as I was distributing condoms and trying to "story" with several women informants at a well-known pamuku haus. At the time, I was intrigued because he named (numbered?) several different sexual positions that he claimed the attendant women engaged in, among them, "77," "69," and "44," not to mention "Cloud 9" style.[10] I began to see him around town a bit more and to give him condoms for his own use and for that of his "associates." Over beers one evening at the Hotel, he began to ask me questions about STDs, about the efficacy of condoms in preventing them, and about what I knew of the HIV antibody status of various women he wanted to or was already sleeping with other than his three wives.[11] He had returned to Daru after an 6-year absence. As before, business dealings consisted of selling "black-market" beer out of his house, providing marijuana to higher-ranking businessmen and government officials, and of finding sexual partners for them from around town, including his third wife's sister, [12] and his mother's sister. In his own words, during

---

10. The curious may consult Malinowski... (or Chapter 10). We became friends and he my informant because he seemed sophisticated sexually, and was sexually active with at least two of the women I interviewed that day, one, twenty minutes earlier who was nursing her baby as I showed up. He, in turn, was intrigued by my comparative data on sexual behavior and lingo at sagapari, anxious to hear all about "cobra" and "cus-cus" styles.

11. Only one of these wives lived on Daru, one in a coastal Kiwai village, the other in his mother's home village in the highlands. His resident wife, however, during the end of my fieldwork stay, was pregnant, and therefore, at least normatively, unavailable to him sexually.

12. I asked him once how he arranged the sexual activities of his sister-in-law, and he replied "she used to ask me...'somebody down there in that room or over there gave me a call to come to them, can you escort me down there,?' so I used to take her down to the Hotel, whatever, I sometimes have one bottle, and go with her" (audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru).

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several taped interviews, he consistently decried the use of "pimps" and "work" in describing his activities[13]:

> Andrew: "Well, I never worked with anybody else. I'm not a pimp, what you think. I never sold, I never sell the girls to anybody. I'm a well-known guy in Daru, and I've got a lot of friends, drink around with them, and when they want a woman, I, you know, I just go look for one. They have been some women who have been doing it, they have been hiding from the public, but they go to the hotels and they do it."[14]

In his own words, he rejected the term "pimp" repeatedly:

> Lawrence: You seem like you don't like that word "pimp," can you explain to me...
>
> Andrew: You know, you see, most of these woman, some ladies here on Daru, you know their husbands are my schoolmates from school, they don't want their husbands to be with me, they reckon that I might, I might, go and pass the message to other girls, you know. I hate the person, you know, coming up straight to me and "can you go and look for a woman," you know, I get him straight on the spot, you don't have to fucking tell me straight, I'm not a pimp, I don't sell woman. I sometimes go, I sometimes get angry... That is how I feel, you know... Some of the Hotel staffs, I normally get them off straight [get angry if they make direct requests to him]... Sometimes, but you know I get on them, I don't want that. My feelings is different, because if I am a pimp then I should have, you know, plenty of expensive clothes, I've got fancy house, [but] I'm not a

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13. Partly because I wished to help dilute women's stigma a bit, I often tried to foist the term "work" on them. However, since only one woman, and her only once, had ever been employed at a "regular" job for "regular" wages, I had repeatedly to explain what I meant by "work." One of my taped interviews with Andrew nearly precipitated an angry exchange:

> Lawrence: "No, when I say 'going around with', it's because I don't know what word to use, when I say 'working with' or 'going around with,' it's like I don't know what to say...
>
> Andrew: "I never worked!, I never worked with her [a woman we were talking about, one of the first in a large cohort of sex workers]... (audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru).

14. Audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru.

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> pimp, I'm not a pimp, I'm just a simple man, I'm just a simple man, I'm working my own way along.[15]

Instead of promoting his sex brokering activities, he emphasized the more scattershot aspects of his daily rounds, and in addition, the cooperative, even kinship ties he had with these women, some of whom referred to him as "brada":

> Andrew: I have been here, you know, I've been drinking around here. Some of these girls, you know, they like me, that I will look after them, as a guardian, then in return, they make me drunk, you know, I can go home, feeling happy... They will be looking after me, and I will be looking after them, like I was a brother to them."[16]

In his eyes, then, his "work" was not so much to sell women sexually or even to control their movements, much less to exploit them economically in ways pimps in the Euroamerican imagination do:

> Lawrence: How do they come to you, I mean, what do they say to you?
>
> Andrew: They have been with them before, before they knew me. When they come back again for a second time, for a third time, I am there with them, so, they just make sign and they go, and I already know that they are coming for that one [woman]... Maybe the Hotel staff, too, they see, they ask, the Hotel staff and the Hotel staff, they, if I happen to come around there they can let me know, there is somebody here, and they want to drink and [find a woman].[17]

While interviewing him I asked about the 10-15 women and men he used to "work" between. I asked him one day about the most recent sexual encounter he helped to arrange:

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[15]. Audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru. In Jess Stearn's Sisters of the Night (1966:57), "Willy" the pimp also protests, "How can they say I'm a pimp? I don't drive around in no Cadillac." Following White's point above, it would appear that the notion of pimp has helped to construct the reality as much as the other way around, even in the minds of erstwhile pimps.

[16]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 4-2-92.

[17]. Audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru.

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> Andrew: It was one of the Ministers...from the same area [as he, in the Southern Highlands]...we were drinking, that Minister, I was brought up in his place, in his village, in his own province, and he knew me, when he comes down here, he comes with a letter from my mother, and he stays, I will drink with him, I sort of look after him because he comes from where I was brought up. And then Aramia came around and so I told her "this Minister wants you...." Fellow told me to find a girl for him.[18]

I noted above an assumed function of pimps: to bail out their women facing legal difficulties. Although this is the only instance I have direct knowledge of, the example is instructive:

> Lawrence: How about the new Aramia, how many times have you found a partner for her?
>
> Andrew: Once, once when she was locked up in the cell, then I have to go and ask one of my friend to help me, he helped me and I bailed out and I bailed her out and brought her to him... I never knew her, I didn't know her when she came here [to Daru]...he gave me 50 kina and I went and bailed her out...and she slept with him for her bailout.[19]

Andrew was always careful to distinguish himself from other sex brokers, particularly George and Tunigi (case studies #5.2 and 5.3 below). When I asked him what made him different from George or Tunigi he said, "dressing, you know, you have to dress, like him [Tunigi, in this case], he just goes in the same thing, the same old clothes, and it is no good, I used to get angry with, 'oh, you are coming in here all the time, you should take time in coming.'"[20] Andrew also appears to profit directly from women's exploitation very little. Free beer, added prestige, a few coins here and there,

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18. Audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru.

19. Audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru.

20. Audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru.

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occasional free sex, and added marijuana connections seemed to mean far more to him. By contrast with Tunigi, too, he does not solicit women actively.

George, by contrast, is a man with whom I was not on such friendly terms, but he too provided me with interesting data:

Case Study 5.2

> George is about 35 or so, a "Town Kiwai." His house became a real focal point of my research, but an often difficult, sometimes dangerous place to be, depending on the number of beers present and his mood. In addition to being an often ill-tempered, drunken and violent person, he was extremely abusive to his wife (Case Study #6.3 below) and to other sexual partners (and occasionally to myself, as two audiotapes can attest). He was responsible two years previously for the rape of a young woman in sagapari (who later almost became an informant of mine but for her violent husband). George could be described as a pimp insofar as he has sold his wife sexually, as a sex broker in as much as he arranges for sexual encounters between resident females and his many acquaintances, as a male madam to the extent he rents out a room, pillows, bed sheets, cooking fires, and grass mats, even as a john or trick, as he was a frequent customer at sagapari as well as of the women who worked with Tunigi. He sometimes does "contract" work cutting grass and cleaning drains. He sometimes rents a room in his house for 3-5 kina per paying customer per night, and he frequently suggests that paying sexual partners of resident females bring food to "share," in addition to the often copious quantities of beer he consumes. He occasionally sells his wife, Kuria, sexually, but she is pregnant now, and so depends financially more on the sexual activities of several resident females and others who drink and socialize there with their various male friends and partners. Kuria is now pregnant by her own uncle, and although George himself is not happy he does not often abuse her for that, since the uncle contributes substantially to the household's welfare every two or three weeks when he comes to town from an outlying village.

Though George never admitted to procuring for his wife, Andrew, a sometimes resident there, described the situation thusly:

> Lawrence: So, tell me how this works, do fellows pay him to use the house, or pay him to use his wife, or what?
>
> Andrew: On his first house, big one, right there, he was living on handouts, handouts from the Ministers [for Provincial Government], beer, screwing his wife in his place.

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Lawrence: Is that true, tell me...

Andrew: Yeah, they, that big house in front, and small one they were living in, that big ah, he used to take his wife down there while he was drinking and sell his wife on the side.

Lawrence: You mean Kuria? [suitably incredulous for affectation[21]]

Andrew: This is a fact. Well, they drink, they with him and the wife, in their own home, all those regulars, living next door, Jocelyn, Ginny, they drink and if somebody is staying in the Hotel, they can tell her [his wife, Kuria] to come down to the Hotel and while George is in the house drinking, the wife can be fucked in the room, get paid... That's the only place where he can get money...food, everything, might be beer, money, that's how he gets food for the house.[22]

In contrast to Andrew above and Tunigi below, George never moves about town, save when he ambles over to sagapari "for a shag," as he put it, or up to the Hotel to accompany resident females in search of drinking and sexual partners. Nowadays, he does not solicit for his wife so much as partially live by her solicitation of and by others. In any event, George's activities recall the work of Jennifer James (1972, 1973) and her conclusion that

> He [the pimp] may be called a pimp, although prostitutes dislike the term. He is usually referred to by an informant as my man. This man may function as a pimp; he may be a boyfriend or husband, or a combination of pimp and boyfriend... (1973: 149).

---

[21]. Early on I was confronted with the necessity of feigning, sometimes, total ignorance, at other times, complete omniscience in order to affect just the right stance or mood in receiving information. On occasion it was necessary to impress my informants with how much I knew about local sexual networks, but on others it was wiser to affect total ignorance, even incredulity, occasionally disgust, in order to get informants to explain in greater detail. Among other things, writing this dissertation and "seeing my voice on paper," so to speak, has clarified for me just how manipulative I was, without really intending to be.

[22]. Audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru.

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The third case study is of my closest friend and companion, irascible, funny, knowledgeable--in many ways informant dream and nightmare all rolled into one: Tunigi.

Case Study 5.3

> Judging from his frequent appearances in the STD Clinic Registry, he is as ageless as Luis Tiant was during his baseball career, somewhere between 35 and 50, getting seemingly younger as the years pass. Tunigi is twice- and currently married to a woman not from his own village, and he lives with his wife's people in the corner. Since losing work at his skilled trade in a "stand-down" about a decade ago, he has been "walkin' around wid da gels," several different cohorts of them over the years. Six or seven days a week, he walks, like Andrew above, around Daru, up to the Hotel, down to the market, back to the corners, down to Frogtown, out to the airport, round and around, until he encounters a government worker, fisherman, timber camp worker here for "spin," or Hotel worker who ask him to find them a girl for the evening. Fluent in Kiwai, Gogodala, Pidgin, Motu, English, and partially fluent in several others, Tunigi moves rather easily in and out of various cultures and sub-cultures on Daru. He is near universally both despised and loved, scorned and made fun of, but welcome nearly everywhere. His own people revile his way of making a living, but men among whom are some of his best customers, including his real and classificatory brothers, cousins, and in-laws. He currently finds, in one direction, paying male sexual partners for his wife's female cousin, and in the opposite direction, female sexual partners for, among many others, that woman's husband. I have seen him arrange sexual encounters for both at the same time, within earshot of each other, no one apparently the wiser. Nearly always barefoot, grizzled, clothes in tatters, reekingly fond of tobacco, betel nut, and especially alcohol, his body is in remarkably good shape, and his spirits unusually bright. His daily and nightly movements are not really secrets to anyone, but nevertheless he seems always to be hiding, trying to stay just a step ahead of a jealous husband or wife, just out of reach of damning rumor. As for myself, I was both envied and reviled for being friends with Tunigi, broker of sex, the ruin of young women, spoiler (or is that maker?) of marriages.

I spent the better part of my stay on Daru working with him, collecting "stories" entered onto a two-page questionnaire in Melanesian Pidgin, and then translated into

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English ([23] see Appendix 5.1). We completed a total of 275 questionnaires, 247 of which are usable and which have been entered into dBASE III for my purposes here. On the final day of my stay on Daru, I conducted one last interview with Tunigi, an interview that in some ways I wish I had not conducted because I changed on one issue at least my entire conception of him. That is, I knew what his daily and nightly activities were; though he denied it repeatedly, for example, he apparently sold/lent his wife sexually when times were particularly tough, but only apparently to friends and wantoks (as the above case indicated). Also, I was convinced initially that he was pimping for his daughter, too, Nanu'u, a 22 year old woman, recently divorced, her child taken away not by her ex- but by her ex-'s people, more or less aimlessly living in the corner, partly on the proceeds of selling sexual favors to various "boyfriends" who provided her and her family with food. None of them, however, would marry her, and he was becoming desperate. During that final, fateful interview I learned that his "work" also involved arranging "marriages" of varying duration for friends, acquaintances, and his daughter; snippets of that interview I include here, translated from the Pidgin:

> Lawrence: This guy wants to marry your daughter, ah? Tell me about it.
>
> Tunigi: Yes, I'm really angry with her, I want her to get married. This guy said that he wants to get married, too, "I don't like living this way" [single]. This guy works for D.P.I. [Department of Primary Industries] in Kiunga... Wednesday night, we [Tunigi and two women he was "doubling" that night in the Hotel] and he was in room #8, and he said that he wanted to marry Nanu'u [Tunigi's daughter]. Alright, Thursday night, I brought Nanu'u down with her mother, my three children and we went... He gave us 24 kina, Nanu'u had [already] slept with this guy... Again on Friday night, we went back again, she went to sleep with him

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[23]. I met Tunigi on the advice of my then "brother-in-law," and began working with him in February, 1991, eventually for about 13 months altogether.

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again. The man said that he was going to come back again, he's going now to Kiunga [back to work], when he comes back again in a month, he's going to marry her, he will come back again, get Nanu'u, and the two of them will go back to Kiunga. And me, I'm tired of her staying this way [single, mucking around with corner boys and men, living aimlessly]. He gave us 24 kina that first night, and I don't know how much he gave her [Nanu'u]. Four kina was for my beer, and I gave the 20 kina to her mother [his wife] for kaikai [food].

Lawrence: How did this man know about Nanu'u?

Tunigi: I myself showed her to him recently.

Lawrence: What does Nanu'u think about this?

Tunigi: She's fine, she wants to marry him, she doesn't like staying this way, either.[24]

During this interview I began to change my opinion somewhat about Tunigi, not so much about what he does but what he is. In addition to arranging sexual encounters for all and sundry, he is also an active broker in the marriage market. I asked him specifically about this later on and he replied, "Yeah, I've done this for some men, and now they're married and they're doing really well." Whether or not he consciously views himself as a marriage broker, and whether or not that is in fact his intention--important questions both--are quite beside the point. He has also arranged marriages for his wife's little sister, for several of his drinking mates, for former work mates, and for several of his own kin. His marriage brokering also extends to the women he walked around with all the time, at least in terms of more temporary, less monogamous unions. Male customers married thusly request that the women "stay quiet," "not muck around too much," "stay away from the Hotel," and so forth, in the interim until they visit again.

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[24]. Audiotaped interview, 4-1-92, Daru.

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Many of Tunigi's clients, therefore, may have had something more permanent in mind when their sexual encounters were arranged. But not perhaps something too permanent. Men on Daru and even visitors from out of town, are "afraid" of these women; they suspect the women already have auwo ai (Kiwai=for loose vaginas, pejorative, "cunt"), that they are bagarap pinis (Pidgin=already "spoiled," sullied). Of course, these women and their vaginas are not so spoiled as to preclude men "sexing" them. In the section below, I wish to discuss in greater detail the activities that Tunigi engages in and the locations at which he and the women with whom he does it.

V. A Sexual Geography of the Daruan Sex Industry

Beginning in early December, 1991, directly upon returning from an enjoyable break in Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province, I went with Tunigi on a sexual geographic, "walking tour" of Daru, snapping slide photographs of and audiotaping his thoughts about each of about 50 places at which sexual encounters he had arranged had taken place over the years.[25] Armed with tape recorder and microphone, cords adangle, flush with paper and pencils, cassettes and extra batteries, camera, film, and clipboards (we made quite a sight), we spent two days.[26] Despite my infirmity and the blazing sun it

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25. I have entered figures below as they were obtained during the course of several interviews. I suspect that some numbers are inflated, others deflated, but that in general these numbers provide adequate relative balance. As was the case with virtually all of the informants I had on Daru, Tunigi and I had very different conceptions of ratios, frequencies, numbers, durations, and so on (see Agar 1980: 95). I learned, accordingly, how to translate some of his numbers into mine.

26. This tour took place on the (arguably) hottest two days in human existence. It was made worse by a burst blood vessel in my right eye, suffered during my flight back from Goroka precipitated by a violent rainstorm that began just as we attempted to descend, whence ensued three aborted landing attempts.

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was one of the best times I had. I quote here from the tape recording, translated from Pidgin:

> Lawrence: I want you now to tell me why you come here [Sikani Bus].
>
> Tunigi: Uh, we come here and we hide around, because it wouldn't be good if all the people came and saw us, saw us drinking beer and whatnot. So, we come, get the women to come and then we drink and fuck, not me, I don't fuck, but my friends, me, no way! So, I've come to show my friend [Lawrence], we've come, and I've shown him the number one place that we come to, and he has snapped photos and we're standing around telling stories.[27]

For each of the fifty or so places we covered, then, Tunigi filled in the gaps as to why, who, where, and how often he and they come here. This walking tour of Daru's sexual geography was augmented by and compared to several interviews we conducted earlier and later regarding each place and woman. Thirty seven of those 50 or so are rendered below in Table 5.1. Many of these "places" signify larger areas within or at which sex might take place in a variety of locations. The "New Hotel," for example, refers to an entire compound, though I have recorded "stories" that took place in the hotel rooms themselves, underneath the stairwell leading down from the lounge bar, behind the water tank, in the men's toilet, and so on.

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[27]. Audiotaped interview, 11-26-91, Daru.

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Table 5.1

A Sexual Geography of Daru			
Location	From	Till	Freq
Daru Guest House	1978	1984	200
Fishing Boats	1983	1991	4
Customer TC's house	1987	1991	300
Sikani Bush	1980	1987	30
Security House	1988	1991	70
Frogtown Bush	1984	1985	100
Customer L's House	1990	1991	200
Police Club	1985	1987	19
Customer A's House	1988	1988	18
West Corner House	1988	1988	15
Tu Kina Point	1985	1987	34
Madame Corner Bush	1985	1986	70
Construction Site	1991	1991	35
Tawo'o Bush	1985	1986	18
Kadawa Vill. Bush	1983	1985	19
Customer K's House	1987	1991	16
Ipisia Corner Bush	1986	1987	22
Agobaro Bush	1986	1988	33
Karekare Comm. Sch.	1985	1985	25
Tunigi's House	1985	1991	31
Customer J's House	1986	1991	24
Daru High School Bush	1986	1986	23
Old FRPG Quarters	1988	1991	15
Hosp. men's quarters	1988	1988	20
Old Courthouse	1987	1991	52
Boumana Jail Bush	1987	1988	18
Boumana Bush	1988	1988	30
Hotel	1987	1991	65
Giwari Corner Bush	1987	1988	62
I's House	1990	1991	24
New Courthouse	1990	1991	12
Customer H's House	1988	1988	10
Montfort Cath. Sch.	1987	1988	30
P.W.D. men's quarters	1988	1991	24
Karekare Comm. Sch.	1984	1986	25

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Pisirimai-place	1991	1991	16
D. Chalmers Comm. Sch.	1989	1990	10

legend: "From"=first year used this place; "Till"=last year used this place; "Freq"=# times total this place used.

Fifteen or so of these places Tunigi currently uses. In descending order of frequency, Tunigi has arranged sexual encounters at primarily three kinds of places: 1) Old and New Hotels, 2) at private houses, and 3) bush areas. The remainder are split more or less evenly between "school places" (buildings, bush areas, lawn, etc.); workers' quarters (Bank Flats, Public Works Department barracks, Police barracks, etc.); old or new, uninhabited buildings and construction sites (old foundations, new housing sites, etc.); and at a few customers' houses. Occasionally, he and they have hopped into dinghies, tobacco, beer and kaikai in tow, for the short spin across to the mainland and to Kadawa bush.

Each of these places have advantages and disadvantages to them. The Daru Guest House, for example (#1), is now defunct, no more than a pile of wood and a rusted water tank. Its physical and managerial decline seemed imminent in the mid-1980s, according to a recent travel guide (Wheeler 1988: 255). However, it used to be a popular place, and by the accounts of several female informants, pleasant in its relative isolation and quietude, and in its close proximity to the airport. "Security House" (#5) is interesting insofar as it is used only by various sexual partners of one woman, because of its proximity to her residence. Also, this woman, her father, and the papa bilong haus (house-owner) share kin and friendship ties such that the father usually accompanied his daughter to this house, and often tried to marry his daughter thusly (or use that as a pretext for acquiring money and beer?). Customer T.C.'s (#3) and L's house (#7) were

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frequently used. The former has close proximity to liquor outlets and usually several women considered pamukus. As Tunigi put it during our walking tour, "Not just one man came here, all of Papua New Guinea." The latter affords far greater privacy, has a flush toilet, a fridge, and an unusually tolerant tenant (who is also a frequent customer, too). "Construction Site" (#13) was used primarily by and because the customer was the foreman at the site and because his "security" consisted of his third wife's first husband, who received a job from him as reward in their adultery court case. The foreman ended up marrying her, and the now ex-husband stands watch. Tunigi used his own house not infrequently (#20) and in doing so pulled in food, beer, money, and future favors. The "Old Courthouse" (#25) was once accessible by the key of the courthouse clerk, a frequent customer. It was reduced to foundation only in a suspected case of arson, and now this foundation, on and behind it, is where sex and drinking take place. The New Hotel (#28) is probably the most preferable site of all, not just for the woman and man involved, but for Tunigi, too, since there is always a bed and shower, discrete staff, videos to rent, a lounge bar nearby, a fridge to keep the beer cold, and many more potential customers nearby. Also, the room can be booked for half-days; government workers or whomever in question can pretend to have gone to work that day but enjoy beer and women instead.[28]

Fewer than half of these places Tunigi currently uses. Some have burned down, others have fallen into disrepair, and others have been made otherwise unusable (#s1, 2, 13, 23, 25, 35, 37). Workers began stealing money from guests at the old Daru Guest

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28. Audiotaped interview, 11-26-91, Daru.

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House, and partially precipitated its demise. Private houses (#3 and 7) have become unusable to the extent that the house-owners periodically crack down on the noise, suspicion, fights, and misunderstandings that occur. Bushy areas (particularly #s 6, 12, 14, and 15) are popular, too, but can not be used more than a couple days in a row, since too many people might walk by and spot them. Jealous, suspicious wives used to scour the island looking for and occasionally finding their philandering husbands. Another private house (#30) can only be used when the owner's husband(s) is/are out of town or otherwise indisposed. As Tunigi put it to me, he/they made a circuit of sorts around the island, from cement foundation, to underneath the B.M.S office, to several private houses, to customers' houses, to bush areas, and so on, always a couple of days ahead of usually well-grounded suspicion. To my knowledge, Tunigi has never been arrested by the Police, nor has he ever been taken to court over his activities, though again, he is often reviled in public by officials. He counts among those officials, of course--from FRPG, Police and Correctional staff--several frequent clients, who may act to buffer him somewhat from recrimination.

Table 5.2 presents three "rosters" (each exemplifying one of the major categories above) of the women who have worked with Tunigi at given locales and the number of times they have worked there.

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Table 5.2

THREE PLACES					
GUEST HOUSE		PRIVATE HOUSE		SIKANI BUSH	
WOMAN	#TIMES	WOMAN	#TIMES	WOMAN	#TIMES
P.	15	N.	18	P.	6
T.	14	K.	18	E.	7
T.	14	L.	15	T.	5
G.	17	G.	7	K.	7
K.	15	O.	16	G.	3
F.	16	A.	18	F.	3
S.	18	F.	12	T.	3
E.	15	F.	2	D.	6
K.	35			I.	3
W=9	159	W=8	106	W=9	43

legend: "W"=number of different women Tunigi has worked with at this site

These three "rosters" exemplify several things about Tunigi's work. First, he has worked with at least 20 different women over the years. Second, almost one third of the 20 women listed have worked with him at more than one of the three places listed, and that percentage would undoubtedly rise if more places were considered. Third, women are evenly distributed throughout the places listed in Table 5.1, suggesting some non-continuous engagement thusly. Each woman moved in and out of this form of prostitution depending upon marital "status" and relative presence of spouse, upon residence, and upon immediate cash needs. At the time that this "walking tour" was carried out, for instance, two women who had worked with Tunigi many times over the years had just departed for Port Moresby and a local village, respectively. Both came into town for brief periods to acquire money before departing again, perhaps to buy foodstuffs and other trade store supplies, to pay school fees, to buy clothing, and so on. Another woman came to Daru from the nearby Oriomo Sawmill when her current

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"husband," a sawmill employee, went on leave back to his home in the Kiunga area. She typically stayed a week or two at a time, engaged in sex with multiple partners (thereby obtaining cash), and then departed for Oriomo again, just in time to meet him. Another woman, who later almost became my research assistant (see Chapter 10), came to Daru with one, two, or three of her three children from Port Moresby during various stages of her divorce from her second, European husband. I accompanied her more than once to the Post Office as she sent "salim moni kwik" (wired remittances) to relatives staying in Port Moresby, proceeds from having engaged in sexual relationships with high-ranking FRPG workers.

VI. Tunigi's Gels

While working with him and devoting several interviews and several score field notes to just this topic, I compiled a roster (Table 5.3) of 13 of the perhaps 50 women that he has worked with multiply over the years. Each of the following I have first-hand knowledge of from acquaintanceship, as well.

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Table 5.3 TUNIGI'S GELS

W	VILL/ETH	AGE	MS	#K	WK	COMMENTS
A	Agobaro CK	22	m-s	0	no	w/Tunigi since 12, trying to divorce
B	Agobaro CK	28	s	0	no	big sister of A, no common customers
C	Balimo GG-KK	32	d	2	no	long time w/Tunigi, goes to Port Moresby frequently
D	Parama KIK	32	m	3	no	married now, lives in, returns from Port Moresby often by plane/ barge
E	Kadawa CK	26	m	0	no	European clientele, married, claimed me "boyfriend" after interview, used condoms previously
F	Daru TK	40	d-m	7	no	married now, still (not self-) acknowledged pamuku and as among first Daruan women in '60s to initiated current pamuking custom
G	Duru Suki	28	w	1	y	Tunigi's #1 "go-to" woman, lives with cousin, worked as hausmeri, 2 STDs
H	Parama KIK-Bamu	23	s	0	no	Tunigi's #2, has several husbands out of town, supports parents, made sterile by family
I	Mabuduwan CK	39	m	5	no	acknowledged by most as #1 pamuku, prodigious drinker, multiple STDs
J	Duru SK	26	m	3	no	has many "high-position" boyfriends, freelance, too
K	Mabuduwan CK	32	d	5	no	has brother, father, mother, now "sister" (really daughter) in sex trade, multiple STDs
L	Daru TK-Samoa	18	s	1	no	just started, favorite of FRPG Members, has left child to auntie

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M	Sepe KIK	30	m	2	no	"married" to another of Tunigi's favorite customers, is Tunigi's relative, suffering from STD and infected Lippes Loop

legend: "W"=woman; "vill/eth"=village of origin and ethnic identity (FRK=Fly River Kiwai, K=coastal Kiwai, KIK=Kiwai Island Kiwai, TK=town Kiwai, GG=Gogodala, KK=Kikori, Suki); "MS"=marital status generally when working with Tunigi; "#K"=number of children; "WK"=otherwise regularly working for wages.

Below, I discuss several relevant behavioral parameters involved in this form of the sex industry. I begin with sociodemographic patterns, proceed to discuss how sexual encounters are arranged, and then finally discuss the drinking, sexual, and monetary behaviors involved. Data in these sections were obtained by "participant-observation," by transcribing audiotaped "sexual life histories," and by analyzing 247 (of the 275 collected) usable two-page questionnaires we filled out together.

VIa. vital statistics

As can be seen from Table 5.3 above, there are a number of remarkable patterns to these women's lives. First, though 7 of the 13 women are "married," this reflects in many cases nominal status only. Two of those 7 married recently and problematically. Two more are "married" only to the extent they cohabit when their "husbands" come to town occasionally and when the latter bring the money, food, and household items which enable them to stay in the houses of their "wives." These are not considered "real" marriages by co-residents. The fifth of those seven is "married" but does not live or even "sleep" with (in the strictest sense of the term) her husband, who is similarly "married" to three other women living in another province. She does, however, get a majority of his fortnightly pay, and she engages in sex with him, and cleans and sometimes cooks for

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him. The sixth does not consider herself "married," to the extent that she is trying to get divorced from him, though he claims still to be married to her and reinforces such claims with a canoe paddle. The seventh is married and resides with her husband, and lives a relatively settled and materially satisfactory life, though one featuring 5-10 new, paying sexual partners a week. Tunigi says that he objects on moral grounds to facilitating married women to pamuk, but empirical reality suggests that he does so fairly frequently, particularly if the nominalness of these women's "married" status is considered.

Second, although the majority have at one time or another engaged either in fishing or pisirimai-processing, or have helped to sell the garden produce or betel nut of family members, only two to my knowledge have ever worked for regular wages. "G" was recently engaged as a "hausmeri" for 40 kina per fortnight, and "M" once worked for a few weeks in the fish cannery, until her first husband "took her out from work," as she put it, quite literally forcibly removing her from employ, taking her to his family and compound, marrying, and later then later abandoning her. She and her children have been living precariously ever since in Tunigi's corner.

Third, most of these women began working with him when they were in their early and middle teens, some as young as 11 or 12. Though Tunigi often claimed to be averse to "turning out" 12-14 year olds, or to arranging sexual encounters for married and/or pregnant women, encouraging them further "down the pamuku road," he found himself from time to time doing all three. As often as not, perhaps, younger women solicited him to find drinking and sexual partners for them, as in the cases of "A," "G," "H," and "L."

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Fourth, three of the thirteen women are childless and as far as I can tell, have never been pregnant. None to my knowledge have ever employed other than "custom ways" of birth control.[29] Two have had only one child each. Others still menstruating have not been pregnant in a long time. Given these women's sexual activity levels and the near-total absence of consistent usage of "modern" contraceptive methods, mido (sorcery) and untreated STDs, perhaps pelvic inflammatory disease in particular, must be considered as factors (cf. Leslie's claim [1963: 148-49] that 33% and 48%, respectively, of non-prostituted and prostituted Dar es Salaam women had borne a child).

Fifth, these women show a remarkable consistency of ethnic affiliation. During my entire fieldwork stay, I met nary a woman working with Tunigi who was from Bamu, Morehead, Pahoturi, Bine, Nomad, Kiunga, or Lake Murray areas, and only two Gogodala. The vast majority of the women Tunigi associated with were in fact from either Suki (2 only), or from Fly River and particularly Coastal and Kiwai Island Kiwai

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29. The literature on prostitution and STDs and infertility is of course voluminous in the extreme. Many centuries ago Ovid offered the "explanation" that "a field too often plowed produces no harvest" (cited in Benjamin and Masters 1964: 211, n. 4), and this sentiment is certainly reflected in much public health/epidemiological writing, particularly that which claims to investigate the role of pelvic inflammatory diseases in inducing sterility.

This would require another chapter to elaborate, but Daruan contraceptive methods include placenta burial, ingestion of herbs, and "magic" spoken into tea and other liquids. Other methods of birth control include the tight belting of one's waist and jumping off of high places, traditionally, coconut trees. Many of my female informants spoke of themselves and others as having been "magiced" by their spouses and family members, usually against their will, sometimes with their knowledge, so as not to conceive. Nemeru's husband convinced her mother that one child was enough and put the baby's "rubbish things" (placenta) inside a small bag, dug a small hole inside an anthill and placed the placenta-filled bag there. She's been staying "properly" (no kids) for five years now, and has recently become pregnant. Throughout the period of my fieldwork, I inquired of kastom we ("custom ways") of birth prevention in various ways, among them, by asking nursing sisters during a total of seven "Family Planning Interviews" (see Appendix 5.2).

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villages.[30] My near constant attempts to find out why there was such a sharp pattern to this ethnic affiliation were answered nearly uniformly on the non-Kiwai side by statements such as the following--"that's how Kiwai gels are," "they have no shame," "that is their way"--and from the Kiwai side as "we are living on money," "Kiwai girls are already worse," "we are used to it," and so on. "Kiwai girls are free," carries the double meaning of being less bound by custom and tradition, freer to act sexually as they wish, and free in the sense of being sexually low-priced, if not actually free. The local rap is that because they "are free," Kiwai girls and young women do not fetch large bride prices, at least not by contrast with other Papuan Gulf peoples who did not practice preferential sister-exchange marriage, as did Kiwai. Apart from women in the sex industry, Kiwai girls and women are probably no more or less "moral," in the sense of adherence to norms, or "promiscuous" than any other. Length of residence and socioeconomic situation in town, by contrast, seem to have much more to do with sexual and other behaviors than does village or ethnic origin. Kiwai people in general have been living longer on Daru, have been exposed to the cash nexus and to Europeans longer and more intensively, and perhaps therefore are less set against engagement in the sex industry.

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30. For my purposes, "coastal" Kiwai villages would extend from Sui, in the mouth of the Fly River, to the east, to Mabuduwan and Turituri villages in the west. "Kiwai Island Kiwai" is an ethnic/linguistic designation referring not only to Kiwai Island proper (what used to be known as Iasa), but to several of the other villages and islands in or around the mouth of the Fly River. "Fly River Kiwai" villages begin further up the mouth of the Fly and extend as far upriver as Doumori. Beyond a few remarks I could make about different dialects, missionary experiences and degree of involvement in the cash economy, I would be hard-pressed to defend these rather arbitrary divisions.

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Sixth and finally, each woman had a truly remarkable tolerance for alcohol (see Table 5.6 below). Not infrequently did they drink 12-24 or more bottles of beer during a 1-3 hour "pati," and they usually drank more than the men with whom they later had intercourse. In contrast to the Bamu women working at sagapari, whom I never saw drinking, beer was for these Kiwai and Suki women doubly a motivating factor. It precipitated a life of drinking and sexual activity, and it prepared them sometimes for sexual activities themselves. "In normal sense," "I cannot do this," "I used to feel shame," but when "drunken sense hits me," "when I'm conk-out/full blast/dead already," "I can do that one" (engage in sex for money). Nemeru came to me once while I was storying with another woman, slurring terribly, blurry-eyed, sentimental, and said:

> Nemeru: Lawrence, I'm drunk, it's okay, I'm drunk, Lawrence, madi auwo [handsome man], I'm drunk, sisters and brothers told me you can drink only 12 packs and 6 packs, not too much, I'm drunk, maybe what, I'm I'm drunk, I'm talking, Lawrence, last night we were drinking all night, Jesus, I was drunk, full over, Lawrence, I sex wit fellow, I don't want that fellow, but I was drunk.[31]

Late in my fieldwork, Nemeru collapsed twice on the wharf during drinking bouts and had to be carried back to the house. Colloquially, "find me someone to drink with" was how women enlisted Tunigi's help in finding "boyfriends" for the evening and who may later have also turned out to become more regularly involved with them.

VIb. finding a partner

Tunigi solicits customers daily and nightly, six to seven days a week. Like Andrew above, walking between house, offices, tradestores, wharf, Hotel, public tavern, market, and various betel nut-selling places, Tunigi encountered men who made requests

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[31]. recorded verbatim during another interview, 1-19-92, Daru.

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of him to arrange a sexual/drinking encounter for them immediately, later that day, or later in the evening. Table 5.4 presents in tabular form the frequency with which he was solicited at several locations (cf. Morgan-Thomas, Plant, Plant, and Sales 1989: 149, Table 1).

Table 5.4

SITE OF SOLICITATION													
STORE			M	HOTEL			HOUSES					R	O
A	B	C		B	R	G	C1	C2	C3	TH	WH		
10	71	4	37	38	12	3	4	15	30	3	3	7	10
85			37	53			55					7	10

legend: "A,B,C" refer to three local tradestores; "B,R,G" refer to Hotel bar, room, and grounds, respectively; "C1,C2,C3" refer to customer houses, "Th,Wh" to Tunigi's and a woman's house; "R" refers to road; "O" refers to "other, Post Office, Education office, Police Barracks, pisirimai-buying place, co-op store, rugby oval, CIS Club, etc.

There were a total of 247 solicitation sites reported, and of those, 230 were made in or in front of three tradestores, at the public market place, in or around the Hotel grounds, or at several private houses, including Tunigi's and those of the men and women involved. By far, trade store B was represented the most frequently (71 times), nearly twice the frequency as was the next most frequently reported site, the Hotel lounge bar (38 times), and more than twice as frequently as was another private house (30). He was infrequently solicited on the road: once each at the Post Office, co-op, and Rugby Oval, twice each at the Education Office and CIS Club, and thrice at the Police Barracks.

Most of the time the potential customers did not inquire of specific women or specific kinds of women (young, old, light-skinned, fatter, skinnier, etc.). Perhaps 15% of the potential customers requested for themselves particular women, typically younger, lighter-skinned, more demure women, those who had the reputation of (at least recently)

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"not mucking around" too often, or those with whom the customer had already had sexual contact. The remaining 85% of the time Tunigi had from among 10-15 women at any given time to choose. Tunigi always had 1-3 women "go-to gels" at the top of the list, then another 5-10 women that, provided he could find them, he could count on at least being able to ask them whether they would like to accompany him later. Rather less often he would turn to a woman with whom he had worked long ago, or select a woman at the marketplace, betel nut-selling places, or on the road that he either knew or suspected would not refuse to fulfill the customer's request. Generally-speaking, requests were phrased in terms of "so and so is up at the Hotel/George and Kuria's house/B.M.S. Office, and he wants to drink, you come." I myself never witnessed women refusing to accompany him, but when they did, it was usually, according to Tunigi, because she was not feeling well, because the fellow had a bad reputation, or because they "feel shame" (i.e., to walk around in public, particularly during the day). Women generally inquired who it was that was asking for them or what kind of man it was, either a "big-shot," businessman, "Provincial Government," and so on. Requests from laborers, fishermen, crayfish divers, and so on, men of lower finances, prestige (and standards of cleanliness, according to them), in other words, were less enthusiastically received, though again, rarely refused outright.

If the encounter were to take place immediately, then the woman involved would nearly always retire momentarily to have her wash, to set household and children (if any) straight, to collect her bilum, and then take off. Sexual and drinking activities usually take place not at her house, so she must take some time to look presentable by putting on

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a fresh t-shirt or blouse and skirt, perhaps apply make-up, and so on. If the encounter were scheduled for later, then arrangements would be made either for the woman to come on her own or to be escorted by Tunigi, alongside his wife were there other affinal or consanguineal ties involved, as was often the case. Women are also occasionally accompanied by co-resident females, by "cousin," "sister," or friend. If persons conveying messages happen to be boys on bicycles or girls on foot, then closer ties of ethnicity and amity are likely present.

VIc. getting together

Once customers solicit Tunigi, he then promises to find a woman, and then arranges to meet at a certain locale, sometimes escorting the woman or man in question. The man may give Tunigi money with which to buy beer and other kinds of alcohol, tobacco, and perhaps food. Tunigi found women in essentially the same kinds of places as those at which he was solicited, though of course with different frequencies. Table 5.5 presents in tabular form such places and frequencies were reported in 236 of our 247 completed questionnaires.

Table 5.5

LOCALE OF WOMEN WHEN SOLICITED													
STORE			M	HOTEL			HOUSES					SU	O
A	B	C		B	R	G	C1	C2	C3	TH	WH		
1	13	1	11	9	3	1	81	24	2	8	75	2	5
15			11	13			190					2	5

legend: all headers are taken from Table 5.4, with the exception of "SU," which refers to women simply showing up

Eighty five of these 236 solicitations were made at the three stores listed above, but only 15 times were women actually found inside. Tunigi was solicited in his own

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home only three times, but found women there to fill requests eight times. Fifteen times he was solicited at "TC," a private compound, one with several resident females, but nearly a third (81/236) of the time he was able to find a woman to fill the request there. In addition, Tunigi was solicited at the woman's house only three times, but went to her house 74 times to fill a request.

VId. drinking behaviors

Early in my fieldwork I began to learn a bit about drinking frequencies and styles throughout the town (see Chapter 3). I remember initially disbelieving his accounts of how much beer was purchased and consumed at each "pati." How can anyone drink that much?, I kept asking myself. Soon I began to see why Daru has the reputation as a hard-drinking town. As I began to socialize with, observe, and drink with many of these women, I began to see that, yes indeed, they can drink prodigious quantities, though I never quite figured out how. In Table 5.6 below are listed in descending order the alcoholic behaviors of seven women.

Table 5.6:

PARTY TIME								
	BEERS CONSUMED PER SEXUAL ENCOUNTER							
WOMAN	0	1-3	4-6	7-12	13-17	18-24	25+	#ENC
Leona	4	3	11	46	4	0	0	68
Ogamea	6	0	5	28	3	2	1	45
Nemeru	1	0	1	33	1	0	0	36
Gaie	1	1	5	15	0	0	1	23
Aberewame	0	0	3	16	0	0	0	19
Pare	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	7
Aramia	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	6
TOTALS	12	4	26	138	10	2	2	191

legend: "#Enc" refers to total number of encounters in this sample.

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Reading left to right, the number of beers consumed per sexual encounter has been broken into units, for three reasons. First, beer is sold generally in units of six. Second, one has social obligations as a paying customer to provide beer for one's prospective sexual partner, for oneself, and for Tunigi. Third, it jibes with my observation of drinking style and tolerance. One to three beers, for example, is not enough to get anyone drunk, but perhaps drops defenses just a bit. Four to six beers do not make women riotously drunk, either, but it is considered a sufficiently sociable quantity to "shout" someone, particularly in a setting such as the lounge bar, where requests for (and potentially denials of) beer can be more public. In the Hotel lounge bar, however, this is already ten kina or so just for the woman's beers. Seven to twelve beers is socially normative but can be prohibitively expensive and may come eventually out of earnings that may otherwise have accrued to the woman; that is, the man can say, "I already spent X kina on you, I have no money left."

These figures illustrate some interesting patterns which confirm my observations at the time. First, 0 indicates the relatively small number of instances (12) in which the woman does not drink any beer (which meant that none was present; I have no record at all of beer being present and the woman not drinking). Second, the consumption by women of 1-3 beers (4 times) is considered the bare minimum of discharging one's obligation as a paying customer to one's sexual partner and to Tunigi. Third, the drinking of 4-6 beers (26 times) is considered more like it, and indicates the presence of at least a twelve-pack if not more.

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Alcohol consumption has also to do with the socioeconomic status of the men in question. Except in the presence of co-villagers, a solitary villager who had come to Daru to market garden produce, fish, and meat generally could not afford to purchase more than 12 beers. Consequently, the difference between being able to purchase 6 or 12 (or 12 or 24) beers for a village man is large. Table 5.7 presents the average number of beers purchased for a sexual encounter according to the type of resources villagers turned into money, that is, garden foods, fish, pisirimai, or crocodile skins. These figures indicate the lucrativeness of the crocodile skin business.

Table 5.7

BEER PURCHASES BY TYPE OF RESOURCE				
	GARDEN PRODUCE	PISIRIMAI	FISH	CROCODILE SKINS
AVE.#SP	09.27	19.46	30.00	39.00
#SELLERS	11	15	2	4
Total villagers in sample=32				

Returning to beer consumption patterns, as can be seen from Table 5.6, these women usually drank 7-12 beers per sexual encounter (148/213), which indicates the presence of a full carton (24). Since beers are most often sold in units of 6, 12, and 24, a full carton is not generally split 8-8-8, but rather, 12-6-6, with 12 going to the woman in question. Frequently these units of 6, 12, and 24 were consumed in patterned ways. If only six were purchased, that may indicate that the man does not drink, and the woman might get 5 or all 6--one perhaps going to Tunigi. If 12, they were usually split evenly. If 24, they were most often split 12-6-6, and if 36 beers were present, they were almost always split 12-12-12. As one can see, only twice each in this sample were 18-24 and 25+ beers consumed by women, but there were many other reports of such drinking in

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the remaining several score stories. The record in my sample was 48 beers consumed by one woman in a 14-hour "pati" involving several different sexual partners and three different locales, and 36 by the same woman in a slightly shorter period involving the same sexual partner. This woman, Ogamea, was acknowledged by all to be the top female drinker on the island, but, interestingly, she is also the woman who most frequently engaged in sex for 2-5 kina, no beer being present at all (6/12 instances). Four times she was paid in nothing but beer, sometimes only one or two bottles. Once in my presence she got paid 2 kina and bought two cold bottles from the house-owner.

Only rarely did I observe truly "drunken" behavior, despite the large amount of beer these women consumed. Women rarely stumbled or grossly slurred their speech beyond the normally boozy talk that accompanies most drinking in or out of the sex industry. Some women frequently became surly and aggressive after consuming a half carton, but some also become sentimental and quieter. Some customers do not drink at all (80/247). Tunigi used to wink at me and say "em mas Kristen, a!" (he must be Christian) or "em i tok, mi wanpela Kristenman" (he said he was a Christian man). Women usually drank as much as, if not more than the men involved.

Though I have little empirical support for such a claim, I believe that being inebriated influences condom usage. Nemeru, Aramia, and Aberewame said, for instance, "I was full blast, I told him maski, you go [sans condom]" or "I was dead out, I leave the condoms at home," or "I don't remember [whether I used condoms]; we were

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drinking, drinking, drinking--until daybreak."[32] For Ogamea, too, the presence of beer and money counted far more than the presence of condoms and male willingness to use them. In Leona's case, her father exercised far more power over her condom usage compared to her own willfulness when he attempted to marry her off to timber camp or mine workers. With three or four cartons of beer present and big money and her father's wishes at stake (100 kina or more, usually), Leona could not easily protect herself with condoms or protect herself by opting out of the likely sexual encounter altogether.

When pressed to comment upon what level of "alcoholism" there is on Daru, as I often am, I am unsure as to how to answer. First, since alcohol consumption was not the major focus of my study I have not the adequate empirical data with which to evaluate the drinking behaviors of the informants and acquaintances I knew best. Second, since few if any of my informants ever see or receive clinical or psychological counseling about their drinking behaviors, I am unsure as to how would be constituted a label of "alcoholic" to such a health care provider. I do know, however, of not a few males who were hospitalized from time to time for acute alcoholic poisoning and for the cumulative effects of over-drinking. Two acquaintances died ostensibly of over-drinking, another young male died from ingesting methylated spirits following a soccer match, and another informant's husband was frequently in the hospital for days at a time due to over-drinking. I saw weekly, sometimes daily, the ravages of alcohol and of its many side effects, among them, severe, debilitating, shame-inducing hangovers. Of the women in

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[32]. Another significant factor is the desire that the man/en marry them. Therefore, not using condoms came to signify greater emotional/physical intimacy and the greater likelihood that they would become pregnant from such encounters, and thus, that he/they would marry them.

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my sample, I would say by my own standards that two are alcoholics, but neither are they the heaviest drinkers. Fourth, I am thinking comparatively of drinking styles and behaviors exhibited by expatriate and national men. Most of the former on Daru are affiliated with mission work and do not in fact appear to drink very much. The few expatriates I saw frequently in and around the Hotel were fishing boat captains and research vessel crew, and though most if not all of them drank, I cannot remember ever seeing any of them drunk, at least not what I would consider fulspak (fully drunk). At the time I considered this to be a means by which (former) colonial advantage was evinced: we whites are better because we don't get drunk like you do; we are in control because we control ourselves. With some hindsight, however, I am led more to consider the kinds of physiological and psychological components of drinking and drunken comportment that Mac Marshall details so well in Weekend Warriors.

VIe. sexual partners

Tunigi knows well most of the men who solicit him, and of those whom he did not know I requested that he find out more. This information was checked against data obtained otherwise, as by asking friends and informants at various places--Bank, Post Office, Hotel, etc.--about new or temporary personnel around town. Tunigi was again remarkably reliable on this score. In Table 5.8 I present in tabular form, by occupation, all of the men for whom he found sexual partners, grouped into "Government," "Businessman," "Villager," "Trades," "Hotel," "FRPG," and "Unemployed" categories.

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Table 5.8

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF TUNIGI'S CUSTOMERS				
OCCUPATION	#	TOTAL	#DI	TOTAL
Government:				
M/M, NP	4		2	
M/M, FRPG	16	20	6	8
Businessman:				
Store owner	7		7	
Boat Captain	10		2	
Croc. Skin Buyer	5		3	
Pisirimai-buyer	2	24	5	17
Trades:				
Ok Tedi Mine	15		7	
Teacher	4		5	
Construction	12		6	
Security Guard	2		1	
Cargo Barge	1		1	
Bank	1		1	
Post Office	4		4	
Mechanic	3		1	
Store Clerk	17		5	
Radio	1		1	
Health Worker	2		1	
Salesman	1		1	
Timber Camp	18		13	
Sex Broker	1	83	1	48
Hotel:	19	19	11	11
FRPG:				
BMS	4		3	
Lands	3		1	
Education	4		2	
Correctional	1		1	
Public Works	18		14	
Elcom	4		2	
Works/Supply	1		1	
Waterboard	6		3	
Courthouse	3		2	
Commerce	1	45	1	30

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Unemployed:	19	19	2	2
Totals:		243		118

legend: "#"=number of instances in sample;"DI"=different individuals in sample;"M/M"=Member/Minister;"NP"=National Parliament;"FRPG"= Fly River Provincial Government;"BMS"=Budget, Management, and Service

These 243 solicitations came from 118 individuals. Eight different provincial and national government Members and Ministers made 16 solicitations, and 30 different workers in various FRPG departments made 45 more. Twenty-four solicitations were made by 17 different businessmen, and 48 different tradesmen made 83 more. Two unemployed men nevertheless made 19 solicitations.

As one can see from Table 5.8, the vast majority (224/243) are persons employed one way or another, or who earn income otherwise, either as salaried workers or as villagers who sell garden produce, fish, pisirimai, and crocodile skins. Governmental Members and Ministers are represented here 20 times: 16 from the FRPG, 4 from the National Parliament. Ten per cent (24/243) of the men Tunigi brokered sex for were "businessmen," including fishing boat captains and pisirimai-buyers. Just as many Hotel workers (19/243) are represented as are unemployed persons (19/243). Slightly over half (45) of the 83 "workers" came from Lands, Commerce, Waterboard, and other departments. The greater presence of Public Works Department workers owes to Tunigi's several personal, once occupational connections.

These residential and occupational parameters are important in the extreme with regards epidemiological aspects of likely future HIV transmission. While I traveled to and from Daru, up and down the Pahoturi and Fly Rivers, in and out of Gogodala country, I tried always to talk with health workers and others about AIDS. People in one

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camp believed that "people living in the bush" were going to escape the epidemic because they lived in the bush. People living on Daru believed that they were going to be ravaged by sickness because AIDS is a "town sickness," one that "goes straight to pamukus." A letter writer to the Post-Courier (Jan. 5, 1993), for example, a Mr. Amos Taporaie, complained about a draft report of mine written for the Health Department and said that

> It is true to say that one or two people have died from AIDS in Daru, but it is important to note that these people did not contract AIDS in Daru; they got it in places like Port Moresby. Other people who have died of the illness don't even come from Daru. They come from the outstations of the Western Province.

Persons familiar with transmission dynamics and the level of human traffic throughout the region are worried in the extreme. One health worker I interviewed at Balimo Station, heart of Gogodala country north of Daru, said that STD rates in the region were "atrociously high," and consequently that when the AIDS epidemic hit in the region it would "spread like bushfire." Even if there were only one case of AIDS in Gogodala country, he said, "so what. It's probably a prostitute and she is still going to ply her trade, regardless. And she will ply it widely."[33]

A less misogynist, likely more effective approach would be to focus on the residential status and migration patterns of the men for whom Tunigi arranges sexual encounters. Table 5.9 below categorizes these men into 1) those who live primarily on Daru, 2) those who live in villages or elsewhere, and 3) those who live sort of in-between, exhibiting "fluctuating" residential status. "Primarily Daru" means that the man

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[33]. Field note, 1-7-91, Balimo Station, Western Province.

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in question maintains (a) Daru residence(s) at which he spends most of his nights. He may, of course, travel to and from Daru during annual leave if he be salaried worker, back and forth to the village for social, business, and personal reasons, and so on. "Primarily elsewhere" refers to customers who come to Daru from outlying villages to market their marine, riverine, and agricultural products, to mine, sawmill, and timber camp workers, to those who fill-in temporarily at the Bank or Post Office, to those attending special meetings on Daru, and so on. Finally, in the "fluctuating" residence category I have numbered Members and Ministers for National and Provincial Government who travel regularly and frequently throughout the province and nation, fishing boat captains and cargo barge workers who live primarily between residences, and so on.

Table 5.9

PRIMARY RESIDENCE			
PRIMARILY DARU	PRIMARILY ELSEWHERE	HABITUALLY FLUCTUATING	TOTAL
99	114	29	242

The level of human traffic exhibited by members of each of these categories probably does not differ as much as it may appear on the surface. FRPG officials finance more expensive and frequent trips back and forth to the village, and may fly as opposed to paddling a canoe, but they probably travel no more often than do mainland villagers. It was the rare person I met on Daru who had not recently been "home" to his or her village, and an equally rare person I met in the village who had not gone recently to Daru "for spin."

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Residence, therefore, may not be a particularly good marker of human migration (and thus, of pathogen migration), since nearly everyone travels to and from Daru nearly all the time. A case could be made, however, for the importance of residence of customers' wives, if they are married. In our sample, 35 of the 247 solicitations were made by "single" men. Of the remaining 213 solicitations, 151 were made by men whose wives did not reside on Daru, who lived either in the village, or at the man's normal worksite elsewhere, or with her natal family.

Table 5.91

WIVES' LOCATION AT TIME OF SOLICITATION		
VILLAGE/ELSEWHERE	DARU	TOTAL
151	62	213 solicitations by married men, 35 by single

Seventy per cent of the solicitations in this sample were made by married men whose wives either did not reside on Daru, or who were not resident at the time. The remaining percentage, however, (30%) is a rather high figure in view of how "small" a town Daru is and how fast rumor travels. Of those remaining 62 solicitations, approximately 20 of them came from the same man with three wives resident on Daru. This man had fathered 17 children who now reside in Western, Gulf, and Central Provinces. Not until late during my stay was I able to convince him as to the medical goodness of condoms. When Tunigi and I asked why married men needed other sexual outlets, they responded along the lines of "Because my wife is in the village, and I cannot stay dry [sexually inactive]" or "because I came for spin to Daru [and therefore have to have a sexual partner]." Rarely, men said they wanted other partners "because my missus is having sikmun (menstruation)" or "my missus got bel (is pregnant)." To summarize

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from empirical and observational data, 85% of all the married men that I came to know well enough to know had sex extra-maritally. There are several reasons for this.

First, both women and men do not welcome substantial weight gains women often undergo. These are associated with diet and a more sedentary lifestyle, with the normal process of aging, and with pregnancy and Depo Provera injections in particular, the second or third most frequently used contraceptive method.[34] I observed rather dramatic weight gains associated with Depo injections as I came to know corner, ward, and village women and their husbands better. Men told me that they become turned off sexually to extra weight and flesh, and female health workers told me that women themselves claim dampened sexual desire thereby.

Second, there is the allure of the ease with which drinking leads to sexual activities, an allure many visiting (and resident) men find irresistible. Cut loose or otherwise not bound anymore by traditional sexual controls, men find sex easily and inexpensively (cf. Orubuloye, Caldwell, and Caldwell 1993: 865, passim). In addition, sexual activity between husband and wife is something frequently negotiated, something planned for, often paid for, one way or another--not something taken for granted. Apart from issues of privacy (precious little of which there is on Daru), married women seldom initiate sex, either because of lack of desire, because of various taboos on sexual activity, or because of shame they feel at appearing to be sexual (see Chapter 8). Sex, in other words, is something that men have to ask, often pay for. Consequently, traditionally

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[34]. Behind only contraceptive pills, said six of the seven nursing sisters I conducted formal interviews with early on (see Appendix 5.2).

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sanctioned sex often is not worth the hassle. Consider the case of my friend and informant M, who appeared one evening with two other acquaintances at the house of Nemeru:

> ...[they tried to] drag her away...M, G, and a policeman. But they didn't talk to Nemeru directly, instead to Kuria. They asked her to go get Nemeru, they wanted her to go with them, but Nemeru responded to their/her request by saying "sori, my condoms are finished, if I have some, okay, but my condoms are finished." She said that they said "we want to give her some money" and they apparently had 50 bucks to give her, presumably to do sex with all three. Strangely enough, really strangely, they weren't drinking at all, didn't even have any beer or plans for any. Then they asked Kuria if she would go with them, and Kuria came back to ask Nemeru if that was okay, but she evidently stopped her, saying "you've got husband...."
>
> I then asked where this party was going to take place, and it turns out that M's wife is away, so the party was going to take place at his place. It's funny, but I can't get out of my head that conversation I had with him in front of Karuame [trading store] one day, when all he was doing was complaining of how tired he always was and how he never had any desire for his wife, nor she for him, the kids are always there, etc., etc. As it turns out, he pamuks whenever she is away, which would appear to be fairly often. Next Nemeru talked a bit about M's other partners, among them Ogamea, Aberewame, Nemeru herself, and Leona. Then there's the X lady....[35]

M is a relative bigshot in town, earning perhaps three times the salary of an average clerk, probably five times that of an average laborer. Though he is married to a beautiful wife, and though, prior to this story, he used to complain to me why he never needed condoms (because he and his wife were always too tired to do sex), he shows up frequently on our questionnaires as the male customer in question.

Third, and related to (2) above, Tunigi's women engage more willingly and frequently in sexual activities that many men's wives will not. Fellatio and different sexual positions would certainly be two. During several sexual life history interviews,

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[35]. Field note, 10-30-91, Daru.

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female informants not in the sex industry barely exhibited knowledge of fellatio much less a willingness to perform it, and by their and their husbands' accounts, their sexual positional repertoire was rather limited. (I recognize, of course, that such would not have been easy for female respondents to enumerate. Nevertheless, other data appear to confirm their answers.) By contrast, nearly all of the women in Table 5.6 above engaged in fellatio, some in cunnilingus if their partners desired, and I heard of occasional reports of anal intercourse, too, though not many. Far more frequently, though, I heard that the men asked their extra-marital sexual partners to engage in different sexual positions, typically "backfire," what Americans (but not Daruans) would refer to as "doggy style." In addition, some informants at sagapari evinced a rich sexual lingo that included, again, several sexual positions in which their wives and girlfriends apparently did not engage.[36]

Fourth, Papuan Gulf, American, and European men (see, e.g., Bailey 1982) adhere more or less to a hydraulic theory of male sexuality. Although nominally they worried about the pollutive, corrosive aspects of penile/vaginal intercourse, they nevertheless found it incomprehensible that a man (such as myself, for instance) could go for lengthy periods without "release" (ejaculation), could "stay dry" for so long. During informal talks at sagapari and more formal, audiotaped interviews men frequently spoke

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[36]. One such was "cus-cus" style, in which the woman squatted on a low-lying mangrove tree branch, the man standing underneath her and at the back. "Frogstand" was another often spoke of, woman superior on two feet, hands on man's chest. "Soka" ("doggy" style), "Cobra," "77", "44" and "kung-fu" styles were others mentioned frequently (see Chapter 7).

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of the ill they would do themselves and their bodies by "staying dry," by not "releasing their sperms," and so on.[37]

This last factor bears on the question as to why so many men feel it necessary to engage in sexual intercourse with multiple partners. Many marital sexual lives appear to be unsatisfactory in the extreme, particularly so for wives. Men, however, have easy and inexpensive recourse to other sexual partners, to "pick-ups" at party and video places (see Chapter 8), to the Bamu women at sagapari, and to those who roam the streets at night.

VIf. getting paid

To conclude this chapter I discuss the monetary aspects of the sex broker form of prostitution. Again, I found Tunigi to be extremely accurate when it came to remembering from one to several days prior how much he and the women he worked with were paid for individual sexual encounters, as well as how and when each were paid.

There are a number of monetary features which distinguish this form from others discussed above and below. First, unlike forms of brothel prostitution elsewhere in the world, and certainly unlike sagapari, these women are not paid uniform prices, neither for individual sexual activities, nor for set durations of time.[38] By contrast, many African

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37. A related notion is that for males condom usage is bad for one's sexual/reproductive organs to the extent that it creates "blockage," that "the sperms cannot go in a straight line," cannot "shoot straight," or "straight to Kiunga."

38. There are only two exceptions I would add here to this general pattern. First, I received several reports clustered around Holidays of men from fishing boats in particular who were drinking in the lounge bar and who solicited women for more or less specific amounts to come to their boats for the evening. Second, when cargo barges, research vessels, and a few larger fishing boats arrive at the wharf, several women go down and greet new, sometimes not so new boyfriends, who then say something along the lines of "I'll give you 100 kina for X number of

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prostituted women in contemporary towns, according to Little and others, charge partly by time of day, by tribe, and then again, some men say that they pay "what we feel like" (quoted in Little 1973: 91). As far as I could tell, on Daru, whatever money the man had leftover in his pocket after drinking, eating, and socializing went to the woman and to Tunigi if he was still there. This is reflected in the number of times that odd amounts (21 kina, 47 kina, 2.50 kina, and so on) were given to one or both of them.

Second, payment takes place following, not often prior to or during the encounter. Men here and there mention that they have a certain amount of money to give to women, but they frequently lie outright or promise (and fail) to return the next hour/morning/ evening/week/month to complete the transaction. These women seldom if ever asked for money up front, claiming that they "feel shame," that they "cannot do that one," that they "cannot ask the man for the money," that they "are not begging for the money," and so on. Six times out of a total of 68, Leona ran away following sexual encounters, either back home or back up to the Hotel, allegedly out of shame. Nemeru claimed always to engage in only one sexual position, again, because of shame at appearing more sexually sophisticated and active than she really was. Aramia did not ask for money of young men she wanted "to stick on." I heard Ogamea say on occasion, after a man had refused to pay for sex, "Maski, em i laik bilong en" (Forget it, it's not that big a deal, it's his wish).

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days. The women would then hang out with their (new) "boyfriends" for the duration of the latter's stay on Daru.

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Third, these women seldom rushed or were forced to give money over to Tunigi. Just in terms of the six women whose earnings I will present below in Table 5.92, Tunigi claimed to receive no payment at all 69 times, at least beyond free beer and tobacco and the occasional fish and chips feast if the encounter took place in a hotel room. If the man happened to be Tunigi's wantok or wanwok or wanlain (sharing, in other words, language, work, or kinship), then he might be paid. Out of that sum, then, he would give the majority over to the woman in question. Only once to my knowledge did Tunigi keep the majority of the money; in fact, more often did the woman give Tunigi the majority of the money, claiming pity she felt for him and his family. More often, however, the two were paid separately or only the woman was paid, in which case she gave Tunigi a portion of her earnings. Pare, for example, had been going around with Tunigi since she was about 12, had married "high," had divorced him when she discovered of his other two wives, and had recently been in an abusive marriage to a by all accounts lazy, sore- and scabies-infested man who used to chase her around with a canoe paddle. Tunigi helped to find her paying sexual partners again, and because the two had worked together a long time before, she continued to give him money even when others did not. Table 5.92 presents the remunerative aspects of sexual intercourse for a cohort of seven women I knew well.

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Table 5.92:

PAYMENT SCHEDULES								
TIMES NUMBER OF KINA GIVEN								
WOMAN	0	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-40	41-60	61-100	TOT
Tunigi	69	38	14	13	35	8	0	177
Leona	6	4	3	9	24	19	7	72
Nemeru	1	2	1	2	13	16	3	38
Ogamea	3	7	10	5	9	8	0	42
Pare	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	7
Benny	0	0	0	0	5	1	2	8
Ab/wame	0	1	1	0	5	6	3	16
Totals	79	52	29	29	92	64	15	360

legend: numbers in header column refer to amounts in kina, numbers in rows below refer to numbers of times those amounts were given

Of the 247 encounters Tunigi arranged, he received an average of 11.61 kina. Taken together, these six women averaged, by contrast, for a total of 247 encounters, 33.79 kina. These data and this Table generally bear out several contentions made above as well as further support my feeling that Tunigi does not approximate the Western stereotype of the Pimp Who Takes All. More than one third of the time (69/177) Tunigi received no payment at all, and more than half of the time (107/177) no more than 5 kina. With the exception of the 21-40K category, each successively higher amount was represented less frequently. Similarly, the ratios of Tunigi's to women's earnings in each category predictably reverse, from low to high. For instance, 69 times Tunigi received no money, while only 10 times did women receive nothing. Progressing upwards in numbers of kina given, these ratios are 69/10, 38/14, 14/15, 13/16, 35/59, 8/56, and 0/15. The average total amount of money given by the man was 45.40 kina, 33.79 of it going to the woman in question, 11.61 to Tunigi, or a 74/26 ratio.

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Without wishing to obscure the real economic and other forms of exploitation these women face in their daily lives, the level of at least economic exploitation meted out by Tunigi seems relatively muted, certainly less so than the 50% or greater figures frequently encountered in streetwalker and brothel literature; monetary exchange here seems more voluntary and equitable. It might be more appropriate to say about exploitation here that Tunigi profits from women's on-going exploitation. Were I to be able to give voice to him, he might point out in his defense that for that 26% of a woman's earnings he 1) sets up the encounter, either by finding partners for the men, or men for the women, 2) carries beer and food and other items to the site of drinking and, usually, sexual activity, 3) provides safe escort for the woman if she wants, to and from sexual activity, and 4) stands up for her on occasion. I have a few stories, confirmed by women, of Tunigi telling the man not to use abusive language to the women involved, and, following the introduction of condoms to the island, of the necessity of using condoms, partly so as to protect the woman from any STDs the man might have.

To my knowledge, Tunigi has engaged in intercourse with three different women in this cohort, though there may in fact have been many more, and though he denied all sexual activity with them until our final interview, conducted the day before I left the field. The last of the three times he regretted almost instantly, partly because the woman in question was related to him, and partly because she had passed out from drinking. When he told me of this event, it ruptured our relationship again. Despite his sincere regret, and later, despite hearing from Leona that she did not mind and from him that he

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would never do it again, I was again (and found myself having frequently been) angry at him.

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Chapter 6:

"The Political Economy of Sex, and the Body Prostitute"

"Would you be inclined
to kiss and tell?" [the T.V. Host interrogates]
"Oh, we don't kiss...too many germs"
(Leigh 1987: 59).

"Taking our clothes off in public, we realize
there is nothing sacred or secret about our bodies.
We don't have 'private parts,' dismembered from the rest;
they are parts of the whole...
It's not sexual; it's work. Using our whole bodies
to earn a living makes it clear how much sexual
feelings really come from our minds:
a lover may touch the same way a customer does,
but produce an entirely different feeling"
(Morgan 1987: 25).

"Condoms are used more for privacy
than for disease and pregnancy control
because that's the way prostitutes
separate their work from their play"
(St. James 1987: 84).

"When you're doing prostitution--
if only in order to cope--
you've got to have tremendous defenses.
You've just gotta turn off"
(J 1970: 58-59).

[Shawna comes on stage dressed only in plastic wrap,
which she has wrapped around her body]
"I'm bound and tied. Now some of you might assume I'm portraying
a pornography model in an S/M situation. Or a kinky
housewife waiting for her hubby to get home. Wrong. I'm
just being myself; your average feminist at your average
Politics of Pornography conference. In fact, I'm wearing
my traditional feminist costume: layers and layers and layers
of theory and criticism"
(Dempsey 1987: 218).

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I. Introduction: sex in the South Pacific isles

Among many other helpful things my father does for me is to send newspaper clippings from the Wall Street Journal and Chicago Tribune which deal with sex, tourism, and violence in the South Seas. The article in the Tribune's March 13, 1994 **Travel Section,** "Set Sail: romanticized South Seas Islands rich in tropical splendor, culture," was no exception. The article warns potential travelers of "reports of violent incidents in urban areas" and explains that this violence may be due to "the yawning gap between the settlements [villages?] and the towns and cities." It boasts of Papua New Guinea's 700 [sic] "primitive [sic], remote [sic] cultures [pseudo-sic]" and many "wonderful carvings...covered in overt [well, I'm not so sure] phallic symbolism."

"Sexualizing the 'primitive'" has of course played a significant role in the history of the South Seas and in its representation to Europeans and to (and for) South Sea islanders themselves. In the first half of this century a variety of "sex lives of the Pacific Islands natives"-type books were printed for "private subscribers only." They detailed all manner of purported custom, idea, and meaning regarding sex, birth, menstruation, courtship, marriage and prostitution. The implicit and often explicit aim of such texts is comparison, not only to find South Seas equivalents of European morals and behaviors but to find explanations for morals and behaviors that depart from what were considered right and good, such as that practiced allegedly by Pohnpeian "impotent old men" upon the labia of young girls and women (Schidloff, in Burton 1935a: 137). Venus Oceanica (Burton 1935a) is a particularly good, representative example of this often violently racist, misogynous, colony-justifying literature. It is a work filled with pseudo-facts,

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pseudo-customs, pseudo-anatomy, and pseudo-explanations. It is edited by "R. Burton" (can this be a nom de plume?). Lest we consign this too quickly to the intellectual trash heap, however, it should be noted that this literature is often tangled in and by more professionally anthropological narratives and by ethnological data. Contributors to Venus Oceanica consist of three ethnology-poaching medical doctors (Schidloff, Basedow, and Roth) whose work professional anthropologists such as M.F. Ashley-Montagu nevertheless have cited approvingly before, in the latter instance in context of debates on Australian Aboriginal female and (particularly) male genital mutilations and alterations (such as subincision) and indigenous theories of conception. These contributors must of necessity refer to the work of explorers such as Makluho-Maclay, of professional ethnologists and ethnographers such as Haddon, Rivers, Malinowski, and Seligman, and of ethnographers-cum-missionary such as Spencer and Gillen, Baldwin, and others. Not for nothing is Venus Oceanica self-referred to as "ethnopornographia," starting as it does with a chapter devoted to "Sexual Urge of Primitive People" (Burton 1935b). Interestingly, such works are often consciously at odds with works of professional anthropology itself and think themselves to be doing it one better: "The apparent promiscuity of savages so widely popularized by anthropologists [Malinowksi?], on closer examination is found to be rigidly controlled by tribal laws" (Burton 1935b: 26), as if Malinowski really said otherwise. It is almost as if in trying to sexualize Pacific island natives they must first be de-eroticized; in order to represent carefully their imputed chaotic urges, they must be seen to be ruled by tribal instincts

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they may not always be conscious of. For instance, Dr. H. Basedow (in Burton 1935a: 358) conjectures that

> It must not be supposed that the aborigines all over Australia invariably adopt one and the same method when yielding to a sexual impulse, especially nowadays when so much corruption of their original codes of morality has followed the temptations of European civilization. Nevertheless, investigation finds that, by some far-reaching inter-tribal influence, a method has been evolved which fundamentally is subject to very slight variation over the whole region where subincision is the rule.

Though connected by other strands, nineteenth-century painters and 20th-century tourists seem to have been on a different quest altogether. The search of both kinds of travelers for a sensual, sexual Paradise in Tahiti, first, for example, and then, second, Samoa, owes much to 18th-century explorers' search for (and discovery of) same (e.g., Moorehead 1966). Bengt Danielsson's judiciously and skeptically titled first chapter of Love in the South Seas (1956), "Earthly Paradise,?" gives voice to South Sea Travelers: Of course there is a great deal in the South Seas which appeals to people tired of civilization... Most of the islands are as pretty as a Hollywood film in Technicolor, and the impression they make is strengthened by the prevailing quiet and peace. The hope of a comfortable lazy life, with ripe bananas just around the corner and lagoon fish jumping up into the outrigger canoe almost of their own accord, is also a factor. But what primarily attracts visitors of all kinds to the South Seas is without doubt the report of the natives' free and merry love life (Danielsson 1956: 9-10).

The Scottish poet, Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94), loved Western Samoan people in Apia so much that he spent the final four years of his life amongst them and

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wrote favorably about their apparently free and easy sexual mores. His New Zealand visitor to Edinburgh told him

> ...all about the South Sea Islands till I was sick with desire to go there; beautiful places, green for ever; perfect climate, perfect shapes of men and women with red flowers in their hair; and nothing to do but study oratory and etiquette, sit in the sun and pick up the fruits as they fall... (Stevenson, quoted in Knight 1986: 13).

Would that everywhere and everything in the Pacific were this nice and easy...

By comparison with other Pacific island communities and nations, Papua New Guinea has had perhaps a shorter, less malign colonial history. Nevertheless, real and imagined sexualities have helped to frame that history in the Western imagination, with no less adverse consequences. Examples include the real and alleged "sexual excesses" in Melanesian cargo cults (see Worsley 1967), Malinowski's many famous studies (and repressions) of Trobriander (and his own) sexuality (see Wengle 1988: 107-29), countless National Geographic articles featuring glossy pictures of firm-breasted native women[1] and penis gourd-wearing native males. During my own fieldwork, near the end as I was preparing to leave the country, a Papua New Guinean female travel agent in Port Moresby tried to sell me on a tour to the Trobriands and a form of tourism I wanted no part of. She assured me that were I, as a Pidgin-speaking, PNG-loving ethnographer, to attend a fabled Yam Harvest Festival celebration in Kiriwina, "all de gels will fall, straight-a-way, and you will pick one." Who could resist?

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[1]. In a most interesting essay kicking off a most interesting volume (#12) of Re/Search, Fakir Musafar writes that "When I was going to school, there was immense cultural conceit about people from other lands: 'Oh, isn't this quaint? Those crazy cannibals!'... And of course, like a lot of people, I grew up tempting my primitive lust by reading good old National Geographic [which] constitute[s] quite a compendium and survey of primitive practices. Since World War II they've adopted a new 'humanitarian' policy; since they finally got around to considering these 'natives' as human beings, they can't show them naked anymore!" (Musafar 1989: 7).

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Daru is not yet really on the tourist map,[2] and there are no such Yam Harvest Festivals to promote. The Hotel is far too expensive (K90-130 per night), there is no longer a Guest House or other form of inexpensive housing, and Daru has little beyond the grave of Tamate to offer foreign tourists. There are no gleaming white, sandy beaches to walk on or gently swaying palm trees to walk under. The surroundings are not particularly healthful or refreshing, and there are no glossy travel brochures featuring helpful young men and comely maidens serving their own tropical fruits on a platter like Gauguin's vahines. Nor is the South Fly region generally depicted on any of the postcards which (mis)represent often Papua New Guinean regions to nationals and to tourists.

That is not to say that Daru's reputation has nothing to do with sex--it does. Other Papua New Guineans and expatriates know Daru's reputation to be as a town awash in beer and pamukus (see also Marshall 1979). Kiwai have the reputation regionally if not nationwide as men who drink often to violent endings. Kiwai women have the reputation of being drinkers, gamblers, and sexually promiscuous, much in the way Chimbu women were so stigmatized in the Port Moresby sex industry. Bineturi and Pahoturi people frequently explained to me that Kiwai people "have no shame," that they "are like dogs," and that Kiwai women know only how to "go from man to man"--"that is their way." Expatriates attributed this reputation partly to Kiwai sexual and kinship custom.[3]

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[2]. The Bensbach Lodge, a place of repair for hunters and fishermen, was closed for a long time due to a particular compensation case and local villager prohibitions on use of the river.

[3]. Chalmers (1903b: 124), for instance, notes that Kiwai fathers may take their own step-daughters and daughters to wife. He does not say, however, how normative this was, how frequently it occurred, nor under what conditions.

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Daru's contemporary reputation is thus a sexualized one, but not in the free, open and easy sense conveyed in books such as Danielsson's Love in the South Seas.

Despite the high level of drinking and sexual activity on Daru, the existence and extent of the sex industry remains nevertheless somewhat "hidden." This is due to several reasons, among them fear.[4] There is fear of damaging what little Western Province tourist industry there is. There is fear of offending the Christian sensibilities of the heavily missionized townsfolk. There is fear of criticizing the reputation of the current and former FRPGs (as well as the complicity in myriad social problems of its Members and Ministers), and they fear sending to the nation the wrong message. One writer of a letter to the editor of the Post-Courier, for example (6-20-92), upon hearing of my interim report drafted for the Health Department (Hammar 1992) worried that "The report or thesis will be made public in the USA and places around the world. Those who read the thesis will think that the people of Dare [sic] are sex maniacs." Another wrote that "Many will come to think of our country in the negative terms of this thesis, and for that reason such researchers as Mr Hammer [sic] should not be allowed into our country" (8-31-92).

Second, the sex industry is inextricably woven into the fabric of a far deeper and more repressed discourse on sexuality, shame, genitalia, alcohol, poverty, and male violence. Common discourse about pamukus and uba pe is ubiquitous, nevertheless,

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4. This is partly because the sex industry is segregated spatially. Local pamuku houses that are located directly adjacent to or opposite to market and store are not acknowledged directly. Women not involved in the sex industry--monogamous, God-fearing, family-minded women--can thus maintain distance from the sex industry though only separated in some cases by a few meters and a life circumstance or two.

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sometimes deadly serious, sometimes humorous. As Linda Mahood suggests in her insightful analysis of the Scottish prostituted woman regulatory system, Scottish "'prostitutes' were the product of discourses about them" (1990: 163[5]). On Daru, pamukus and uba pe become "prostitutes" in a very real way by being labeled thus. Once stereotyped as uba pe, as kawarea (Kiwai="butterfly," one who "goes from man to man"[6]), as wowogo (Kiwai="bird," something that goes from flower to flower), and as pamuku, this stigma follows them around like a dirty shadow. Stigma often precludes them from having a lifestyle and persona such that it would even be possible to do sex with and drink with one man who will marry and settle down with them. This turns them into the arms of many men. They are marginalized and stigmatized by family and friend

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5. Here in the U.S., too, primarily among prostituted adolescent females, "highly deviant drug use...can give a woman a street reputation as a prostitute whether she is one or not" (Inciardi et al. 1991: 226). Both Walkowitz (1977) and Engle (1979) make clear that public labeling of prostituted women (whether by medical inspection or imprisonment) turned them into "pariah groups" and therefore destroyed any potential option for other employment. Though "prostitution" was not a transportable (from England to the Australian penal colonies) offense, 24,000 women, of whom one in five was said to be a "prostitute," were sent to Australia between 1788 and 1852. "In the mouths of Authority," says Robert Hughes, "the word 'prostitute' was less a job description than a general term of abuse" (1987: 244). In Colonial Tasmania, as well, in the 1870s, women reputed to be "common prostitutes" could be registered and medically inspected once a fortnight, confined to Lock Hospitals, and made periodically to be under other forms of surveillance, if "two 'credible witnesses' [swear] to that effect before a magistrate" (quoted in Murname and Daniels 1979: 6). In 1883 the Royal Navy amended the designation to other women "known by the police to consort with more than one man" (quoted in Murname and Daniels 1979: 9). These discursive punishments were quite a bit harsher for women accused than not accused of being "known prostitutes," but as Walkowitz, Engle, Mahood, and Hughes make clear, once locked into a "cycle of surveillance," many women rendered "known prostitutes" had recourse only to acts of prostitution to survive. See also Ruggles (1983).

6. Compare the Micronesian Ujelangese sexual double standard in which women are enjoined to stay put sexually and to fear rightly men following their natural propensity to "walk around from place to place" (Carucci 1993: 316). A different kind of "butterfly" (Spanish=mariposa) inhabits Peruvian brothels, salons, and alleyways, "non-registered prostitutes who work in the street without any of these checks and are looked down upon by the registered workers. Most girls have worked as 'butterflies' at one time or another, and then graduated to the house" (Arnold 1977: 182).

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alike, who suspect that strange men, jealousy and accusations, "beer smell," and sin will shortly follow. Increasing marginalization, then, not upward mobility is their "career" trajectory. Individually, these women are sinking socially and economically to the bottom of the heap, much in the way Bamu collectively do when they arrive on Daru. My findings mirror those of Maher and Curtis (1992: 251), who write that

> they [prostituted African-American, Hispanic-American, and Anglo-American women in Brooklyn in the escalating crack trade] are becoming neither more violent nor more "criminal." What they are becoming--within the contexts in which their daily lives and their drug use are situated--is both more vulnerable and more victimized.

II. Explaining Prostitution

This brings me to consider the place of sex in the political economy of Daru. For reasons outlined above, many aspects of the Daruan sex industry seem perfectly "normal." Similarly, Lindsey (1979: 4) puts it that "We [women in the West] are taught that prostitution is a deviation from the social-sexual norm. In fact, it is the most blatant manifestation of the norm itself." And indeed, it is, in the sense that prostitution is the logical outcome of a sexual double standard. It is the flip side of the institution of marriage, it is sparked by religious teachings around, about, and through sexuality, it feeds off of the compulsory nature of heterosexuality, and it is engendered by sexual divisions of labor which are in turn engendered by late capitalism, colonial rule, and post-colonial military establishments (cf. Barry 1979; K 1970; Meyerson 1988; Mahood 1990; Rich 1980; Rubin 1975; White 1990; Isis 1979). This suggests that prostitution is the effect, not cause, of women's subordination, which in turn is perhaps sparked culturally by language, economically by marginalization, socially by stigmatization.

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Thus, the sex industry is not likely to abate soon as the regional political economy continues to decline (see O'Malley 1988 for a Thailand example). Prices are going up, unemployment is high, pisirimai are in decline. The Fly River continues to be polluted by effluvia released at Ok Tedi, more of which will be released by the recently started up Porgera Gold mine into the Strickland River, which drains into the Fly. Kamusi timber camp will soon disappear, leaving naked hillside in its wake. The FRPG may soon depart for the greener pastures of Kiunga, which will leave ever more Daruans out of work.

My aim in this chapter is to show that there is a political economy of sex,[7] just as there is of employment, petrol prices, and war.[8] While this may seem obvious to

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7. See Lowman (1987), Frey, Reichert, and Russell (1981) and Taylor, Walton and Young (1973), each of whom distinguish between the "immediate" and "wider" origins of other acts of "deviance," the first two in terms of case studies of Vancouver, British Columbia and Las Vegas, Nevada, respectively. Most studies of prostitution I have read focus on prostitution as an individual phenomenon (e.g., Winick and Kinsie 1971; Sheehy 1971; Hirschi 1962), mostly on the "immediate" acts (sexual) and in so doing pathologize the individuals (women) committing them, not on the wider context(s) within which such are set.

8. In a most powerful twist on the meaning of the British Imperial War Museum, Cynthia Enloe (1992: 23) pushes for a more "realistic war museum" which would represent more truthfully the effect that sex industries and the wars and militarism that bring them have on local women:

> In this realistic war museum, visitors would be invited to press a button to hear the voices of the women chart the routes by which they came to work in this brothel or disco and describe the children, siblings, and parents whom they were trying to support with their earnings. Several of the women might compare the sexual behavior and outlooks of these foreign men with those of the local men with whom they had been involved...

A museum piece devoted to the Daruan sex industry might sound like this:

> Press here to listen to the voices of all the women who were hurt when the Force Ten Mobile Units came to town last year to "re-establish law and order." Pick up the headset on your right and listen to Kuria tell of being propositioned by the Force Commander in front of twenty or thirty men at the Hotel lounge bar, including her own cousin brother, the bartender. Listen to her narrate what happened later that night in the back of the Police Truck, headed out to Tawo'o, with another 12 men. Press here to hear the voice of Leona, who is beaten both when she does and when she does not bring home sufficient

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some contemporary readers, such has not always been the case; two theoretical paradigms which have not only prevailed but went virtually without question until recently avoid altogether these aspects. Though they spring from different theoretical and practical impulses, they are united by a similar functionalist reasoning. "Functionalist" explanations throughout social scientific and other literature on prostitution argue that it is so ubiquitous as to be unavoidable, leading to a form of "impossibilism" with regards enforcement issues (Lowman 1992: 2). They often suggest that it must have some redeeming features,[9] that it provides socioeconomic mobility for some women, and that it provides sexual outlet for the socially disadvantaged and sexually insatiable. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin (1948), for instance, write that at "the lower levels" of the socioeconomy "there are persons who are feeble-minded, physically deformed, and so repulsive and offensive physically that no girl except a prostitute would have intercourse with them. Without such outlets, these individuals would become even more serious social problems than they already are" (1948: 608). As a corollary to fulfilling this "function," prostitution is said to guard the virtue of (ideally) chaste women. Arguing against his own logic and findings, for example, the functionalist sociologist, Kingsley Davis, argued that,

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> money for having sex with men up at the Hotel, many of whom are married, important political leaders. Listen closely and you might hear her father in the background making assignations with her uncle, a Town Council Member, who has a friend visiting town, staying in room #6 of the Hotel owned by the FRPG, who wishes to drink with her. Press this button to hear old man Juguru explaining why, despite the fact that he is a salaried worker, he feels compelled to sell both daughter and wife sexually for beer...

[9]. For a philosophical assessment of such issues, see Ericsson (1980), Pateman's reply (1983), and Shrage (1989).

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> Enabling a small number of women to take care of the needs of a large number of men, it is the most convenient sexual outlet for an army, and for the legions of strangers, perverts, and physically repulsive in our midst. It performs a function, apparently, which no other institution fully performs (Davis 1937: 755).

Perhaps the most frequently cited exposition of this position is of the historian of European morals, W.E.H. Lecky, who can not even say it straightforwardly:

> There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most mournful, and in some respects the most awful, upon which the eyes of the moralist can dwell. That unhappy being whose very name is a shame to speak, who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection, and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust; who is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex, and doomed, for the most part, to disease and abject wretchedness and an early death, appears in every age as the perpetual symbol for the degradation and sinfulness of men. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue (Lecky 1926: 103).

Anticipating Lecky by several hundred years, St. Augustine said "Take away harlots from human society and you will have tainted everything with lust" (quoted in West 1982: 20). Indeed, functionalist theories depend on the veracity of several reifications, among them, the needs of Civilization, the imperativeness of Male Sex Drive, and Prostitute Deviancy.

As to the first, prostitution is seen by some as a necessary, though regrettable development of "civilization," an "unavoidable aspect of any comprehensive society" (Cnaan 1982: 114). By this logic, argues Cnaan, prostitution developed in Israel not due to social disruption but to the fact that Jews were no longer a "special subculture" within another "comprehensive society" and thus had to reproduce it themselves (1982: 118). During the frontier period of the American west, prostituted women "brought culture to the culture-starved...[she was] the heart of a heartless frontier" (Miller 1964: 13). To others, prostitution is the result of the general pathology that is civilization, "as old as

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civilization" (Morgan-Thomas 1990: 105), inevitably attendant upon civilized, closely-packed populations (Acton 1968 [1857]).

As to the second reification, functionalist theory holds that greater male sex drive can be managed and satiated: "Israelis [sic; the author clearly means men] have sex drives that in part can be met only by prostitutes..." (Cnaan 1982: 118). Prostitution is the solution to the institution of human marriage and "the inability of this institution to adequately satisfy the sex needs of all..." (Singh 1976: 16). Prostitution not only provided a break from the "monotony" of marriage but could also actually improve it (Ellis 1936: 225). Like many of his contemporaries, Dr. Harold Cross promulgated the notion of seminal back-up, and argued that it is "difficult and even dangerous" for a man "to remain chaste all his life," and further, that men can not "arrest the activity of [their] glands or successfully sublimate their function" (Cross 1956: 92, emphasis mine; cf. Sandos 1980: 628).

As to the third reification promoted by functionalist theories of prostitution, some go a step further in arguing that in fact customers of prostituted women are the real victims.[10] Bryan (1965: 287), summarizing psychoanalytic literature during the first half of the century, writes that prostituted women appear "masochistic, of infantile mentality, unable to form mature interpersonal relationships, regressed, emotionally dangerous to males and as normal as the average women[sic]." Abraham (1942), Choisy (1961), Glover (1945), and Greenwald (1958), for instance, each argue from psychoanalytic

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[10]. Even Bullough and Bullough argue that prostituted women "have turned their sexual subordination into a weapon that allows them in turn to victimise men" (1987: 292).

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premises that prostituted women act out sinister fantasies of rebellion against mothers, fathers, patriarchy, heterosexuality, penis envy, and their own repressed lesbianism or bisexuality. David Blair, author of an influential Report on the Social Evil in colonial Melbourne in 1873, blamed prostitution mostly on women's "deliberate choice," from their "love of idleness and luxurious habits, or from an inherent propensity to vice" (quoted in McConville 1980: 87). Kellow Chesney (quoted in Walkowitz 1972: 105) suggests that nowadays "it is arguable how far prostitution springs from economic rather than psychological roots." Karl Abraham argues that

> the prostitute avenges herself on every man by demonstrating that the sex act which was so important to him, meant little to her. She is thus, consciously or unconsciously, humiliating all men by having intercourse with any and all customers (1945:361).

Glover's work (1945) throughout implies that prostituted women are merely demonstrating their independence from their fathers, manifesting detachment from them. Cross (1956: 93) complains that prostituted women are "psychologically injurious" to men and particularly to the latter's wives. Caprio suggests that prostituted women, "by and large, are victims of unresolved bi-sexual conflicts and their flight into sexual intimacies with many men...[is] symptomatic of...their own unconscious homosexual desires" (quoted in Greenwald 1958: 92). Elsewhere (1954: 101) Caprio notes, based upon his round-the-world survey of prostituted women and prostitution from Havana to Cuba, that engaging in prostitution by particularly lesbians is evidence more of their "pseudoheterosexuality." Greenwald argues that money earned by prostituted women given to pimps represents "the desperate craving for oral gratification" (1958: 94). Libbey (cited in Baker 1966: 66), believes that prostituted women are motivated by

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revenge, that "they get their only satisfaction out of hurting and deceiving men." In summary, then, functionalist theories of prostitution, particularly those that emanate from psychoanalytic perspectives, not only fail to link with larger social, political, and particularly economic issues, but often turn a blind eye to women's pain and degradation.

The historian Ruth Rosen, employing nominally the same term--function--comes to very different conclusions:

> Economically, prostitution was a source of income to the police, to procurers, madams, doctors, politicians and liquor interests. Politically, it upheld gender and class divisions. The singling out of a caste of degraded women served as an object lesson and a threat to other women. The specter of the whore was always before them as a reminder of what they might become or how they might be treated if they failed to live up to the angel image or lived outside of male protection. For men, prostitution upheld the double standard, the polarized image of women as angelic or monstrous, but in neither case fully human, and the ideology that women existed to serve men. The association of prostitution with lower-class, immigrant and non-white populations served to divide women from one another. It also justified the low ranking of these populations in the social hierarchy. The visible association of brothels with lower-class neighborhoods and customers, which made it seem as if lower-class men had recourse to prostitutes whereas upper-class men did not, and the association of sexual indulgence with weakened health and ambition, provided one rationalization for poverty, unemployment and disease among the poor (Rosen 1982: 6-7).

Rosen's analysis (see also Hawkesworth 1984; Jaggar 1983) points us therefore in an entirely different direction. It is reasonably well-known (e.g., Carmen and Moody 1985: 54-55), for instance, that prostituted women, like the poor in general, perhaps, often spend more for the same goods and services as the non-prostituted. Carmen and Moody's study of "working girls" on 42nd street in New York, for instance, showed that criminalization of prostitution and police harassment often combine to force prostituted women into "unstable and continuously disrupted lives," particularly as regards housing, food, and utilities. One such informant, "Deirdre," once said that prostituted women are

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"society's greatest consumers" for being forced into buying the same things over and over again (quoted in Carmen and Moody 1985: 55).

III. Chapter Goals

This chapter has essentially three aims. First, I wish to follow Rosen's lead and take the lid off of the boiling pot of social relations that is the Daruan sex industry and examine its contents. I begin with and discuss relevant features of ten different case studies of women prostituted either "freelance" or by assignment by sex broker. Second, I wish to examine women's relational networks to challenge the common (mis)understanding that women "choose" prostitution. Third, I argue that they wrest a modicum of social agency for themselves by elaborately dividing their bodies behaviorally and linguistically, maximizing in some cases and minimizing in others physical and emotional distance from their various kinds of sexual "partners." These divisions reveal the existence of a Body Prostitute which mediates symbolically between the demands of the political economy of sex and their own conceptions of self. In order to make this latter argument, I present data on five linguistic and behavioral divisions by which women at least attempt to assert control over themselves and their situations.[11] That they do not always do so, that they are seldom in a position to do so is testament to the depth and complexity of the predicament women often find themselves in.

IV. Case Studies

Presented below are ten case studies, portrayed as truthfully and fairly as I can, though I have taken some liberty to protect better their identities. These case studies are

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11. See Hammar (1995).

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drawn both from extensive personal contact, from recorded and transcribed interview data, and from analysis of quantitative data (see Appendices 6.1 and 6.2).

Case Study 6a

> Erepai Hawai, slender, about 45, grandmother to several, was already married and divorced four times when I first met her on the road one day while distributing free condoms. She impressed me with her openness about sexual behavior and with her firm commitment to the usage of condoms, which she refers to as "those things," "those...."
>
> As none of her five children are technically old enough to work, she is responsible for many in her household. As do many families on Daru, she sponsors "vidio pati" frequently by renting them from the Hotel and hardware store and then charging 10-50 toea gate fees.
>
> She also earns 20-40 kina each pede fotnait for having intercourse with two uncles, one biological, one classificatory, the latter a Member, the other a worker in the FRPG. She also occasionally engages in sex for money with one of her ex-husbands who lives in a nearby, mainland village, though she refuses actually to sleep and live with him for the ramshackle state of his house and life. She also has an American accountant "boyfriend," Murray, who comes to Daru once or twice a year on business. He asks for her when he arrives at the Hotel, and she typically receives from him 200-300 kina for a long weekend of sex and companionship. Though she has not been in touch with him for over two years, she still believes fervently that the father of two of her children will return from overseas and take them all to Sydney to live with him on his boat.

Erepai's story illustrates the geographical spread of the sex industry, in her case from ex-husbands living in a nearby village and in Australia, to a boyfriend living in America, to others who live primarily on Daru. In addition, Erepai, like many other women informants, has perhaps firm rules about condom usage but behaviors otherwise. Below she recounts a day of sex and drinking at a well-known, private pamuku haus:

> Erepai: And the only, the only thing I was listening was the toilet [where sex takes place] going bang, bang, bang. And I thought "Oh God, I hope the wall doesn't comes down." [But with] "Shadow" [her ex-], I have to use condom...I don't trust him.
>
> Lawrence: Ummhmm. Does he have other girlfriends, do you think?

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> Erepai: Yes, she, he does. But uh, he tells me not to use condoms, and I say "No." ...He used to tell me, "I used to live with you before you got the son from me, you should know me very well. You know me and I know you, you trust me and I trust you" And I say "Yeah, yeah I trust you, you trust me, but yet I want you to use the condom...." He don't use those, forget it.

Nevertheless, Erepai allows her American boyfriend (and some other high-paying customers) to "go skin/skin" (sans condom) because she claims to "know his ways." Increased intimacy conveyed skin/skin perhaps enables her to press claims for greater material support; Murray, her American boyfriend, and the occasional high-ranking FRPG worker have more money than do The Shadow and video patrons, with whom she refuses to engage in sex "skin/skin."

Case Study 6b

> Ogamea was born on Iasa, Kiwai Island, is about 40 years old, and has been married several times, first to a then resident colonial officer who "took her out" of school to marry her. She is relegated by everyone from young boys to nursing sisters to the truly "spoiled" status, the sexual partner of all from ol yangpela mangi (young teens) to lapun tru (the truly elderly). She is abused physically on occasion by angry wives who suspect her of "spoiling" their husbands, by drunken men she occasionally refuses sexually, and by her non-resident soldier husband when he returns to town every three or four weeks. In the case of the latter, however, she gives as well as she gets, publicly, in front of their house.
>
> Ogamea engages in intercourse with several classificatory male relatives, including nephews and grandsons. She is as well the sexual mentor for teen and a few pre-teen males. Ogamea is often referred to as the "leader," "champion," "granny," "commander," etc., of all the uba pe on Daru. In addition, she has helped two daughters "down the pamuku road," and her son sometimes procures for her in exchange for beer and money. He tried to arrange interviews for me with his mother in exchange for beer, money, and once, before he really knew me, sex, claiming that she had a particular liking for keyadubu (white man).

Ogamea has a double "function" in the sex industry, reflected in her valuable and venerated as well as despoiled and degraded status. First, she raises bar sales when in the lounge bar and public tavern and "forces" higher-ranking males drinking to "shout" her

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and her friends to free beer and food. The Hotel manager speaks disparagingly of her, but knows that she is good for business. High-ranking FRPG Members and Ministers revile her, but they make her part of many drinking and sex parties in Hotel rooms, offices, abandoned buildings, flatbed trucks, bush areas, and elsewhere. This behavior was painfully obvious while standing shoulder to shoulder with them in the Hotel lounge bar and observing their sexual comportment towards Ogamea and women like here.

Second, she helps to forge and maintain several social boundaries. She moves between several public drinking establishments patronized by "bigshots" which are effectively closed off to "grassroots" due to inflated beer prices and to rules of proper attire (no t-shirts and bare feet).[12] She also helps to construct male sexuality and identity. Males have to pay for her sexual services one way or another, but she is nevertheless sexually compliant within certain parameters, which shores up masculine pride and identity daily battered by unemployment, dislocation, cultural loss, grinding poverty, and wives' refusals to engage in sex. Her sexuality demarcates some social boundaries, then, but blurs others.[13]

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[12]. During one temporary liquor ban, too, the Hotel was requiring kaikai purchases in order to buy beer, which effectively closed off grassroots further (field note, 10-19-91, Daru), as it did me, given the high prices there.

[13]. In quite another context, that wherein the U.S. Army fought on the Mexican-American border in 1916-17, Sandos has remarked that once prostitution was regulated around U.S. military cantonments, Mexican women became both the social glue and ingredient adding to the putative racial melting pot of the enlisted men: "In a racially heterogeneous command which included white and black soldiers, Apache Indian scouts, and Japanese intelligence agents, Pershing simplified the customary problem of segregating districts according to skin color by permitting only Mexican women to work there" (1980: 627).

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Case Study 6c

Kuria George is currently married to a Daru Town Pioneer, George, a man who not only fails to provide for her and her/their children, but who has also procured for her with her "consent" and sold her sexually to others without. She is about 26 and has four children, two of whom are from her current husband.

Whenever George is away, sick, drunk, or otherwise indisposed, she goes up to the Hotel at night or out on the road and more actively solicits "boyfriends" for the evening, of whom she has many. When she is feeling too sick to go out, or too shameful to walk about openly, she sometimes sends small children to pass messages to some of her boyfriends to let them know that she is available. She has a reputation for seeking out only more highly ranked FRPG workers and businessmen. She also has a number of boyfriends who do not generally pay her for sex, but who may help out occasionally with food for her and her children, with tobacco for her tobacco, and with alcohol. One of those boyfriends works in the Hotel, and in exchange for sex with her he sometimes even arranges rooms, alcohol, and privacy for her other sexual partners.

Kuria's sad case indicates that what were once deeply entrenched sexual prohibitions for Kiwai and other south coastal Papuan people--relating to incest--are now frequently abrogated. George receives money openly from his wife's uncle for household expenses and beer knowing full well that this uncle has impregnated his wife. Kuria is reviled in town by jealous townswomen, which is why she often refuses to go out on the road during the day, but she shows remarkable survival skills by manipulating social and sexual networks to her advantage. She is selective regarding sexual partners. She uses her "auntie" status to encourage small boys and girls to pass messages to potential boyfriends. As "house mommie," she manipulates others to buy food, alcohol, and other household necessities by renting (or insisting that George rent) a room, bed sheet and mat, paid in money or beer or both. By having granted sexual favors in the past, she has an extensive network of males upon whom she can potentially call for support. This network is invaluable since her uba pe status precludes much familial support. Her in-

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laws pity her because they know her husband is abusive and does not support her. They also scorn her for her sexual promiscuity and babies born out of wedlock, but her sexual activities support them, so there is a limit to what they can say and how frequently they can say it.

Case Study 6d

> Tipia is about 35 and has three children. She was "pulled" from grade two by her family and later from her first and only job one night by her first husband, whom she had not previously met until that night. He abandoned her and her children a few years later, and she stayed "quiet" until recently marrying again a man who already has three non-resident wives she does not know about. Her current husband is a frequent client of Tunigi, who has procured men for her against her will and with her consent. She does not know that Tunigi also procures women for her husband, however, nor does he know about the customers this man has procured for his wife. Though "married," Tipia and her husband do not eat, socialize, sleep, or live together.
>
> Nor do they have sex together often, due partly to a chronic infection caused probably by an unchecked-for-eight-years Lippes Loop, by genital ulcers and inguinal lumps caused by Donovanosis, and even by lingering infection caused by a condom left inside her by a Malaysian pisirimai-buyer a few months ago for several days or weeks. STD Clinic staff did not give her condoms and information requisite to their use after her latest STD case, perhaps because some staff still require husband's knowledge and permission, which would have been her tacit admission of her sexual activities extra-maritally. Her husband is publicly acknowledged to be uba pe, but there is a severe sexual double standard regarding stigma.

Tipia's case illuminates three more aspects of the local political economy of sex.[14] First, like many women on Daru, Tipia was "pulled" from both school and work.

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[14]. Elsewhere in the province, such as in and around Kiunga and West Papuan refugee camps, prostitutive forms of sex would appear rather central in the subsistence strategies of families and households. A few informants (one with nursing experience in Yonggom camps) told of a government-purchased cargo barge that ferries back and forth Yonggom girls and young women to town motels and workers' barracks. Procurers evidently go into the camps, find two or more younger females, bring them back to town on the M.V. Mawa, and then bind them over (for a fee) to the motel manager (a national now, though the previous manager was an Australian) who then sells them sexually by the night or the week to workers for essentially 50% of their earnings, typically K20 per night.

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Women are pulled from work when such is thought likely to give them "big-head"; to make them "greedy" for material items; and to "spoil" them away from housework, cooking, child care, and other such tasks deemed appropriate for women. Working women are said to lead to family and community zelasi (jealousy)--"Why does she get this job?"

Second, Tipia's story illustrates the incredible density and complexity of sexual networks on Daru. I remember standing in a loose cluster of friends one morning along Mangopari road, telling stories and chewing betel nut, marveling inwardly at Tunigi. With no one but apparently me the wiser, he arranged a sexual/drinking encounter for both Tipia and her husband without either knowing. These arrangements were completely in the open (both husband and wife knew that Tunigi was arranging something for someone) but completely hidden (neither knew of the other's intentions), indicating the dual, almost schizophrenic nature of the Daruan sex industry. It is both everywhere and nowhere, both extraordinary and perfectly normal.

Third, Tipia faces risks partly due to health worker reticence to distribute condoms and information about STDs. Though the health worker in question denies this,[15] she was given neither condoms nor information about them after her STD diagnosis. Part of the problem here and elsewhere (cf. Hughes 1991: 136) is that men become violent when female sexuality is perceived to be beyond their pre- and extra-

---

15. As with everything ethnographic, who knows what's really true?, but in this case, Tipia's female companion that day confirmed this interpretation.

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marital control, and so could take out their anger on the nursing staff. Intervention unfortunately is an often dangerous proposition with many angles to consider.

Case Study 6e

> Nemeru Enai is a widow of 28, though she looks much, much older. She is extremely quiet, like many of the women above and below a chain smoker, and is the cousin sister and frequent housemate of Kuria George above. She married when in her early twenties to a man she did not know until he took her away one day. She lived with him in the village for awhile until he became suddenly very sick, covered with sores, allegedly from fish poison used by "jealous" villagers to "magic" him over his success in fishing. Now widowed, her small boy lives with grandparents in Port Moresby, while she lives between three or four households on Daru, depending on her ability to manage rather tender social relations.
>
> Nemeru has her sexual activities arranged by sex brokers, but also frequently goes by herself up to the Hotel, or is accompanied by her cousin, Kuria, and several other women in town.
>
> Nemeru has "boyfriends" [two of whom are unemployed husbands of health workers] and sees several paying customers from time to time as they blow into town from the village or work elsewhere in the province. She refers to more than one man as her "husband," a temporary designation owing more to frequency of payment of money, gift, and food than of sexual and emotional attachment.
>
> She is one of only two women in my sample who have ever worked for regular wages. Her current employers (a trade store-owning husband/wife couple) have done everything they can (except paying her higher wages) to keep her from "drinking with the men." As a condition of employment as hausmeri she can not pamuk during the week or in front of their children. Her salary (40-50 kina fortnightly), however, is nowhere near enough to support her own food needs, much less those of her child, her drinking, her clothing, and her other obligations.

Like many other Daruan women, Nemeru faces many a social and structural contradiction. As a widow whose husband died a suspicious death, she does not make an attractive choice of spouse. Since "husband died out there," she has no support, "Nobody to help me."[16] As pamuku, moreover, all the men on Daru "know her way." Formal

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[16]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-5-92.

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work opportunities are rare for Daruan women anyway. Nemeru wants to "stay off the pamuku road" but her employers do not pay her nearly enough to allow her to do so.

The preceding five case studies and those that follow them below each and collectively substantiate the point that analyzing whether or not the practice of soliciting money, goods, and favors from sexual contacts is an "alternative" to other forms of employment may not be the most profitable way to proceed. Instead, it may be better to look at them and their situations in terms of their dire need to supplement small and often failing incomes in the absence of such employment options. Elizabeth Mandeville came essentially to the same position regarding her work in Kampala, Uganda with poor, single women with children. As she puts it, "[i]f lovers are necessary to the maintenance of single women and their children in African cities, analyses of extra-marital sexual behavior which rely only on arguments about marriage rules and roles and personal values are rendered inadequate...the practice may tell us more about her wish to educate her children, or her dislike of rural life, than it does about her sexual and marital preferences" (Mandeville 1979: 42; see also Thitsa 1982).

Case Study 6f

> Pare Kone is in her middle twenties, popular with men for her light-skin and personality, and is so far childless. She was once married to a high-ranking businessman and counts among her current paying boyfriends that man's brother. Her current marital "status" is rather cloudy.
>
> She married a few years ago a lazy, violent, drunken man, but has since initiated divorce papers and pressed charges against him at the police station several times for his many beatings of her. She now lives between several households, but primarily with her father and her family, for whom she processes pisirimai. She began working with Tunigi at about 12-14 until she married for the first time. Now that she is trying to divorce her current husband, she has begun and more frequently to "go up" (to the Hotel) to "look for beer and the boyfriends."

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Pare's story illustrates two more principles of the Daruan social system. First, marital "status" fluctuates greatly, sometimes daily.[17] Pare has disowned her husband sexually and psychologically, but is still married to him legally and socially. He does not support her, being himself unwilling even to help collect, process, and sell pisirimai. He also beats her frequently. Nevertheless, her divorce is stalled because the police officers say in view of his violence that "this is a domestic issue" and tell her to go home. Twice she could not afford to pay court fees. His non-support drives her further into prostitution to support herself, giving him more cause culturally to belt her: "uba pe" ("slut") and "auwo ai" (big vagina) were his greetings when drunk. Marriage and prostitution, then, are dialectically related, not logically opposed.[18]

---

[17]. Pare is of course no different than women in countless other cultures for whom "marriage" is a negotiated process, not unitary event (see, e.g., Shostak 1981). Nemeru once enumerated four different "boyfriends" in or recently in town who were later described as "husbands." From another angle, were I to have interviewed each of these males I expect that I would have found substantial disagreement between each of them and Nemeru's estimation. Interestingly, Schopper, Doussantousse, and Orav (1993: 407) found that 19.4% of couples in polygynous marriages disagreed as to the number of wives the husband had: 16.8% of the women surveyed declared more, and 2.8% of these women declared fewer.

[18]. Thanh-Dam (1983: 535) notes that prostitution is merely disguised in the legal definition of marriage. Harrison (1986) suggests the same for nuns and prostituted women in convents and brothels; Madan (cited in Bullough [1985: 68]) argued that polygamy be adopted "as an antidote to prostitution.") Though many references could be cited to support this point (e.g., Hughes [1987] on the transportation of English women to Australia), the following snippet from chapter 6 of Hyam's Empire and Sexuality (1990: 147) suggests the frequent meaninglessness of the term "marriage" as distinct from "prostitution":

> They [international traffickers in women and the women themselves, in order to escape detection] obtained false marriage certificates, went through pseudo-marriage ceremonies, even actual marriage ceremonies.

With marriages like this, who needs prostitution (or vice versa)?

Rotenberg shows (1974: 39) that "prostituted women" answered "domestic" when queried of their occupational status by Sanger in 1858, but also sometimes answered "domestic [servant]" even though they were "in fact" "housewives." As Rotenberg shows, this had dreadful consequences for these women once they got out of the prisons that were reform schools

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Second, Pare has entered and left the Daruan sex industry at several points in her life, first shortly upon discovering at 14 that her new husband was already doubly married. She left him to begin "going out with the men," "learning to drink with the men" with Tunigi's assistance. She left upon marrying again, and re-entered upon trying to divorce her current husband. Though I cannot prove it empirically, I believe that Pare and others find husbands in prostitution, in addition to being pushed into it by them, and that they find pimps in husbands.[19]

Case Study g

> Leona Arona is a young woman of mixed parentage who leads a particularly unfortunate life. Leona's people live at "Mosquito Camp," a recent settlement devoted primarily to pisirimai, gambling, cards, and now Bingo, in particular. She lives with her mother and father, several siblings and cousins, and with an uncle who suffers greatly from elephantiasis in two of his extremities.

(remember, they were not called "inmates" for nothing). These women reveal by stealth and linguistic circumvention the low status conferred by housewifery. Harter and Bertrand (1975) show a number of similarities between live-in maids and prostituted women in Cali, Colombia, but seem to suggest (1975: 24) that working as a maid carries no risk of pregnancy, which flies in the face of much evidence from English domestic/sexual lives (see Walkowitz 1980; Wyke 1975:83). Campbell (1984: 205) writes of the fine line between prostitution and show business. Meyerson's contribution to Medieval Valencian studies is to show the ideological source and function of sexual/religious double standards. In brief, Muslim women in the 1500s were forced into adultery/prostitution by poverty, religious persecution, and rules of inheritance transmission. These led them often to be arrested and to be "turned out" as prostituted slaves, and thus these prostituted slaves were forced into behaviors "for which they had originally incurred punishment" (Meyerson 1988: 88).

[19]. An often overlooked point in debates within feminist circles regarding the kind and degree of exploitation that occurs in adult video/hard-core pornography relates to the case of "Linda Lovelace." Candida Royalle (1993: 25) makes the important point that it was Linda's husband, not porno video director, who forced her into performing sexually for the camera, as is recounted graphically in Lovelace's account, Ordeal. This instance and phenomena suggests once more the often too-narrowly-defined definition of domestic abuse, since most of Ordeal is in fact about abuse and exploitation that her husband metes out as a husband, not as a porn director or producer. Her case, too, severely strains the public/private dichotomy often employed implicitly when not explicitly in figuring legal debates about the criminalization and legalization of prostitution.

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> Leona is single, but she has many husbands. Though by many accounts she is a dutiful daughter, both her mother and father (and other relatives) beat her when she does and when she does not engage in sex for money. She was pack-raped at a local pamuku haus while she was "conkout" by men numbering from 6 to 26, depending on the various versions, following which her mother came up from the corner and "belted her" back into consciousness. She was sexually assaulted again when Force Ten personnel descended upon Daru in the wake of the October 7 "riot."
>
> Leona and Nemeru are the two women Tunigi asked for most frequently. Leona has worked with Tunigi off and on for three or four years or so and is favored by men for her light skin, large breasts, and drinking demeanor.
>
> Leona is pimped by her father and other male relatives to primarily out-of-town businessmen, sawmill and timber camp workers, and FRPG workers. Her classificatory uncle, a Town Council member, also has arranged sexual encounters for her in the past when the FRPG is in session and other provincial representatives are staying in the Hotel or a nearby security house.
>
> Leona has apparently never been pregnant, according to her relatives and friends because her father "poisoned" her. Though she does not appear on any STD Clinic register in the past ten years, she almost certainly has suffered from various STDs, judging by the complaints she makes of lumps, pains, and lesions in her groin.

Leona's sad story illustrates two further twists on Pare's story. First, though "single," Leona nevertheless has many "husbands." Though she has several "husbands," she has no husbands. Leona is visited by timber camp and Ok Tedi workers, fishing boat operators, European businessmen, and pisirimai buyers who stay with her and sometimes her family for several days on end. Each of these become "husband" to her and to her family. Each one entices her into "staying quiet" or "staying 'dry'" (sexually) following their departure, promising to send money. What they give her is never enough, however, which necessitates her sale sexually again by family and friend and her solo forays up to the Hotel. That she cannot manage to "stay quiet" or "dry" means that each of her sexual partners--"husbands," some of them--can claim adultery on her part and discontinue the payments of food, money, and beer that sustain her and her family.

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Second, Leona cannot apparently conceive, alleged by townspeople to have resulted from her father's benevolent ensorcelling (he coming from a village particularly well-known for mido dubu). But perhaps as well she suffers from untreated STDs, perhaps gonorrhea or pelvic inflammatory disease. In any event, as long as she remains sterile and uba pe, she has little chance of getting out of the sex industry.

Case Study 6h.

Aramia is the youngest woman (17) in this series of case studies and the youngest woman with whom I worked on a regular basis, though nowhere near the youngest altogether. In a short time she has earned a bad reputation, as one who became hopelessly addicted to beer, smoking, and men. She is of "mixed" parentage, and has lived with several different sets of parents and family, including biological parents who now live elsewhere, and several grannies in town. She has been "married" once, and recently lived next door to the new wife of the father of her only child, now 15 months old. While she claims that she is still in love with him, she has several paying boyfriends whom she claims to want "to stick on." The family she has most recently lived with, a classificatory aunt and uncle and their children, wish to take her child away, but she is allowed to stay because she frequently gives them money for food, tobacco, petrol, household items, and her uncle's beer.

Being of young age and lighter skin, Aramia is the favored sexual partner of many FRPG Members and Ministers, and of national and expatriate businessmen, fishing boat operators, and cargo barge crew. She frequently stays for days on end on the research and cargo vessels that come to Daru for refueling, supplies, and "R and R." She has two "boyfriends" on one vessel that travels up and down the Fly River delivering supplies to the Ok Tedi mine, and another two who work as part of an international team investigating the effects of Ok Tedi-released effluvia into the Fly River and its many estuaries.

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Aramia perhaps represents a "new wave" of uba pe.[20] First, being young and a Town Kiwai, she has no tie to village or villagers. She has thus no access to an extended family network to manipulate (in terms of food, residence, and child care).

Second, Aramia was "spoiled" quickly; scarcely a year prior she was young, a virgin, a school student, and reasonably obedient to her family. She is now uba pe in the minds of many, she smokes and drinks and curses wildly in public, she has lost consciousness several times in public due to over-drinking, she has been abandoned by the father of her child, and she now wears makeup and short cut-offs garishly by local standards. Most evenings now she can be found at the Hotel, on a cargo barge or at another public drinking place, and has even begun to teach other young women to smoke, drink, and hang out around men.

Case Study 6i

> Aberewame Juguru is 32 going on 62, of the women I worked most closely with probably the one I feel most sorry for. Like others above, Aberewame lives between several households, including those of several other women in the sex industry and various relatives on her mother's side. During my fieldwork she lived primarily in her father's house, which contained her mother and father, four of her five children, several children of assorted siblings, and a young man who is in fact her own son but who was raised by her mother as her "brother." She has been married several times, physically and otherwise abused by all of her husbands, and receives no financial or other help from any of them.
>
> If anyone, it was husbands and male relatives who turned Aberewame out into prostitution. Her father has sold her mother to his drinking mates for at least two decades. One of her brothers arranged sexual encounters with her for his drinking mates in exchange for beer, and offered to do so for me once when drunk.

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[20]. When I return to Daru someday I will focus on sexual life histories of the older women in my sample under colonial rule. As I see it, from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, many Kiwai women were involved with soon-to-depart Australian men. Some marriages resulted, but many women were abandoned, in addition to other women being "marked" and "spoiled" by men, sex, alcohol, and, so I heard, "blue books," that is, pornography.

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During fieldwork, Aberewame and her parents Juguru and Obea were each infected with STDs. Aberewame has had painful lumps and sores in her inguinal and vaginal region off and on for years. A Hotel staff informant and frequent sexual partner of hers told me that he noticed that something was wrong with her vagina, that "samting bilong en i no samting tru tru" ("hers is not a real vagina"). Obea has been treated unsuccessfully for Donovanosis, and was convinced that her vaginal sores and inguinal lumps and pains had been caused by "zelasi" (jealousy) on the part of villagers at Aberewame's brother/son, who wore clothes too stylishly. Juguru said that Obea had been poisoned by a mido dubu who had applied a special plant extract to the mat on which she sat in the village.

Aberewame's story, too, illustrates the extreme density of sexual networks. Aberewame makes herself available sexually freelance. Her father has sold her mother, and her brother, her. All three suffer from STDs, Obea's allegedly the result of the zelasi villagers have towards Aberewame's son/brother. Juguru frequently visits sagapari, which is only meters from their house. Obea's STD is not treated satisfactorily because her sickness is cognized to be mido-related, not pathogenic. Aberewame does not get adequate STD treatment, partly because her father forbids her. Juguru gets antibiotics from wantoks, other Kiwai drinking mate health workers. Juguru is regularly employed, but does not adequately support his family. Obea was frequently cross at me for interviewing and hanging out with Aberewame, "for nothing," as she put it, as was Juguru, at least until I started buying beer for him.

Case Study 6j

Maureen Dawi is one of the oldest women in my sample, a recent arrival on Daru after a long time away from home. She left Daru as a late teenager for Port Moresby and ended up marrying several men in succession, at least two of whom were European bosses in the several restaurants and clubs she has worked in. More than any other woman, Maureen talks of her "career" in the Port Moresby sex industry from the late 1970s until about two years ago. To hear it from others, Maureen came back to Daru because she was no longer able to attract customers in Port Moresby discos such as the Pink Pussy, Dark Room, and Moonlight or at the fancier Hotels.

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She has had many wealthier and relatively well connected, paying sexual customers over the years, however, upon whom she can still call if need be. Of the "paying" sexual partners she has had since returning to Daru, none to my knowledge paid her in money. Several have "shouted" her room and board for two to four days at a time in the Hotel. One she picked the pocket of. Another, a well-connected businessman, allowed her access to his long-distance phone privileges, which she used to ring up her sister elsewhere whom she requested to salim moni kwik (wire her money).

Maureen is better educated than the other women, has lived in fancier surroundings, has been married to and attached to a wealthier clientele, and has been used for a longer time to a more upscale lifestyle. She faces, however, several difficulties. She cannot any longer attract enough customers sexually to support herself, her sons, and her parents. A long time pamuku, she is not employable by any "respectable business.

The above case studies illustrate the centrality of sexuality in the local political economy. Female sexuality is controlled in the sex industry by the sexual double standard and by male violence just as surplus labor is by low wages, labor-saving devices, ideology, and divisions of labor. As Enloe put it (1992: 24), "Women also remind us of how difficult it is sometimes to map the boundaries between sexual relations and economics." Sexual attractiveness, unfortunately, often has a temporal quality to it that capital and power do not necessarily.

V. The Political Economy of Sex

> What it comes down to is this: the grocer, the butcher, the baker, the merchant, the landlord, the druggist, the liquor dealer, the policeman, the doctor, the city father and the politician-- these are the people who make money out of prostitution (Polly Adler, 1953, A House is Not a Home).

Table 6.1 below indicates relevant sociodemographic factors that affect women's lives. Combined with Figure 6.1 below and much ethnographic data to follow, I want to suggest how inextricable are the links between sex and economics.

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Table 6.1

WOMEN, AND THE/THEIR NUMBER OF, 1990-92					
Woman	# houses lived in	# husbands	#boyfriend/ "husbands"	#weeks Employed	#pregnancies
Erepai	2	0	2	0	0
Ogamea	2	1	2	0	0
Kuria	2	1	2	0	1
Tipia	2	1	1	0	0
Nemeru	4	0	3	5	1
Pare	4	1	1	0	0
Leona	5	0	2	0	0
Aramia	4	0	0	0	1
Ab/wame	3	0	0	0	0
Maureen	3	0	0	0	0
Totals	31	4	13	5	3

Of these ten women, only Nemeru worked for regular wages, and she for only five weeks, and for only paltry wages. Beyond engaging in sex for money, women sometimes fish, show videos, sell scones, and so forth, but probably none will ever be hired at a "regular," salaried job. On this score, these women both were and were not like most other Daruan women. On the one hand, they scrubbed clothing with brushes and bar soap on washing boards and hung wash out to dry; they swept underneath and around the house with brooms made from palm spathe mid-ribs, left hand resting on the lower back; they cooked isidou (turtle meat sago bundles, roasted [incredibly yummy]), batadou (barramundi sago), and burodou ("saksak tasol," i.e., dry sago); they played cards when they could; they cleaned babies, fetched water, and went more or less daily to the market

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for greens and to the tradestores for rice[21]--they did, on some levels, what most other Daruan women do, echoing the comments of Roberta Victor above (see Terkel 1972).

On the other hand, few ever directed the work of others; few ever earned regular wages with which to purchase foodstuffs and other store items; few (I can not think of any) worked in a garden or regularly went fishing, crabbing, or sea-cucumber collecting; few lived in their "own" homes; and few directed larger scale productive or social endeavors (planning for feasts, the ceremonial "opening" of tombstones a year after the demise of the deceased, church functions, etc.).

During the period of my fieldwork, these women lived between three different houses on average, though shifted residentially many, many more times than that (probably several score times each, yearly), both nightly when they accompany sexual partners elsewhere, and when they take their beddings, mats, cooking and other household items to another house to sleep there temporarily.

Only four of the women are "really" married now, though all but Leona have been married in the past. All but Aramia and Nemeru have been married multiple times. However, seven women have men whom they consider to be boyfriend or husband, spoken of when absent in the way of "yes, he is my husband, he is man I love," or "I am

---

[21]. There are gardens on Daru, but most do not have them (see Chapter 7). Residential arrangements are far too dense and insanitary to have "kitchen" gardens. Sago (grown on the mainland) and rice are the daily staples. Some yam gardening is done, but only in gardens owned by people who own or lay "traditional" claim to such land on Daru. By definition, such land rarely goes to non-Kiwai. Most of these women are Kiwai, but many have either never lived in the village (e.g., Aramia), have not lived there for many years (e.g., Maureen, Jebaro), or have lived in villages elsewhere (e.g., Nemeru, Kuria, Erepai). I cannot say as I ever remember seeing a woman considered "pamuku" working in a garden, certainly not any of the women in my sample.

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staying single now, my husband went back to Kiunga," or "no, he is not my husband, he never buys food for my children."

Thus, women depend upon their abilities to attract and extract from many men a certain level of monetary commitment. Some do so by pressing "cultural" claims upon men to support children and wives (cf. Schurink and Levinthal 1983: 161). Erepai and Maureen are menopausal, so did not conceive during my fieldwork. Ogamea, Tipia, and Aberewame have conceived before, but for one reason or another (multiple STDs, poisonings, among them), probably will not conceive again. Nemeru conceived once during my fieldwork, but fastened her stomach tightly with a belt, drank saltwater, vomited, and eventually induced a miscarriage. Leona and Pare have never conceived, though each has had two hundred or more different sexual partners and only recently began using condoms. Being apparently sterile, suffering too under uba pe status, they have little cultural capital with which to manipulate men's financial interest in them. Kuria has recently been made pregnant by her classificatory uncle, who supports her and her husband and household. Aramia receives food and child care from her ex-husband's parents and family, and food, pity, and child care from her own family, who recognize her inability yet to be a good mother. Beyond sex, only Kuria and Aramia can manipulate cultural expectations that fathers take care of children. The remainder have variously been abandoned by men because of their apparent sterility and uba pe status.

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VI. Grounding Sex

Below I ground sex further in the political economy, demonstrating that sexual relations are economic ones. I begin--following Enloe's lead (1992: 25)--by presenting the political economic scope of the Daruan sex industry:

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Figure 6.1: "The Scope of the Sex Industry"

husbands, who pay wives for sex.
boyfriends, who make payments of food and money to girlfriends.
"mates" of men, who give them their girlfriends sexually.
girlfriends, who expect material payments that lead to marriage.

small boys/girls on bicycles, who "pass messages" for coins/food
fathers, brothers, and other male relatives, who sell female relatives for beer and money.

"disko pati," "video pati," and fund-raising sponsors, who profit when
customers buy food, drinks, and pay gate fees in exchange for sex.

bartenders and male staff at the Hotel, who arrange rooms\privacy\alcohol
in return for money and sex; female staff at the Hotel who pass messages for the
males who bribe them, or who engage in sex themselves for money.

the Police and CIS Clubs, which encourage the sex industry
by selling beer and by making vehicles and telephones available
requisite to sexual assignations.

The FRPG, which owns the Hotel, lounge bar, and public tavern,
and which thereby benefits from all room and video rentals,
from food and alcohol purchases.
drivers and clerks for FRPG workers, who arrange rooms,
purchase and convey alcohol.

Police and CIS staff and Courthouse clerks,
who pressure women into sex (or pay them for it), and who
refuse to intervene in or prosecute cases of sexual violence and
wife-battering.

local and national political leaders
(Town Council, Provincial Government, etc.),
who use expense account money to purchase
food, alcohol, and women sexually,
for themselves and their wantoks.

sex brokers, who arrange sexual encounters and
the extended families who subsist on such earnings.

canteen and trade store owners and operators,
who profit by food, tobacco, and "black market" beer sales.

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Though this is just a partial list, it illustrates that each man and woman is tied sexually and economically to a multitude of other men and women. Recall, for instance, that Maureen exchanged sex for use of a telephone.[22] In addition, Daru is a center of gun- and drug-smuggling; marijuana grown in the highlands is sent to Daru and thence to Thursday island and elsewhere in the Torres Strait, and to Australia. In exchange, locals receive guns or money or both. Some of these raskol gang members also engage in or otherwise facilitate sex brokering, such as Andrew Herewa above (in chapter 5). Finally, when the FRPG is in session, political representatives stay at the Hotel and at local houses known for bia na pamuku. Sexual and alcoholic activities thereby go up, since "shouting" oneself and one's supporters and mates to food and beer is a social imperative. The FRPG owns the Hotel, so it profits greatly alongside tradestores, canteens, and black marketeers who trade in alcohol.

To summarize, sexual relations are economic ones. By engaging in and facilitating sex and drinking, FRPG Members and Ministers further ingratiate themselves with supporters, divert money from development projects, and further marginalize women. Whenever participants enter unequally into sexual activities (as in the sex industry), surplus status, identity, power, privilege, and prerogative accrues to the dominant partner, just as surplus labor value accrues to capitalists in the production process.

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[22]. See Morgan-Thomas (1990: 92) for statistics from a Scottish study indicating the extent to which items of value other than money were exchanged for sex.

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VII. Dividing the Body

The ten case studies and my analysis above link the sexual with the political aspects of the local economy. But this may have given an over determined cast to the data. Do not these women ever fight back? Does their discourse or activity reflect their exploitation or challenge it? Why do women participate in systems which degrade them? Are there any zones of contestation? What are the meanings behind or underneath this discourse? Do they ever resist? Consciously? How do they negotiate their sexual activities?

To answer these questions we must treat the body as a site of multiple, conflicting discourses and interpretations (see especially Foucault 1995[1975]). As indicated above, there is danger in over determining women's exploitation, as if they are merely empty containers onto or into which male domination is transcribed or realized. Approaching the sexual body differently reveals a much deeper discourse on sexuality and power on Daru. As I understand, the Body Prostitute in the Daruan sex industry is not just a tangle of planes, curves, and orifices onto and into which men reach sexual gratification. Rather, it mediates symbolically between the contradictory forces of contemporary Daruan culture.[23] Perhaps the Body Daruan (like the Body Zinacantecan) is also a "'black box'--undifferentiated, unarticulated, and unrefined" (Fabrega and Silver 1973:

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[23]. See Zita (1988). I am thinking here of the fact that while the Hotel lounge bar is closed to shoeless grassroots, the rule does not apply to female shoeless grassroots, thus expressing a gendered and sexualized class division, or, put another way, the privileging of (imminent) sex over (inchoate) class.

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90)--until looked at more intently.[24] Shifting one's gaze from the macro-level of political economy to the micro-level of the body reveals other social problems as well, such as barriers to greater condom usage, insufficient knowledge of STD and HIV transmission dynamics, and so on (see Chapter 9).

VIIa Pretty [Unprotected] Woman

Shifting gears greatly now, I wish to lay bare some of the many ways Daruan women in the sex industry at least try to wrest for themselves and their bodies a modicum of control and agency.[25] Pretty Woman, the early '90s misogynous icon starring America's sweetheart, Julia Roberts, is a good place to begin. Early in the film, Vivian tires of her client's apparent sexual disinterest and asks him: "What do you want?" "What do you do?" inquires Edward, Richard Gere's silently-grieving, corporate raider character. "Everything," she replies, "but I don't kiss on the mouth."

Despite its frequent appalling misrepresentation of streetwalking, Pretty Woman raises several important issues, if only by leaving key questions unasked but available, in the wind nevertheless. Where and with whom, for example, is Vivian at greater risk of HIV infection, at "work" on the streets with customers, subject to police harassment, a legal double standard, societal approbation, and exploitive pimps, or at "home" with new-

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[24]. See also Lock's valuable analysis of the way in which the body has simply been "bracketed off" and set aside (1993: 133).

[25]. Following the logic of my argument below, Daruan women may also have been trying to keep their distance from me. Mathews (1990: 77) writes that the longstanding suspicion by sex industry workers of statutory services is "not wholly unwarranted:" "An early attempt to invite a group of women to a meeting to discuss AIDS prevention was a complete failure... One of the women explained that they are afraid 'it would be full of social worker types.'"

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found boyfriends such as Edward who refuse to use condoms?[26] At what point does Edward the client become Edward the boyfriend? What relevance does "marital status" actually have for models of HIV transmission and prevention? Do johns or boyfriends pose a greater risk? Does love compromise Vivian's ability to protect herself by using condoms? In the crucial condom scene, she reminds him that she's a "safety girl." When she unzips her boots and pulls out a fistful of protection she tells him, "Alright, pick one, I've got red, I've got green, I've got yellow, I'm out of purple, but I do have one Gold Circle Coin left, the condom of champions, the one and only, nuthin' is gettin' through this [,?!] sucker, whaddya' say?" When he replies coldly with an arcane verb form, "I profane of safety" (my emphasis), he indicates that to him fucking hookers is just like raiding corporations. He doesn't care because he doesn't have to.

Edward refuses to use condoms, but at least Vivian tried. In so doing she challenges the misogynist stereotype of the dangerous, unmotivated, infection-prone prostituted woman.[27] At least while I was distributing free condoms, Daruan women tried to protect themselves via condoms, but were not always successful.[28] Some sexual partners refuse to use condoms and some women refuse to use them, too, since there are various kinds of sexual partners and various kinds of sexual activities. Prevention

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[26]. After all, in many western countries prostituted women "expect to use condoms with customers, [although] most do not use them with their primary partners" (Cohen 1989: 1-2).

[27]. F.I.D. Konotey-Ahulu, a physician at the Cromwell Hospital in London, writes that in his Krobo tribe in West Africa, "the only people with AIDS" are prostituted women, and that their one common feature is "perineal disintegration," "to which [they] subject themselves." These women, practicing "abnormal" sex (either anal intercourse or vaginal intercourse too frequently), become "the major means of propagating AIDS" (1987: 720).

[28]. See also Harcourt and Philpot (1990).

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programs which presume condom usage under conditions of recreational models of sex will by definition miss much of the story, as will models of sexual activity which presume only procreational. Are condoms used to prevent STDs, to prevent pregnancy, or to distance a woman from a male partner or contact? Do men want to use (or not to use) condoms because they care for their contacts and partners, because they are afraid of them, because condoms give them license to treat them worse, that is, not to care? Does the decision to use condoms signify likely better treatment? Does is make any difference whatsoever?

Participation in the sex industry thus does not dictate clearly defined, stable risk factors. The Body Prostitute may mediate between the sexual demands of the political economy and women's conceptions of self and emotion, but these bodies nevertheless "refuse[] to hold still" (Lock 1993: 148). Sometimes women want to use condoms but their partners do not. Sometimes condoms are thought to "spoil" their bodies, sometimes to protect them. Sometimes women insist upon condom usage, other times they say "maski, go tasol," i.e., forget it. But if the body mediates symbolically between person and political economy, then perhaps behavioral and linguistic divisions hold the key to modeling more precisely the often contingent, multiple, overlapping risks women face. A contributor ("Jasmin") to a special issue of Social Text (1993: 34) put it that "In private work I have to do too much for my taste. It's too intimate. In a whorehouse you do not kiss. There's a code of touching. I try to keep as much as possible for my private life." Such appears to be the case for Daruan wòmen, too, although my sense is that they have a

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far more difficult time separating "work" or "public" sexuality from "private" or "personal" than "Jasmin" above.

VIIb. top and bottom

First,[29] women in the Daruan sex industry divide their bodies vertically into "top" and "bottom" halves. As Hilda Vili put it, "I want cash in my hand before I pull my pants down."[30] One instrumental key is not simply to take one's clothes off, but to pull one's pants down. Nemeru said "Uh, some of the clothes. The skirt, only the skirt. I never take [off] my, what, bra and tins [things]."[31] The top half--breasts, face, neck, and mouth--is ideally reserved for the enjoyment and intimacy of boyfriends and husbands, whereas the bottom half--vagina, for the most part--is ideally the only body parts that

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29. See also Plant (1990) and Delacoste and Alexander (1987) for numerous examples of sex worker attempts to protect themselves. Regarding alcohol, Aberewame, perhaps the most alcoholic of the women in this cohort, spoke in a representative way:

> Lawrence: Do you drink beer or hardstuffs when you and these other ladies go for sex?
>
> Aberewame: Yeah, we drinks beer and hardstuffs when we go for sex. If sense [i.e., not drunk] we will not do the sex...if I touch beer or hardstuff I will go everywhere...because if you drink, grog [alcohol, hardstuff] will make, you know, will force you to go anywhere.

30. ("Hilda Vili" is, like all the others names herein, a pseudonym.) In Peruvian brothels, too, the "natural" sexual position requires that the woman remove only her pants while the "man remains clothed and lies on top of the woman" (Arnold 1977: 186). Though the author does not specifically say this, and anticipating the discussion below, it would appear that clothing removal signifies not just the degree of intimacy conveyed by engagement of particular sexual positions, but the contingent and negotiated power relations obtaining as well. For instance, some sexual poses (all but missionary position intercourse) invert norms of masculine power and aggressive sexuality and of feminine submissiveness and asexuality; they demonstrate vividly female desire and thus evince their control.

31. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-5-92.

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bafalo[32] have access to. Maureen Dawi[33] told me during a recorded interview that "I'm not going to drop my pants unless you give me some money. My whole body feels, I feel it." She indicated later that she only "feels it" (sexually aroused enough to kiss) when she is with "man I love." Hilda said quite adamantly during her interview that:

> [I just] pull my pants down and that's it...I don't take all of my clothes off to my bafalo friends, no...I pull my pants down and that's it, I have sex with him, later on I wash myself, my bottom, and put my pants on and I'm going ["pants" can mean trousers and/or panties].

Leona similarly divides her body vertically. She recounted a recent sexual encounter by saying that she had had intercourse twice with one fellow, but had not allowed kissing or breast stimulation: "He knows that he is not my husband... That's my way, only pants out [off] because it's not Gary [her European "husband," one of several recognized as such by her family...] [Gary] used to spend big money on me...and [so] I used to give him my susu [breasts]." Pare told me that during one sexual encounter her bafalo partner had engaged in "kissing and susu holding" with her but only because she had passed out: "...but I was flat out sleeping. I drank four bottles, and then when I went I drank six bottles, and then I went to sleep."

VIIc. good sex/bad sex

Women in the sex industry also divide their sexual activities morally and medically. When I asked Erepai to explain "why you have this two minds: 'It's okay [to

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[32]. Bafalo is the new Pidgin contraction of "bucks/fire," paying customers, or as I cognize it, "dangerous/money." Hilda referred to herself and her "mates" as "bafalo gels" (buffalo girls) and "bafalo soldes" (buffalo soldiers), apparently without knowledge of Bob Marley's song of the same name.

[33]. Directly quoted passages above and below not otherwise identified are from various kinds of audiotaped and transcribed interviews.

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swallow semen] for my true love, but not with my bafalo friends.' What's the difference?" She replied:

> Erepai: Well, the difference is, I wouldn't know how many woman he has been going out around with. And I wouldn't know how many woman he's been taking and sucking him or screwing her or all sorts of things to him, and or, whatever. So I get so scared otherwise, see, I wouldn't know if I suck him, or hold him, or touch him, if there's something wrong with himself you know what I'm trying to say if he has sick on his what. Cock, or if he has sick on the side of his cock and I would and the salivas would be going into my mouth and I would be like swallowing the saliva down, and I feel really guilty of it and really sick.
>
> Lawrence: Okay [do you swallow your true love's semen?].
>
> Erepai: Yeah. Unless if I'm back with the children's father, yes, I would... Because I know he's safe and he's looking after himself like myself and I don't want to go this deep with my bafalo friends.

Appropriateness, then, of sexual activities is measured in terms of who one can or should not engage in particular sexual activities with. Hilda, for instance, said that she "didn't change any of my styles" (alter any sexual positions available for bafalo), "but it's just that, the same styles I have a limit of bafalo friends, just pull my pants down and that's it." Aramia expressed shame when she began to have sex with men she met at the Hotel:

> Lawrence: How do they ask you, do they feel shame to do that, how do they ask?
>
> Aramia: Oh, well, I don't know because I'm feeling shame, yes, they ask if a lady can touch, but me, I feel shame.
>
> Lawrence: Okay, what are some of the things you don't like to do, things that you feel shameful about?
>
> Aramia: Oh, say, cock, something like that, pinch them, suck them, that's a shameful to me, I don't like that, [kissing] too [and] like, say, "bend down" [a sexual position], I mean, giving backfire ["doggy style"], I feel shame, that's something or with both my legs up...if it's not my boyfriend I used to feel shame.

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This general division made between kinds of partners extends to particular sexual activities and to frequencies thereof. Aramia spoke of not wishing to engage in sex multiply with bafalo, that "it's a shameful thing." She will engage in sex multiply with her current boyfriend, though, "because that's only the one I'm stuck on, but not others."

This point can be examined in view of three particular activities: fellatio, anal intercourse, and cunnilingus (for comparative data from elsewhere in PNG, see also NSRRT and Jenkins 1994; Tuzin 1982, 1991). Many women said that though fellatio is "really bad one," "no good one," and that they would do it with bafalo only if physically forced, they nevertheless engaged in it with boyfriends and husbands. Aramia, for instance, confided one day during our interview that when faced with the prospect of bafalo fellatio, "we used to get scared of sick." Some women, too, spoke of the fear of "beer liquid," i.e., ingesting semen orally from drinkers, which might lead to malformed fetuses and difficult pregnancies and deliveries. Hilda, too, felt it to be tambu to touch a bafalo's penis with anything other than her vagina, but indicated that such is not so with her boyfriend:

> Hilda: Yes, with boyfriend, it's okay.
>
> Lawrence: Okay, why is it a little bit tambu to touch the thing of your clients, why is there a difference there?
>
> Hilda: Yes, because I'm screwing, I'm having a screw with my [bafalo, "fuck friend"], but with my boyfriend, I'm just having sex [making love], just loving him, that's what.

Anal intercourse, too, though perhaps not engaged in very often anyway, is at least possible with boyfriends. Hilda, for example, during one interview, told me that "Yeah, some bafalo friends have asked me to screw it from [in] my ass or put my leg up,

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from sideways, or whatever...but I don't accept it. [Why not?] Well, like I said, I think I'll give myself in for my boyfriend, but not bafalo friends."[34]

Finally, though perhaps relatively few Papua New Guineans engage frequently in cunnilingus, many younger, better educated and more sexually experienced males told me formally and less so that they engaged in it frequently and with pleasure. For women, cunnilingus with bafalo is just about out of the question: "...no, that's dirty," reported Maureen in her interview. "I don't like it but they force me, but I said no, I said no, and I keep on, no, no...." Erepai and Hilda indicate that it is possible with "true loves," and such was confirmed by acknowledged "boyfriends" of other women in my sample. Erepai will not even dream of letting "fuck friends" perform cunnilingus on her, but answered, "Well, sure I would" when I asked her about her "true love," Murray.

VIId. seeing the skin

Further, complete clothing removal is not a given practice, for reasons of expediency, cultural value, and personal protection (cf. Schurink and Levinthal 1983: 161). This is so in probably the majority of all systems of prostitution, at least for those women who lack any appreciable privacy, safety, and freedom from prosecution. Schurink and Levinthal (1983), for example, reflecting on their work amongst "business women" in southern African cities, write that "streetwalkers" and "hotel prostitutes" "would normally only take off the absolute minimum of clothing" (1983: 161). Among

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[34]. Gail Pheterson (1993: 41) recounts one prostituted woman who, like apparently many others, prefers to engage in anal intercourse with clients: "I save my vagina for my lover."

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other things, then, intimacy is measured by the amount of "skin" revealed in a sexual encounter.[35] Hilda explains that her bafalo friends used to ask her:

> "why can't you strip off," something like that, but I don't feel it's okay, but sometimes they tell me "can I play with your susu or suck your susu," or something like that. But I don't like it. I used to tell them "I got baby" I used to tell them, "I've got baby to feed with my breast, so I'm not giving it to you."

When she encountered bafalo who wanted what bafalo cannot have, she would simply remind them, "you are not my boyfriend," or "you are not my husband." "We are only a fuck friend...so I only just pull my pants down, screw, wash myself, and then pull my pants up and that's it." When I asked her why she protected herself thus, she replied:

> Hilda: Oh, well, because I'm asking him for money so I don't like him to see most of my body you know, I don't take all of my clothes off to my bafalo friends, no.
>
> Lawrence: Uhm, tell me.
>
> Hilda: I pull my pants down and that's it, I have sex with him, later on I wash myself, my bottom, and put my pants on and I'm going.
>
> Lawrence: Do you take off tops, or bras, anything like that?
>
> Hilda: Yeah, with my boyfriend, yes, I can strip off and make love, but with my bafalo friends, no...they are only a fuck friend.

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[35]. This is equally true at sagapari (see Chapter 7), at which the price of sexual intercourse is halved at night because, said several informants, "you cannot see their skins," whereas during the day, "you can see everything" (see also Tisdale 1994 for a most interesting contemporary philosophy of sex, skin, and bodily fluids). One medical student informant of Good and DelVecchio Good (1993: 95) said

> ...And how the skin, which is our way of relating to other people--I mean, touching skin is...getting close to people--how that is such a tiny part of what's going on, it's like the peel of an orange, it's just one tiny little aspect. And as soon as you get that off, you're in this whole other world.

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VIIe. kissing bafalo

Women also divide their bodies via kissing. In their study of New York "working girls," Michelle Shedlin and Denise Oliver (1993: 164-65) found that the first of the two cardinal rules of sex work was always to get paid first, and that the second was never to allow oneself to be kissed by a customer; as one informant put it, "You don't kiss, that's disgusting." For another informant, kissing was physically harmful: "I won't kiss any guy...just something in me...it turns my stomach." A third informant said, "In jail they talk...what do you do...you kiss 'em?...who ever taught you to be a whore?" A fourth informant made perhaps the most trenchant comment about kissing in the whole piece, revealing in the process both her own bodily boundaries as well as those between their various sex partners of her customer: "...and I said to this motherfucker, 'if you wanna kiss, go home to your wife.'"[36] A woman in the New Zealand sex industry, too, "Genevieve," says that she "can't bring [herself] to kiss every Tom, Dick and Harry...It's something you do for only one person, not for ten thousand men" (quoted in Jordan 1991: 123-24). As a prostituted Englishwoman said, "I see two or three punters [clients] a night. I won't kiss them" (Day 1989: 100-01). Kisses and bafalo do not apparently go together in Manhattan, Auckland, or London, either.

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[36]. (Shedlin and Oliver 1993: 165). This theme is apparent in many recent films about or that feature women in prostitution. The character "Pepper" in the Alec Baldwin vehicle, Miami Blues, turns away from his kiss initially and informs his character early on, almost to the camera, that "nobody kisses us." Tellingly, that she does eventually kiss him signifies her descent into violent monogamy. Teresa Russell's character in Whore, essentially says the same thing, but directly into the camera.

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Just as with more gymnastic sexual positions and enthusiastic responses, Daruan women in the sex industry may kiss boyfriends but not bafalo.[37] Aramia told me that "when I'm not really really going, I doesn't want...[if it's] not my boyfriend I used to feel shame." Aramia's friend, Julie Laewomba, who recently entered the sex industry, concurred during our interview, saying that "No, sometimes when a man I love I kiss with him, when I don't love I just fuck, but man I really love I kiss with them."[38] Eniato Gegere agreed: "To me, the people I love I kiss them before I go, but if the people whom I don't love I don't kiss them...just take off."[39]

VIf. condoms and germs

Finally, condoms are another powerful way to divide women from bafalo,[40] but, being new, women are ambivalent about them. When I asked Nemeru, for instance, what

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37. Leonard (1990: 45, Table 1) reports that in 83 sex acts during 49 different encounters between male clients and Camden street prostituted women kissing was done only 11 times (13%). This implied intimacy that kisses embody features prominently in the wedding night scene in the fascinating Confessions of a Mail Order Bride (Larsen 1989: 88), and is also discussed in great detail in an obscure essay by Ernest Crawley, "The Nature and History of the Kiss" (1969 [1929]: 113-36), in which he argues that "although the act in its civilized form is very rare among the lower and semi-civilized races, it is fully established as instinctive in the higher societies" (1969: 113)!

38. At the end of Pretty Woman, chauffeur and limo waiting below, Edward climbs the fire escape and "rescues" Vivian with a kiss. As she promises to "rescue him right back"--again, with a kiss--she affirms her demise into unsafe sex and fairy tale romance. There go the bodily fluids, and out the window go the condoms.

39. Gloria Lockett (1991: 5) concludes similarly from her experience in and with the sex industry that in terms of HIV-infective risk, prostituted women become victims more of "monogamous" relationships than of clients.

40. Probably the surest barrier beyond rubber gloves. Erepai told me that she does not like actually to touch a condom or a penis, but can bring herself to inspect a penis after putting on rubber gloves, which she keeps in her purse. Women fear that condoms can be used twice between vaginas, fear where this penis and condom has been.

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she thought about condoms, she said, "No, it's good. I don't want to get sick, or that's why I like condom." Aramia concurred: "Condoms, that's for my protection, too, just to look after my body, to protect my body, not to have some sickness, or something like that." Aramia has begun to use condoms quite frequently, at least with some "boyfriends." Unfortunately, seldom do they want to use condoms. When she is "normal sense" (i.e., not drinking or drunk) she is rather vigilant about condom use, but when she is "really over" or "drunken sense," completely "conkout," she claims to enjoy going "skin-to-skin."

Most sexual partners simply refuse to use condoms. Aramia recounted one FRPG Member who wanted to marry her:

> Aramia: I also I was wanting a condom. I ask him to use condom, but he scold me, he doesn't want to use condom.
>
> Lawrence: Did he have any?
>
> Aramia: Yes, he's got, I asked him and he doesn't want to use, but he kept on forcing me...he told me he's tired of using condoms. I kept on asking him, so he had to push me on the bed.

Pare, too, was increasingly adamant throughout my fieldwork stay that her bafalo partners used condoms:

> Lawrence: Did he talk about condoms to you, did you talk about it, the two of you?
>
> Pare: Yeah, I told him you have to use because.
>
> Lawrence: ...What did he say when you told him?
>
> Pare: Yeah, it's true, but I told him "if you want to have sex with your wife you are going to use the condom," because I'm really scared of it [gonorrhea], "you're not going to...[if you're going to sleep with the women who knock on your hotel

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> door] you use the condom, you won't have sex without the condom," that's what I said.

Hilda started to use condoms only when her "big sister" (an outreach worker) "started coming talking about condoms, that's where she [got us interested] and we got scared with all these disease, you know." Maureen, too, now insists upon condom usage with her bafalo partners:

> "Yes, I have to use a condom. I don't trust my boyfriends. If he doesn't want it, well, stiff shit. Force people to have a sex, well, I don't want to have sex, those ones that won't use condoms."

VIIg. barriers to barriers

Despite women's apparent adamancy over their partners' condom usage, there remain significant obstacles. Most obviously, most Daruans do not use condoms, whether out of informed choice, ignorance, antipathy, well-grounded fear, or shame. One young respondent, Savea, when I asked her what she knew about condoms, replied:

> Savea: No, when I hear like boys and girls making fun in the settlement, like mainly, these, Papua New Guineas they are stupid. They make fun of each other. When a girl or a boy finds condom in somebody else's bed, when they see it and say "Condom, condom" they run here and there making fun. I don't really understand what the humor. They say we use condoms for this and that, we used just laugh at each other and...
>
> Lawrence: Do you know why they're using condoms? Do they tell you why?
>
> Savea: No, they do not tell me why. Truly, I hear girls and boys saying "Condoms, condoms" to each other but I don't know what they're used for.

Men on the island resist condoms because condoms are foreign, because they cost money, because men culturally value making women pregnant, because condoms are mentioned neither in the Bible nor in tribal lore, and because doing sex with condoms does not feel as good as going "skin-to-skin." They speak of avoiding semen "blockage,"

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of wanting to "shoot their sperms," to shoot them "in a straight line," "straight to Kiunga." One male informant, a worker at the Department of Primary Fisheries, put it that "we cannot stop what must be done."[41] As another informant at sagapari one day put it, "they [men who pay for sex] want to go in a straight line... They are spak [drunk]... They don't want to waste their sperms for nothing. They think, 'fuck, we already paid [for beer/women], we won't waste our sperms'... They want their sperms to get full travel." These sentiments might also be indicating among other things that many men feel as if condom usage precludes manhood itself, their virility. Or, perhaps, they indicate that condom usage precludes procreation and therefore connotes a degree of non-seriousness to the woman about the relationship (cf. Worth 1990: 116).

Women, too, prefer going "skin/skin" to increase their own or their partners' pleasure.[42] Sometimes women refuse condoms because they wish to become pregnant or because they wish to avoid vaginal blockage, a fear to which several gruesome stories[43] and a wealth of cultural dietary rules attest.[44]

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41. Field note, 11-13-91, Daru.

42. A close male informant recounted to me (11-5-91, Daru) that at a video party, some Agobaro Corner (Kiwai) young lady had hit him up for sex after paying for his gate fee. When he balked (though tempted, he is married and not Kiwai) she protested, so to turn her away he said that he would use a condom. At that she reportedly said "no, then I won't be able to feel you shoot your sperm into me."

43. In one, a rotting condom was removed two weeks later from a young woman's vagina by her mother. Bamboo tongs were used because neither she nor her mother (much less her sexual partner) could bear to touch her genitals. This woman had engaged in serial, only partly consensual intercourse with her boyfriend and 3 of his friends. Only the boyfriend--and the last to take a turn--used a condom. See also Rutasitara's parallel Kenyan example (1980: 162). Hughes, too, reflecting on research done in the Tari Basin, Southern Highlands Province (1991: 136), writes that Huli women in particular fear that "gumis [condoms, although "rubber" can also mean I.U.D.] became lost inside the woman and babies were born intertwined in them." Orubuloye, Caldwell, and Caldwell (1993:862) report similar feelings among West African

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Condom use is thus contingent on a number of negotiated relations. Character of the sexual relationship is one. Hilda reported that she has begun to use condoms with bafalo, but "With my boyfriends [I don't] because when I ask my boyfriend they don't accept condom, they will think I have a sick... I don't want to be put off or let down, [so] if they are my steady boyfriend, I just accept them [without a condom]." Julie Laewomba says that she might consider going "skin/skin" if her sexual partner were a married man: "I mean he's a married man...and he doesn't, he's not the type of man who takes girls around... I never see him talking to other girls... I trust him." Kuria knows about AIDS and she easily took condoms from me, but only uses them with men she does not have affection for. Kuria does not use condoms with Andrew Herewa above so as to "grease" him and thus indebt him in the future in the form of favors, beers, and new contacts. Leona uses condoms with bafalo but prefers to go "skin-skin" with both of the two men her father recognizes as being her "husbands," including "Gary" [her European "husband"] who would marry her, she was convinced, if she became pregnant.

Condoms signify, therefore, the multiple, usually conflicting meanings of sexual partners, encounters, and likely sexual activities. Aberewame routinely left at home the condoms and several condom purses that I had given her because she hoped that by becoming pregnant, the father(s) would marry her and lift her out of her misery.

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women, in addition to the belief that sperm deprivation would harm them and their fetus.

[44]. For example, three consecutive middle-aged women I interviewed in Doumori village around Christmas, 1990, spoke of foods and food combinations to avoid when trying to conceive and deliver. In general, foods too "greasy" or with "too much blood" in them, such as coconut, pig, wallaby, catfish, aibica, etc., were to be avoided at those times. It must be pointed out that these foods (and many others) are tabooed (completely, or in certain contexts) on other grounds by one or another religious denomination (Seventh Day Adventist, for example).

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Aramia's boyfriend threw away three such condom purses in succession because, according to her, he wished to impregnate her. He, too, was opposed to my condom distributive efforts. I had become, in effect, a barrier between him and her by introducing a device she would use as a barrier against him.

VIII. Conclusions

Many of these Daruan women possess, in Margaret Lock's trenchant phrase, a sexual "body that refuse[s] to hold still" (Lock 1993: 148). Many of the divisions presented above appear to be rather straight-forward, dividing (or uniting) women (and their body parts) from (or with) those of their boyfriends (or bafalo), minimizing (and maximizing) intimacy in a negotiated, contingent fashion. However, in actuality, these bodily and behavioral divisions are difficult to maintain and are based on a complicated set of relations. This includes a fair amount of suspicion should a man find wife's condoms in her belongings or a woman in her husband's, as was related me to several times.[45] Even technology refuses to hold still, literally. Condoms may break or (threaten to) remain inside them, turning barrier into nightmare. Condoms preclude going "skin/skin," a much desired activity which produces pleasure, the potential of children, intimacy, and perhaps even cultural or feminine pride. Men, too, perhaps

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45. In one instance, the mother of one (Kiwai) man whose (Kerema) wife is considered pamuku harangued me from her doorstep (and then reported to her son when he returned from the reef, that I was inciting married women to adultery by handing out condoms. When he saw me one afternoon shortly thereafter he said "why do you want to come and talk to me and my wife, she's not using condoms. I don't have AIDS, you fuck off from our house..." (Field note, 3-19-92, Daru).

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particularly so, spoke of the pleasure, sometimes even duty of going buro arumo (Kiwai="just penis," skin to skin), or of following "natural systems."[46]

In the social realm, too, little can be said to hold still, now that "traditional" values, controls, and mores regarding sexuality have been undercut by (or have completely given way to) the cash nexus and the struggle to earn a living. Sturdevant (1989: 446) has described Subic Bay Naval Base in Olangapo City, the Philippines, as now having an essentially nihilistic culture surrounding it, "in which the lives of the [female] protagonists count for little." Even a 1966 article contained in The City of Olongapo Inaugural and Souvenir Program admitted that "There is no belying that Olongapo is in fact a community a navy built" (quoted in Moselina 1979: 183).

This fits well my impression of Daru, too. Daruan females are sold sexually in their own homes by male relatives probably more often than they are sold to strangers in the bushes or Hotel. Males begin to relate to these women as customers but later become boyfriends and husbands. My impression is that lots of "customers" and "boyfriends" treat women demonstrably better than do many of their "husbands."[47] Some husbands, such as Andrew, Tunigi, and George above, become pimps for their wives and other female relatives. But they are also, by local standards, successful marriage brokers. Women want bafalo to use condoms, but they can not bring themselves to touch bafalo penis or condom. Women want to protect their own bodies, but they cannot bring

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46. See, e.g., Field note, 3-19-92, Daru.

47. Schurink and Levinthal (1983: 161), too, found that prostituted "coloured" and "black" women in southern Africa were better treated by clients than by husbands.

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themselves to inspect their own genitals, much less those of their partners. Daruan men love to have sex, but they abuse the women whose female genitalia give them pleasure.

This discussion makes clear the fact that neither the Sexual, Individual, Prostitute, or Social Body stays still long enough for us to develop a clear and consistent model of HIV transmission risk. Admonitions, for example, to "Follow God's Way" or refrain from "going around with pamukus," and to "know your partner" are at best meaningless in terms of HIV transmission. At worst, they are dangerous, since people have sexual intercourse and exchange bodily fluids with other bodies, not moral precepts. What is needed, then, is a more flexible, sensitive, ethnographically-grounded understanding of the contextual nature of all sexual activities. Neither women nor men have a clear and unambiguous risk of infection with HIV. The "status" (social, marital, moral) of their partners changes daily and contextually, and therefore our ethnographic methods should be sensitive to such shifting targets. Paying attention to how the bodies we study and relate to are divided linguistically, behaviorally, and symbolically is perhaps a way around several of these methodological roadblocks.

Furthermore, we must be attentive to the ways in which the Body Prostitute functions to uphold the political economy, whether that be local, regional, national, or international (see also Wallace 1994; Lastreto 1994). Saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, and various popes, for example, have all decried prostituted women on the one hand and recognized their important functions, variously described, on the other (Bullough 1976: 20). I heard frequently on Daru that "if we could just get rid of the pamukus, send them back to their villages" the ravages of AIDS would pass Daru by.

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Nevertheless, sagapari, private houses where prostitution occurs, the trade at the Hotel, etc. have all been tacitly accepted by Daruans "as a necessary evil" (Packer, Glassco and Konigsberg 1983: 86) for many years now. Until women come to play a more "legitimate" role in the local political economy, prostitution will remain one of the very few options women, couples, families, even whole communities have.

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SEX AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE SOUTH FLY: DARU ISLAND, WESTERN PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA,

in two volumes

by Lawrence James Hammar

Volume II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Chapter 7:
"The Sale of Sex in a Small Mangrove Garden"

"To me, sex was a business.
It was always something that I had to sell,
and there was always a market for it"
(Jennifer Sills, Massage Parlor, 1973: 39).

"Maybe it's my entrepreneurial bias,
but...the fact is that
sex is a commodity just like anything else"
(Sydney Biddle Barrows, The Mayflower Madam 1986).

"Are there many ladies at tu kina?
Oooooh, planti.
You will choose which one to give your drop..."
(Bamu politician informant, Daru).

"In addition to presenting such facts,
My Secret Life shows us that amid and underneath the world of
Victorian England as we know it
--and as it tended to represent itself to itself--
a real secret social life was being conducted,
the secret life of sexuality"
(Steven Marcus, The Other Victorians, 1964: 100).

"There is wealth in this country [Bamu-land]
but it will take millions of dollars to discover it"
(Jack McCarthy, New Guinea Journeys, 1970: 26).

"Legal prostitution...lived almost on good terms, so to speak,
with the ecclesiastical and civil authorities;
it reigned, so to speak on certain streets at certain hours,
in accordance with certain conditions by the urban police;
it formed an integral part of the organization
of the body social, 'those secret parts',
according to the bizarre expression of an old author,
'which modesty bids us to hide,
but which cannot be cut off without killing good manners,
which are as the head and heart of a decent nation'"
(Pierre Dufour, History of Prostitution, 1926: 91).

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I. Introduction

If civilizations really are founded atop middens, as the old adage has it, what kind of story might archaeologists tell, were they able to, about sagapari and Daruan culture a hundred years from now? In this hot, steamy environment rained upon torrentially during rainy season, mired in a tangled weave of mangrove, sticker bush, alcohol, and social relations, swept clear periodically by high tides, few material remains will ever be dug up beyond perhaps shards of broken bottles and bottle tops. So, we have to archaeology of another sort.

The anonymous author[1] of My Secret Life (1860), an astonishing social historical portrait of Victorian England, a sexual autobiography 4,000 pages long, tells us page after page of the hidden nature of English sexuality (and elimination) in the mid-1800s. In both locales--sagapari and Hampton Court Park in London--prostitution and excretion were not so much hidden as they were under-acknowledged. Steven Marcus, the author of a fascinating extended commentary on My Secret Life, speculates in a footnote (1964: 99) what might have transpired had, say, William Gladstone met on the street our anonymous author: "what an abyss would have opened between these two representatives of a single culture." Both trolled the streets at night for prostitutes, the latter to engage in sex with and further debauch them, the former to serve them tea and thereby, so he thought, reform them. One crouched behind tombstones to get a glimpse of nursemaids and their charges relieving themselves, trying to figure out how to seduce

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[1]. The sexological bibliophile, Gershon Legman, introducer of my copy of the two volume, folio edition of My Secret Life, says that it was another infamous pornographer and bibliographer, Harold Ashbee, nee Pisanus Fraxi, and makes a fairly convincing case.

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them. The other, perhaps in real life a Lord Acton,[2] writes of the famous pleasure gardens nearby rather differently:

> As calico and merry respectability tailed off eastward by penny steamers the setting sun brought westward Hansoms freighted with demure immorality in silk and fine linen... On and around that platform waltzed, strolled, and fed some thousand souls...I suppose that a hundred couples were engaged in dancing and other amusements, and the rest of the society, myself included, circulated listlessly about the garden, and enjoyed in a grim kind of way the "selection" from some favorite opera and the cool night-breeze from the river (quoted from Marcus 1964: 9).

How might such different characters express their different worldviews if they met on a pede fotnait in front of sagapari? One might urinate against the backside of the hardware store, already drunk and still drinking, and wander into the middle of sagapari for a few minutes of furtive sex. The other might dispense Christian-thematic leaflets to the men congregated there, warning them of the dangers of adultery, fornication, and Bamu women. Both kinds of men exist on Daru as elsewhere, and are sometimes even rolled into one and the same man. The shy orderly, a leader in his church, who barely whispers to me in the hallways of the General Hospital, head down, becomes on holiday and around pede Mr. Gregarious. At sagapari he offers me beer and salacious stories about his experiences there and the different stail bilong koap (sexual positions) he excels at.[3] Other men into whose families I was adopted to various degrees I frequently saw at

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[2]. After Ashbee, Lord Acton wrote perhaps the second most influential treatise on prostitution in the 19th-century (see Acton 1968 [1857]).

[3]. This was the fellow, for example, who first told me of a particular sexual position ("cus-cus style," named after the, in Melanesian Pidgin, eponymously named small, furry marsupial) that I initially disbelieved in the existence of until another informant on Daru (field note, 2-23-91, Daru) told me that the position was just short of customary on the Nomad side, among Biami people. This informant told me that a couple would go into the bush, pull down a couple of branches from a low-lying mangrove tree and make a sort of platform on which the wife squatted,

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sagapari, sometimes just drinking, sometimes passed out in or near a ditch. They included village men, cargo barge operators, church leaders, and so forth. Sometimes the disjuncture between public face and private behavior was a bit jarring to me, particularly insofar as I was enjoined "not to say anything to Missus" (that is, his wife).

Perhaps more so than any other locale of the sex industry, sagapari reveals the dual nature of sexuality on Daru: hidden, but obvious; secret, but on everyone's minds; decried by leader and led, but made possible by steady male demand and even steadier female supply; seen as the sexual outlet of crude, uneducated, "half-sense," and sexually desperate village and corner men, but patronized by health workers, too. Sagapari is also where some respected workers congregate and where at least a few pre-teen males lose their virginity. Sagapari is where some men go for sex and companionship (both male and female) that is precluded them by wives' or girlfriends' menstruation, post-partum condition, and lactation, or by their "refusing them" sex when men have come home drunk or drinking. Sagapari is seen by members of the provincial government and Health Division in particular as a public health menace but, again, is patronized by many male workers in each. It is seen as a site of extreme sexual aberrance by many, but is nevertheless a pure form of heterosexuality, at least as imagined by prominent feminist theorists such as Adrienne Rich (1980), Andrea Dworkin (1974, 1981), and Peggy Sanday (1990).

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facing away from her husband, enjoined specifically not to see his face as they engaged in intercourse.

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These and other theorists and activists have demonstrated that in the U.S. and in many other "rape-prone" cultures rape is not merely a violent act perpetrated by a few mentally ill men--which is often the stereotype--but rather a violent sexual act perpetrated by many men and reinforced daily by a combination of patriarchal assumptions, values, laws, and double standards. In 1992, for instance, in the U.S., 78 American women were raped each hour, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year (Center for Women Policy Studies 1992: 1). Browne and Williams (1989) found that women in the U.S. are more likely to be killed, raped, or otherwise assaulted by current or ex-partners than by all other kinds of assailants put together. Just in one U.S. city, San Francisco, 14% of women in one study reported having been raped by their husbands (Russell 1990). Zorza (1994: 384) found that, U.S.-wide, women "are more than ten times more likely to be victimized by their intimate partners than men." Even relatively conservative figures drawn from U.S. epidemiological studies show that "at least 20% of adult women, 15% of college women, and 12% of adolescent girls have experienced sexual abuse and assault during their lifetimes" (Council on Scientific Affairs 1992: 3184). As difficult as it is for prostituted women to press charges of rape against customers in the U.S.,[4] I cannot even imagine how little concerned police would be on Daru to hear "rape" and "sagapari" uttered in the same breath, or imagine what they would say when women prostituted there by husbands attempt to press charges against said husbands for assaults prior to, during, and following the hours they toil there.

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4. It was found in one study performed by members of the Council for Prostitution Alternatives, in Portland, Oregon that of 125 prostituted women there had been 4,500 cases of rape and over 10,000 cases of assault, but only "23 incident reports [were] accepted by the police" (Council for Prostitution Alternatives 1994: 3).

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I see the existence and maintenance of sagapari in much the same way as do the feminist researchers I have cited above see sexual double standards and sexual assaults in the U.S. It is the psychosocial "set" and physical "setting" where a whole host of ethnic, sexual, alcoholic, economic and political relations are expressed and often reinformed. The structure of and function that sagapari plays most prominently reveal the dangerous, often miserable lives that many Bamu women, households, and whole communities lead, and the ethnic and increasingly class-related rivalries and disjunctures.

These secret lives and this dual nature of sexuality on Daru are what I wish to bring into the light. After narrating how I came to "see" sagapari after walking past many times, I will discuss its history, and then the relevant ethnic, geographic, sexual, contraceptive, monetary, and alcoholic parameters involved. Then I present three case studies of women who toil at sagapari, women whose stories illustrate not only the dire economic straits that all Bamu people are in, but those that Bamu women suffer from in particular, battered by circumstance and husband, consigned by husband and family to selling themselves at sagapari, fending for themselves as well as they can between abusive, sometimes supportive husbands and the customers, sometimes rapists, and boyfriends they meet at sagapari. Social relations there are accordingly dense and difficult to analyze, difficult even just to get close to.

For this and other reasons, I tack uncomfortably between describing Bamu women's miseries and their apparent resiliency. While hyper-exploited, they are nevertheless seldom only the mere dupes of the system, pawns in the male-controlled

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arenas of sex and economics.[5] But neither do they appear to have even the social agency that women in Chapter 6 have. Bamu women do appear to manipulate social/sexual networks, but their feelings, aspirations, and motivations, I know nothing about. Due to reasons of privacy, shame, fear, language, and danger, these women and their sexual and other activities were most difficult to investigate. The women fear their husbands' wrath in talking to me. Men feared what I was going to do with the information. I also feared for the safety of my research assistant and his family, as well as of my own.[6]

II. Finding Sagapari

I think I was a reasonably hardy ethnographer. Like most, I strove wherever possible to "do the right thing" by host family, informant, friend, and sponsor. Unlike many ethnographers, however (see Barrett 1991: Chapter 2), I did virtually all of my own laundry and much if not all of my own cooking (sans supper 4-5 times weekly). I wore the same kind of clothing and ate the same foods locals did, shared and chewed buai, frequently walked around barefoot and carried heavy objects, complained of the dust, mud, police, and corruption just like everyone else and scrupulously avoided all contact with other Europeans (just as Malinowski counseled; see Wengle 1988: 107-29). (I now

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5. Thanks to Sharon Carstens for this point.

6. A Council Committee meeting was held on 5-21-91 in Giwari corner, for example, at which were discussed essentially two issues: dissatisfaction with their Town Council representative and their own village councillors and Members for Parliament, and my presence in the corner. To my surprise, I later learned that corner residents were instructed not to run away when they saw me coming, not to miss census and story appointments, not to make trouble for my research assistant and his family, etc. My recollection, though, is that things never really improved on that front one way or the other.

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regret that last stance greatly.) Though many suspected otherwise, no one ever saw me do sex with Daruan females. I thus did not meet Daruan expectations of European males on several important fronts.

On the other hand, I frequently drank and shared beer (cold when I could get it), hung out with uba pe of all stripes, went more or less wherever I wanted, loaned people money without repayment too many times to count, and received more mail weekly than some villages get in a year. Now those are the things European men do.

Like most anthropologists I was Janus-like on Daru: there on a mission to study something, but still "two-faced and two-tongued... yearn[ing] to be loved" (Young 1992: 194). This hit me the first day I crouched uncomfortably in false defecation at sagapari. This observatory crouch (see Appendix 7.1, which contains the research instrument used) at "Lucky Point" or "Dwyer pari" (a stance I and my research assistant later came to call giaman pekpek) defined supremely my understanding of what I was doing there. How did I find myself in such a position, pretending to defecate in an outdoor, public toilet, part-rubbish dump, part-public sex environment? Those contemplating re-study or follow-up research might note that this research strategy and locus had many drawbacks. Sagapari was as unpleasant, unsafe, insanitary, and uncomfortable a site of research as can be imagined (see also Humphrey 1970). But neither were other venues as rewarding in terms of obtaining data. Nor could I study sagapari without going literally inside it.

How did I even find it? It was "pointed out" to me within a few weeks of my arrival on Daru by several adoptive brothers and friends. As we walked around Daru those first few hot, depressing days and weeks, chewing buai and telling stories (equally

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about Daru and America), even the pre-teenage boys told me about all the pamukus that go there, and they gestured frequently over at something I could not yet see. After I established residence, met people, and began conducting a household census,[7] I began to hear of the mysterious place where "Bamu fellows sell their families [wives]."

A health worker informant (and the son of a preacher active for years in the Bamu region) told me who the women were who stood up, individually and in small clusters, in the middle of that "godawful place," as I wrote in an early letter home. Just as My Secret Life's author initially "saw" only females relieving themselves in one of London's many parks and cemeteries (and thus did not see the sexual possibilities), I did not begin to understand sagapari beyond the excretory. I knew sagapari to be an outdoor toilet and rubbish dump, and I even knew that it was adjacent to a public drinking place, but I knew not of the role it played in Daru's sex industry.[8] The "gee-whiz" character of my

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[7]. Barrett (1991: Chapter 2) recounts several fieldworkers who, without knowing what else to do, began fieldwork by counting things. This, in essence, is what the Notes and Queries on Anthropology suggests (see Freire-Marreco and Myres 1912). Having waited two and a half years to get a research visa, and having already been detained for another 15 weeks in Port Moresby and on Daru before being allowed even to move around, I too was more than a little anxious to start. Conducting a household census of part or all of three different "corners" proved to be inordinately time-consuming, intellectually nightmarish, and relatively useless (insofar as the information I gathered still does not seem particularly relevant in terms of the sex industry so much as in terms of crowded living conditions, sanitation, and so on). In any event, I have not even looked at my census material since my return. Also, since I took personally every perceived or real slight, every broken promise and interview appointment, the depression that this process induced was not worth the eventual data obtained. Like Wax (1971: 71-72), "there was no one I could talk to in any meaningful fashion...I began to see myself as a total failure. The anxiety I suffered was so agonizing that I still find it hard to describe." Other fieldworkers have surely had positive experiences with conducting census, but I was greeted with what I perceived then to be apathy, discomfort, anger, and distrust. Despite bringing food and small presents, I must have made a poor impression on potential respondents; I remember writing in my diary many times: where is the fabled Papuan hospitality?

[8]. Regionally, sagapari is just one form of tu kina bus. One of my informants, a former Aid Post Orderly, told me in an unrecorded interview (1-25-91, Daru) about both the unbalanced sex

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"discovery" can only be appreciated by glimpsing at an early, unsanitized field note entry:

> Early this morning and later again in late morning and early afternoon, I went down to Dwyer Point[9] on my way to and from Giwari[10] corner [where my research assistant lived and where I frequently ate dinner]. At 7:30 a.m. there was already a crowd of people and the place was beginning to smell pretty fucking rank. The water was a bit up this morning, but by the time I came back it was down quite a ways, and the weather was also brutally hot, so it wasn't too nice. There were probably thirty people there this morning and probably 75 at least later on. Today of course is gavman pede, or pede fotnait, and it's hot, so I expected to see a big day, and I wasn't disappointed. I saw a lot of familiar faces, too; F, S, A, M, J..., several health worker guys... who asked a couple of intelligent questions, G (whom I seem to see everywhere), M, and the list goes on and on, including my [classificatory] brother...whom I've never met until today. Does he know that I know? Will he think his father will now know?
>
> ...There are an absolute ton of bottle tops, broken bottles, rubbish, and the plain bad smell of fresh and rotting pekpek and pispis [feces and urine]. Two

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ratio at three timber camps elsewhere:

	Atlantic Forest	SSM	Mother Camp
male/females:	80:1	80:2	1,000:50,

and the sexual/spatial arrangements of "Masawa" at each, an apparently Bamu word for a species of tree (cedar?) that predominates at this form of tu kina bus. At this massive timber project, several villages from the lower Bamu River region have relocated. Informants frequently chalked this up to Bamu incompetence: "they cannot find money another way, there is only the pamuku way"; "they have no gardens, so they have to sell their body"; "they cannot fish--if they dip their paddle into the water they fall out"; "most of the Bamu, that's their way of living style." At the camp where he was located, trucks hired for K5 ferried workers back and forth between barracks, camps, and tu kina. In this case, there are many bushy areas, each about 400 meters long, he said, about 50-100 wide, up on small hills. Within these areas, each Bamu woman has her own little clearing reserved for herself. Once she is chosen, she puts leaves down on the ground and they engage in intercourse. Here sex costs K5-10 "per drop" for local, national, even international clients.

9. "Dwyer Point," one of sagapari's many names, stretches from the eponymously named hardware store past the drinking area next to sagapari to sagapari itself. Other names for this area include "Forklift Point," "Lucky Point," and "Two Kina Point."

10. Of the informants I had from Giwari corner, the majority said that the corner itself arose primarily because of a particular Middle Bamu River region village--Miruo--which contained a particular man renowned for sorcery. Because he had allegedly killed and maimed a lot of people back in the village, he was forced out and arrived on Daru with family and cousins in tow. More villagers followed him, however, for his savvy in "business works" (field note, 4-7-91, Daru).

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guys further in were digging a drain I think, and the thick grey muck they were dredging out couldn't have been a fouler brew. Everywhere were old and young and middle-aged guys drinking. Another three groups of guys were drinking on the ground, another cluster a few feet away standing up, another a few feet on down the line, and so on, all the way down the line....There were quite a lot of guys sitting down and standing up inside the tuk bus place, just on the edge, but right in amidst the shit and piss. I mean the smell is overwhelming to me and I'm a pretty hardy guy, but they were sitting in it and putting their beers in it, and Oy....

There were quite a few guys just standing around waiting to go inside to the tuk bus area, or on their way in for pispis; everywhere I saw men going in and coming out, and they saw me seeing them and they didn't mind. Should they? There were also of course quite a few ladies standing up and sitting down. I saw them quite scattered throughout the place, too. As I stood there drinking a beer with S and his crowd, right about the middle, I saw one lady standing up way off to the right and deep in, another two standing a few feet away from each other about seventy five feet from me, a bit to the right, another woman standing up straight back and not that far in, another several standing up and sitting down to my left and 200 feet away, and then another few way left. Ladies everywhere.... That they can even drink under these conditions, much less engage in sex, is just beyond me. I saw two guys just sitting on the ground, cocks out, one pissing into a tin can, one onto the ground...I was thinking at the time of how this whole region seems to be driven by the concept of shame [with regards sexual matters and my difficulties inquiring thereof], but how they seem to have no problem doing things which are (or should be?) incredibly shameful. Urinating in front of people, throwing up in front of people, doing sex with another man's wife, being caught by one's own wife or family at the Tuk Bus area, sitting down in and amidst lots of rubbish, broken bottles, pekpek and pispis, the stench overpowering. Another couple of guys were just pissing against a tree, and people were walking around no probs, with the broken bottles and pispis and pekpek, no problem. This drinking also of course spawns a veritable empty bottle industry, and one can't help but notice (I've not yet gotten a picture though) the several young kids who walk around with sores on their feet and really anguished looks begging for the empty bottles. More than a few older kids and even older women congregate here, too, doing the same thing.[11]

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[11]. (One of these "older women" is one of the longlong meris mentioned near the end of Chapter 3.) Field note, 11-2-91, Daru. Though sagapari is inarguably a foul and filthy combination of sex and excretion, it is far from unique. Laud Humphrey's Tea Room Trade is one such example (1970). This connection between sex and excretion also figures prominently in our Victorian author's account of stable heterosexual promiscuity:

> The angle of the street named as leading out of the Strand was dark of a night and a favorite place for doxies to go to relieve their bladders...in the particular street I have seen

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A few mornings, afternoons, and evenings engaged thusly will harden anyone. With the help of a research assistant and a single female informant recently "out of the life," I began to establish the parameters of the sex trade at sagapari and particularly map out the drinking and sexual activities that occur there. Next, the socioeconomic, ethnic, and other parameters began to emerge more sharply and clearly.

Later, when I bought beers for some male drinkers or accepted their occasional offers of free ones, I began to "see" what was going on.[12] Also, as I drank warm beers on an empty stomach in mid-day my persona (there and when I went home) began to change. Several hundred passersby daily gawked and stared at me, some out of curiosity, others probably out of disgust. I wanted to shout to them or at least to wear a sign which said "I'm just doing research, I'm not having sex, and I'm not enjoying these warm beers!" My frequent presence there strained my relationships with those in the health and missionary fields, and I just could not have it both ways. To get information I drank like men did at sagapari, but I was not there for the same purpose. I needed to be respected and trusted by health workers, but they "saw" me drinking like customers of uba pe do. I cringed when I saw national and the occasional expatriate church leader walk past. As

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> them pissing almost in rows; yet they mostly went in twos to do that job... Indeed the pissing in all bye-streets of the Strand was continuous, for although the population of London was only half of what it now is, the number of gay ladies seemed double there (quoted in Marcus 1964: 98).

On Daru, women not toiling at sagapari would never be caught dead urinating or defecating there; this is a public toilet, but only for tuk orobo and their customers. Even the excreta of the former is evidence of their marginality.

[12]. See also McDonald (1992: 28) who quotes a Madras, India man, S. Sundararaman, as saying "I grew up in this area, but I went around like a blind man," i.e., that he too did not "see" the red-light district until it was pointed out to him.

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they did, I hid my beer bottle or turned the other way, knowing that perhaps in a few hours or days I would be asking them for permission to show AIDS videocassette to members of their congregation, warning them of the dangers the knowledge to which only I was privy. But such are the fieldwork-engendered contradictions.

III. Sagapari in the South Fly

Even apart from the ethnographic dilemmas involved, writing the "history" of an institution and locale such as sagapari presents a formidable challenge. First, there is the question of the extent to which sagapari is merely the Daruan equivalent of something known across Papua New Guinea as tu kina bus. To view it this way is to suggest that local sex industries are evidence of a sort of internal result or negotiation of various social, economic, marital, political, perhaps even sexual contradictions, ones that arise similarly under similar experiences of, say, colonialism. This perspective suggests that Paga Hill in Port Moresby, sagapari on Daru, and sikrap maunten in Goroka are essentially the same kind of place, albeit one with different players. This perspective suggests that streetwalking in Portland, Oregon is the same kind of activity, with the same kinds of punishments and advantages, as is streetwalking carried out in Camden, New Jersey or Nairobi, Kenya (cf. Leonard 1990; White 1990). Second, there is the question of how one writes history lacking many historical sources. To date, I have yet to find a single published source telling either of the social organization of sexuality in Bamu villages, of the Bamu migration to Daru in successive waves, or of the spatial, economic, and sexual parameters of sagapari on Daru. Nor have I ever seen published sources regarding the set-up of various outdoor, two kina forms of bush prostitution

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elsewhere in the province, beyond the occasional Post-Courier article. Third, there remains the significant problem of not disentangling the various threads involved so well that they can not be put back together again. As Eric Wolf notes in the introduction to Europe and the People Without History, "the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and then fail to reassemble it falsify reality" (1982: 3). By my account, a "true" history of a people otherwise without "history" (in the sense of published sources, empirical data, and falsifiable propositions about them) runs the risk not only of getting wrong whatever the facts may be but of harming people unnecessarily in the process. Given that Bamu are already so stigmatized and marginalized on Daru, I do not wish to add to their pain or pile yet another historical or anthropological misunderstanding on top of an already tall pile thereof. My hope here, in the sections to follow, is to resist the temptation to turn "dynamic, interconnected phenomena into static, disconnected things" (Wolf 1982: 4), as Wolf warns against. More so than other forms of the Daruan sex industry, sagapari concerns me greatly as a human being and puzzles me as an anthropologist because it appears as if powers-that-be on Daru are doing that very thing, treating this on-going tragedy as merely the working out of Bamu custom in another land under different circumstances.

Precisely when and from whence the institution of tu kina bus arrived or arose on Daru is difficult to determine. Bamu, Kikori, Kenedibi, and other "bush" peoples were frequently mentioned by middle-aged informants during the telling of drinking place

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stories as having migrated in "waves" to Daru over the years.[13] Bamu, Wabada (Waboda, Wabuda) and Kikori were seen by many of my local informants as "same, just bit different" in their love for Americans, their language and customs, their love for traditional dancing, and particularly for their sexual customs.[14] No census data are

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13. Lest the reader get the impression that migration is a solely Bamu/Kikori phenomenon, even Kiwai and Kiwai Island villages have been depopulated over the years. Two husband/wife informants said, for example, during one dinner/interview (3-18-91, Daru) that Ipisia village used to be a very large one back on Kiwai Island, but that now it has only 9 houses. Like others, they listed fear of actual or threatened sorcery and the attractions of town living as the two reasons for this mass-migration to Daru from Kiwai villages.

In any event, I found fair unanimity between informants regarding which Bamu villages were and were not involved in this migration and eventual prostitution on Daru. The first informant I interviewed, based both on childhood experiences traveling with his father and as a health worker, enumerated which Bamu villages were most heavily involved in prostitution on Daru, and his information bore out well in the ensuing months.

14. Beaver (1920: 149) again maddeningly suggests but does not detail the sexual customs, this time of the Wabada, like those found among Bamu, namely, the existence of "professional prostitutes."

One of my elderly Kikori informants talked of a Kikori custom he participated in during which younger unmarried females pay for the labor that younger unmarried males expend in their gardens by having sexual intercourse with them.

> Nogere D.: when the girls told you to work for them, if they cut the sago down, they want to squeeze the sago, and they tell you, when you work for them they will tell you, "you come in the night" and, so father and mother they know already...so first thing, a girl lying, they put the mats on [down], and puts her right hand like this [holding right hand out, as if to cup the back of someone's head] and how many boys, four, ten, eleven twelve, fifteen just come and put their what, head on her like, hand, just put their head on..and when they talk finish, they come and sex with her, and she gonna tell that boy, "when you finish, you get up and tell that boy," another boy, until you complete all fifteen boys, and then after that, in the morning, they told you to go to the bush, and they make a good place, where you can sex her, or squeeze the sago...
>
> Lawrence: so then every boy who put his head in her hand...
>
> Nogere D.: he gets to sex with her.
>
> Lawrence: now, do each of the boys have to do hard work for her?
>
> Nogere D.: Yeah [laughing], they gonna do the hard work well, so she must pay them...All the village, it's a big village, it's custom, if you don't work, you don't sex.

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available with respect to what proportion of Daruans are from "Kikori side," though the number would appear small. Some have intermarried with ethnic majority Kiwai, some appear to have become more or less entrenched in the sex industry, and they were mentioned not infrequently by informants as practicing what I have termed the "family form" of prostitution. I do not remember meeting many Kikori who worked at regular, salaried employment, but that is probably my oversight. Culturally and socially, one informant put it that both Goaribari[15] and Kikori people were "like Bamu side, but not [like people from the inland bush,] Kenedibi side."[16]

One non-Bamu informant who had spent much time in Bamu country said that there were more than mere finance exigential reasons for Bamu to engage in prostitution on Daru. First, he said, Bamu women "went to the bush to look for men" to get back at philandering husbands. Second, he noted, traditionally, when a woman is giving birth there might be one to three men looking on, anxious to "mark" the baby, if female, who would become his wife in 12-15 years: "that is going to be my wife." (Beaver [1920: 82] notes that among "bushmen" near the Bamu "girl children are allotted in marriage very shortly after birth...it is customary for the man to whom she is to be given to incise his 'brand' on her arm or breast, just as if she were a pig.") In exchange for supporting the mother in the ensuing years until the girl became marriageable, the man not only had the right to prostitute her later but the right to ask for sex from the mother. This informant then put the final, missing piece in a bothersome puzzle for me when he pointed to a house just a few away from my own wherein resided one such couple. The woman had been marked at her birth by her eventual husband (18-20 years her senior), had been rendered sterile by her mother, and then occasionally prostituted by her otherwise employed husband, not at sagapari, but in her own home with her husband's drinking friends and co-workers (field note, 12-19-90, Daru).

[15]. Goaribari people are famous perhaps most for killing and apparently eating "Tamate" in 1901 and then being well-nigh slaughtered in reprisal raids led by the then British colonial administration from Port Moresby. Contacted initially by Captains Alt and Bampton in the very late 1700s, the Goaribari shared traditionally many linguistic, architectural, bodily adorning, and other cultural traits with Kiwai and particularly Bamu (see Beaver 1920: Chapter 20).

[16]. Beaver makes much throughout his work, but without ever going into specifics, of alleged similarities between Bamu, Baramura, Wabada, and some Kiwai village customs regarding sexuality, female in particular. I am not sure of their applicability to contemporary Daru, but they are worth citing in full:

> To my great astonishment I found quite recently that the same customs with regard to women ["professional" prostitutes and prostitution, e.g., p. 149] as obtain in the Bamu and Aird also appear to exist here [up Baramura Creek]. They are now known to hold

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Between the early-mid '60s and early '70s it seems that sagapari became more or less firmly established. When Wolfgang Laade did fieldwork between 1963-65 among Torres Strait islanders on myths and legends, he mentions one informant, "Aubera," living at "Bamu Camp" on Daru (1971: 56), but does not indicate how many lived in this camp, and how and when they arrived. This migratory wave to Daru of Bamu people does not seem to follow migratory patterns established elsewhere in the country. As Oram (1974) notes, the most important "traditional" right of access to resources concerned land, that it "could only be granted to those accepted as residential members of the land-holding group or to those who lived nearby" (1974: 171). Bamu fit neither category, neither living nearby nor previously accepted as "residential members." In another port town in the Pacific, Lae, says Willis, a similar set of conditions faced the in-coming Ahi-Hengali, "whose landless state was impressed upon them and has remained to the present day despite considerable intermarriage (1974: 29). Only two years after Bamu people are said to have arrived on Daru, en masse (in about 1965), land grants

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> good from Buji to the Dutch border and along both banks of the Fly. I had always been under the impression that the Fly River people were exceedingly careful of the chastity of their women; but it seems to be a mistaken idea and I should be quite prepared to believe that they once existed on Kiwai and even at Mawatta and Parama, although nowadays of course they are quite unthinkable at these places (1920: 140).

Throughout Unexplored New Guinea, Beaver ranks virtually all the people and peoples he contacted in his capacity as Assistant Resident Magistrate. For my purposes, it is important to note that while Bamu in particular are savaged for their alleged lack of civilization (and reprehensible sexual customs), Kiwai people are held to be as almost on a footing with the European. It sometimes appears (e.g., 1920: 158) as if Beaver feels that what is holding Kiwai (men in particular) back from the benefits (and responsibilities) of Civilization is their alleged short-temperedness, beliefs in sorcery, and periodic "sexual madness." It is apparent from the passage above (and elsewhere throughout this most important text) that Beaver wants very much for Kiwai to succeed, and positively delights in other "bush" peoples who do not even come close, for their clothing, customs, technology, and so on.

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were given by the Area Council (see also Oram 1974) that allowed them to build houses in two corners.[17] By 1970, sagapari seems to have been firmly established, both in locale and in the public consciousness. A well-traveled, long-time resident, well-versed-in-the-ways-of-Europeans informant remembers one such "wave"[18] in the late 1970s, at which time seven pamukus (his term) arrived on Daru with husbands and children in tow from three Gulf Province villages--Ekeira, Kemei, and Morigi Island near the mouth of the Taurama River, east of Daru--"to see Daru and to prostitution."[19] Lacking local ties and thus access to local resources in the form of land, water, firewood, and forest,[20] they

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17. Field note, 11-19-91, Daru.

18. "Waves" of migration seems an overworked metaphor these days in anthropology and related sciences, but I think it at least ironically appropriate in many of the instances cited herein. First, tidal bores, called ibuo/ibuwo/ibuwa in both Kiwai and Bamu (written about excitingly by both the missionary Butcher and the administrative officer Beaver) by definition go upstream. That they do so often at frightening speed and with devastating consequences is equally true of the major recent relocations from Ibuwo and other lower Bamu River villages upstream to Kamusi. Second, there is a Lower Bamu River village called Ibuwo/Ibuwa/Ibuo. Third, these Ibuwo and other Lower Bamu River villages are known historically as composed of rather nomadic peoples. Whether or not these villages were named after tidal bores or nomadic movements I do not know.

19. This was an exact quote. This was also the reason given by several informants regarding Kiwai from Oromosapuwo and particularly Wabada villages, lacking in development opportunities, spoiled by Ok Tedi-related effluvia. One informant put it that "So, when they [Wabada villagers] come down to town, they see all the things in the store and so they sell their body, the pamuku way" (field note, 1-2-91, Doumori village). This would also appear to be the case for all of those Bamu region villagers who visit wantoks at Kamusi, in Daru, etc. One informant (field note, 2-19-91, Daru) who had worked for a year at Kamusi said that, like Daru, everyone walked around with their money in their pocket. Unlike Daru, however, at Kamusi, there are no banks, so all money is kept in pockets (metaphorically if not literally). This was seen by several male informants as particularly attractive to females and as a proximate cause of female prostitution at timber camps and sawmills. For example, at Kamusi, food not being free, workers had to carry at least 11K around with them merely to eat three meals a day (4 for breakfast, 2 for lunch, 5 for dinner, and no seconds!)(field note 2-19-91, Daru).

20. Several of my informants, though, talked of a particularly opportunistic Bamu man who was able to arrange a series of marriages between fellow Bamu women and Oriomo men, thereby giving Bamu on Daru access to Oriomo forests for bili-leaves, hunting rights, and firewood.

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stayed on Daru for about two or three years. Eventually they were rounded up and sent back to their own villages on the M.V. Anzana, a government trawler, but then more arrived to take their places. By that time, too, he said, all seven women had "sores in bagina and bottom what dey call lips," but only one had been treated successfully. One woman died of what appear to have been bleeding vaginal and inguinal ulcers.[21] Other male informants suggested that between 1960-68 tu kina bus was established spatially and ethnically, limited to Bamu, Kikori, and other Gulf Province peoples. According to the data I obtained while conducting a 56 household census, there appears to have been another migratory wave roughly in the 1982-84 period. There was another couple of minor waves that occurred during my stay (see below), at least two cohorts of 15-30 Bamu women and their husbands and families who came to Daru for several months, toiled at sagapari, and then departed to the Wawoi-Guavi Timber camp northeast of Daru.

There are a number of migratory pushes and pulls at work here. As for the latter, many couples claimed to be coming to Daru to "collect bili-leaves" (and sell them) and then "just stayed." Others claimed that they came to sell garden foods and marine and riverine resources, which is unlikely given the distance between Bamu villages and Daru and the already intense competition at the public market. Yet others came so as to "sell the firewoods," which seems more on the mark. Many informants spoke of how little access villagers had to community schools for themselves and children, so schooling for

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[21]. Field note, 22-5-91, Daru. This informant was particularly useful to me since he submitted frequently without my asking him to several "letters" and "stories" that he thought I might be interested in, on wide-ranging topics, such as the origins of AIDS and (apparently) Dian Fossey, the synonymity of Americans and Bamu, and sporadic STD epidemics between village and town.

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the latter is probably a major reason for coming to Daru. Some said, for example, that they planned on staying on Daru until their children finished grade six.[22]

Regarding migratory pushes from the village, virtually all of my Bamu informants during census interviews claimed dissatisfaction generally with village life, at the lack of Aid Posts and Schools, at the fact of "no development back in the village," and so forth. More particularly, though, they expressed dissatisfaction with their elected political representatives, who "go for spin only," who engage in "drinking, 6 to 6" (around the clock), and so on.

These explanations go far, but perhaps not nearly far enough. There is no doubt that the above migratory pushes and pulls are seriously implicated in the arrival and persistence of sagapari on Daru. Nevertheless, the contemporary situation does not exist in some kind of historical vacuum; there are several other relevant factors that can be mentioned in view of "traditional" practices and customs of Bamu peoples prior to European contact. Before I go any further, I wish to indicate that by "traditional" I do not mean to push back into some timeless, primordial past a set of customs, beliefs, and practices that arose sui generis from an imputed Bamu-ness. This is a real problem in the context of comparative, sociodemographic, quasi-historical research into sexuality issues in this time of AIDS. That is, for example, in attempting to explain higher HIV seroprevalence rates in some regions and among some ethnic groups in Africa, various kinds of researchers impute to these regions and ethnicities values that spring more from

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[22]. Field note, 5-23-91, Daru. However, of the relatively few households in Giwari corner with children attending school, there was generally only one child per house doing so, probably due to the price of school fees, supplies, clothing, shame, language issues, etc.

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their heads or those of the dominant political groups than from those studied.[23] Larson (1989), Hrdy (1987), and Caldwell, Caldwell, and Quiggin (1989) are among the many who, often with their hearts in the right places, impute highly reified sexualities to already highly reified regions and ethnicities. As Schoepf (n.d.: 357) points out, nodding not just in their direction, "They are utterly silent on the evolution of values or behavior through time." For this reason, in view of the sections below, I do not wish to be read as implying some kind of Foucaultian archaeology of sexuality. I have yet neither the historical sources and data nor will ever likely have the archaeological materials from which to write such a history of "Bamu sexuality" set within a regional political economy within the unfolding of South Coast New Guinean cultures and ecologies. As Schoepf helpfully points out with regards African historiographic debates in the context of AIDS, "The absence of such records does not justify constructing either a methodologically indefensible 'ethnographic present' or a timeless ethnographic past of tradition'" (n.d.: 357).

In view of these caveats, I highlight five factors below that I speculate somewhat predisposed, somewhat preconditioned Bamu towards a greater and particular participation at sagapari. How far back into the past such factors may be pushed is anyone's guess. Speculation has real material and political consequences though, because the phenomena in question are at the root of the negative reputation that Bamu people on Daru already have. Bamu people are stigmatized locally for their participation in

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[23]. I wish to point out that I had already come to this analysis on my own, but that reading Schoepf's essay helped me to clarify things greatly (see "Sex, Gender and Society in Zaire," Schoepf n.d.).

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sagapari in the same way as they are stigmatized for having "traditional" customs of a sexual nature which "explain" it. Bamu are despised by Daruans (and Kiwai in particular) as well over traditional enmities related to head-hunting and particularly culture heroes. Wilfred Beaver reminds us that "It was here [in Bamu-land] that Sido, the great Kiwai hero, was killed" (1920: 210). Not many Kiwai or other Daruans have apparently been to Bamu-land and land immediately east, but many would probably speak of it as a "mysterious region," full of "'bad people,'" as Beaver expressed it (1920: 210), or as a staff writer for Pacific Islands Monthly put it, in a far more racist fashion, a region characterized by "ghastly living conditions [filled with] primitive people" (Staff Writer 1961). Jack McCarthy, in New Guinea Journeys, writes of this area as being "10,000 square miles of rawness" (1970: 4). These are not explanations. Below, then, I speculate as to several possible predisposing factors which may help account for Bamu participation at sagapari.[24]

IIIa. muddy conditions

Virtually without exception, Bamu-land is described as being ill-disposed towards intensive agricultural production, more sedentary living, and nucleated settlements. Beaver, for instance, describes the Bamu River, a "melancholy and lifeless river, as lifeless as once could imagine no tropical river to be," as the "least attractive of them all. Whenever I go into the river I seem to catch the feeling of depression that hangs over the

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[24]. Though I have not the data to support it, I would in the future (following another fieldwork stint on Daru) contend perhaps that Kiwai men, by doing sex with Bamu women, in the ways, with the frequencies, and for the reasons they do, are continuing to perpetuate a cycle of ethnic stigma and strife. I sense that it relates to not-forgotten murders, raids, and head-taking expeditions that Bamu engaged in as against Kiwai and Gogodala (see Beaver 1912: 65; Murray 1902: 85; Staff Writer 1961).

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low, muddy mangrove swamps" (1920: 212). This desultory picture of Bamu riverine existence suggests that several features of Bamu lifeways have tilted Bamu away from the kind of intensive agricultural production characteristic of Kiwai, Gogodala and other south coastal peoples (see also Knauft 1993).

Bamu villages are impossibly muddy to get to and navigate between--"impregnable swamps," Beaver calls them at one point (1920: 225), complaining of Maipani village: "fourteen feet of steep slippery mud to climb up to reach comparatively dry land" (1920: 213). Villages such as Damerokoromo and Oromokoromo he described as "the muddiest in a muddy district...both built two or three hundred yards in from the river, and when the tide is out there are two or three hundred yards of the thickest, stickiest mud it is possible to imagine. Being but a mere European, I always sit in a canoe and get dragged across" (1920: 214). The mission of the Evangelical Church of Papua established in Bamu-land by the New Zealand missionary couple Harry and Eva Standen, was described in a story in Pacific Islands Monthly as "the mission in the mud" (Staff Writer 1961). A New Zealand health worker informant elsewhere in the province confirms that during his periodic medical patrols to Bamu villages conditions are still "almost 'barbaric'": "every time the tide came in the village was awash in water; right up to the house level...when the tide went out, they were up to their knees and beyond in mud. Their villages [were] not high up enough to be able to have decent gardens."[25] When those New Zealand missionaries arrived in Bamu-land they selected Dibiri island, five miles long by two wide, as their headquarters, despite obvious evidence that high

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25. Field note, Balimo, 1-7-91.

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tides periodically flooded it. An early flood "left behind...revolting mud, peculiar to this Gulf country and into which it was possible to sink up to the knees, hips or further. Over this ooze it was necessary to build walk-away platforms of sticks in order to get about at all" (Staff Writer 1961: 45).

IIIb. relative unimportance of fishing

Second, fishing was not particularly central to local Bamu economies. It is not so much that Bamu rivers and creeks are not stuffed with fish, since all Bamu friends and informants I had all indicated otherwise, but fishing was never traditionally as important to the Bamu diet as perhaps were crabs and prawns. The intensive collection of larger riverine resources (larger catfish and barramundi, in larger quantities) seems to have been relatively absent. Beaver notes that he never saw a "real" fishing net in the Bamu (1920: 232). He does note that Bamu have "some very neat devices for catching fish," essentially coconut leaf baskets left floating in the creeks, and an ingenious fish trap made of thorny cane (sago) in the shape of a cone, inside of which smaller fish become impaled. No doubt many Bamu had and have proclivities and ingenuities in fishing (some of whom I have had the pleasure of fishing with, employing only hooks, lines, and sinkers, after obtaining bait by hand). Nevertheless, fishing was never apparently developed to such an extent as to enable a more sedentary village life. Nor were apparently quantities of fish obtained sufficient to provide surpluses with which to obtain other much-needed items (and thereby perhaps engage less in the provision of sexual services). Bamu clearly had their own well-defined fishing grounds (cf. Beaver 1920: 215), but fishing was never as important in the local economy; villages lower down the

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Bamu River[26] had some coconut groves, but further up-river Bamu people apparently lived primarily on sago and sago grubs[27] and small fish (Beaver 1920: 215, my emphasis). Elsewhere, he notes that when speaking of fishing in Bamu-land, he is referring to "the hunt for small fish and fry such as may be caught by cone traps" (1920: 232). In general, he notes that Bamu fishing methods are adapted for a folk "with plenty of patience and plenty of time" (1920: 214).

IIIc. importance of black palm

Though perhaps not known as fisherfolk, Bamu were known for the supply and provision of precious black palm. This black palm was used to manufacture bows, drums, masks, and most importantly, canoes, virtually throughout the south coastal area, extending into the Torres Strait. For the majority of Fly River Kiwai, Kiwai Island Kiwai, and Torres Strait islanders, the canoe was considered to be the single most important means of the production of marine (and some riverine) resources. Canoes and various other items were exchanged in an extensive trading network which stretched all the way from Yam island southwest of Daru in the Torres Strait, to the coastal Kiwai villages of Mabuduwan, Turituri, and Mawatta due west of Daru, to Kiwai island in the mouth of the Fly just east of Daru, all the way to Dibiri Island, in the mouth of the Bamu, ancestral home to the Bamu, even further upstream to the Middle Bamu. Prior to the

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[26]. Bina, Bunigi ("Buniki," H. Beete Jukes' Pigville, in his Narrative of the Voyage of the Fly), and Sisiame, for instance.

[27]. Just my willingness to try, much less enjoy eating roasted sago-grub sago bundles, in Iowa, a middle-Bamu River village, was sufficient to engage the attention of several cohorts of friends in discussion and then informants about marriage practices. Beaver (1920: 215) was never up to the task!, but I found them actually quite good.

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arrival of Europeans, and partly due to fears of head-hunting, trade in canoes proceeded from one site to another, not "jumping" claims, Saibai islanders buying from Turituri, Turituri from Kiwai islanders, Kiwai islanders buying from their Bamu neighbors to the east. Perhaps due to the fact that Coastal and Kiwai Island Kiwai mastered the technology of navigating double-hulled canoes, they were able to buy canoes and logs requisite to their manufacture both for themselves and for their Torres Strait neighbors, with whom they had extensive social and particularly marital relations, as was mentioned above in Chapter 3. In return, Torres Strait islanders paid with dugong meat, with shells, and with technological advancements in the form of double-outriggers (where the Papuan dug-out had predominated before). Beaver notes that in the nineteen teens one canoe was worth "two large arm-shells [mabuo] and a small one, one melon shell, one dugong rib bone, and a string of dogs' teeth" (Beaver 1920: 77). Beaver notes that the Goaribari and Bamu natives were "expert at building and handling canoes" cut from the solid logs, obtained from the upper Kiko river (and from Dibiri island itself), and which were then further manufactured by villagers themselves. Beaver marveled at the sometimes "twenty- or thirty-men canoe[s in which they] perform the most amazing feats of dexterity" (1920: 250). Allegedly the best canoes were made by Bimarami (Bimaramio, lower Bamu) and Miriwo (Miruo, Middle Bamu), and were exported "to such far distant places as Torres Straits" (1920: 228). Wabada people near Dibiri were heavily involved in the brokering of black palm and of offering sexually the wives who accompanied them on these trading voyages (1920: 228).

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Lower and Middle Bamu villagers were also celebrated for their fine production of drums, masks, all manner of bows, and carved bark belts. Drums were carved and painted in red, black, and white, about two and a half to three feet in length. "From the Dibiri side," notes Landtman, "come carved bark belts (epora) beautifully ornamented, the back ground generally filled in with white" (1927: 27). What emerges from this admittedly scanty evidence is the placement of Bamu in an extensive regional trading network in which Bamu men provided women and sexual services (either uni- or bi-directionally), black palm used for the making of bows, masks, and drums, canoes and logs requisite to their manufacture, and bark belts used by various neighbors to their west. In exchange, Bamu received sago bundles (probably of cultivated, not wild sago), fresh barramundi and dugong meat, and all manner of shells, particularly bidi-bidi (cowry), mabuo (armshells), sagela/sagera (pearl shells worn around the neck as pendants), and dogs' teeth shells. Bidi-bidi shells in particular were much favored by Bamu and figured prominently in marital and other kinds of sexual transactions, both of commoditized and non-commoditized forms. Not to my knowledge were Bamu ever a sea-going folk, and so they probably did not come into contact with such items and possibilities for contact with pearlers, beche-de-mer collectors, missionaries, copra plantation owners, and so forth. Consequently, they exchanged, in essence, wood and women, for shells, sago, and marine resources.

IIId. sexual practices

Another factor concerns "traditional" Bamu sexual practices. Beaver uses "custom" frequently: "the [sexual] customs are universal and the women themselves seem

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to regard the position [as prostituted by husbands] with equanimity" (1920: 229). Stigmatized particularly for their sexual behaviors, Bamu generally did not impress Europeans favorably. The Reverend Benjamin Butcher, who lived in Papua between 1904 and 1939, witnessed a buguru ceremony (see below) in Bamu-land, and complains about a tribe "notorious for the shameless traffic of its women" (1964: 180). Beaver found Bamu in general "about as depressing as the district...their morals and general habits and conditions are about as unpleasant as could be desired" (1920: 212). He found difficult to accept Lower Bamu customs whereby women caught by men stealing sago grubs from a downed sago palm in those men's gardens ended up as those men's temporary wives.[28] He also notes the "peculiar customs" of the Bamu regarding the keeping of "professional prostitutes." Beaver hardly knew whether or not to call the custom immoral: "I should rather say they are non-moral. Custom is custom, and that is about all one can say" (Beaver 1920: 229). McCarthy, too, writes of Goaribari that "he" lived

> as he did within his own tribal framework, [and] could not be classed immoral by our standards. Rather he was unmoral for he regarded certain forms of sexual licence as perfectly justifiable and would probably have been shocked to learn that in other societies, of which he knew little or nothing, his own convictions on sexual freedom [sic] would have brought severe criticism, his actions, punishment" (1970: 17).

This custom appeared, however, to be shared by other south coastal Papuan peoples during one or another form of the special ceremonies known as mouguru/muguru/buguru (see also Butcher 1964: 172-81; Flint 1919; Landtman 1917, 1927). L.A. Flint, for

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[28]. This was, according to one of my Bamu informants, practiced traditionally in Bimaramio; field note, 3-11-91, Daru.

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example, witnessed one such muguru at Torobina village on the Bamu river, during which ritualized homo- and hetero-sexual copulation were performed, partly so that "children should learn how they came into existence" (1919: 39). Flint also witnessed generalized wife- (and husband-) exchange, as well as young girls being given sexually to elder men for their ritual and actual instruction (1919: 39). McCarthy, too, came within fifty feet of

> about two hundred men and women cavorting in the moonlight and between the glow and smoke of fires, dolefully chanting a dirge as they stamped, one behind the other, in large circles. Somewhere in a darkened hut a drum beat out the time...and there began a frenzied display of perverted eroticism and sexual indulgence, with men and women scrambling around on the damp soil like animals, with the drum still beating as the circles broke and reformed into snaky lines of men and women, still one behind the other, stamping and screaming in orgiastic desire.
>
> This was the Buguru, and there are few white men who have seen it in its entirety as it may go on for days and nights in a continuous unbridled round of sexual orgy until exhaustion sets in and the dancers lie where they drop (1970: 5).

McCarthy's "analysis" is obviously hindered by a weird combination of prurient interest, colonial disgust, and non-anthropological naivete, but he is not the only foreigner to have reacted so. Butcher (1964: 174-81) gives as complete and neutral a rendering of the Buguru that he personally witnessed as I have found in the literature. In brief:

> Within the great hall the men and women gathered together, and at times the dancing ceased and the place was plunged in darkness. Then from the far end of the building a man cried out, "I am Aibaro, and these are my wives." With them on either side of him he started to walk down the hall holding their hands until they were dragged from him by other men. Others followed, each announcing his name and bringing his womenfolk, until there had been a general interchange of wives. Then the fires were allowed to burn brightly for a time to give light for dance and song but during the night the whole ceremony was repeated several times with all present participating. At dawn the dancing stopped and the women

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> streamed out from the great place and went to their clan houses or moto [houses] to rest, and for some hours the village was unnaturally quiet (1964: 174-75).

Butcher goes on to talk about the identities of the participants in and the meanings behind sexual activities that occurred during performances of buguru, including uncle/niece, neighbor's wife/neighbor's husband, bride/bridegroom's male relatives, recently initiated girl/all other men who had access "to her person." "At the same time," he notes,

> there was uninhibited promiscuity among the men and women filling the place, mingled with a most disgusting rite [almost surely he is speaking of anal intercourse], carried through with definite ceremonial form as an integral part of tribal life and considered essential to its continuance. These were the ways of their fathers and if not followed, their very existence might be endangered, and with such beliefs it was hard to convince them that those ways were bringing them death instead of life (1964: 177).

Butcher comments almost with grudging respect the beauty and splendor of the ceremony, the dancing, and the cosmetic makeovers of various participants. He also notes that the bridegroom himself does not apparently become sexually active during the entirety of the ceremony. Nevertheless,

> For these two, as for all their people, this was the beginning of a strange life of promiscuity and that night the custom of the tribe compelled him to take his wife and offer her to the men of his dubu-daimo [men's house], each making a gift of an armshell or necklace or some tobacco in return for her favours. Then on the following morning the two set out in their canoe to visit other villages where the same procedure was followed, and when at last they finally returned to their home, the girl would proudly display all she had won for herself and her man by her prostitution (1964: 180).

Some older Bamu informants on Daru spoke of forms of sexual transaction involving married couples well-nigh ubiquitous in their villages, though perhaps not as stupendously so. Some said that they "haven't forgotten" the custom, that "younger people have to [are] follow[ing] them," and that that is why modern day "prostitutions"

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are being done on Daru by "Bamus." Called tuk orobo or tuk mamio or eragabo mamio in Bamu, these married women were known about, were exchanged sexually, and exchanged themselves sexually for bidi-bidi shells, for segera, for food, use of a canoe, and so forth. The following snippet from a field note entry contains one informant's rendering:

> Only the husband and wife will know when they would take another man out to the bush to a secret place, 'they will go in a secret way, man will give his wife to another man and only those three will know.' I then pressed on and found out that there is no payment if the two couples exchange spouses, but if two men exchange one woman (i.e., a man gives his wife to another man for sex) then there has to be a payment of some kind. Nowadays...back in the village ladies do go out for tuk bus for money, and they are referred to (and "Luria" [see below] confirmed this) in Bunigi village as eragabio mamio (literally, fire, path, woman, "women who have sex every day").[29]

McCarthy (1970: 17) also notes a court case involving a young Bamu man whose pig was coveted by an older man who had a young wife whom the younger man coveted: "An old man had wanted the young man's pig and had made an agreement that the young man could use the old man's wife--who happened to be quite young--in payment for a certain number of times, a normal village transaction which raised no eyebrows" (1970: 17). Such women and practices may or may not have involved the kinds of "public prostitutes" and "public harlots" Beaver (1920), Flint (1919), Butcher (1964), Holmes (1924), and many other European missionary and colonial observers were referring to in their various writings. My impression is that many kinds of remunerated sex took place intra-village or at most intra-Bamu village, and that other kinds of sexual transactions occurred, perhaps in more highly commodified fashion, inter-ethnically, as for example,

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[29]. Field note, 11-9-91, Daru.

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between Bamu and Kiwai. Butcher, for instance, writes that the Bamu, once certain "traditional" prohibitions on traveling inter-village had been lifted by administrative and missionary pacification, now traveled in companies of men and women so that the men could exchange the women for tobacco "and other articles of barter" (1964: 180). Beaver, too, refers to his having met Wabada fleets in the mouth of the Bamu, men always being accompanied by their women,

> for the wives of the parties are always exchanged during the trading. The payment is invariably made upon delivery, and the trade consists chiefly of armshells, cowries, pearl shell crescents and dogs' teeth. It used to be always a source of wonder to me where all the dogs' teeth used in the Pacific came from until the other day I happened to read of an action between two London firms for payment of a shipment of dogs' teeth made to the South Seas" (1920: 228-29).

IIIe. migration

Finally, there must be mentioned the relatively more nomadic, migratory habits of Bamu traditionally, at least compared to their Kiwai and Gogodala neighbors. Bamu are said by various observers to be (or to have been) inordinately migratory almost sui generis, to be not gardeners, not sago cultivators, and not fisher-folk. These migratory habits had a number of implications to them.

First, the frequent search for fresh sago patches kept people on the move. As pointed out above, most sago "production" in the Bamu region traditionally was of wild patches, not of cultivated stands. For that reason, Bamu are said to have wandered and roamed in-between hunting and sago camps, seldom settling down into more densely-populated, sedentary villages, seldom planting their own patches to which to return later.

Second, frequently mentioned are the head-hunting, sorcery and sorcery accusations which frequently depopulated such villages as were established. Beaver

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believes that once one leaves Maipani village behind in the lower Bamu "any pretence at civilisation is left behind," the rest of the Bamu being "semi-nomadic, rather unruly and head hunters and cannibals by choice" (1920: 215). During the nineteen oughts, A.H. Jmai filed a report from Daru suggesting that the tribe from Sisiami in Lower Bamu River region were "again" causing trouble by taking heads. His trip up and down the Bamu and its tributaries encountered "great numbers of human skulls" (Jmai n.d.: no page). Two decades later, then Lieutenant Governor of Western District, J.H.P. Murray, remarked in his report in the Annual Reports of the Territory of Papua (Murray 1933: 10) that when he came to Daru in 1931 he found 51 Bamu head-hunters awaiting trial in connection with two different raids, and he proceeded to recount the incidents in terms of a debate between an anonymous "lady" and "gentleman" anthropologist. Beaver argues that "almost every [Bamu] tribe is a wandering one" (1920: 212). Beaver notes that the "nomadic habits of these [Bamu] tribes" are partly due to "death or a series of deaths occurring there either from disease or, I suppose I should say, sorcery" (1920: 216). Bamu and many other south coastal Papuan peoples were known as particularly fierce head-hunters (Beaver 1920: 101, 156, 215, 217, 225, 233), too, and this was given frequently by informants on Daru as reasons why Bamu peoples were constantly on the move, either to obtain heads or to escape from having their own obtained by the relatives of those whose heads they'd taken previously. To this day, for instance, the vast majority of 56 Giwari corner households whose inhabitants were censused by myself and research assistant, gave "too much giwari (poison) back in the village" as being among their reasons for having left their villages in the past several decades.

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IV. Locale of Sagapari Throughout Time and Space

The point of the preceding discussion has been to indicate some of the predisposing and preconditioning factors involved in Bamu participation at sagapari. Some of my elderly informants agreed that Bamu were, in general, along with the Gogodala, the last to arrive on Daru. During the early years of Daru's settling, it was Turituri and Mabuduwan villagers who inhabited the place, and then followed other coastal Kiwai, Kiwai Island, and Fly River Kiwai villagers. These new migrations were aided by what one informant called "the government's civilizing campaigns" which were kicked harder into gear following the cessation of World War II.[30]

If by 1970 sagapari was firmly established, its locale has shifted fairly often. Another informant, an expatriate resident since 1963, remembers tu kina bus as having begun with a large influx of Bamu people "a few years" after he arrived on Daru with his wife and children to open a trade store.[31] These early Bamu and Kikori immigrants lived on their outrigger canoes, and began to "set up shop," on the beach, just west of the wharf. Lacking rights of access to traditional land, firewood, and water on Daru (much less to bili-leaves, garden land, and firewood on the mainland across from Daru), they began to prostitute themselves and each other. This lack of rights of access must have had dire implications traditionally in an area in which "every tribe has jealously defined fishing limits" (Beaver 1920: 279). According to Beaver, it was the people of Mawatta

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30. Field note, 11-15-90, Daru. This informant is the second-oldest person on Daru, and was raised with the help of the L.M.S. missionary, E. Baxter-Riley.

31. I do not know why this major influx occurred, but informants seemed to mention the most frequently a) nothing going on back in the village, development-wise, and b) too much puripuri.

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and other coastal (Kiwai) peoples (such as contemporary Mabuduwan and Turituri) who had access to maza (reef) resources, stretching at least twenty miles west of Daru. "No Bamu man," he notes, "would dream of fishing outside his tribal area--except, of course, at his own risk" (1920: 279).

Tu kina bus moved eventually from canoe to beach and bush to an area well back of what is now Giwari corner, west of the wharf. This is one of the four "corners" predominantly Bamu.[32] At the time, Kikori and Bamu women at sagapari only engaged in sex with Kiwai men, as Papua New Guineans from other provinces did not begin to arrive in any number until shortly before Independence in 1975. The price of sex was then as now the equivalent of tu kina, either in beer or money. Kikori and Bamu husbands stood nearby the wives whom they sent out, and pressured their wives to pressure potential customers to purchase beer to share with them and later to arrange sexual encounters between them.

Sagapari has shifted its locale in the intervening years. From its original location at the back of Giwari corner, it moved first because that settlement became increasingly crowded with successive waves of immigrants from primarily Lower Bamu River villages.[33] It was recently located and once before located at the back of what is now

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32. In this respect, the situation of the Bamu on Daru is similar to that of 8,000 or so in the early 1970s in Lae, "who live in a series of sprawling, unsightly camps around the edges of the city...a waterlogged unsanitary shanty town of jumbled, makeshift dwellings" (Willis 1974: 142).

33. I asked several times of my (primarily Middle Bamu River village) informants why it seemed to be that primarily Lower Bamu River villages were involved in this original and contemporary practice of sagapari. I received answers such as "Well, that is their way," "that is their custom," "that is custom way," etc., as well as indications that their villages were muddier, had less arable land, fewer fish in the stream, and so forth. High tides were mentioned by several informants (e.g., field note, 2-28-91, Emeti Station, Middle Bamu River region) having the

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called "Frogtown," underneath the Hotel. Tu kina bus was known once as Dokta Point, given its adjacency to the General Hospital and to the larger houses reserved for higher-ranking medical staff. This is where it was located when I first visited Daru in 1988, and appears to have been there throughout the majority of the '80s.[34] A year later, either the Health Division, the FRPG, or the Catholic Church sent members of a Catholic Youth group, armed with bush knives and axes, and instructed them to cut down and burn the whole place. Sagapari was thus forced to move to its current locale, replaced by Frogtown, where people processed pisirimai, known now also as "Dwyer Point" given its adjacency to the hardware store and liquor outlet of the same name.

V. Connections to Political Economy

Like other forms of the sex industry, tu kina bus is integral to the political economy. The fact of tu kina bus has to do both with "traditional" factors alluded to above and with the pollution of the Fly River (see Times of Papua New Guinea 1992), the right of free movement guaranteed at Independence, the ensuing demographic and residential shifts and economic downturns, the decline of fishing and pisirimai-collection, rising petrol prices, the absence of viable development opportunities in the village, and the marginalized lives of Bamu and Kikori on Daru. Bamu, Goaribari, and Kikori villages, by all accounts, are muddier than others and are located too far away from either Balimo or Daru, the only townships with viable markets, at which to sell what few fish

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tendency to wipe out all but banana plants, turning gardens into oceans of mud. Beaver says that it was primarily Lower Bamu River villages who kept "common prostitutes" (1920: 229). The muguru/mouguru/buguru witnessed by Flint (1919) also took place in a Lower Bamu River village, Torobina.

34. Field note, 4-28-91, Daru.

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and little game they can obtain. In contrast to, say, Ngao and Kodoro villages up the Pahoturi River, north and west of Daru, which are not at all short of game and fish, Bamu villages are just about deserted, lacking in Aid Posts, schools, roads, and development opportunities.[35] These are the wider, political economical origins of tu kina bus.

The form that sagapari takes, however, has to do with local factors such as the location of drinking establishments and the availability of alcohol, the lack of access Bamu people have to sago stands, fresh water, and gardens, and the sub-standard settlements to which they are consigned accordingly. The fact of the existence and persistence of tu kina bus speaks to the regional political economy, but its style and precise location at sagapari speaks to its sociogeographic relation to alcohol, marketplace, canoe place and wharf, public tavern, and to exploitation specific to Bamu, even more specifically, obviously, to Bamu women.

In short, sagapari is a particularly dense nexus of human traffic, money, ethnicity, migration, male violence and desire, alcohol, and exploitation. Regardless of where it is located[36], tu kina bus is a fact of life on contemporary Daru no more likely to end

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35. Field note, 1-2-91, Doumori village.

36. Two close friends and informants, K.B. and E.S., told me of tu kina bus at timber camps and sawmills elsewhere, at which there are few females, little to do for entertainment, and much disposable male income. Settlements have sprung up around these camps composed of Kubiai, Diwame, and Wario villagers. As K.B. put it, "the girls there coming from the village want money for living, so they go up to one of the base camps, they make friends with the workers, and then the workers will go to the girls' house for sex." Sometimes workers "marry" these "lait sikin gels" temporarily, and bring them back to the village as second wives. There are sagapari-style locales, such as the "little houses set up for sex" in front of which "the ladies will be sitting down on the timbers," and then a variety of tavern/snooker table parlor set-ups involving slightly different clientele. Prices for sex with Bamu women are K5 "per drop," instead of Daru's K2, at the outdoor locales. In the taverns and snooker parlors the price of having sex with Filipino, Chinese, and Malaysian women goes up to as high as between K50-100 for all night. As on Daru, husbands pimp for them to the timber camp workers. Pornographic playing cards, too,

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spontaneously in a public health sweep than would male violence against women end were police to search house to house for weapons. The enemy here is social relations and an unnecessarily hierarchical social formation, not sexuality per se or its various technologies and exercises.

VI. Space and Sex at Sagapari

Relatively few studies of prostitution and prostituted women take sufficiently full account of spatial parameters.[37] Many discuss where houses, cribs, brothels, parks, bars, hotels, discos, beaches and barracks are located, but they neglect to consider the influence of location on the type, frequency, price, implications, even meaning of sexual activities. By neglecting such topics they obscure important aspects of the political economy of prostitution, what Shumsky calls in another context (see my Chapter 9) its "tacit acceptance" (see also Vorenberg and Vorenberg 1977). Scenes of prostitution between Amsterdam, rural Nevada, and Paris share one thing in common, according to two contributors to The Atlantic, namely that sex is bought and sold "with...the tolerance of both the police and the community" (Vorenberg and Vorenberg 1977: 27). Frontier historian Anne Butler raises this issue in her study of "Military Myopia":

> The inferior quality of laundresses' quarters and their location on the post raise further questions about the status of the women. In a military atmosphere where Mrs. Custer noted the civility and respect shown to officers' wives, it is poignant

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have emerged both as an erotic outlet and means of communication through which Asian women communicate sexual possibilities to their customers. Fellatio, for example, has begun in earnest between Asian females and younger Papuans, according to K.B., a worker there once who "really got shock when she tried that one."

37. For example, the Bulloughs' A Bibliography of Prostitution (1977) contains topical headings for everything from anthropology to sociology, but none for spatial or geographical aspects.

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> to note the sites selected for the laundresses' shacks and tents [, which were] directly behind the soldiers' barracks or just off the post grounds, along the road to town, or by a creek [...often closest to] outdoor privies or to the stables. Most posts reported that the women's quarters were tents, shacks, sod buildings, dugouts, log huts, or dilapidated frame houses. Even allowing for the deprivation experienced by persons at military outposts, it is painfully apparent that laundresses lived in the most hideous circumstances of all (1981: 248).

Symanski (1974) discusses the organization of brothel-type prostitution in rural Nevada in terms of state and county laws which permit or forbid it, the organization of brothels along major and minor roadways, and the relationship between the size of the brothel and the kinds of sexual services possible. Smaller houses often cannot offer variety in either females or amenities (alcohol, pornography, equipment, and so on). Another "function" (in terms suggested above in Chapter 6) of brothel prostitution is to uphold ethnic and racial distinctions; even in 1977 in rural Nevada, brothel operators were able to maintain the color bar: "none of Lyon County's brothels accept black customers" (though they accept black prostitutes; Vorenberg and Vorenberg 1977: 29). Shumsky and Springer (1981) note also that in San Francisco beginning in the late frontier period (c. 1880), there was "an indisputable relationship between the changing spatial distribution of prostitution and legal development" (1981:71). Primov and Kieffer (1977) write of Peruvian brothels multi-faceted spatially and temporally. Sexual services negotiated in the callejon (alleyway) between 8-11 p.m. are cheaper, quicker, more private, less intimate, and are designed to fulfill (or is that construct?) the sexual needs of lower-class Peruvian males who arrive by bus. Activities at the same brothel during horas de salon (lounge hours) do not even begin until 11 p.m.; customers use separate entrances and conversational styles, and "[s]exual performance [of women] is not

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regarded as either a skill or a talent" (1977: 252). Horas de salon signify different clientele, price, duration, and frequency of sexual services. These sexual services are dispensed in a wholly different social context, one they call "machismo theater," an arena prescribed by social norms but proscribed within its midst.

Spatial and temporal parameters thus greatly influence the content and meaning of sex industries. Complaints have been raised against tu kina over the years on Daru, and can also be seen in the public debate carried out in the pages of the Post-Courier regarding tu kina bus areas elsewhere in the country (and see Times of Papua New Guinea 1981, 1982). When basically geographic complaints are raised against tu kina, for instance (as has happened repeatedly on Daru), instead of human rights or public health ones, then sexual activities must be consisting of far more than mere relief of genital tension. For instance, as I am polishing off the final draft of this dissertation much debate rages here in Portland, Oregon regarding the placement and enforcement of so-called "prostitution-free" zones, particularly so as to protect businesses and residences in certain areas. Of course, the question has not been asked: why can we not have the entire city declared "prostitution-free" and work to criminalize and punish those who prostitute others and those who purchase sexually those whom they prostitute? Again, this problem can be glimpsed better if one considers space, the pathogenic, legal, social, and personal obstacles to women's safety, to condom usage, and to client sexual satisfaction in cars, toilets, hotel rooms, the client's own home, truck stops, an office, a cemetery, the bushes, a tanning salon, a back room, a video booth, a stag party, or an STD Clinic. Spatial considerations do matter, and they have implications and

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consequences beyond the narrowly sexual. When "Dokta Point," for example, referred not just to proximity of the hospital but also to male health worker customers there, prophylactic or allopathic antibiotics were probably more commonly dispensed than they are now. Proximity to STD Clinic thus has potentially serious implications even for pathogens and relative resistance to future antibiotic treatment. A relevant question to ask here would be how relative proximity to the STD Clinic affects clinic attendance of the women who toil there.

VIa. bushes and beer bottles

Sagapari is presently located as a bushy area roughly rectangular, about 250 yards by 150. It is bounded on the northern side by a "beach" little more than a mucky tidal flat when the tide is out, a feces-, shell-, bottle cap-, and broken bottle-strewn, dirty gray expanse. Several times a week high tides flood sagapari, so the ground varies in consistency from steamy hardpan to baked hard, mud and mangrove flat. Past this "beach" walk hundreds if not thousands of Daruans daily between town, market, wharf, canoe place, and corner, though few stop at or go into sagapari unless they have excretory, alcoholic, or sexual business there. In some cases, irate wives come there to check up on husbands they suspect of squandering money, time, and sexual energy. On the western side sagapari is bound by a large tidal creek 15-20 feet wide when full, ideal for losing one's thongs and sanity in.[38] Around the back on the southern side is an

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38. One such instance, during which I lost in the muck both thongs on successive leaps across this creek and cut both knees severely, marked the absolute lowest point of my research. I never got one thong (or my innocence) back, and the sores took a long time to heal, to say nothing of what it was like to fish for my thong in ankle-deep, foul mud with one hand standing on one leg. (John Cheese loses both of his shoes to the muck, too, in Clockwise.)

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impenetrable boundary of mangrove 8-10 feet tall, and beyond that, the back ends of three different, Kiwai corners which abut one another, divided by pathways and drains. Continuing around, in the rear of one corner begins another small, perpetually foul creek which runs north out to the beach, draining oil and petrol, rain, urine and other waste water. This creek terminates at the back of the hardware store at the primary drinking place.

There is another ring 15-20 yards deep which stretches along the "beach" and tidal flat sides, marked by scraggly but taller mangrove and other bushes, behind, aside, and in front of which can be found small groups of men standing, sitting, telling stories, drinking, smoking, defecating, chewing buai, and generally preparing for sex. Solitary males, young and old, and the occasional female use this area as well for toilet, particularly in the early morning and late evening. The stench, the flies, and the visual specter of piles of fresh and drying excreta were just about too much for me to bear.

Inside this second ring which runs roughly perpendicular to the beach are 20-25 cross-cutting paths into the interior and numerous dead-ends. In the middle sit or stand Bamu women, individually or in groups, waiting for customers. Though from all conceivable points I have seen this interior and the men and women engaged thusly, I never simply walked in and asked questions, not even with my research assistant's help, out of shame, embarrassment, and fear at what might happen to me and to my research assistant and family. There are also pools of rain- and salt-water during rainy season and high tides, as well as several four crude grass shelters four to five feet tall, used as sun

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and rain screen.[39] This "small mangrove garden" approximately 37,500 yards square is thus part toilet, part rubbish dump, and part public sex environment--scrub in places, dense thicket in others, both hidden and wide open, ignored by some, but on everyone's mind.

VIb. time for sex

Sagapari's temporal parameters are relatively straightforward. Several licensed liquor shops open at 8:00 a.m. Monday through Friday. At 7:30 a.m., eight to ten Bamu women begin their trek from Giwari corner to sagapari in single file. Liquor shops close at 12:00 noon and then open up again for another hour and a half beginning at 1:30 p.m.[40] Sexual parameters are therefore partially determined by alcoholic and temporal ones.[41] Some Bamu women leave sagapari at midday to "go for spin" to market, trade store, or canoe place, but sagapari stays open until about 5:00 p.m. during the week, at which time they leave for home or to purchase food in the market. A few women come back to sagapari for another hour or two at dusk. Whenever I walked past sagapari at night around paydays, I found clusters of drinking men and 6-10 women. At night women came out from the bush, and on the beach in front of or up against the back of the

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39. These shelters are not used for sex, but sometimes women rest in them, or, on the odd occasion, nurse their babies there. I once saw, for instance, a family arranged in a triangle: woman waiting for customers, wrapped baby on the ground nearby, husband crouched in the bushes to spy on either her or her customers, perhaps so as to be able better to pickpocket them. The first time I saw this family I was so upset that I could not go back to sagapari for awhile, but then saw them several times shortly thereafter in Giwari corner.

40. Total liquor bans were frequently suggested, but partial bans may have led to greater, not lesser alcohol consumption. As hours were restricted, pressure to buy increased, which compressed the time during which people drank, and probably led to more binge drinking.

41. Liquor is obtainable somewhere on the island virtually 24 hours a day, though not at the preferred temperature, price, and quantity as all wished.

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hardware store they engaged in sex in full view of others. Fear of raskol and na'ati keep women out of sagapari at night, however. Criminal gang members sometimes use it to plan their nightly work, and mosquitoes plague the place at dusk. Sagapari is used by others in the late evening and early morning hours as a toilet and rubbish dump.

VII. A Bamu Tragedy

It is now time to consider who goes to sagapari. With only two exceptions mentioned elsewhere it is wholly the province of Bamu women. As I worked through a several-months-long stint of research and socializing in Giwari corner, and with the help of a research assistant and female informant,[42] I began to understand sociodemographic aspects better. I begin in Table 7.1 below with a roster of perhaps half of all the Bamu women toiling at sagapari at least part-time circa October, 1991 [43]:

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42. To help establish rapport in this corner, and also to provide at least some relief for those without access to health care, I held several "sore and ulcer days" during which I dressed sores and ulcers, handed out "plesta" (band-aids), and so on, attended several all-night-long traditional dances, ate regularly there, attended several "council committee" meetings, and so on. Nevertheless, this did not establish rapport in any visible way.

43. During Christmas holiday, 1991-92, half of these and many other Bamu women left for the village and had not returned by my departure in May, 1992. Women from another Bamu settlement, Dibiri corner, filled these open spaces at sagapari. Compare, also, these women with those in Table 7.4 below from only a few months later.

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TABLE 7.1 SAGAPARI ROSTER

WOMAN	#K	AGE	CORNER	BLOCK	MS	HUSBAND WK/DK	#Y
A1	1	30	Giwari	Gama	M	no/yes	7
A2	0	31	Giwari	Gama	M	no/yes	7
A3	3	32	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	8
A4	1	30	Giwari	Gama	M	no/yes	4
A5	0	31	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	7
A6	2	31	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	6
A7	0	28	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	5
A8	1	22	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	4
A9	0	30	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	5
A10	0	28	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	5
B1	0	39	Dibiri	Sibari	M	no/no	7
B2	0	23	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	3
B2	0	32	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	9
D1	2	46	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/no	8
G1	4	31	Giwari	Gama	M	no/yes	3
G2	2	34	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	8
G3	3	36	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	10
I1	0	30	Giwari	M-S-W	M	no/yes	10
K1	1	28	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	5
K2	1	27	Giwari	To-Bu	M	yes/yes	3
K3	1	30	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	6
K4	4	35	Giwari	Gama	M	no/no	1
M1	1	21	Giwari	Gama	M	no/yes	3
M2	0	31	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	6
N1	0	28	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/no	4

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WOMAN	#K	AGE	CORNER	BLOCK	MS	HUSBAND WK/DK	#Y
O1	2	22	Giwari	To-Bu	M	no/yes	3
S1	1	40	Giwari	Gama	W	no/no	11
T1	4	35	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	yes/yes	10
U1	3	25	Giwari	M-S-W	M	no/no	3
U2	0	22	Giwari	Ibuwo	M	no/yes	3
W1	1	40	Giwari	Gama	W	no/no	10
#/Ave.	38/ 1.2	914/ 29.5	30 Giwari/ 1 Dibiri	8 Gama 18 Ibuwo 1 Sibara 2 M-S-W 2 To-Bu	29 M 2W	2 work/ 24 drink	17 7/5 .7

legend:"#K"=number of children; "MS"=marital status; "Husband wk/dk"=whether husband habitually works, drinks; "#Y"=number of years woman prostituted at sagapari; "M-S-W"=villages of Miruo, Sogeri, Wakau in middle Bamu River region; "To-Bu"= Torobina, Bunigi villages in lower Bamu River region

Several clear patterns emerge here. First, of these 31 women, they have a total of 38 children between them, for an average of 1.22 per woman, a high in this case of four. Eleven women have none (cf. the women in Chapter 6 with an average of 2). Given a high level of sexual activity and no "modern" contraceptive use, it is likely that these Bamu women have been infected with, untreated for, and thus rendered sterile by one or another STD.[44] Second, these women are not teenagers toiling at sagapari prior to

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44. The literature on the relationship between prostitutes and infertility is vast. Thomas Laqueur, for example, locates the origin of this notion specifically in the history of Middle Ages gender politics (1990: 230-31). Aristotle, he points out, argued that the uteri of women used to excessive intercourse--prostitutes?--burned up conceptive potential in calor genitalis. A Canadian M.D. wrote to ask: "Why do prostitutes never [sic] become pregnant, although no [sic] contraceptives are used," and received the following reply worth citing in full, for its many half-truths and folk explanations:

> It is true that prostitutes rarely become pregnant, although contraceptives are rarely used.

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marriage. Of these 31 women, their average age is 29.5, ranging from a low of 21 to a high of 46.[45] Third, these are not single women; 29 of the 31 women are now married and the other two are widows. Sagapari appears thus to be the province of Bamu women, married, in their late 20s and early 30s. Fourth, regarding residence, all but one of these 31 women live in Giwari corner, which is one of four Bamu settlements on the island. "BA" above lives in Dibiri corner, the other of the two Bamu settlements on this end of the island, located where sagapari was once located several years ago. This pattern can be broken down even further: 29 of these 31 women come originally from the Lower Bamu River villages of Ibuwo, Torobina-Bunigi, and Gama. Two come from the combined Middle Bamu River village of Miruo-Sogere-Wakau.

This pattern recapitulates the residential arrangement of Giwari Corner. Walking to Giwari from sagapari, one encounters first Gama Block, and then, walking westward, Miruo-Sogere-Wakau Block, Torobina-Bunigi Block, and finally Ibuwo Block. Ranked

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This can be explained by the occurrence of pelvic inflammatory disease following gonorrhea or post-abortion. Mechanical factors due to peritubal and periovarian adhesions are usually stated as explanations, although emotional factors as well as the possible immunological effects of multiple sources of semen should be given some consideration (J.A.M.A. March 8, 1959, p. 1262).

[45]. Compare this average age (29.5) to that of the women in Chapter 6 (30). I should point out that this data does not come from the household census data I obtained otherwise. Interestingly, and tellingly, there is not much overlap in terms of sociodemographic data obtained between the time I conducted household census (at which time these Bamu women lived elsewhere) and the time I obtained data reported above, by which time they lived primarily in Gama and Ibuwo "blocks" of Giwari corner. In addition, I believe that at least twice during my stay the "roster" at sagapari changed almost entirely, replaced, first, by in-migrating Lower Bamu River village women and, second, by Bamu women resident on Daru but in another Bamu settlement.

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in order of participation in and dependence upon the proceeds of prostitution at sagapari, it would go thusly: Ibuwo, Gama, Torobina-Bunigi, and Miruo-Sogere-Wakau.[46]

The vast majority of these married women (27/29) have husbands who do not work for regular wages. Some of them work occasionally at short-term ditch clearance and grass-cutting projects in town for about 8-10 kina per day. Some Bamu collect and sell firewood, but most who do, do not live in Giwari but in other Bamu settlements. A few Giwari corner men (and a few children, too) are involved in empty beer bottle collection, and so hang out at the drinking place. Most husbands of tuk orobo consider their "work" to be more "managerial" in nature. But, as some informants put it, "they are taking the money from the ladies," "they are selling their wives," "they are taking the ladies out for tu kina," and so forth. Informants nevertheless consider husbands to be supporting wives by their activities, not the other way around. My sense is that at least half, and in some cases far more than that, of the earnings women derive from sex goes directly into beer purchases of the husband. Women who go to sagapari the most frequently and who appear to have the most paying sexual partners[47] do not appear to

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46. The question as to why more Torobina-Bunigi villagers/block residents do not participate at sagapari is puzzling to me, for they have no traditional rights of access to sago stands, forest, and fresh water on the mainland due north from Daru, and therefore no access to the collection and sale of bili-leaf bundles, game animals, or firewood. Residents of the other blocks in Giwari corner have rights established, so I was told, on account of inter-marriage with Kiwai and Abam peoples in the early 1970s. This leaves Torobina-Bunigi Block residents to depend even more on the collection of empty bottles, on remittances from salaried workers elsewhere, and on the proceeds of firewood collected from neighboring Bobo Island. Some informants (e.g., field note, 5-23-91, Daru) say that Middle Bamu River villagers used to engage in wife-exchange forms of prostitution, but that it was stopped by the missionaries Harry and Eva Standen, beginning about two generations ago.

47. Because I could not get sufficiently close to a number of Bamu women and their husbands to be able to calculate daily sexual contacts and number of sexual partners, I can "guesstimate" only that those younger, more attractive women who toil daily at sagapari likely have between 6-

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have lifestyles any better materially. They own no more material items (radios, cassettes, tools and appliances) and live in no better surroundings (houses) than do women who derive a greater proportion of their earnings from firewood- or bili-leaf collection and sale. Nor do the former appear to eat any better or more frequently. If anything, children and families of women toiling most frequently at sagapari are in worse straits economically and otherwise than those of Bamu women not involved so.

This is due probably to the level of drinking and domestic violence meted out by husbands, particularly when drinking. Despite the fact that only two husbands work, 22 of the 29 drink habitually to drunkenness. They go frequently to sagapari to check up on and take the earnings from their wives, with which they buy foodstuffs, tobacco, and beer for themselves and their male friends. Beer they consume not at the drinking place (which is socially closed to Bamu generally but to the husbands of tuk orobo particularly), but underneath canoes nearby or in their own houses back at the corner. When husbands drank the proceeds of wives' prostitution it caused frequent fights between them and family. Luria Matuba (see below) told me[48] that when husbands do come to sagapari it is usually to "check up on the ladies, and to get money to buy the beer." This angers the women greatly: "you want me to work for you, to buy your six-packs?" As my research assistant put it, "that's the time the husband will have the bad

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10 different customers a day, and therefore make between 12-20 kina, perhaps more around payday, less during rainy season, and so on. Winick and Kinsie (1971) found an average of about 18 client contacts weekly for women prostituted across a variety of forms. Jennings (1976) found 15 for prostituted California women. In the context of "comfort women" flung and used throughout the Japanese empire, it was upwards of 50-100 per day.

48. in a series of interviews; this particular one took place on 11-1-91, Daru, translated from Bamu to English by Adori Ganoi.

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feeling. They will have the war there." Luria also said that when women see husbands coming in "to give questions" to their wives or to belt them, the women think to themselves that "this money is not his, it is belongs to her...wife is the one that earns the money for the husband. They will say 'you try and feel shame, you are not working, you are just sitting down in the house, you are not doing anything.'"[49]

Finally, there is great variation in the frequency with which women "go out for tuk bus." "AI" (case study 7.3 below) is married to a particularly feared giwari dubu (Bamu=sorcery man) and "goes out" whenever he demands that she do so, including even when she was breast-feeding. Partly because she was married to a man with two other wives who gave her K40 each fortnight, Luria went to sagapari only every other day, or, around paydays, every other evening between 6-10 p.m. She and others like her in her block say that they "take chance," that they do not go every day. Ibuwo and Gama women, by contrast, go out virtually every day and sometimes in the evenings around payday.

In terms of concepts of "work" and "career," how does one describe these women's activities over time? Joel Best's work (e.g., 1982) on "Careers in Brothel Prostitution" in St. Paul, Minnesota shows that

> prostitutes made career choices--to enter or leave vice, to move from brothel to brothel and city to city, and between the statuses of madam and prostitute--which were available to prostitutes elsewhere (1982: 599).

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[49]. Here it is appropriate to recall Kalahari San women, Nisa and !Nai, and their trenchant observations of the "shade experts" that are many Kalahari San men. In addition, a couple of truly elderly informants on Daru who had grown up in lower Bamu River villages spoke of the industriousness of these eragabo mamio, women who do sex every day. Men used to pay these women in sagera and bidi bidi shells for each act of sex, particularly the unmarried, widowed, the elderly.

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Since "choice" and "career" are debatable terms for both Daruan and Minnesotan prostituted women, it might be better to describe Bamu women's situation as one of geographic mobility. "G3" in Table 7.1 above, for instance, has not left Daru in 10 years and has toiled at sagapari without abatement, save for two months prior to and following the birth of several children. "M1" has gone out for tuk bus during her several stretches of residence on Daru. Within two weeks of arrival on Daru, her husband, "K," forced her out, and she toiled there up until her first pregnancy. They left for the village shortly thereafter, but had recently returned to Daru when I interviewed them later for census purposes and M had begun again to go out three to four days a week to sagapari. They left again for the village at Christmas 1991 and reappeared a few weeks before my departure in May of 1992, at which time M began again to go out.

In some ways akin to the prostituted women in Best's sample, Bamu women often leave Daru to work elsewhere. Kamusi timber camp, for example, was and is now the locale of choice when competition apparently becomes too fierce on Daru, and when other migrant waves wash up on Daru. Particularly older women, those "middle-aged" women (~32-45) judged no longer to be sufficiently attractive, those with amo toka (Bamu=breast/no meat, breast/without) who leave first to the village, and then to Kamusi and other timber camps and to several local sawmills nearby (e.g., Umudu and Oriomo). In addition, I heard repeatedly from informants on Daru that the age range of women prostituted there was far greater than at sagapari on Daru. The ratio at the former appears to be about 10% 11-14 year old girls, 20% lapun meri (45+) and the remainder were

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women in their 20s and 30s. On the other hand, the price per "drop"[50] averaged between 5-10 kina at Kamusi, not the 1-2 kina at Daru, and so this must be considered a "pull" in addition to the "push" of relative age and physical beauty.[51] Thus, "careers" in tu kina bus on Daru and elsewhere vary according to several "micro"-factors, such as length of stay on the island, character of marital relationship, and spacing of childbirth and breast-feeding.

"Macro"-factors, too, however, play a significant role, such as the placement and development of timber and mining projects and the wrenching changes they induce locally and regionally. As with other aspects of the sex industry, the regional political economy discernibly influences not only the identity of the female participants at sagapari but the "careers" there of multiple, shifting, and overlapping cohorts of Bamu women.

VIIa. males

If female supply at sagapari seems constant but shifting, male demand is constant but also more multifarious. Customers come from all walks of Daruan and village life--except Bamu, that is. At some indeterminate time in the past, it was decided at a Council Committee meeting[52] that Bamu men shall not have sex with Bamu women at sagapari

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50. In Bamu language, kimeriai.

51. In Balimo, too, Bamu women (and their families) no longer able or willing to practice prostitution there relocated to Kamusi and to the many timber camps and sawmills nearby and throughout the region (field note, 1-13-91, Balimo). The reason, that "all the pamukus went to Kamusi," was given regarding the decrease in STD rates in Balimo in the mid-to-late 1980s by one health worker.

52. While perhaps not expressly forbidden from doing so, females do not attend, much less lead Council Committees.

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due to the ensuing conflicts. This prohibition took several different forms. In one case, it had to do with the fear of a man that one of his in-laws might become tuk orobo:

> They had another fight in Giwari corner the other day [and] the charge is over K's allegedly going around with that "raskol/haiskul" fellow..., being shunted into the "gellie gel" gang [tokpilai in Melanesian Pidgin for pamuku], which in this block of Giwari corner means O, G, K, and especially Luria O still is tuk orobo, Luria used to be, G occasionally goes out behind J.K.'s back, but they are apparently trying to "grease" K into becoming either tuk orobo or just into having boyfriends on the side, which is what it sounds like to me. G apparently has lots of boyfriends come over at night when J.K. is working... K....has offered to do sex with A because he has been helping her out [both as distant relation and corner-mate] with food and money[:] "okay, you have given me money, so now we do sex"). Luria is... married to M.L. but when this fight came up he didn't even support her in the fight against old man G, who apparently struck and choked her [...when full drunk] because she was allegedly trying to turn K (and hence the wife of G's nephew) into a tuk orobo or gellie gel... [53].

There are also Bamu fears that husbands and wives would be having sex with other Bamu wives and husbands. Males spoke of not wanting their wives to be "spoiled" in front of others by their own wantoks by revealing, in other words, their bodies, vaginas and "skin" to kin and corner-mate. Up until about 1985-86, Bamu men used to go in for tuk bus all the time, but Bamu tuk orobo put a sabi to it and stopped it, because stories spread out throughout the corner, "her vagina is like that, the way she lays down [does sex] is good and nice, her nenea [Bamu=vagina] is big or small," and so on.[54] This prohibition seems to have held, since neither I (who until much later did not know the difference) nor my research assistant (who, being himself Bamu, always did) observed any Bamu males going in for tuk bus, excepting those who went in to contact their wives.

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53. Field note, 11-5-91, Daru.

54. Field note, 11-1-91, Daru.

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So, if Bamu men are not their customers, who are? On a more obvious, predictable level, Kiwai men are, for the most part, since they are the ethnic majority in the region, just as Gogodala are north and east. I found that Coastal Kiwai men predominate further (compared to either Fly River or Kiwai Island Kiwai) perhaps because they are more heavily involved in the cash economy via fishing and pisirimai-collection, perhaps due, at least in the case of Fly River Kiwai, to cultural reasons involving shame. But as Luria put it, when even "bush" people come to town to sell garden produce, "the money goes straight to the woman [tuk orobo]." Men from Highlands, Gulf, and Central Provinces also participate, but several local peoples (e.g., Pahoturi) generally do not: "we feel shame," "we are not like these [Kiwai] Town Pioneers." Occupationally, Bamu tuk orobo divide men as follows:

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Table 7.2

MALE CUSTOMERS AT SAGAPARI BY OCCUPATION		
MORE FREQUENT	LESS FREQUENT	ALMOST NEVER
Public servants: Police, CIS, visiting militia Health, Bank, Post Office workers Lower-ranking: pisirimai, fishermen, and villagers, drivers, stevedores	Higher-ranking: Lands, BMS Depts. Clerks, teachers Businessmen: crocodile-skin buyers, trade store owners Others: kids[55], "half-sense," unemployed, Mormon	Co-resident wantoks, Europeans, FRPG Members and Ministers

VIIb. alcohol

As elsewhere, sex and alcohol consumption at sagapari are inextricably linked (cf. Plant 1990a; Marshall 1979[56]). Sagapari is located adjacent to a specific drinking place,

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55. I gave condoms to young (11-14) males initially, many of whom spoke of having first and subsequent sexual experiences at sagapari. These males go at night when it costs only K1. In addition, locals saw it as unfortunate but understandable that "longlongs" had only tuk orobo as sex partners. "Mates" sometimes "shouted" sex and beer to each other and to wantoks. Interestingly, Mormons (national and expatriate) had among the most sexually charged reputations among mission folk, perhaps because Bamu comprised a greater proportion of the Mormon congregation as well as their sexual partners, perhaps also because more sexual activity had been occurring between them.

56. I have not yet worked through my material on this important topic, but the connection between what Marshall (1979: 94) calls "Love, Sex and Aggression" has relevance for the Daruan context. So much of my information was gathered in and amidst drinking, often drunk men and women that I distrust much of it. Some of the information, though, can only come out when drunk. For example, a male health worker, a model of probity on most days, revealed to me his "secret (sexual) life," so to speak, on pede fotnait and on holiday, much of both of which he spent "completely conk-out," as he put it. Among the things he revealed to me was his personal instruction in the ways of condom usage on the females who came for diagnosis and treatment of STDs. Much as I wished to discount this story as drunken braggadocio, I confirmed it in other ways. Men also frequently confided in me when drunk of their extra-marital wanderings at sagapari and elsewhere, but would hardly talk to me when not.

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but the "drinking place" could be said to surround sagapari almost completely, extending from the hardware storefront itself to in, on, and underneath the rusting hulks of cars and trucks that ring the beach; to the drinking place proper right behind it; to the outer ring of sagapari; to the many canoes pulled up along the beach. Save for an occasional bottle stuffed into a trouser pocket, beer drinking is not done inside sagapari itself. Paydays find this area "full-up" with clusters of drinking men, but most drinking takes place within the confines of a small area.

Though small in size, this area is populated with 5-100 males and hangers-on (bottle collectors, "half-sense" women and men, etc.) from 7:30 a.m. until 10:00 p.m. depending upon the following variables: time of day (before versus after liquor shops open), day of the week (Thursday-Saturday versus Monday-Wednesday), week in the month (payday versus "loose week"), weather (rainy versus dry seasons), and tide (low versus high), among others. With the help of my research assistant, 150 systematic observations were made. Table 7.3 below presents data derived from analysis of only the first 25:

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Table 7.3: Drinkers and Drinking at the Drinking Place

Size of Group			**Drinkers/Group**			**Beers/Obs**		
#m/grp		#t=total	#drkrs		#t=#total	#b	#t	total
0	3	0	0	4	0	0	7	0
1	4	4	1	0	0	1-12	0	0
2	5	10	2	0	0	24	0	0
3	4	12	3	1	3	36	0	0
4	7	28	4	0	0	48	1	48
5	1	5	5	3	15	60	0	0
6	1	6	6	0	0	72	1	72
			7	2	14	84	0	0
totals:			8	0	0	96	3	288
25 obs			9	1	9	108	0	0
65 grp			10	1	10	120	2	240
2.6 grp/obs			11	3	33	132	0	0
2.9 grp/obs			12	1	12	144	4	576
when grp pres.			13	0	0	156	0	0
4.0 m/grp			14	1	14	168	3	504
4.2 drkrs/grp			15	1	15	180	0	0
when grp pres.			16	0	0	192	0	0
			17	1	17	204	0	0
			18	1	18	216	1	216
			19	1	19	228	0	0
			20	3	60	240	3	240
			21	1	21			
						totals=2,184 beers		
			totals=25 obs			=260 drkrs		
			=260 drkrs			(from column 2)		
			=10.4 drkrs/obs			=8.4 b/drkr		
			=12.38 drkrs/obs, when drkrs present					

legend: "grp"=group; "drkrs"=drinkers; "obs"=observations; "m"=men; "t"=times; "beers."

A number of patterns may be highlighted here. First, there were an average of 2.6 groups of men present when observations were made, and 2.9 groups present when any groups were present, composed on average of 4.2 men. There were a total of 260 drinkers observed during these 25 observations, and 12.38 were present on average when any drinkers were present. There were 2,184 beers consumed by those 260 drinkers, an

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average of 8.4 per drinker. Not all men in every group drink, of course, which would inflate the number of beers per drinker, but neither were these all the potential drinkers on hand. Some could simply have been walking past and may have stopped for a beer or two. As well, men inside sagapari at the time were not counted, and their alcohol tolerance varies, too. On the other hand, beers are always bought in units of six or twelve and is always consumed in toto on the spot. Further, drinking styles in my experience were rather "egalitarian" in the sense that, say, four drinkers sharing a carton of beer (24 bottles) would each drink six, and eight drinkers three. Finally, though not everyone drinking there eventually engages in sex, those who do, have generally consumed enough beer to make themselves inebriated, frequently sloppily so. Nor do these figures include the drinking of wine, spirits, or tuba. Men often stumble into sagapari, pass out on the ground, up against a tree or lay in ditches. Bamu women commented frequently on their customers' drunkenness, as did many casual passersby.

VIIc. sexual behaviors

The reader to this point may be wondering to her or himself, "where's the sex?"[57] The rich sexual lingo at sagapari speaks to a far greater eroticization than I originally assumed. Males drinking there spoke often, for instance, proudly, sometimes even boastfully of the many sexual positions, or "stail bilong koap" they engage in. By contrast, the few women we could get information from spoke of essentially two or three sexual positions: what I and my research assistant later came to call "PNG-style," "dog-

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[57]. As editors Ortner and Whitehead worry aloud to their readers in Sexual Meanings (1981b: 24).

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style," and "frog stand-style."[58] "PNG style" is essentially what westerners might call the "missionary" position, but given that this is outdoors, the position is broken by leaves, twigs, rags, and cardboard. "Dog" style is not the American "doggy-style," but rather what others called "dia stail" (deer style), in which the woman's rear is elevated and her knees are not touching the ground. A variation on dia stail is when the woman grabs onto a branch or tree, bent over slightly, man entering her from behind. "Kung Fu" was the name given by my research assistant to a style in which the man is on his knees entering the woman from behind, but one of the woman's hands and knees are off the ground, the former holding on to a branch of side of the building, the other ankle resting on the man's shoulder. "Frog Stand Style" is that in which the man lays on his back and the woman squats over him, knees not on the ground. What later came to be known as "Fork Lift Style" is when the woman has one hand and hip on the ground, and one hand and leg up onto a tree branch, man entering her from behind and underneath, only one knee on the ground. This style was named after stevedore activities at the wharf, and is said to be practiced when the ground is particularly wet.

By all accounts, intercourse engaged in by whatever position seems to last on average between five and ten minutes, despite the fact that the men are often drunk. I never heard of men complaining of alcohol-induced inability to gain and maintain an

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[58]. Interestingly, Basedow (in Burton 1935a: 360) notes that "All same frog" (in Melanesian Pidgin it would be "olsem prog") is the analogy that "Australian" natives give (he does not get any more specific than that) for the penile corpora cavernosa following subincision. "Frog stand style," however, inverts the male and female position, since on Daru this assumes a woman superior position, whereas it is the opposite elsewhere in the Pacific where this term or those like it are found or represented.

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erection, and have no information whatsoever about it or measures women may or may not take to induce one (save for one story recounted below).

Table 7.4 below addresses sexual activity performance more directly. The data are based upon the same 150 systematic observations we made over the span of several months involving 25 different women. This was my method: we did an initial 20 observations completely haphazardly, then another 20 still haphazardly but on successive days, and then decided upon the following strategy. Each day was broken into several two-hour blocks beginning at 7:30 a.m. and extending until 10:00 p.m. One 15-20 minute observation was made during one of those two-hour blocks, successively later each day. Beginning with an observation made at 7:45 a.m. on a Monday morning, for example, an observation would be made at 10:00 a.m. on Tuesday morning, another at 12:15 p.m. on Wednesday, 2:45 p.m. on Thursday, and so on, such that on the following Monday morning an observation could be made at 10:00 a.m. At least one observation, therefore, was made during each time period of each day in the week. Woman "A1," for instance, was present 19 of the 150 times observations were made, that is, 12.6% of the time. Of those 19 times she was observed, she was engaged sexually only once, so the percentage of times engaged sexually as against times merely observed is 5.26.

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Table 7.4:

"Women and Sex at Sagapari,
May 6, 1991--September 26, 1991"

WOMAN	TIMES SEEN/150 #/%	SEX/150 yes/no/% yes	SEXUAL POSITION DS/PNG/KF/FS/FL
A1	19/12.6	1/18/05.26	0 0 0 0 1= 1
A2	16/10.6	2/14/12.50	1 0 1 0 0= 2
A3	1/00.06	0/01/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
A4	109/72.6	36/73/33.02	4 12 20 0 0= 36
B1	4/00.2	0/04/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
B2	109/72.6	34/75/31.11	11 13 9 1 0= 34
B3	29/19.3	15/14/51.72	7 4 4 0 0= 15
B4	61/40.6	7/54/11.47	2 1 3 1 0= 7
D1	33/22.0	0/33/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
G1	39/26.0	5/34/12.82	2 1 2 0 0= 5
G1	30/20.0	1/29/00.03	1 0 0 0 0= 1
G2	16/10.6	0/16/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
K1	4/00.2	0/04/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
K2	4/00.2	3/01/75.00	1 2 0 0 0= 3
K3	2/00.1	0/02/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
M1	83/05.3	5/78/06.02	3 1 1 0 0= 5
M2	23/15.3	8/15/34.78	1 6 1 0 0= 8
M3	119/79.3	31/88/26.05	8 13 8 2 0= 31
N1	1/00.06	0/01/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
N2	1/00.06	0/01/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
N3	7/04.6	0/07/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
O1	42/28.0	5/37/11.90	1 1 2 1 0= 5
T1	65/43.3	0/65/00.00	0 0 0 0 0= 0
W1	9/06.0	3/06/33.33	0 1 1 1 0= 3
U1	5/03.3	3/02/60.00	2 0 0 1 0= 3

Totals: 150.00 observations
831.00 women observed
5.54 women/observation
159.00 sex acts observed

Totals#=44 56 52 7 1=159 sex acts
%=27 35 32 4 1=101

Legend: DS=Dog Style, KF=Kung Fu, FS=Frog Stand, PNG=Papua New Guinea, FL=Fork Lift

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A number of interesting patterns emerge. First, there is great variation in the number of and frequency with which women engage in sexual acts and positions, which were observed 159 times in these 25 different women. Of them, 12 were observed at sagapari 116 times but were observed to be engaging in sex only twice; the remaining 157 sex acts were engaged in by a much smaller cohort of women. Those 13 engaged in 4.3 sex acts per woman, but of those 13 women, four accounted for 116 sex acts, or 29 per woman, the remaining nine women accounting for 41 sex acts.

Second, there is patterned variation regarding sexual positions designed to result in a "drop" or male ejaculation.[59] The three most frequently observed were "Dog-Style" (27%), "PNG-Style" (35%), and "Kung Fu Style" (32%), with "Frog Stand" (7%) and "Forklift" (1%) styles represented far less often. Several other sexual positions I heard of or observed elsewhere are not represented here. "77," "44," and other styles, for example, were mentioned frequently by male informants at the drinking place, but not observed in sagapari.[60]

I can offer only the following suggestive comments regarding the erotic aspects of sex at sagapari. First, "seeing her skin," i.e., removal of blouse, which several male

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59. By contrast, in southern Africa, the operative term is "round" or "session" (e.g., Schurink and Levinthal 1983: 159).

60. "77" style is man and woman standing almost upright, woman's back to man's front. "44" style is woman on back, ankles on top of man's shoulder (see also Burton 1935a, for several line drawings of same). "Cobra" style is perhaps the most interesting of them all, but practiced perhaps by only a few men. As I understand it, and as it was explained to me in sign language by one aficionado, a youngish "half-sense" man in an orange ski cap, this position is reserved for when men, for whatever reason, are incapable of maintaining an erection. The woman, essentially, does a forearm stand and her ankles land on the top of the man's shoulders, and he enters her by pushing himself down into her. "Cus-cus" style involves a woman mounting a waist-high mangrove bush branch, and a man mounting her from behind and underneath. "Chair" style is a variation of "Frog-Stand" style, knees on ground.

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informants spoke specifically of, would appear to be erotic for males, since tu kina by day becomes wan kina at night. Vaginas may also be eroticized as sexual objects by men at least, since women rarely if ever wear panties and since in so many other ways genitalia are so powerfully charged in everyday discourse.[61] Second, female breasts are frequently said not to be erotic objects and subjects throughout Melanesia,[62] and in other contexts exposed breasts were not eroticized, such as while breast-feeding, washing, and changing. Nevertheless, I believe that they are in fact eroticized by and for many men and women. Male and female informants said, for example, that if her breasts were rubbed just right, a woman "would fall straightaway." Men who engage in sex with those women recounted in Chapter 6, too, spoke often of breast shape and particularly size in erotically-charged terms. I have a few reports of female orgasms experienced by women with their "boyfriends" at sagapari, though I have no idea how common this is. Females occasionally gave back all or part of the money paid by their customers, and twice women reimbursed men for "rubbing her nenea [vagina] just right" and "making her feel sweet" (inducing arousal, if not full climax).

VIId. contraception

Bamu contracept and control births in a variety of kastom we, that is, via birth control once pregnant, via contracepting in the body, and via the prevention of

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61. The three most frequently heard epithets around town, in Kiwai but not exclusive to Kiwai-speakers, were "auwo ai" (big vagina), "boromo ai" (pig's vagina), and "maramu ai" (mother's vagina).

62. Oliver (1989b: 603), for example, says that "In perhaps most Oceanian societies a woman's breasts (which were in most societies customarily exposed) possessed little or no erotic meaning, and were seldom the object of erotic play."

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contraception behaviorally. Bellies can be fastened tightly with rope and vine and saltwater drunk to produce miscarriages. Infanticide at birth or malign neglect of newborns is practiced in cases of adultery and incest, in view of likely lack of paternal support of infants, and in cases of absent good relations between husband and wife. Food and water can be "magiced" so as to produce spontaneous miscarriages or to produce uterine "blockage" sufficient to prevent ovulation/conception.

Post-partum sex taboos restrict sexual activity further. Placenta disposal also discourages conception. "Baby's rubbish things" can be left on logs for sea gulls or high tides to take away, or they can be buried in ant hills, mud, or in flora which produce fast-growing shoots, such as bamboo and mangrove. Finally, rags, plant materials, and other items used to absorb menstrual blood can be left above holes made by mud prawns, and when they "come up for air," see these menstrual pads and take them "down below," the woman's uterus is said to be "blocked" sufficiently to prevent conception.

Condoms are not yet fully in the contraceptive repertoire of Bamu women. After I began to distribute condoms, we began to notice condom wrappers and used condoms near or in sagapari, the first being noticed on the edge of the bush in November of 1991. Try as we might, however, we could not get Bamu women (or, through them, their husbands) interested in using condoms, for a variety of reasons. Condoms must appear to be rather fantastic things, as must have been white men stripping off their shirts to villagers in 1891 (e.g., Beaver 1920: 244). One woman came to me via my research assistant and wondered whether she was to swallow the condom or not, a perfectly

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reasonable question.[63] Women suspect customers wearing condoms of having arumo kikasi (Bamu=penis/skin disease), of having two penises, or of some other dermatological problem or anatomical deformity. To husbands, condoms signified the likelihood that their wives' vaginas would be "spoiled."[64] Finally, I could not get a single Bamu to buy condoms. Husbands prohibited wives from buying them, since it took money away from the former's beer-drinking. "No money to pay" was the near uniform response in answer to questions such as "what keeps you from attending the STD Clinic,?" "would you like to start buying condoms from us every morning,?" and so on. At present, there are simply too many cognitive, financial, and other barriers to condom usage by Bamu females, though perhaps a better chance of distributing condoms through male customers.

VIIe. risk

Bamu women are probably at great risk[65] of infection with various STDs. Their degree of risk, however, is not straightforwardly calculable. First, regarding number of sexual partners, even if the average "career" at sagapari is only one year, assuming that a tuk orobo only works five days a week, and has only five new sexual partners each day, that is still 1,300 different sexual partners, not to mention husband(s), boyfriend(s), and

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63. Field note, 11-11-91, Daru.

64. In another sexual but nevertheless rather different context, Serena Nanda's life histories of several prostituted hijra emphasize "spoilage," too, i.e., turning homosexual and sending them down the hijra road. As one put it, "But still, he was persistent, and it was he who spoiled me and gave me the first experience" (1990: 58), meaning anal insertive intercourse.

65. Reading several chapters, however, from Knowledge, Power and Practice (Lindenbaum and Lock, eds. 1993), particularly those by Kaufert and O'Neil (1993), Frankenberg (1993), and Lewis (1993) makes me rethink an unproblematical notion of risk.

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other more casual partners. Second, these women engage solely in penetrative sexual activities with local, regional, national, and even international clientele, including village and corner boys, workers from other timber camps and mining projects, their husbands, visitors from other provinces, and occasionally even men from other countries who come to Daru on holiday. Third, virtually all Bamu women will at one time or another become infected with an STD. The vast majority will never seek treatment, much less be completely cured. The "treatment" that health worker customers have given in the form of antibiotics might also further predispose them to future STD infections. Fourth, most sex is vaginal penetrative sans condom, so they have few ways of reducing risks to themselves and to others, as by eroticizing other activities. Fifth, sexual hygiene is virtually nil. Semen is wiped away from their genitalia with dirty rags which are left out to dry on bushes. They cannot clean their own or their customers' genitalia ahead of time, since the closest running water is at the public marketplace, in and amidst deer, turtle, and cassowary meat heaped upon tables. To clean themselves, women squat over small puddles left either by rain or high tide and splash their genitalia. Given the feces and rubbish-infested nature of both water and ground, however, this cannot be very hygienic. Sixth and finally, there is another level of risk--the risk of not engaging in sex at sagapari. Male violence with fist, stick, beer bottle, and bush knife (see also Counts 1993) is ubiquitous and is "tolerated" by woman, family, corner, and police. "AIDS," "HIV," "Safe Sex," even "condom usage," therefore, are merely abstract concepts, completely irrelevant to many of these women. Earning enough money to feed themselves and their families and to provide beer- and gambling-money for their

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husbands may be far more on their minds than "risk-reductive sexual practices." It is hard for me to overestimate the degree to which these Bamu women are "at risk" more from their own husbands and legal and sexual double standards than from HIV. Three case studies below demonstrate this.

VIII. Case Studies

These case studies are of women I came to know, in order, well, not so well, and completely from a distance. The first illustrates not only typical Bamu migration patterns to Daru[66] but also the precarious existence there of Bamu.

Case Study 7a

> Luria Matuba is a slender and pretty, fun-loving woman in her late 20s with one child of her own. She married a Bamu man and they migrated to Daru several years ago. Being both unskilled and uneducated in town ways, they lived

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66. During census of 56 households in Giwari corner, we inquired of date of and reasons for migration from Bamu area to Daru. Below is recounted a completely typical instance, except for the recency of their arrival (from a Field note, 5-20-91, Daru):

> This couple just came to Giwari last year, from Gumai, a lower Bamu village, and it was just the two of them that came together. He claimed that people were dying back in the village, probably from sorcery... They like all the others we've spoken to complain about the situation of their village councillors and Member fellows who never help them with anything, who constantly drink and "go for spin only." There's no Aid Post or school in their village at all, consequently neither one went to school, so can't read or write. Torobina, which has a school, is two hours away by canoe. They got married at ages 21 and 20, and did do sister exchange, giving B's small sister to A's small brother. They didn't do brideprice, however. They live on about 45-50 Kina each fortnight, which they get from selling firewood and bili leaves. Neither one has ever been to the hospital, and neither one has taken their kids to the hospital or clinic either.

In my experience of interviewing all of these married couples, I would say that 75% of them migrated to Daru between 1982-84, and that "1984" was by far the year most frequently spoken. I cannot support this empirically, but I believe that during 1983-85, sagapari was in transition between Points "Dokta" and "Dwyer," and that for a time it was located in both locales, thus potentially opening more space for recent arrivals. It may prove to have been the cutting down of the former bush locale that stemmed the flow slightly of new arrivals (e.g., Field note, 6-3-91, Daru).

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> precariously for awhile on the proceeds of selling bili leaves and firewood. Eventually, Luria's husband "forced her out" to work at sagapari,[67] and she toiled there several days and nights a week for about two years. During that time she engaged several times in sexual intercourse with an already doubly married man who had already fathered 17 children, a relatively powerful man economically on Daru. He became, first, her "boyfriend" by making payments to her during and in between sexual acts, and then, second, her husband when she left the house she shared with her first. They were taken to court by her first husband and charged with adultery. Her second husband was required to pay a 50 kina fine to her first husband and to give him a job. Being himself a manager of a fish processing factory, he did so, and Luria's second husband became a security guard at that workplace. Luria's second husband is known in town as an extremely likable guy, but nevertheless a big pamuku. In fact, Luria's first husband now stands guard at night on the job while her second husband entertains a host of other girlfriends in the weighing room of the factory, drinking and engaging in sex. Luria's new husband gives her about 40 kina every two weeks, which isn't much. His payments have become less frequent because of the many younger boyfriends Luria is rumored to have, some of whom give her money as well. She says that she only "goes out" because her husband's payments to her have slowed. She refuses to work at sagapari anymore because of her fear of AIDS, and must "make friends" with other men in order to support herself and family.

Luria was a reasonably easy informant to work with. Since her husband was seemingly so unconcerned and unthreatened by me, she seemed more eager than other female informants in Giwari corner to facilitate my work. She also seemed inordinately interested in the topic of AIDS. While working together, we always concluded our sessions by talking about AIDS and STDs, condoms and sexual hygiene, and so on. Nevertheless, she is at the financial whim of her husband and boyfriends, even in the best of scenarios.

The next case study is of Luria's relative, Poapa Mathius, who is a bit younger and whose scenario by comparison is quite a bit less rosy:

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[67]. In a recorded interview, Luria said "My husband told me to go out for tuk bush. Because we don't have food so that's why my husband forced me to go out and work at sagapari."

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Case Study 7b

Poapa is married with two children, extremely slender and boyishly-figured, with a very pleasant face. She and her violent, often drunken husband migrated to Daru shortly after Luria did and now live with her. He drinks and plays cards and Bingo from the earnings at sagapari he takes from her once or twice a day, sometimes under threat of violence. Unbeknownst to him, she has one steady and several less steady "boyfriends" with whom she has sex at sagapari as well as nearby and behind "Seafoods" where they work. When her husband drinks, and when she does go out to sagapari, he accuses her of "selling her cunt for free" (to boyfriends) and he has cut her with both flat and "dull" sides of a bushknife more than once. When she doesn't go out to sagapari, he accuses her of having boyfriends who support her behind his back and abuses her all the more. She has had apparently both syphilis and Donovanosis, but her husband will not let her be treated at the General Hospital, either for genital ulcers she suffers from or for the beatings he inflicts. She nearly died two years ago as a result of the violent rape perpetrated by George, the husband of Kuria above in chapters 5 and 6. During an informal interview she said that she would only use condoms with me, not with her husband or customers, because the [darker?] penises she has seen with condoms on them resemble arumo kikasi, or grille, which she does not want to "spoil" her genitals.

In Poapa's case, I was never able to story with her directly. I probably put her in direct danger by pressing her and her husband to story with us. She was once beaten in response I believe to my entreaties that they come together to our house for story. Poapa's husband was often drunken, and when so, particularly when she was playing cards or not otherwise in the house, he used to drag around and pummel her, and cut her with three sides of a bushknife. Poapa has the body of a 14 year old, but the life and miseries of someone married much longer. She has repeatedly tried to go up to the General Hospital and Police Station for help, but at the latter she has been told that it is a "domestic matter" and therefore none of their concern. She also fears and suffers from additional beatings when her husband finds out.

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The third case study I wish to present is of a woman perhaps even more oppressed than Luria and Poapa put together:

Case Study 7c

> Akina Ino'i is married to perhaps the most feared of all the giwari dubu in Giwari corner. She is approximately 31 years old, and has two children, neither of whom is said to be from him. At the time of my fieldwork she became pregnant again, and was the only woman we frequently saw with and sometimes nursing her baby in sagapari. As many times as I suggested it, neither my research assistant nor his wife would go near Ino'i to ask him if he and his wife would story with us. Fortunately, the household census we did before I figured out who he was and why he was so feared did not arouse any anger, though he seemed frequently angry whenever I showed up in his block. Akina had been working at sagapari for about six years, which dates to their arrival on Daru from a Lower Bamu River village. Ino'i is reputed to have moved to Daru primarily because so many people feared him in the village and they forced him out. Akina did not wish to marry him, but apparently her parents and family members feared his reprisal if she were to refuse him. It seemed that it was always Ino'i who kept her from attending the frequent meetings in the middle of the corner we had to interest them in the topic of AIDS and STDs. Once he forcibly pulled her back, and other informants say that he does the same thing, pulls her out of the house, when she tries not to go to sagapari.

Akina has an uncharacteristically harsh life among Bamu tuk orobo, though socially her case is not rare. She was married against her will to a man whom she detests and fears, a man at least thirty years her senior. She is the sole income earner in her household. Her husband does not even collect firewood or bili-leaves or empty bottles. Ino'i is feared by her and many others, myself and my research assistant included. She has never received any medical attention whatsoever, other than kastom we, even though she has probably been infected several times with one STD or another, according to informants. She will probably continue working at sagapari until her husband dies or until he pulls her away to work at Kamusi, which seemed imminent throughout my stay. He drinks a lot of beer which he cannot pay for by his own labor, and he has an extensive

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network of drinking mates--thus his once or twice daily trips to sagapari to extort her earnings in order to purchase.

These three women express collectively and individually several aspects of contemporary Bamu life. They migrate to Daru with little if any hope of finding work or money, they come without educational achievements or occupational skills, and many lack rights of access to water, land, firewood, reef, and garden. While many Bamu men and women are in fact hard-working (those, in particular, who are involved in firewood and bili-leaf collection and sale[68]), women bear the brunt not only of violently degrading sexual activities but of the violence and drunkenness of their husbands. They are hemmed in by a density of social relations, contradictions, and complications that I have at best only skimmed the surface of. They are forced to have sex with men they are disgusted by (whether husband or customer) and thus often seek help in the arms and pocketbooks of non-Bamu "boyfriends." Drinkers next to sagapari spoke in particular of the importance of these boyfriends, who would help out the women "in time," here and there, with food, tobacco, money, and soft drinks. Boyfriends, however, are dangerous to women should the latter's husbands find out, and boyfriends are rarely in a position to

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[68]. Apart from toiling at sagapari, most households in Giwari and Dibiri corner are involved in essentially four income-generating activities: bili-leaf and firewood collection, bundling, and sale, finding and returning empty beer bottles, and buying large and selling small quantities of kerosene. Many other households have "canteens," but their credit books show that several score to several hundred kina are in arrears, so these small ventures collapse. Of the households in Giwari corner doing the best, they may make 30 kina per fortnight selling bili leaves, another 2-5 selling empty beer bottles, 2-5 selling kerosene, and up to 30 selling firewood. This 65-75 kina per fortnight is to feed, clothe, house, and otherwise maintain 5-10 individuals. Other households, however, only generate 25-30 kina per fortnight, "which really puts them behind the eight ball. I asked further when I talked to [my research assistant], and he said yes, they only 'eat sago, flour, and rice'. Now that I think about it, in my trips to 15-20 households to date, I don't think I've ever seen any fruit, pumpkins, greens, etc." (Field note, 5-4-91, Daru).

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marry them and make their lives better if such a thing would occur: few if any Bamu women marry Kiwai men. The ubiquity of male domination prevents them from being able to protect themselves against men and pathogens. For example, while apparently some men began to use condoms on women in sagapari when they became available, probably no women would ever use them with either boyfriends or husbands, both of whom have multiple other sexual partners. The women thus become infected with STDs without ever seeking or being allowed to seek treatment. For these and myriad other reasons, no one knows how many of them and their sexual partners are already infected with HIV. In fact, no one knows very much of anything of these unfortunate persons because they are silent and silenced. Future fieldwork could perhaps look (and listen) more closely at and in this aspect of their lives, not merely the empirically observable sexual behaviors they engage in in order to sustain themselves, their families, and their communities, but also the empirical, eventually epistemological status of this and these silences (see Visweswaran 1994: 50-51).

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Chapter 8:

"The Gift That Keeps on Giving"

"They are promiscuous.
We live in a promiscuous society.
I can tell you these girls around my son are giving it away.
It's frightening"
("Spur Posse" member father, in the
New York Times, 3/24/93, p. A14).

"They pay me for my shift, my baby's given a gift,
here comes the weekend"
(The Everly Brothers, "Here Comes the Weekend").

"What you want, baby, you've got it.
And what you need, you've got it.
All I'm asking is, ooh, give it to me when I come home...
Hey little girl, ooh, sweet little honey,
I'm gonna give you, all of my money.
All I'm asking is, give it to me when I come home"
(Otis Redding, "Respect").

"I wouldn't feel right about paying you.
It would spoil it for me.
I think you should give it to me"
(Metal 1987: 120).

"She said nobody had paid any attention to her before
and she became very popular... They like it so much, she said,
why shouldn't you give it to them and get presents and attention"
(Meridel LeSuer, The Girl, p. 55).

"[Infibulated women claim] that husbands were more
generous in their gifts (clothes, jewelry, perfumes)..."
(Gruenbaum 1993: 416).

"It is always the husband who makes a gift of VD to his wife
at the end of his travels" (Dr. Brieude, writing in 1787 of
rural-to-urban-to-rural sexual networking in France,
quoted in Shorter n.d.: 50).

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I. Introduction

When Europeans initially contacted Pacific islanders between the 16th and 19th centuries, sex must surely have been at the forefront among many other forms of contact that ensued. Among the military, diplomatic, and trade-related contacts that doubtless occurred and which would lead to irreparable harm and alteration of indigenous lifeways, sexual contacts occurred, both intended and those not so. Almost surely some of them were sexual and intended. Herman Melville, for instance, sailed as a young man to the Marquesas Islands aboard the American ship Acushnet (1841-42):

> I watched the rising and sinking of their [young vahini] forms, and beheld the uplifted right arm bearing above the water the girdle of tappa, and their long dark hair trailing beside them as they swam, I almost fancied they could be nothing else than so many mermaids... (1993[1846]: 84).

Melville wrote of having been held "hostage" by a "picturesque band of sylphs, tricked out with flowers," given over to an "abandoned voluptuousness" which he could not actually bring himself to describe (1993: 85) but which led to the unlimited gratification of the crew's "unholy passions." "[W]ho could think," he says, of "tumbling these artless creatures over board, when they had swum miles to welcome us?" (1993: 85).

Who indeed? Two hundred years prior, in 1643, the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, the first European to visit Tonga, wrote in his journal that "[o]ther women felt the sailors shamelessly in the trouser-front, and indicated clearly: that they wanted to have intercourse. The [Tongan] men incited the sailors to such a transgression" (quoted in Gailey 1987: 153).

On the one side, how odd it must have seemed to Pacific islanders to see ships arrive bearing only men. Did these red-skinned, filthy creatures even have women in

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their villages?[1] On the other side, what would right-thinking European explorers have made of such behavior: that the Tongan women wanted to have intercourse? That they wanted to in exchange for money or goods? That they were common prostituted women? That the fact of the exchange was more important than either the sex or the items exchanged? That Tongan men wanted their sisters, daughters, and wives to have intercourse with these fair-skinned strangers? For the prestige involved? To have them on? To gain access to trade goods? To discharge important ritual duties? To allow the women to be impregnated or to incorporate superior mana?[2]

Answers are difficult to come by, since many histories of Pacific exploration treat lightly or omit altogether the sex part of first contact (e.g., Campbell 1989; Grattan 1963). This is doubly unfortunate. Understanding the nature and effect of sexual contact between Europeans and Pacific islanders on local sexual culture and political economy would surely illuminate other aspects of post-contact Pacific history.[3] Those might include the introduction of STDs (see van Baal 1966; Crosby 1986: 231-34; Suggs 1966: 201-03), the transition from kin-based to class-based sociality (Gailey 1987; Lockwood

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1. Papua New Guinea highland villagers in the marvelous film, First Contact, for example, suspected that these three white spirits--the Leahy brothers--kept their wives inside their rucksacks.

2. van der Toorn (1989: 201) notes that for Ancient Israelites, "the sexual intercourse with strangers was more than the businesslike exercise of the 'oldest profession in the world': it had a cultic character and was meant to promote fertility." This interpretation recalls Van Gennep's notion of "rites of incorporation" (e.g., van Gennep 1960 [1908]).

3. Owing to guns, language, demon rum, and metal, the "sexual culture" that obtained between Europeans and most Pacific islanders probably differed greatly from that which obtained between members of the "same" culture (cf. Werner 1984; Symons 1979; Siskind 1973).

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1993), missionization (Grimshaw 1993; Langmore 1989), and demographic alterations (Schneider 1968[1955]; van Baal 1966; Rivers 1922).

It is not that early explorers and chroniclers were uninterested in sex. Quite the opposite; Pacific islander sexual mores and customs perplexed and titillated them greatly. Captain Cook was convinced that prostitution existed in pre-contact Tonga, but other chroniclers of the age argued that certain Tongan sexual behaviors reflected merely the sexual prerogatives and opportunities of younger, non-high ranking females prior to marriage (Gailey 1987: 153). Other Pacific islanders were more interested in establishing gift-exchange relations via sex, whereas many invading European crew viewed sex as an end in itself, and used nails, shirts, and iron as means of obtaining it. Captain Cook was himself brought a nubile young woman by an old woman, who attempted to explain that he could have the younger woman sexually in exchange for a "shirt or a nail," even if he wanted to give such a present later. When Cook refused, perhaps out of feelings of propriety, but also perhaps out of sheer incomprehension, "the old Lady began first to argue with me and when that fail'd she abus'd me" (quoted in Gailey 1987: 154-55).

Journals, scholarly treatises, and memoirs devoted to Pacific exploration that began to circulate in the late 18th and early 19th century titillated also the imaginations and libidos of countless Europeans at home. Hawkesworth's An Account of a Voyage Round the World (1773), in particular, became such a cause celebre in London that one Mrs. Hayes, madame of a high-class brothel called the Cloisters, advertised by circular one day in April that "this evening at 7 o'clock precisely, 12 beautiful nymphs, spotless

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virgins, will carry out the famous Feast of Venus, as it is celebrated in Tahiti, under the instruction and leadership of Queen Oberea [one significant in the Tahitian drama] (which role will be taken by Mrs Hayes herself)":

> They stretched a large and beautiful carpet on the floor, and decorated the scene with furniture suitable for the different attitudes in which the actors and actresses devoted to Venus should appear, in conformity with the system of Aretino. Afterwards the men gave each of their mistresses a nail at least two inches long, in imitation of presents received on similar occasions by the ladies of Otaheite [Tahiti], who preferred a long nail above anything else... (quoted in Henriques 1963: 149).

What, then, did that nail mean to Tahitian men (and particularly women)? How important was the sex itself? What did the exchange of nails for sex mean to woman-starved European sailors aboard these ships? What did such exchanges signify about larger, longer-term sociosexual relationships? That they were terminated by the exchange? That the exchange had been equal? That the relationship was just beginning? That this was colonialism? How were exchanges negotiated by actors and how did they come to understand one another? What implications do such exchanges have for the coming dependency upon European powers and economic relations (for an example of the contemplation of such issues in a more contemporary setting, see Karch and Dann 1981).

Some of the historical literature devoted to this period[4] suggests that European explorers and those who followed in their wake labored under mistaken notions regarding sexual and exchange relations. Europeans in 1790 probably appreciated that exchanges

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4. I have relied primarily here on Oliver (1989a,b), Gailey (1987: 153-63), Moorehead (1966), and Furnas (1947) for general overviews of European/Pacific islander sexual contact.

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of all kinds were taking place, perhaps even that exchanges signified future obligations, but they were probably also confused about the meaning of individual instances. For one, they were not able to distinguish between more and less direct exchange forms embodying future entanglements. For example, Motuan hiri exchanges of clay cooking vessels and containers for surplus sago bundles produced to the west expressed ties of relative friendship and safety, and probably also forestalled if not averted altogether some headhunting. However, clay pots and sago bundles that accompanied these magnificent expeditions (see Seligman 1910; see also Malinowski 1920 for an early report of another type of magnificent expedition) had real utilitarian value. So, too, did the dried fish and yams and canoes that sweetened the deal in the other direction. The fish-for-sago trade that coastal and inland Sepik River communities are involved in is another example, laid bare beautifully by Gewertz (1983). Kula expeditions of the Trobriand Islanders, made famous by Malinowski (1920), centered primarily on the exchange of mwali (armshells) for soulava (necklaces), but fish, canoes, yams and pigs were also exchanged.

The importance of prestige, future obligation, and non-utilitarian value, in other words, differentiates these two types of exchange, and those from others. Oliver argues that

> The transfer of objects or services was a component of all relationships among Islanders: giving between parents and children; taking between enemies; lending between neighbors; and bartering or buying and selling between members of different communities, which is here called "trade" (1989a: 24).

Given the incredible diversity of Pacific island sexual practices, it is not surprising that European crew became confused over the "real" meanings of female visitations, male pandering in some cases, girls and young women offered up sexually in

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exchange for nails, and, in the case of Captain Cook, harangues from an old woman. Europeans were confused whether desire, nails, marriage potential, friendship, or access to trade goods (or some combination thereof) was being expressed as Tongan women groped European men's trouser fronts.

II. Methods

In this chapter I consider gift, monetary, and other material exchanges on Daru between spouses, boyfriends and girlfriends, new sexual partners, and between even anonymous, one-time partners. In this chapter I am concerned to explicate what I take to be a definitional quandary, on the one hand, and, given the topic of this dissertation, the most supreme social contradiction I can imagine, on the other. As to the first, given a garden-variety definition of prostitution as an exchange of sex for money or goods, a significant minority of Daruans (perhaps even a majority) are thus prostituted women or their clients. But how helpful or wise is such a conclusion? Clearly, in addition to draining the concept of prostitution of whatever remaining utility it may still have, it makes more likely the possibility of misunderstandings.[5] These misunderstandings

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5. I titled a paper I wrote and delivered to the University of Papua New Guinea's Anthropology Department and to the Department of Health's STD/AIDS Unit, "What do you do when everyone is pamuku?" Judging from some of the comments I received, I had implied that everyone on Daru is a prostituted woman or engages in sex with one. My intention was otherwise, to highlight Daruan and American patterns of affective, material, and monetary exchanges that accompany sex and marriage. This sticky issue is not necessarily solved by better definitions, by ever-finer category-parsing: Perkins and Bennett (1985: 4), for instance, define a prostitute as "one [who] has to treat the exchange of sexual gratification for an established fee as a business deal, that is, without any pretence to affection, and continue to do this as a form of financial occupation, whether casual, part-time, or full-time." By my count, this only problematizes eleven words, as distinct from the usual four in the definition of prostitution as "the exchange of sex for money or goods."

Marilyn French, for example, writes of one of her co-workers, a housewife from Lake Forest, Illinois, who was initiated into prostitution with her first ride with a trucker who offers her money in exchange for sex. "I was pretty naive at the time. I never for a moment thought it was

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loom ever larger because of the cross-cultural nature of most of the work we do as anthropologists. As to the second, though, it struck me in the field (cf. Pheterson 1993: 43) repeatedly that, to summarize an argument that would necessitate its own chapter, women are not stigmatized so much for engaging in sex but when they attempt to negotiate it, i.e., in exchange for money or goods, favors, obligations, and so forth. As long as women respond appropriately to male sexual overtures (i.e., by not refusing), as long as women do not initiate sexual activities (i.e., by soliciting male customers), and as long as women give sex away for free (i.e., as part of the marital contract or as part of an implicitly agreed upon relationship, hopefully affective), then at least a modicum of support and protection is made more likely to occur. This is made evident in several of the epigraphs which began this chapter, perhaps most clearly by the father of one of the so-called "Spur Posse" members, so angry that these young girls are "giving it away." That they are (in his mind, anyway) clearly absolves his son of any culpability or responsibility, since it is they, and not his son (and his son's co-posse), who have transgressed this most important norm.

In the Daruan context, when Bamu women sell themselves sexually they become tuk orobo. When women prostituted at the Hotel demand payment in money, beer, and food they become uba pe. Once having received such payments, Bamu and Kiwai

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prostitution. That was my first job--or my millionth, depending on how you look at my marriage" (quoted in French 1988: 13). French concludes that money is the "great equalizer," but that the (sexual) activities themselves are not greatly different between boyfriend and customer. Legally, however, in at least two different states--Illinois and Colorado--and one city--Portland, Oregon--prostitution and marriage are explicitly distinguished, since sexual access is a "fundamental right" leading to an "expanded zone of privacy" (quoted in Cooper 1989: 103, n. 25). These legal precept is not, unfortunately, thought of in very critical terms; clearly, it gives to men the very rights which must perforce be taken away from women.

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women become tu kina meri, despite whatever social, psychic, and economic straits I cannot even imagine. Once she has sought out payment for sex by a man, a Suki woman is marked as being uba pe. Once a Kiwai woman obtains payment from an outside "boyfriend" her husband can belt her up. Once payment has been sought, once a woman attempts to protect herself from bodily harm by the usage of condoms, she loses a bit more privacy, a bit more liberty, a bit more freedom to move about the town as she wishes, a bit more self-esteem and confidence. Once a woman attempts even a little bit to negotiate the kinds and duration and meaning of sexual activities that she wishes to engage in, or which she knows are inevitable anyway, the trouble begins. Perhaps put another way, so as to remain faithful to the tenor of my argument, that is the trouble. As the quotes from popular songs and cultures above attest to, women are allowed to give sex away only within certain closely scrutinized and maintained parameters, but not to negotiate it. This social contradiction has several material and other implications that I wish to explore below and then follow up the medical consequences of in the following chapter.

This chapter is based upon data derived primarily from three sources. First, as a participant/observer, I gradually saw and appreciated the extent to which gifts of t-shirts, food, money, favors, tobacco, cassettes, and photos are given virtually daily, not just in the context of the sex industry, but in everyday. Gifts are given between parents and children, between friends, lovers, and spouses, and between hosts and guests, sometimes

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even between persons meeting for the first time at a video party or sponsored dance.[6] The ubiquity of such exchanges not only further muddies the attempt to define the sex industry precisely but further blurs the distinction between marriage and prostitution, status and contract, exchange and payment, wife and mistress.[7] "K," the most theoretically articulate of the prostituted women in Kate Millett's The Prostitution Papers, notes that

> prostitution is somehow paradigmatic, somehow the very core of the female's social condition. It not only declares her subjection right in the open, with the cash nexus between the sexes announced in currency, rather than through the subtlety of a marriage contract (which still recognizes the principle of sex in return for commodities and historically has insisted upon it)... (K 1970: 93).

By participating to an extent in the exchange economy on Daru, I now see more clearly the connections between the socio/sexual economy and the wider political economy.

---

6. This is how one informant explained the normal procedure:

> Moses: Before, when I used to go down to these corners for pati, I go down, and some of them, these girls, they come and gris me for things, money.
>
> Lawrence: They'd ask you for money.
>
> Moses: Ask me for money to buy their gate [fees]. When they ask me and I'll tell them straight, it's this way, so I will go...and one of these Kerema fellows, S, he knows all the girls, this is his place, and this is where he is from. From there, and he just told me, "just buy their gate, and you will have chance [to ask them for sex]." Next, they will come and take you and both of you will go into the bush, so I just used to buy their gate...[and then go, for sex] right behind the pati, where those flowers there.

7. Marriage is supposed to be a rather inviolable, even sanctified status, says Cooper (1989: 104, n. 27), but the reality of marriage is often rather different. For many working-class women in this country, marriage remains largely an "economic and procreative institution." Both Gregor (1973) and Siskind (1973) provide Amazonian Basin examples of significant meat-for-sex exchanges among mixed hunting and horticultural peoples. As Gregor notes (1973: 245-46) for the Mehinacu, "A house with a number of sexually active women can count on a modest but regular supply of fish throughout the year...."

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Second, I audiotaped 30 "sexual life history" interviews (15 male, 15 female; see Appendix 8.2), and have analyzed the contents of a majority of them, in addition to many other audiotaped interviews. Informants recounted things they give and have given to sexual partners, and enumerated significant instances. Husbands, for instance, sometimes give wives money to buy household items and food prior to asking them to engage in sex so that their wives will not refuse them.[8] This practice owes partly to the ubiquity of everyday exchange relations but also to the Daruan female reticence, particularly among housewives, to initiate sex. Only one woman indicated that she even infrequently approached her husband or boyfriend for sex.

Third, near the end of fieldwork, I and a research assistant conducted informal, small group interviews with recipients of larger quantities of free condoms (typically 5-25 at a time, expressly given so as to be shared amongst friends). Interviews were

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[8]. Oldenburg (1990) reports on a performance her informants, courtesans of Lucknow, India gave for her benefit, which is relevant here:

> The rest of the household snores noisily while her husband, belching and hiccupping after his food and drink, makes a lunge at her for some quick sex. She succumbs, and after a few agitated seconds he appears satisfied. He grudgingly parts with twenty rupees he owes her for household expenses (1990: 272).

Such exchanges between husband and wife are, of course, not unknown in the U.S. In two interesting exchanges with Dr. Leon Salzman (1970, 1974), letter writers, both doctors, to Dr. Salzman asked, respectively, "why would a wife demand payment from her husband for sexual intercourse?" and "A male patient reports having to pay his wife for each act of intercourse. How does this differ from ordinary prostitution?" In both cases, Dr. Salzman replied that sex has become a negotiated item and that these marriages are based on an exploitative, materialistic model, not on intimacy or respect, etc. That response begs more questions than it answers.

Just as I finished the first draft of this chapter, a 70 year old woman, widowed now for 18 years, wrote to Dear Abby, bless her, to say, "My hobby is bowling, and I really do enjoy it... I have a boyfriend who has been my bowling buddy since my husband passed away... The problem is that he is very stingy. He takes me out to dinner in exchange for sex at my place afterward. (I feel like a whore; instead of money, he buys me dinner.) (San Francisco Chronicle, August 9, 1994, p. E8).

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conducted on the street, sitting down in the shade, under houses, sometimes in private, sometimes not, often in same-sex groups, sometimes in mixed groups (see Appendix 8.1). What emerged from the 54 rapid interviews we conducted (involving a total of 267 persons) was the rather startling (to me, anyway) finding that 43.95% (see below) of all acts of sexual intercourse were accompanied by material exchanges, including of t-shirts, photos, biscuits, soft-drinks, pleasure, money, tobacco, betel nut, and, according to two men and one woman, sperm/babies. Timing and frequency of exchange are also patterned. Married women least often gave material goods prior to or following sex, and single women were the most frequent recipients. Single men most frequently gave gifts, married men somewhat less frequently so.

These data and patterns raise the timely question as to how best to interpret them in view of the existence of the sex industry the parameters of which I have laid out in previous chapters. These exchanges might be interpreted as a vibrant, affirming aspect of Daruan sexual culture, an improvement upon the cut-and-dried character of many transactions in "Western" sex industries. Perhaps they indicate the negotiated character of sexuality and the potential for women's agency within it, such as wives' power to boost husband investment in and productive contribution to the household economy. Perhaps they only index wives' relative powerlessness as against husbands. Material/sexual exchanges between spouses, that is, could also be seen as further proof of the second-class status of Daruan women, suggesting that women have to exchange sex for money and goods in order to survive, whereas men can exchange the latter for the former though they do not have to. Yet again, perhaps this phenomenon indexes women's relative

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powerlessness, but nevertheless hints at women's social agency; when and to the extent they can, they boost their own social and material power by negotiating at least some portion, frequency, content, and meaning of sexual activities.[9]

Material and other exchanges that accompany sex also occur between those who exchange money: prostituted women are also involved in gift exchange relations with their "customers," "boyfriends," and even "husbands." They, too, might better be reached by the same public health intervention campaigns that express in positive, affirming tones the ubiquity and significance of gift relationships, even in the midst of a brutally exploitive sex industry. Perhaps the very gift component in these exchange relationships is precisely what local intervention can be founded upon. On the other hand, if gifts and gift-giving are already gendered things and social processes then perhaps that is part of the problem.

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9. Each of these interpretations have great material and medical implications. For example, in the design and implementation of STD prevention and condom and contraceptive usage campaigns, I wonder of the potential in the following slogans: "No ken raun raun wantaim ol pamuk meri" ("Don't sleep with prostituted women") versus "Don't give her a baby, give her a condom and an STD pamphlet!"; "Know your partners" versus "Don't give him an STD, give him a condom (and your photo), too!"; "Stay faithful to God's Way," versus "Get to know how your own body works, and learn how to respect those of others." American experiences with HIV transmission prevention programs surely suggest that the former slogans in each pair have if anything had the opposite effect than that intended, assuming for the moment that the intention is in fact to prevent HIV transmission, as opposed to transmitting morality. One AIDS Prevention poster I frequently saw in Papua New Guinea, for instance, pronounces "AVOID AIDS (and other STDs): Check Your Lifestyle With God's Guidelines." Sexual options were represented as a dartboard of sorts, and two teensy weensy slivers on the whole board were denoted with "Yes," namely a single man having sex with his wife only, and a single woman having sex with her husband only. Arrows pointing outward from the center of the target, however, pointed to all manner of other sexual options (one's grandson, neighbor's wife, and so on), each of which were marked by a resounding "no." At best, this poster was confusing; at worst, it was patently spreading falsehoods, such as when it suggested that concerned persons could "have a blood test to make sure you're AIDS free--[and] then go God's way...."

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III. Give and Take on Daru

Like all Papua New Guineans, Daruans are involved every day in monetary and non-monetary exchange relations. I present a few examples. Whenever villagers from Fly or Pahoturi River sides came to Daru to stay with my adoptive families they always brought to market some of the following: fresh deer meat, sago bundles, watermelon, coconuts, smoked cassowary, fish, bili-leaves for thatching, firewood, papaya and guava, pet animals, bundles of greens, taro, and so on. Portions were allotted as well, however, to canoe-mates and drinking mates in town, to parents, siblings, bubus and aunties, and to school-mates before any of it went to market. On the reverse end, whenever we saw people off down at the canoe-place, we sent them home with money, Omo soap powder, pots and pans, new clothing, beer, buai, kitchen utensils, clothing and clothes pegs, and so on. Whenever I accompanied these items back to the village, I saw them exchanged again and again.

Whenever pay packets were cashed, they too were spread out far and wide, whether they be those of a higher-ranking public servant (with 200 kina or more in his packet) or a prostituted woman (with ten). Whenever I gave presents to newly- or long-since adoptive families, they circulated just about as fast as people could run. Younger unmarried women receive gifts and pass them on to older brothers. Gifts to house mommies go to house papas, and vice versa. Married couples give (apparently infertile) female siblings of either spouse last-born infants to adopt and raise as their own, and then share parenting duties in the interim. I was personally given two different village names

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and treated, at least on the surface, accordingly.[10] I witnessed both immediate and delayed exchanges of sisters in marriage, and the long, drawn-out, sometimes violent implications thereof. My first host family was still riven to the core, 15 years later, by brideprice unpaid, despite the fact that the ostensibly offending son-in-law had supported his in-laws variously and consistently throughout that time. Schoolbooks, school fees, and credit; clothing, bed sheets, and pillows; tin fish, sago, and bili-leaves; radios, cassettes, and videos; names, sisters, and water-tap privileges: this is just a partial list of the things exchanged by Daruans every day.

In Papua New Guinea these exchanges are part of what is known as the wantok system. This is a system in which members of the same ethnolinguistic group, residents of the same village, sometimes even friends and neighbors, are bound to help and be helped in monetary and non-monetary ways. Wantoks are potentially everywhere; one can request money from them via salim moni kwik, be sent airplane tickets by them, be guaranteed places in school for them, obtain antibiotics from them outside official health care channels, send messages and money through them, and so on.

V. The Place of Exchange in Sexual Life Histories

This thumbnail sketch of the wantok system does not do it justice, but perhaps does indicate the norm and extent of exchange relations of all kinds. It also indicates that

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10. One of these, "Naso," which I was given in Doumori, the last Kiwai-speaking village up the Fly River, was given by an old woman who had ties to a Gogodala village nearby, Wasua. "Naso Pasiya" is the real name of a man who lived on Daru, the son of Pasiya, one of the first four native converts to what became the Evangelical Church of Papua (recounted and depicted in Aida, by A.L. Crawford, 1981). Ironically, much later in my fieldwork, this prior exchange of names allowed me to call a particular young woman informant "kasin susa" (female cousin), and thus dampen the sexual tension between us (at least on my part; see Chapter 10).

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such exchange relations carry over easily into relations of sexuality. This latter aspect is indicated by "Kene" (16) and "Fela" (15):

> Lawrence: So what kind of things do they [young persons] give for presents [after sex]...?
>
> Kene: Money.
>
> Fela: T-shirt that you wear, like when you mate with her, you leave it on her and just walk home bare body... Yeah, just a [rubber, petrol drum] ring, or what...
>
> Lawrence: Do girls give things to boys, too?
>
> Kene: Yeah, if you are really good... Same things, t-shirt, just get one.[11]

Another young (18 years old) male informant, in response to my question about exchanging presents following first intercourse, replied: "She gave me things, I gave her necklace. We exchange, or hand rubbers [petrol drum rings] [Did you ever give her money?] No, not money, except she gave me money... Two kina, three kina, for smoke, or one kina for smoke."[12] This young man's third girlfriend, for him, "just bought what, t-shirts.[13] To his second girlfriend, following sexual contact, he "just gave her necklace [and she gave you?] t-shirt."[14]

Although I have not yet the empirical data to push this point too far, I suggest implicitly below a rough developmental sequence that ends in full(er) participation in the

---

[11]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-28-92.

[12]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-4-92.

[13]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-4-92.

[14]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-4-92.

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sex industry. Having now transcribed[15] a majority of these audiotaped interviews, and having worked through results of several questionnaires, three factors appear significant: 1) early initiation into gift exchange, perhaps with a sexual component; 2) instances of forced sex, sometimes also with an exchange component; and 3) transition to payment for sex in money at least in addition to, sometimes instead of food, gifts, goods, and so forth.

---

15. With the expert help on several by Alanna Moore and some by Laura Pilkington.

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IVa. early gift-giving

First, presents are exchanged uni- or bi-laterally when young people are "making friends" and beginning to engage in sexual intercourse. Sometimes gifts are given following loss of virginity, indicating a growing love relationship with potential or compensation for pain and suffering. Recall some of the women in chapters 5 and 6. When I asked Erepai, for instance, whether her first boyfriend tried to grease her or give her money or gifts, she replied: "No. He never do anything like that but uh, he uh, bring some gifts for me later...like clothes. Food stuff. And some other ladies things for me.[16] Now widowed, Nemeru's first two boyfriends "used to give me only beer and smoke. [He] used to buy twenty-four or twelve pack. Six."[17] Aramia, 18 and single, gave her t-shirt to her first boyfriend and he gave her his in return. When she made the transition to full participation in beer-drinking and sex, it might not have been such a great leap from presents to money:

> Lawrence: So, where did you go for the first time, you and Sauga [a pseudonym]?
>
> Aramia: So, we were drinking in Kuria's house; that was first, 2nd night, too, we went to Kuria's house, 3rd night was in the motel, the fourth was just near where the field is, near the Kuria's house, that empty space there.
>
> Lawrence: ...Now these times did he give you money, did he give you presents or what?
>
> Aramia: Yes, only money.
>
> Lawrence: How much did he give you?

---

16. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-14-92.

17. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-5-92.

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Aramia: Every night he gives me 40 bucks.[18]

For Erupi Lima, 21, single, both of her first two boyfriends (and sexual partners) reciprocated exchange relations:

> Lawrence: And how did you meet him [her first boyfriend] or how did you make friends? Did you write letters or give presents?
>
> Erupi: My first boyfriend, he used to give me money and then buy something from the shop, come and give it to me. I was a boarding student, he buy my food, come up to the school place and give it to me... Sometimes, he used to give me ten kina, twenty kina, or thirty kina [...or] clothes, both of us exchange things.
>
> Lawrence: Oh, you gave things to him, too, ah? Tell me about that. What did you give to him?
>
> Erupi: First time when I went out with him I gave him my towel. It was really new, so when I went with him, I left the towel with him and then we went back open classroom at Masingara [village], I went back there, I took my bed sheet there and he didn't go back without the bed sheet, he got the bed sheet, so he got those things from me, I said "Oh, like that, exchange, you are going to give me new ones." So, when we came back to Daru, he went to Mosbi, he bought me a new towel, new bed sheet, bags, pants, my shorts, and my singlet...[t-shirt].
>
> Lawrence: Now, the number two boyfriend, did he give presents like this other fellow?
>
> Erupi: No. He just gave me twenty kina and I went from here to Kiunga, I was in Kiunga and I left him.[19]

The first boyfriend of Moiga Wapa (about 20, single), too, gave her presents to establish the relationship and tenor of exchange relations, which she reciprocated:

> Lawrence: Did he also give you presents like Erupi's boyfriend?
>
> Moiga: He always give me t-shirts.

---

18. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-23-92.

19. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-8-92.

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Lawrence: T-shirts, ah, nice. How many t-shirts do you think he gave you, altogether?

Moiga: I think three, four, something, I don't know, and then he asked me for something like shoe, I bought him shoe and his sportwear, he want to play rugby, I bought it for him, like t-shirt, I bought it for him.[20]

For Both Erupi and Moiga, presents were exchanged almost directly upon their first sexual intercourse:

Lawrence: Did they give you any presents after you did sex or did you exchange after sex?

Erupi: Yeah, the boy gave me t-shirt, Thursday island t-shirt.

Lawrence: Oh, Thursday island t-shirt. How about you?

Moiga: Yeah.

Lawrence: What did he give you?

Moiga: T-shirts, our shorts, he bought me what, soccer team shirt, and one torch [flashlight] and tongs [thongs, flip-flops].

Lawrence: And thongs, too. Did you ladies buy anything for the fellows? Did you give them something of yours?

Erupi: Yeah, boy got sick last time, my boyfriend, so I bought him Panadol medicine and Vicks and I went and gave it to him.[21]

For Erepai Hawai, receipt of by Daruan standards rather large amounts of gifts induced her to marry her first boyfriend and husband, an Australian, father of two of her children:

Erepai: It was...when I met uh [him]. In Mosbi. Long time ago. That, I was working in the tavern and he was a ship captain and comes in every ten days. He comes in and always drinks there. Come and drink there and that's the first time I,

---

20. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-8-92.

21. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-8-92.

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> I ever received presents from him was three hundred kina, with a watch, a gold watch. And a gold necklace, with his um...picture in it, yeah. And a big parcel of a dress, a beautiful pink dress. And all those things were in there and three hundred kina. Cash. Three hundred dollars. That was dollar time. Put them in the envelope... So I went and opened the bag, that was my first time see that how express people when they really like somebody. Without having sex or something they like liking you and you trying to be um, same thing to him.[22]

Following her divorce, Erepai manipulated male relationships to her advantage in the form not so much of money but gifts and food, given not immediately but later,

> Erepai: ...like clothes. Food stuff. And some other things for me... Oh yeah, they give me, they give me gifts, they give me money... They give me like buying clothes for myself and my children. And like supporting me with my children, giving me money. And shopping. Taking me and my children out shopping. Doing things for us. And taking us back home.[23]

Twenty one year old Nanu'u, divorced mother of one, recounted her first sexual encounter at 16 with a 22 year old man who later become her husband:

> Nanu'u: Yeah, bad boy from Samarai. I came back, I stood there, near the drum. And he told me, "Can you come with me to the house?" And I said "Yes." And he told me, "You go up and wait for me at the top. And four o'clock I finish work, and I will come up." And he said, "Just stay in clear place, don't hide...."
>
> Lawrence: [Afterwards,] [d]id he give you any kind of presents or did he give you money or kaikai?
>
> Nanu'u: Yeah, yes, yes. He used to buy my clothes, give me money, buy food for us. He used to come to the house.[24]

According to Maria, the fellow to whom she lost her virginity to felt sorry for her when she bled during first intercourse:

---

22. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-10-92.

23. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-14-92.

24. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

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> Maria: Yes, he gave me money. Buy clothes for me. And send some food to the kona [corner]. Come and give money to my parents... Sometimes he give twenty kina. And sometimes he give me thirty kina... My feelings were just get married to him.[25]

Savea Morea, about 20 years old, single, lost her virginity to a drunken boy from the village: "Yeah, [he] came and then he was really drunk...and I just got up and I felt very shame and it was my very first time." When I asked her whether he made any payments, she replied, "Afterwards when one day he gave some money. And tape special play... Not just those headphones, smaller. And some t-shirts, or something like that." Her second boyfriend, too, "gave me some money and during the city, he gave me some money and bought my children/jewelry [?inaudible]. Just that."[26] Guguwai Somo, a married woman in her early thirties, too, remembers an early boyfriend that "made friends" with her against her will, with the connivance of her cousin sister. When I asked about payment, she replied:

> Guguwai: There's no beer. Only, he used to pay me some money... Twenty or twenty-five kina.
>
> Lawrence: Okay, then twenty or twenty-five kina each time you would do sex together, something like that?
>
> Guguwai: Um.
>
> Lawrence: Did you give presents back to him? Like t-shirt, or kaikai or something like that?
>
> Guguwai: No, only kaikai.[27]

---

25. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

26. Audiotaped interview, Port Moresby, 2-24-92.

27. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-2-92.

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Interestingly, the ubiquity of exchange relations between lovers can get them into (and out of) scrapes. Erupi above, for example, made her entry into the sex industry with a Member for the FRPG just prior to my request for an interview: "that fellow gave me 100 kina, I, on Monday I went, big brother left to Mosbi and my small sister saw me holding the money because no, I got no purse to keep it." She spent most of the money on family and friends, but when I asked her whether her mother got cross with her, she replied, "I did not tell her, I just tricked her, 'my boyfriend gave me that money.'"[28] It was okay that a boyfriend had given her money, since he was the same one who had given her presents before, but not long thereafter Erupi had to resort to the opposite ruse because her parents disapproved of another boyfriend: "And then he brought them back and he gave them [all these presents] to me. But when my mommy ask, I said, 'Oh, it was a present from my girlfriend,' I have to trick them."[29]

IVb. forced sex

If early initiation into sexual activity occurs in combination with gifts and payments, it should not surprise that more coercive forms of sex should come so close behind. Like women perhaps everywhere one way or another, Daruan women experience forced sex both early on and subsequent to their participation in the sex industry (cf. NSRRT and Jenkins 1994; Silbert 1982[30]). I believe that this phenomenon is related, as

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28. Audiotaped interview, 3-8-92, Daru.

29. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-8-92.

30. In Silbert's sample of 200 "street prostitutes" in San Francisco, 61% were victims of childhood and adolescent sexual abuse, two thirds being victimized by natural, step, or foster fathers. Further, 98% of these women who reported sexual abuse lost their virginity to their attackers (see also Vogt 1994).

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well, to the absence of control Daruan women now have regarding the arrangement of their own marriages, at least by contrast to men. I asked Erepai, "Now how did you make arrangements to get together [with your first husband], I mean...," and she replied:

> Erepai: No, I didn't make the arrangement, but he was the one who came. He got, he um, send the word to my parents first, somehow, he knew my father because my father was a captain himself on a postal ship. A steam ship. So he knew my father and then he talked to my father that he was going to come and visit, visit there.
>
> Lawrence: Hmm.
>
> Erepai: Talk to them, it was a really short while. You know, because I didn't have many...sexual intercourse with him. And then he just said to come and say, tomorrow I'm marrying you, but that's all. Just like that. So we went to migration, he got the papers, we had to sign it and have witness. Everything was all, all set. You know. I couldn't, couldn't disagree.[31]

More directly in terms of sex, many of my male informants and acquaintances appear to believe that it was their right, and in some cases duty, to pressure young women into sex.[32] A twenty year-old male, son of a prominent health worker, confided in me that he only liked to "bust the virgins," out of his own concern about AIDS as well out of concern for the women involved who could be deflowered by males not so nice as he. Another young male informant, Moses, about 17, from Kerema, son of Luria Matuba's second husband (see Chapter 7) told of his first sexual encounter the following way:

> Moses: First time, first time I had sex...high, high school. It was not really [like] that, we went straight with each other [i.e., no messengers were involved], you know, telling stories, we talk just, you know, for really long time. So I got angry, and I told her, "Hey! I didn't come here to just sit for nothing. We came here to do some business." And she was telling me, "What kind of business?" I said,

---

[31]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-14-92.

[32]. This is not unlike, according to his own diaries, the case of Bob Packwood, whose "Christian duty" he said it was to give women the good screwing they needed.

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> "You know." So I got really angry and I was bossing her and... And then we went we dance for a little bit I just took her. Straight. My my [with wonder and pride]!

During an interview recounted partially in Chapter 9, I asked him about his reaction towards an instance of forced sex he witnessed with several other young men up at the Hotel. He replied:

> Moses: I was thinking to go to them [to do sex with her, too], but what if the boy get cross, and break my neck, he is one mean fellow.
>
> Lawrence: You mean, you wanted to have your chance, too.
>
> Moses: Chance, too, um hmm.
>
> Lawrence: How about your other buddy that was standing there? Did he want to have chance, too?
>
> Moses: All of us, all of us wanted to have chance, but the boy stopped us, and he said "I don't want anyone to come, only myself."[33]

This was one of the more distressing aspects of interviewing younger men on the topic, the fact that males found women in distress and under duress sexually and physically often found it amusing, even erotic. More than once I heard individual, dyads, and small groups of boys and young men laughing at a girl or young woman who "really got spoiled" over the weekend, clothes ripped, blood all over. When I asked my informant above, Moses, whether he'd ever seen forced group sex, he replied:

> Moses: Well, what will I say, one girl with five boys.
>
> Lawrence: Yeah.
>
> Moses: It was about there, where that house is, and one of these corner girls, she came to buy this, I don't know, what, father's smoke, or what, and some of these

---

[33]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-14-92.

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> boys were drinking and smoking this drug [marijuana], and they saw her and they pinched her, and they put the knife on her neck, and they started raping her, and something like rape, the other one fucked her in the cunt, the other fucked her at the back, and one put the cock in the mouth, they really spoiled that girl, she was about 15 or 16 years old... They used a knife, they really spoiled her, blood all over that girl....[34]

Many of the women in my sample also told of being forced into sex by threat and by violence early in their adolescent years. Nanu'u, for example, said that her first husband used to chase her around with a knife, particularly when he saw her in public, as at dances. When I asked her why, she replied, "because he want me... Oh, I was really frightened. Frightened of that knife. I thought he might kill me... [Lawrence:...That was your first time?] ...Yes! [Lawrence: He really stole you?] ...He stole me!"[35] Savea, too, lost her virginity while being raped in her own bed, and afterward was given a t-shirt, a radio, and much later, some money. Guguwai above described her first sexual encounter in the village with her second "boyfriend" thusly:

> ...He took me there by force. He force me to come and then raped me. Like doing sex with him... And I was in the village and he forced me. The messenger will go and tell him how I used to say "Oh, I don't want any.". He say, "Maski, you ask that girl again. Ask her until she say 'yes' and then I'll go." And then messenger used to go and tell me, tell him "Oh, she don't want, she don't want." And then after I said "Yes." They forcing, messenger was forcing me to [go with him]. It was a lady. She was saying, "you must do it, you are my sister, my cousin's sister, you must do it, that way. You, the two of us, will, must have friends." So, I said, "Okay, you tell him to come." And then he came. He went to me and then we had sex.[36]

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34. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-14-92.

35. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

36. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-2-92.

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In view of this kind of data that surfaced repeatedly during sexual life histories, somewhere between persistent coercion and more overt physical violence lays apparently many of the sexual encounters that women engage in. Though it is not true of all the women in my sample, frequently can be heard the refrain "But he was forcing me, forcing me," "he was being rough," "but then he pushed me down and he had to force me," etc. On the other end of the spectrum, alcohol is often said to be the gris that eases women into sexual encounters, convinces them to continue, and enables men to get away without paying.

IVc. transition to fuller participation in the sex industry

In the all-too-brief discussion above I have tried to indicate that early gift-giving in the context of initial sexual activity, along with later, more coercive forms thereof, predispose females somewhat to fuller, more regular participation in the sex industry. In this section I consider two more factors: initial beer drinking and first acceptance of money for sex. Initial beer drinking occurs at both private residences and public drinking establishments, such as the public tavern, the Hotel lounge bar, and so on. Young women are often helped along by slightly elder female friends or by real or classificatory elder sisters, cousins, and aunties. Nemeru, for instance, reports that two female cousins helped her learn how to drink with men and to call to them to sit with them and do sex:

> Nemeru: [Kuria and] her boyfriend's sister, she used to tell me that to tell my boyfriend [first customer] to come and I used to tell him to come, going to do these things [drink and do sex]. And that two, two of us [Nemeru and Kuria] were drinking sixpack, yeah, and brada deah, Charleton, yeah, he want her [Kuria], and [I] went and tell Kuria, "my brada want you, you know," and she was telling, "no, I'm scared," but we got, they got no other ["way," boyfriends to teach

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> them], and Kuria brought her [female cousin, who knows how] and said..."call her boyfriend" [, we will teach her].[37]

On other occasions it is the men themselves who introduce women to drinking and to doing other drugs prior to engaging in sex. Nemeru recounts her first encounter with a white man:

> Lawrence: How about some fishing boat captains? Okay. Tell me about some of the white fellows you've done sex with.
>
> Nemeru: Uh. Bill. Her [his] name is Bill. Yeah. [First time I go with white man, w]e are drinking beer in motel, we are drinking, drinking, and we go went to the boat. We went to the boat and we are smoking this, uh, marijuana. [First time, w]e are smoking and he tell me come with, tell us to go inside. And the two of us we went inside, and two of us, we were... [her pause] yeah.[38]

Three of the women in my sample were initially "recruited" to a particular house to begin drinking and engaging in sex (cf. Jones 1978: 17-19). Others are occasionally encouraged to come there and stay for a few days, others are not so much forced into drinking by families as they are forced into being prostituted, which thus entails learning how and how much to drink and smoke. In addition, women not recruited to a local house often take their first steps "down pamuku road" while visiting female friends and family members (elder sisters, aunties, etc.) up at the Hotel, in and out of rooms, on the grounds, in the lounge bar and dining room, at the public tavern, and so on.

IVd. discursive practices

As may or may not be obvious, probably few of my informants would likely interpret the sex industry and their roles in it as I have. In Chapter 6, for example, I made

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[37]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-5-92.

[38]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-5-92.

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much of bodily, linguistic, and behavioral divisions within and between their various kinds of sexual contacts and partners. Accordingly, discursive practices indicate and hide their participation in the sex industry. Aramia recounted one of her first instances of sex in exchange for money at the Hotel in the following way: after having been told by this young man to go to the room he had booked, he bought her fish, chips, and beer from the bar, they listened to music, and then she agreed to have sex with him provided that he promise to "stick on her." When I asked her whether he paid her or not, since he did not subsequently "stick on her," she replied:

> Aramia: He didn't say that I'm paying but he said "is just a money to help you, I'm not paying, but I'm just giving, a bit of, some coins to buy something."
>
> Lawrence: I see, so it wasn't payment, he was just helping you out?
>
> Aramia: Yes.
>
> Lawrence: Do you remember how much he gave to you?
>
> Aramia: Yes, 40 bucks.[39]

When Erepai recounted to me a weekend with her American accountant friend, Murray, at the Hotel, she accented the elaborate food and drink he had prepared for her and de-emphasized the monetary aspects--300 kina, in this case. When I asked, "Did he also give you money for sex?," [Yeah] and then, "How did he say it?...," she replied,

> He didn't say anything and then he gave me the money, and he said, "That's, that's to keep you going... For you. That's for you and the children. Just to buy whatever they want. Just to use it. It's a gift from me, it's not that I'm using you and I'm paying you, no, it's not that. Because I know you from back then."[40]

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39. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-23-92.

40. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-10-92.

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I believe that such instances and discursive practices help to "soften the blow," so to speak, both of their fuller participation in the sex industry as well as the resulting social stigmas. Some of the women in my sample went out of their way to say that money exchanged had been for "things for baby," "money for my smoke," "just to help me out," "things for the house," "for my kids', what, tins," and so on, as opposed to the notion that money had been exchanged solely for sex. (They are, of course, not lying when saying so; I am merely at some pains to argue that women cannot generally get these things on their own.) Ogamea, for example, frequently spoke of engaging in sex at various places only for beer money, or for her own beer, and sometimes, for beer which she would turn around and sell as "black market" later in the evening. Erupi, Moiga, Nanu'u, Aramia, and other young women spoke of receiving various items in exchange for sex in such a way as to indicate trade and barter more than commodity purchase. On the other hand, Aberewame, who received money in exchange for sex only about 20% of the time, frequently complained to me about receiving nothing, about having been "tricked," about men who promise to return the next day or the next payday but who never do. Aberewame and others are aware of the value of a kina, but neither does money appear to be the only significant item of value exchanged during sex. In the section below, I support this contention statistically by examining the frequency with which monetary exchange accompanies sexual.

VI. Giving Out Condoms

During the final two months of my fieldwork, after training ourselves to do so, one of my research assistants and I carried out 54 brief (20-25 minute) but formal

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(scheduled interview), on-the-spot (around town, on the road, underneath houses) interviews with small groups (3-6, all-male, all-female, and mixed) of recipients (267 in all, 19.68 years old on average) of free condoms.[41] We inquired first of recipients' age, gender, birthplace, residence, and so forth, then inquired of history (if any) and recency (if any) of condom usage, then of location, circumstances, and identity (not names) of the last sexual contacts they had. Finally, we inquired of material and other exchanges that occurred prior to, during, or following most recent sexual activity.

Our survey revealed several important parameters expressed in tabular form below. Before I begin, a number of caveats must be registered. First, our sample is not a statistically adequate representation of the entirety of Daru. Our primary goals were, in order, 1) to distribute condoms, and 2) to learn something, if only just a little, about the context within which material exchanges accompany sexual activities. Second, our sample is a "young" one. This may skew results in a variety of ways. Younger informants may be more likely than older folk a) to talk candidly about sexual matters, b) to have become sexually active at a younger age, c) to be more sexually active, d) to be more favorably disposed to condoms and their usage, and e) to be more likely to have the wherewithal and interest to engage in material exchanges. Nogere and abere, in other words, elder males and females, do not give away t-shirts and audio cassettes in the same frequency that their (grand)sons and (grand)daughters do. Third, we did not attempt to

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[41]. Thirteen of these 267 had not yet engaged in sexual intercourse, and are listed as such in one of the following tables. Of the 254 non-virginal informants, 5.38 was the average number of different sexual partners, lifetime, 2.46 was the average number of different partners in the previous month, and 1.33 in the previous fortnight. Finally, 17.2 days was the average length of time since last sexual intercourse. Of those numbers, "5.38" impresses me as probably a bit on the low side but, remember, the average age was still less than 20.

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sample respondents from each corner, camp, canoe place, and ward; instead, we attempted to find small groups of males and females willing to receive condoms and talk with us about exchange. Fourth, all Bamu informants were interviewed solely in Bamu (by my research assistant), Kiwai in English and Melanesian Pidgin (by myself), and some others in Motu (by my research assistant). In short, these findings are suggestive only.

Bearing these caveats in mind, I present below results in tabular form. Table 8.1a lists the frequency with which money and/or goods were given by males or females:

Table 8.1a

MONEY AND/OR GOODS GIVEN				
GENDER	MONEY	GOODS	NOTHING	TOTALS
Males	40	8	120	168
Females	1	2	96	99
Totals	41	10	216	267

Table 8.1b lists the frequency with which males and females received money and/or goods:

Table 8.1b

MONEY AND/OR GOODS RECEIVED				
GENDER	MONEY	GOODS	NOTHING	TOTALS
Males	4	7	157	168
Females	43	12	46	101*
Totals	47	19	203	269*

*=two females received both money and goods during one encounter

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Of these 267 respondents, then, 117 were involved in some kind of extra-sexual exchange. Regarding location of last sexual intercourse, Table 8.2 reveals ten different locations in descending order of greater frequency:

Table 8.2

LOCATION OF LAST SEXUAL INTERCOURSE				
LOCATION	FEMALE	MALE	TOTALS	PROPORT.
House	37	51	88	0.35
Party Place	28	30	58	0.23
Bush	7	27	34	0.13
Road	10	10	20	0.08
Sagapari	5	12	17	0.07
Video	8	9	17	0.07
Motel	1	8	9	0.04
Village	0	5	5	0.02
School	0	1	1	0.00
Other	0	5	5	0.02
No Sex Yet	3	10	13	0.05
Totals	99	168	267	1.05

legend: "Other"=unspecified locales on Daru, in Port Moresby, and on the mainland; "Proport."=proportion of total.

This table demonstrates that of 254 instances of sexual intercourse recounted, 88 (or 35%) occurred in houses, often specified (by females) during interviews as "boyfriend's" or (by males) as "girlfriend's." This figure may have several important consequences. First, it signifies that nearly two-thirds (65.36%) of all informants had engaged in sexual intercourse away from their own homes. This may or may not further suggest the occurrence of more "opportunistic" couplings, perhaps engaged in more

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furtively and hurriedly. If so, they might likely have not used condoms and employed better sexual hygiene. Seventeen acts of sexual intercourse (nearly 7%) had taken place in sagapari, which is not used by non-Bamu lovers, and at which sexual hygiene is virtually nil. Second, in addition to sagapari-related instances, sex occurred in the "bush" 30 times (12%) and on "the road" (or just off it, in drains, under trees, etc.) 24 times (9%). This, too, may signify more furtive sex engaged in with more anonymous partners, a lesser degree of condom usage, and less likely good sexual hygiene. Third, 58 acts of sexual intercourse (23%) took place at (or nearby) the "party place" and another 17 (7%) at (or nearby) the video place. Neither provide for more than a modicum (if any) of privacy, safety, light, or water.[42] By "sexual hygiene," then, I mean to indicate some degree of opportunity and wherewithal to inspect and cleanse one's own and one's partner's genitalia, and to put on and use condoms and/or other barrier devices properly and consistently.

We also investigated the relational identity of the respondent's most recent sexual contact. Given the on-the-spot nature of our interviewing, the limitations of the research instrument itself, and our greater interest in distributing condoms, I do not wish to push conclusions derived therefrom very far. Nevertheless, respondents replied categorically in terms of only four different kinds of contacts: established boyfriend/girlfriend, spouse,

---

42. These locations may preclude visual or other inspection of genitalia for the presence of STDs. Second, it may often prevent the cleaning of genitalia prior to and following sex, given lack of water, soap, and privacy. Third, it may make condom application more hurried, and therefore less likely, given the spontaneity of party and video gatherings, the absence of places to dispose of condoms, and the relative anonymity of potential sexual contacts and partners.

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"pick-ups" from road, party place, or video showing, and "tu kina," meaning Bamu females at sagapari. These findings are represented below in Table 8.3:

Table 8.3

LAST SEXUAL CONTACT, SELF-IDENTIFIED							
GENDER	VIRG	BF/GF	SPOUSE	PU	2K	UNKN	TOTALS
Female	3	41	22	33	0	0	99
Male	10	60	33	57	7	1	168
Totals	13	101	55	90	7	1	267
Prop.	0.05	0.40	0.22	0.35	0.03	0.00	1.05

legend: "virg"=not yet engaged in sex; "Bf/Gf"=boyfriend/girlfriend; "Pu"=pick-up; 2K"=tu kina bus; "Unkn"=unknown

Slightly fewer than two-thirds of our respondents, in other words, had last engaged in sex with someone they identified as sharing with them an on-going affective, sexual relationship. Thirty-five per cent and 3%, by contrast, identified "pick-ups" and "tu kina" as their contacts. I do not yet know what to make of such patterns, however, and I do not believe that these data suggest very much about the relative "safety" of such sexual contacts, say, in terms of the transmission of pathogens causal of STDs, since prior to my arrival on Daru virtually no one used condoms. In addition, some customers at sagapari become boyfriends and husbands, not all spouses love each other or engage in sex consensually, and there is not much inspection of genitalia under the best of circumstances anyway. The relationship, therefore, between identity of sexual contact and likelihood of STD transmission, is rather unclear to me. It may very well fly in the face of what to some is "common sense": given the presence and availability of condoms, they might likely be used more frequently the more anonymous be the partner/contact.

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V. Gender, Exchange, Location, and Marital Status

More can be made of these data in terms of other parameters, however. First, of the 59 males involved in exchange relations, 49 (83%) were single. Second, men more frequently than women gave money and/or goods. Twenty nine per cent of males gave money and/or goods, whereas only 3% of the females did. Third, women far more frequently received money and/or goods than did men (53%:6%). Fifty three of the 99 women in this sample received money and/or goods, and of those 53, 46 (87%) were single, 7 (13%) married. Fourth, no married men received money or goods, though seven single men received goods and four received money (though no more than ten kina).

The following two tables (8.4a and 8.4b) illustrate several of these parameters in more detail. The former tabulates the numbers of single and married females giving and getting money and/or goods following most recent sexual intercourse:

Table 8.4a

FEMALES GIVING AND GETTING MONEY AND/OR GOODS			
M-STATUS	GIVE	GET	TOTALS
SINGLE	3	46	49
MARRIED	0	7	7
TOTALS	3	53	56

Table 8.4b, by contrast, tabulates the numbers of single and married males giving and getting money and/or goods following most recent sexual intercourse:

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Table 8.4b

MALES GIVING AND GETTING MONEY AND/OR GOODS			
M-STATUS	GIVE	GET	TOTALS
SINGLE	38	11	49
MARRIED	10	0	10
TOTALS	48	11	59

Tables 8.5a and 8.5b draw out this difference between married and single males with regards exchange relations:

Table 8.5a

MALES GIVING MONEY			
# KINA	MARRIED	SINGLE	TOTALS
1-2	5	10	15
3-10	2	14	16
11-20	1	7	8
>20	1	0	1
TOTALS	9	31	40

Recall that 168 males constitute this sample, and that 59 were involved in exchange relations. Of the 59, then, 44 were involved in the gift or receipt of money, and 40 of those 44 gave at least 1 kina. It should also be pointed out that single males constituted 71% of the male sample, and 26% (n=31) of them gave kina; married males, by contrast, constituted 29% of the male sample, but only 19% (n=9) of them gave kina. To draw a perhaps sharper contrast, over 2/3 of these single males (n=21) gave more than 1-2 kina, whereas fewer than half (n=4) of these married men gave more than 1-2 kina.

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Perhaps what goes around comes around (or rather, that what does not go around does not come around again). In this sample, no married males (relatively stingier than were their single counterparts) received any kina from their sexual partners:

Table 8.5b

MALES GETTING MONEY			
# KINA	MARRIED	SINGLE	TOTALS
1-2	0	1	1
3-10	0	3	3
11-20	0	0	0
>20	0	0	0
TOTALS	0	4	4

Table 8.6 tabulates relative frequency with which material exchanges accompany sexual at various locations, listed here in order of frequency, highest to lowest[43], distinguishing not between giving and receiving money and material goods. In addition, I count instances of, not persons involved in such exchanges, and have not double-counted individuals both giving and receiving as two instances.

[43]. I have omitted those answers stated too vaguely (e.g., "Daru," "Port Moresby," "corner," etc.).

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Table 8.6

EXCHANGE RELATIONS BY LOCATION			
LOCATION	#A	#X	%X
Sagapari	17	15	88.2
Hotel	9	6	66.6
Video Place	17	11	64.7
Bush	34	17	50.0
Road	20	10	50.0
Party Place	58	23	39.6
House	88	27	30.6
Village	5	0	0.0

legend: "A"=Acts of sexual intercourse at that location; "X"=instances of material exchange; "%X"=percentage of material exchanges per sexual act

As these findings are hardly surprising, several exceptions to my expectations are noted. At sagapari, where sexual relations are perhaps at their highest pitch of commodification, material exchanges occur at a high frequency. (What is surprising is that only 88% of the recounted sex acts involved exchange; I would have thought that it would be much closer to 100%. Perhaps this is implicit evidence of contentions other informants made occasionally regarding the presence of "boyfriends" of these Bamu women who pay later, in between sexual acts, not necessarily directly following.) This is no less understandable than that 66% of the sexual encounters at the Hotel involved material exchanges, though the sample size is small. Further, one might assume that spouses would exchange material items less frequently than either lovers or customers and prostituted women: both of these assumptions were born out. What was perhaps less expected was the rather large difference between the frequencies of exchange at dance

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parties (40%) versus video parties (65%), though again my numbers were small. Exactly half of all sexual encounters in the bush and on the road involved material exchanges, and no exchanges occurred in a village setting, though again, the sample size is small. Most important of all, however, is the following statistic: 43.95% of the respondents to this questionnaire had engaged in a material or monetary exchange with their most recent sexual contact.

To conclude this chapter, and to return to one of the many dilemmas I began this dissertation with, given the Western definition of prostitution as the exchange of sex for money or goods, nearly 44% of the respondents to our questionnaire are involved in prostitution. Whether this suggests, therefore, that the Daruan is a more deeply entrenched and all-encompassing sex industry than anywhere else is anyone's guess; it all depends on how one defines the

> a) exchange (payment, favor, gift, fee, present, equal or unequal?, prior to sex, during, later, how much later?)
> b) of sex (penile/vaginal penetration, kissing, ejaculation, nudity, with and without condoms, how many times, in what positions, for what duration, etc.?) for
> c) money (how much, how frequently, given where, kina versus the promise of them, in kind, or for school fees or clothing, or
> d) goods (foodstuffs and other household items, beer, t-shirts, audio cassettes, tobacco, sweets, buai, etc.).

At the very least, I hope to have documented the requisite caution necessary when theorizing prostitution on Daru. In the following chapter I leave behind such difficult issues and examine some of the sociomedical consequences of the sex industry.

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Chapter 9:

"Whither Daru?: the sociomedical crisis of sex and STDs"

"venereal diseases are traced back to one man who was chafed on the
penis with a rope whilst harpooning dugong. The wound grew into a sore
and the disease spread" (Beardmore 1890: 461).

"well, I was climbin' da, what, tree at da kona,
droppin' da coconuts, and den dat, what, sore, it came up.
Monin', scretch" (Kiwai male informant, ~51).

When we talked next about transmission--oyy.
M thinks that there are essentially two ways of getting STDs.
One is poison, the other [is] "going around with the boys...."
[As to the former...] "If clothings is hanging on the line,
the poison fellow will come and
he will see clothings on the line and he will put the word
on them and then you will put the clothings on.
In the morning you will wake and say 'hey, what is this eetch?'
You will scretch scretch and sore will come up"
(field note, and Kiwai female informant, ~31).

"I got to know about AIDS from a book.
AIDS can be spread by talking, eating, washing etc.
This education was taken from a book"
(19 year old Ok informant, to NSRRT and Jenkins 1994: 130).

[When I asked Kerai how AIDS got to PNG]
he remembered a fellow during in-service (on quarantine)
doing a flip-chart demonstration of animal diseases...
and showed one picture of the side of an animal (diseased).
Kerai asked him, "well, where were these pictures taken"?
"America"! replied the expert. "See, it's da, what, spoiled meat"
(field note, and 50 year old, Kiwai male informant).

"Maybe venereal disease [incidence in India under the Raj]
was loosely defined, and some of the
'syphilis' cases might have been no more than festering
abrasions caused by 'impure coition' (that is, fellatio)
in a hot climate" (Hyams 1990: 126).

"She got da, what, sore, because she was doing dat no good one...
and she nevah wash, dat one" (Kiwai female informant, 18).

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I. Introduction

In view of what I have written about so far, the events of October 7, 1991 recounted at the start of Chapter 1 and in more detail in Chapter 3--the "riot" that greeted me upon my return--should make a bit more sense. The living conditions I have described, the various forms and locales of the sex industry, the problems related to alcohol consumption, and the general sense of hopelessness and despair in many women's voices and experiences[1] are each signs that Daru has reached perhaps its socioeconomic bursting point. I mentioned in Chapter 1 and then explained a bit more fully in Chapter 3 the immediate problems of runaway kina, perceptions of governmental corruption (see also Witcher and Milverton 1994; Barnett Report 1990), ecological despoliation in the region, and of problems related to or caused by overcrowding and overdrinking. There is too much rubbish in the bush and broken bottles on the beach and not enough clean sand and seashells. There are too many oil-saturated drains and not enough flowers. There is too much drinking and associated male sexual violence and not enough traditional dancing and story-telling. There are probably too many people on Daru, given the amenities provided there, and not enough toilets or watertaps. There are too many unsavory smells and not enough traditional handicraft making, not enough peace, quiet, and safety for Daruans, too many dinghies and noisy engines and not enough canoes and paddles. I know that my words may appear here to wax nostalgic, but as one of my

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[1]. I should also point out that women not in the sex industry also fear AIDS, their husbands, and pamukus. For example, when an air link was established in 1992 between Daru and Thursday island, many women feared that husbands and male relatives would be spoiled by the fabled "TI pamukus" who not only engage in sex with any and all right on the beach, but who actually shout the men beer. Daruan women are among many other things a courageous bunch, but they, too, seem despondent over the future.

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informants put it, different context, "There's no culture here, anymore...." Put another way, there is a different kind of culture afoot now.

I have been at pains to show that what does exist on Daru nowadays is a lot of officially and unofficially tolerated prostitution. Shumsky's concept of "tacit acceptance" (1986) can usefully be applied here.[2] Daruans do not seem so outraged that men can buy sex as that women can and do sell it (cf. Shaver 1985-86: 38); tu kina bus throughout Papua New Guinea--and sagapari on Daru--is evidence of the tacit acceptance of the fact that sexuality is simultaneously an uncontrollable force and is all-too-controlled, weighted primarily against women for the needs and desires of men. It did not strike me as particularly unusual one day to be requested by several young boys to give them some condoms to give to C.I.S. fellows who had sent them on "O.P.M.," not the West Papuan freedom fighters, but Operesen Painim Meri.[3] Males giving males giving males condoms for use on (sometimes against) women... Knowing the likely recipients of these condoms as I did, I winced.

Shumsky (1986), among many others, has explored debates over segregated prostitution in late 19th- and early 20th-century America. Anti-prostitution sentiment had little to do directly with morality per se, instead with the perceived triple threats of unguarded female virtue, immigrants, and masturbation. Though the latter was not

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2. As well as can Butler's implicit application of it (1981: 234, e.g., a "de facto policy of accommodating prostitutes at military reservations"). Newsweek recently reported (10-24-94: n.p.) that Australia now has a publicly held brothel, called Planet 80, and that the Australian Stock Exchange will offer shares in it next year, starting at $5,500 per share. For sound historical studies of "tacit acceptance," see Schaepdrijver (1986), for a Brussels example, and Humphrey (1983), for an example drawn from Austin, Texas.

3. Field note, 11-13-91, Daru.

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perhaps perceived to be as much of a threat abroad as at home, the former two certainly helped to underwrite prostitution and sexuality codes throughout the Empire.[4] In the U.S., the very existence of prostitution helped to ensure female (premarital) chastity amongst ruling classes, races, and ethnicities, helped to keep immigrants segregated in their own quarter, and provided a (slightly less unhealthy) check on commission of "the solitary vice" (though in favor of "the social evil"). The spatial arrangement of prostitution served moral and reform interests, too, insofar as brothels were kept a minimum of two blocks from schools, churches, hospitals, and even street car lines. Also, spatial surveillance fulfilled regulatory impulses by facilitating police raids and medical examinations of prostituted women. It also provided regular, reasonably cheap and safe sexual outlets for middle- and upper middle-class males in some areas, working-class immigrants in others, Though their voices are not often heard in this discourse, middle- and upper middle-class married women also had now visible, palpable objects of scorn at their disposal. The visibility of such scornful objects helped to forge and maintain their own ideas of proper womanhood. "Tacit acceptance" describes thus the (un)official guiding ethos of reformers, citizens, politicians, housewives and public

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4. For essentially the same set of reasons, Queensland police and other administrative officials officially tolerated Japanese brothels in Cairns, and on various Torres Strait islands, such as Thursday. As Sissons explains (1977: 479), "he [the colonial administrator] considered that a certain level of prostitution must be tolerated. In particular he felt that in the sugar districts there must be outlets for the sexual passions of the kanakas and that it was less revolting and degrading if these were satisfied by Japanese rather than by Caucasian women."

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health officers towards prostitution, but points as well to several other "functions" of "deviant" sexuality.[5]

"Tacit acceptance" can be applied to Daru in several ways. First, though uba pe are "spoiled" (and thus can spoil others) because of their drinking and sexual activities, they nevertheless have value. Their presence at public drinking establishments raises bar sales, increases food purchases, and leads to greater room and video rentals at the Hotel. Though stigmatized, women considered to be pamukus are nevertheless admired for drinking and sexual stamina. As well, women at sagapari and at other sex industry locales raise alcohol sales at the hardware store to the level of great profits for the expatriate owner, in the case of the former, and to the Provincial Government and other nationals, in the case of the latter.

Second, regarding the issue of gender construction, these prostituted women help to forge, maintain, and sometimes challenge several lines of distinction in the Body Politic as they move between various public drinking establishments. Some establishments are patronized by "bigshots" and are closed off to "grassroots," and so reinforce occupational/class divisions on Daru, that is, who can and cannot afford to pay for beer and the company and sexual services provided by certain kinds of women. Sagapari's spatial configuration neatly represents ethnic, caste-like divisions on Daru--between "wokman" (salaried workers) and villagers, between Bamu and everyone else.

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[5]. Levy (1971) establishes that when heterosexual Tahitian men engage in sex with third gender mahu it "stabilizes" heterosexual identity: "I am a man because I am not a mahu" (1971: 12).

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Third, uba pe and pamuku, like prostituted women elsewhere, are vital links in the construction of (heterosexual) male sexuality and identity. Thai men, for instance, have first and often subsequent sexual experiences with prostituted Thai women to the point that Thai men are alleged to "have a penchant for visiting brothels." This penchant has almost been elevated to cultural trait status (e.g., Handley 1992: 29). On Daru, too, some young men have their first sexual experiences at sagapari, at night, furtively, for one kina. They learn accordingly by doing--this is what Bamu women are, this is how one treats such women, these women stand for all women. Males have to pay for the sexual services and companionship of prostituted women one way or another, in the form of food, money, beer, clothing, marriage proposals, and so on, whether they are 10 year-old boys or adult men, villagers or pilots. The function of uba pe and pamukus within the Daruan political economy, then, is not merely to satisfy sexual desires or to demarcate some social boundaries and blur others. Their function also reveals the presence of sexual transactions which virtually all Daruan females must engage in in order to survive. The sex industry veils ethnic and occupational distress simmering not far below the surface; and it masks greatly the other brutalizing aspects of gender relations, witness the cultural and legal sexual double standards that I have presented above.[6]

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6. To establish this point more fully would take far more evidence than I have at my disposal here, but I wish to indicate the urgency of research needs regarding the issue of the psychic as well as corporeal effects of sexual and domestic violence to and on women. In the U.S., wife battering accounts for markedly higher rates of female suicides. It is the cause of 25% of all American women suicides, but 50% of those among African-American women; fully 35-40% of all battered women attempt suicide at least once (Center for Women and Policy Studies 1992: 8). Battered women also spend twice as much time as non-battered women bed-ridden due to illnesses directly and indirectly related to battering (Zorza 1994). For a trenchant analysis of this literature, see Jennifer French's splendid Senior Honors Thesis (1995).

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Fourth, uba pe provide symbols and objects of scorn with which Daruan women construct their sexuality, selfhood, and place in the domestic unit. Ubiquitous discourse about pamukus on Daru, therefore--some dogs are named "Pamuku," joking styles incorporate pamuku (as in "pamuku-face") and uba pe (as in "woman-as-bad-canoe" metaphors)--gives "good, proper" women something against which to construct themselves: "I am not like her, I only go in time [infrequently], to the lounge bar"; "Eh, detty Parama gels, dey ah all pamukus," "Dose Bamu ladies, dey only know tu kina way"; "heah mada is pamuku, and da bia liquid [literally beer, and figuratively, alcoholism and promiscuity] passes to da, what, baby." "Eh, I am not pamuku!" said one informant, when I inquired about extramarital boyfriends. The problem I have tried to clarify is that sexual double standards on so many fronts make, in a sense, all women pamukus, at least potentially so if they transgress, or construct themselves in direct opposition to them, often stigmatizing these very women further in the process.

II. Chapter Goals

In this chapter I explore the sociomedical implications of the Daruan sex industry such as I have described the parameters of above. As pointed out above, STDs are a growing problem, and condom supply and usage and sexual hygienic education are insufficient, particularly since I am not there now distributing free condoms, showing AIDS video cassettes, and so on (see also NSSRT and Jenkins 1994).[7] As probably everywhere (see Balshem, Oxman, van Rooyen, and Girod 1992 for an example from my

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7. In one Aid Post I visited in Gogodala country, neither of the two health workers had ever distributed condoms or diagnosed or treated a suspected STD (field note, 1-4-91).

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own village), cultural models of STD symptoms and transmission are to the ethnographer predictably rich and informed in some ways,[8] but nevertheless are probably insufficient to prevent STDs. As in the U.S., awareness of HIV on Daru is relatively high, but knowledge of transmission dynamics is still quite low,[9] though probably not that much less so than among my college-educated students. Prostitution began to flourish in the region probably with the arrival of Japanese prostituted women in the 1880s and '90s to Thursday island (Sissons 1976, 1977; see also Burton-Bradley 1972; Hornabrook 1972) and is concentrated at several locales throughout the region.

To recap so far: I apologize deeply for what must appear to be an unremittingly grim portrait I have painted of Daru. My aim in this chapter is to explore the sociomedical implications of prostitution in the hopes of initiating dialogue with Daruans regarding how best to address them. I suggest steps that Daruans might take and then plead in particular for some hard, realistic thinking about difficult issues on the part of people who heretofore have ignored such issues and who might wish to continue doing

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8. On the introduction of HIV/AIDS to PNG, I received stories not only featuring but linking, among other things and persons, Dian Fossey, sexy gorillas, and downed aircraft; bribed customs inspectors, unscrupulous American beef producers, bad meat and blue flies; zelasi (jealousy), mido dubu (magic men), and spurned sexual advances; and the passing of time ("AIDS" is frequently pronounced on Daru, for example, "AGE," since "Z" is pronounced "jed": lapun sik (a sickness of "age"?) is how one of my first informants on this topic introduced it to me.

9. (cf. Maticka-Tyndale 1992). On Daru, I showed AIDS video cassettes, however, gave condom demonstrations, and held "story sessions" for corner residents and church congregations. Despite many promises, though, neither the FRPG nor the Health Division were interested in AIDS or in condom distribution. Ironically, my efforts on some occasions to inform had the opposite effect, insofar as some kept me away from their houses because they thought I had AIDS. Leona, for instance, explained why her mother had thrown rocks at (me?) the house in which I was storying with her: "she said she don't want you to come to house, you give heah AIDS." On another occasion, Leona's mother refused to let me photograph her family for fear that snapping the photo would facilitate transmission (field note, 3-4-92).

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so, or who merely do not yet know of their existence. Many locals many not even recognize these patterns: politicians, health workers, and missionaries staunchly and repeatedly denied, for example, the existence of prostitution, much less a sex industry. Both official and grassroots ignorance about it spell trouble for Daruans, particularly for those who wish to "go slow" for fear of alienating their constituency, of damaging the tourist industry or of tarnishing the image of Papua New Guinea to outsiders. These are all very understandable, very real fears; nevertheless, there are going to be even more and palpably worse consequences in ignoring the subject of these fears.

III. Several Convictions

Daru stands in my opinion on the verge of a sociomedical disaster, one with several causal strands in the making. With a special sense of urgency, coming from one who loves Papua New Guinea more than I can express here, I offer the following five convictions:

> 1) Unless and until the second-class status of women is addressed satisfactorily, prostitution will continue to flourish. In order that prostituted women be encouraged not to sell sexual services in order to survive, they must (and deserve to be able to) obtain alternative financial resources, including education, jobs and job training. It is a crime against humanity that women be reduced to such degrading levels as to be forced into having intercourse with drunken, often violent men in an outdoor toilet and rubbish dump in order to survive.

The literature on "sexual antagonism" in Melanesia is of course vast and well-developed (e.g., Herdt and Poole 1982). Nevertheless, neither on Daru nor in the National Parliament has the special plight of women been given the attention it deserves (see Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1993a,b). Small children daily see women physically abused. Boys and young men see and hear of young women being pack-raped, if not participate

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in it themselves, and then laugh about it. Men from nearly all walks of life engage the services of Bamu women at sagapari and blame them and Bamu kastom for their STDs. Housewives often abused themselves nevertheless abuse uba pe, their sisters, friends, and cousins, parts of the same brutalizing system. As is the case elsewhere and in other times (e.g., Meyerson 1988), many sexual, marital, and myriad other social relational double standards are often upheld by precisely those whom the double standards punish and stigmatize most severely.

This is a tremendously thorny issue to take up without being able to address it in full, but several recent essays (e.g., Scheper-Hughes 1994; Schoepf n.d., 1992; Goldstein 1992; Orubuloye, Caldwell, and Caldwell 1993; Carovano 1991) document well the difficulties women have across the globe in attaining what Scheper-Hughes calls "sexual citizenship," that is, a "broad constellation of individual, political, medical, social, and legal rights designed to protect bodily autonomy, bodily integrity, reproductive freedom, and sexual equity" (1994: 992). Many of the "Women at Risk" in Zaire with whom Brooke Schoepf worked evince this sad juxtaposition between the proverbial rock and hard place. "Nsanga is not a prostitute because she is not a 'bad woman.' On the contrary, as a mother who has fallen on hard times through no fault of her own, she is trying her best, 'breaking stones' (kobeta libanga), to meet family obligations" (1992: 268). This includes selling sexual and other domestic services to "spare tires" (1992: 267) in order to make ends meet. In much the same Brazilian context as did Scheper-Hughes work, Donna Goldstein (1992) critiques importantly the largely male-focused AIDS prevention messages in Brazil and elsewhere. She notes that

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> To suggest to heterosexual women that they practice safe-sex with their long-term partners becomes problematic in a general context where women are not equals either in their sexual practices outside of the relationship or in their ability to negotiate their sexuality with their stable male partners. Women in long-term relationships are left to ponder about how and in which situations to negotiate safe-sex practices with their partners... Risk for this latter group [poor Brazilian women] exists primarily in their relations with their own long-term partners (1992: 26).

Both Goldstein and Scheper-Hughes note that prevailing AIDS discourse in countries such as Brazil protects male sexual freedoms, while "women's sexuality, protected in the private sphere, remains unchanged and locked into Brazilian cultural norms" (1992: 29). As Schoepf notes for a Zairean context, "most women cannot say 'No' to sex" (n.d.: 366).

I find much useful about the application of such a concept and approach to the Daruan situation. In terms of women particularly, this notion of the absence of sexual citizenship means the relative absence of power they have to walk around free from the threat of molestation, to refuse sexual behaviors and frequencies they abhor, to require that their philandering husbands and boyfriends use condoms, and to be free of the stigmas attaching to sexual activity per se. In suggesting that women do in fact, as all people, deserve such rights, I am not advocating necessarily a "western"-style approach or advocating a "sexual revolution" in Papua New Guinea akin to whatever may or may not have happened in the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s. I am suggesting, however, that, regardless of whatever forms and frequencies sexual behaviors take on the local level, women deserve no less than men. Girls should not be any more stigmatized than boys for premarital sexual behaviors, women should not be any less able to resist coercive sex than men, and no one deserves to be the victims of sexual violence, much less on the scale I witnessed on Daru.

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> 2) Unless and until politicians and their foreign sponsors face up to the economic crises that they have had hands in making, their hold on the hearts and minds of their constituents will remain tenuous.

Unfortunately, ousted politicians are always replaced, seldom if ever by women, and being ousted does not necessarily lead to dishonor in Papua New Guinea, as it often does not in the U.S. (Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew and Bob Packwood being only three of a multitude of recent politicians who come to mind, who have been rewarded in one way or another despite their misdeeds). Only forty one women have ever stood for election on the national level in Papua New Guinea, and in 1992 only 12 of the 1,653 who stood were women (Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1993a: 68). One might not begin to see real cultural and political change result until and unless a strong cohort of women candidates challenge male power and privilege on town council, provincial governmental, and national parliamental levels, not only standing for election themselves but voting for other women, as they heretofore have not.[10] A recent letter from a health worker informant on Daru said that politicians on Daru, despite conditions that have apparently worsened even since my departure, "are still playing their game."

> 3) Unless and until the FRPG and Health Division give serious attention to appropriate and sensitive STD treatment and prevention, caseloads will continue to rise, and infected patients (especially female) will continue to avoid clinics.

This is not to suggest that health workers, administrators, and policy makers have nothing to do but prevent, teach about, and treat STDs. I was continually amazed at the consistently high level of care and concern health workers on Daru provided.

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[10]. Zimmer-Tamakoshi (1993a: 68) reports that in 1987 women in Papua New Guinea made up only 1.2 of the candidates and received only 1.4 of the vote.

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Nevertheless, STDs and HIV are barely recognized in the overall plan; there is, for instance, only one Hospital Orderly, Grade 2, assigned to the STD Clinic, and only a tiny examination room (Irvines n.d.: 30), a fact about which patients often complain in terms of dustiness, shame, time wasted, and general discomfort. Female complaints about STD treatment have apparently been steady since the inception of the STD Clinic, but as of 1992 when I departed there had yet to be a female assigned permanently to the STD Clinic staff.

> 4) Unless and until condoms become more widely available and culturally acceptable, unwanted pregnancies and STDs will continue to increase, leaving miserable social relations in their wake.

On this point, unfortunately, I remain intractably ambivalent. Condoms both <u>are</u> and are <u>not</u> the answer, or at least one of the answers. Condom usage <u>could</u> help stem the transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted pathogens, but it <u>cannot</u> wipe out the sex industry and the set of socioeconomic and cultural factors that consign so many women to it. Condoms <u>do</u> offer protection from syphilis and gonorrhea, from pregnancy and HIV, but they do <u>not</u> protect women from male bashing and pack rape or help them when they encounter unsympathetic police and court.[11] Further, the issue of appropriateness and sensitivity with regards condom distribution have yet to be plumbed adequately. Only later, for example, did I begin to appreciate what effect my condom distribution efforts had on some of the <u>hausmeri</u> at the Hotel (who cleaned the rooms). An informant (and dear friend) went so far as to complain to the Australian manager to

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[11]. For example, I collected four stories (two from Daru, two from Balimo) of pack rapes during which most of the participants (including a boyfriend in three of the stories) had used the same condom, sometimes rinsing it out first, sometimes not.

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get rubber gloves to protect them while they picked up all the used condoms from in and around the rooms. It is not so simple, therefore, as merely to begin handing out, as I did, lots of free condoms. Hughes' warning here, in context of the Huli in Papua New Guinea's Southern Highlands Province, is germane:

> To a people who have abandoned much of their traditional morality and had forty years of Christian morality overlaid on its remains, the provision of a device [the condom] which seemingly permits licence without penalty, appears to be problematic in some quarters. The almost total opposition of community women questioned on the topic indicates that if condoms are to be successfully introduced this issue will need to be handled very sensitively (1991: 140).

Daruans understand the use, meaning, intent, side effects, and pregnancy- and HIV-preventive benefits of condoms in myriad ways. In fact, I suspect that on some levels they understand things better than many Americans; for instance, some Daruan men and women I spoke with did not think that condoms were thick enough to prevent sexual transmission of, variously, "gonoria," "AIDS," "pamuku smell," and the like. Morally, too, I think, condoms are not always perceived to be a barrier so much as a magnet, or worse, as the agent of infection, not means of protection. I do not wish to say this too loudly, and I did not envision myself several years ago saying this now, but I fear that in some ways condoms really do make at least some Daruans more frequently sexually active than they otherwise might have been (though they are probably "safer" from STDs and unwanted pregnancies being so). Some percentage of Daruans (males for the most part, but higher in any event than I would have otherwise thought) feel "freer" to engage in sex with condoms in pocket than they might have otherwise. One male informant put it that "I want to use condom because I want to use another girl than my wife...[and when my wife] is pregnant and I want to do sex I can use a condom [with a

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girlfriend]."[12] Younger Daruan males feel that possession of condoms is imminent sexual activity, that it also has some degree of cache amongst other male friends, that it might be perceived by potential female sexual partners as an appropriate, sufficient kind and style of gris to employ, and that it offers a degree of protection against both STDs and pregnancy that removes at least a portion of those barriers. I believe also (cf. Maticka-Tyndale 1992: 247-48 for evidence from well-educated, heterosexual Canadian college students) that mere possession of condoms can sometimes indicate the beginning and end of male responsibility. Of the women about whose sexual activities I know the most, most of their Daruan male sexual partners appear already to be little concerned about general female welfare. At best, unwanted or not planned pregnancies have material and social consequences that Daruan males must respond to; the use of condoms, though perhaps an act of concern for partners' sexual health on some levels for some men, thus has the potential of removing even that impulse.

> 5) Unless and until church, community, and school leaders and parents give sound advice and information more frequently about sex and hygiene, young people will remain in the dark about their own and their partners' bodies.

This point was revealed to me most clearly during the 30 "sexual life histories" I conducted. Using two multivalent phrases that have been on the public tongue in the U.S. for several years now, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" seemed to vie with "Just Say No" in terms of the kind and amount of information parents and church leaders gave to their children and charges regarding sex. Few informants on Daru struck me as prepared physically, mentally, or emotionally to 1) menstruate and manage menstruation; 2) avoid

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[12]. Field note, 5-12-91, Daru.

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conception; 3) spot the signs of potential infections with STDs; 4) put on, inspect, remove, dispose of, and manage the use of a condom; or 5) recognize, seek treatment for, much less avoid an STD infection. Of course, such information must and should come first and most frequently from parents, but given that not enough are up to the challenge,[13] others must step in. Churches, for instance, have a far greater responsibility than they currently realize not only to instill moral education, but to impart sexual hygienic information, clearly, faithfully, consistently, and frequently, without shame, stigma, embarrassment, or moralizing. In fact, why could not these become elements in a new moral education? South Fly peoples may soon begin to experience an AIDS epidemic that will leave a lasting imprint on future generations. Where possible

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[13]. The following field note (taken from an interview with several young people in a Middle Bamu River region village (3-2-91, Iowa village), except for the frog part, is representative of the majority of such discussions I had with informants there and on Daru about what they did and did not learn about sex and sexual hygiene while growing up:

> ...They said categorically that sex was just not talked about, that parents didn't talk to their kids, nor grannies grandkids, about sex hygiene, where babies come from, STDs, etc. Grannies in particular are uncomfortable with it. But why?, is the question I keep asking. "Because they don't like talking about it with children" is the stock answer. Today I feel I got a little bit closer to an anthropological answer: because they don't know anything anymore themselves. Why not? Because the focus of their previous learning, just about the only way they learned, is gone: the male and female initiations. In the olden days people had a proper time for talking about these things with same sex elders during their fairly lengthy initiation periods prior to marriage, something on the order of 6 months or so. But missionaries destroyed these initiations [a Mr. Harry Standen, in this case, along with his apparently nosy wife, Eva] and an extremely important focal point for learning was lost. E's mother and father, he said, were about 9 years old when the very last Dobosi (an initiation in Maipani) was held in his village, a Bamu/Kiwai village near the mouth [of the Fly]. His uncle was one of the very last ones to go through the ceremony... When he was 14 or so and heard about sex from older friends, he was shocked. His father was a pastor, he hadn't learned previously, and he just couldn't believe what he was told because he had no frame of reference. His parents, said Ernest, like most, gave kids misinformation; his mother, for example, said that women became pregnant by swallowing frogs.

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and feasible, perhaps Daruan women could establish sexual health consciousness-raising groups as a precursor (cf. Goldstein 1992: 33; Bauni n.d.) if not adjunct to AIDS education efforts. These efforts must be recognized and supported by the powers-that-be, particularly to the extent the latter have not yet really taken up this fight.

IV. Sexually Transmitted Diseases

The introduction of STDs to Pacific island peoples is not a story told in consistent, sustained detail but rather in fits and starts.[14] Welcome, accessible exceptions include Salmond (1991: 166, 176, 386, 409), Wright (1959), Watt (1979), Hughes (1991), and scattered medical journal articles (e.g., Calov and Weir 1925), but all but Hughes' account are partial. Greg Dening's new work, Mr. Bligh's Bad Language (1992) contains valuable information about the number of venereally infected aboard many English ships in the 18th and early 19th-centuries. Many popular and academic sources on and introductions to the Pacific either mention in passing the controversy surrounding the supposed introduction by crew of Captains Wallis or Bougainville (or both) of venereal diseases to Tahitians (e.g., Moorehead 1966; Furnas 1947--"pining Venus mourns the gift of France" versus "a Frenchman gave, a Briton heal'd the wound" [Dening 1992: 267]) or barely mention venereal diseases at all (e.g., Oliver 1989a,b; Crosby 1986: 231-34). The introduction of diseases such as whooping cough, tuberculosis, and smallpox are often cited in the same way as are notions such as the

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[14]. Perhaps an exception could be made here and there in the case of syphilis (according to Hogbin 1969[1939]) since, being treponemal diseases, yaws and syphilis do not flourish side by side, the former conferring a sort of natural immunity to the latter (at least until the W.H.O. anti-yaws campaigns of the 1950s). This "natural immunity" was said in a WWII publication not to operate in the case of Asiatics (Naval Intelligence Division 1945: 222).

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sanctity of private property, modesty, God, and so forth. Some sources discuss the prevalence of STDs in the Pacific but omit discussion of their introduction, blaming instead, for example, "the indiscriminate sexual intercourse of the inhabitants," reason why enlisted men (and all other Europeans) should "live as far as possible from villages and labour corps" (Naval Intelligence Division 1945: 223, 555; see also Naval Intelligence Division 1943: 77, 269, 354, 545, 570). Others state categorically that STDs were introduced by whites but that further spread is partly-to-wholly the fault of natives, in view of their real and imagined sexual excesses, inherent promiscuity, and so forth. "The unmarried women," note medical officer Calov and bacteriologist Weir, for example, "are practically all prostitutes" (1925: 722; cf. Wright 1959: 72-73, who notes the "sexual vices" and promiscuity of transient whites among Maori). Here and there can be found maddeningly brief mentions of what might be ailments due to pathogens sexually transmitted (or not). For instance, the L.M.S. missionary Samuel Macfarlane remarked that when 35 Kiwai islanders came aboard the steamer H.M.S. Ellengowan, eleven of them "were afflicted by a disease of the scrotum which was extraordinarily swollen, in some instances hanging down to the knees" (quoted in Goode 1977: 148). Since some of the men also had swollen legs, elephantiasis caused by filarial parasite infections were probably the culprits, but then again, maybe not (see also Hammar 1994).

That STDs get short shrift in histories and anthropologies of the Pacific is a most unfortunate occurrence, since they have clearly wreaked havoc on many Pacific island communities. High levels of infertility in Papua New Guinea, for example, may be associated with, among other factors, untreated STDs (Jenkins 1993). Pelvic

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inflammatory disease-related admissions to Madang Hospital increased ten-fold between 1976 and 1984 (NSSRT and Jenkins 1994: 6). Nearly 18% of all asymptomatic women who attended urban-based antenatal clinics showed evidence upon examination of chlamydial infection, compared with 21% found in New Caledonia, and 38% and 50% found in pregnant Indian and Fijian women, respectively, in Suva, Fiji (Klufio, Amoa, Delamare, and Kariwiga 1992: 45). (Papua) New Guinea has arguably had in the past the highest per capita rate of Granuloma inguinale (Donovanosis) in the entire world and has suffered several spectacular epidemics of it since its introduction in the early decades of this century (see especially Vogel and Richens 1989; Zigas 1971).

The introduction of Donovanosis can be traced in part to Dutch activities further west. In 1902, partly in response to British protests over Asmat and Marind-anim headhunting raids east over the border that now separates "Irian Jaya" from Papua New Guinea (Zegwaard 1968: 421; van Baal 1993: 129), the Dutch set up an administrative patrol/police station at Merauke. This station was built largely by Torres Strait peoples, some of whom had been infected earlier by Europeans with Donovanosis, which then spread up and down riverways,[15] encouraged here and there by both indigenous sexual practices and ill-suited colonial policies (Vogel and Richens 1989; Thierfelder 1928; van Baal 1966). Donovanosis and gonorrhea have been particular problems at least since 1917 (Kettle 1979: 17; see also Knauft 1993: Chapter 8; Richens 1985, 1991; Hammar

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[15]. Such would also appear to be the case contemporarily up and down the Fly, Bamu, and other larger rivers. For example, steamships used to stop at Saiwase village (downriver from Balimo) and stay overnight. Many village girls and women offered themselves sexually or were offered by male relatives in exchange for money primarily. STD rates there appear to have been consistently higher than in surrounding villages (field note, 1-9-91, Balimo Health Center, based upon my examination of very fragmentary clinic records).

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1994). Syphilis has been a significant health problem in Papua New Guinea for a comparatively short time, but like other genital ulcer diseases, and like STDs generally was also a disease introduced to Papua New Guinea from outside. Previously, natural immunity against syphilis in many Papua New Guinean communities was probably acquired via exposure to another treponemal disease: yaws (see Rhodes and Anderson 1970). However, the widely successful W.H.O. program against yaws, launched and completed by 1957-58, destroyed most of that natural immunity in individuals and communities. While syphilis was sporadically reported in the Annual Reports for the Territory of Papua throughout the first half of this century, the first case of syphilis in the Highlands was reported in about 1960, with a full-scale epidemic occurring nine short years later (Lombange 1984: 145). Along with gonorrhea, syphilis has shown a disturbing upwards trend in the past twenty years. Willcox (1980: 280) writes that the prevalence of syphilis doubled between 1973 and 1977, and nearly doubled again in 1978. Currie et al. (1988: 100) report an official total of 6,943 cases of syphilis in 1984, and 7,936 in 1986. The figure jumped again to a peak of 8,365 in 1987, since which time it has fallen slightly (Elias 1989: 87). By any account, however, it remains a significant health problem, particularly in the National Capital District and along the Highlands Highway. Syphilis epidemics occurred nearby on Thursday island in the Torres Strait and at Cairns at least as long ago as 1901 and 1900, respectively, at which time many of the infected (prostituted Japanese women, in this case) were sent back to their natal homes (Sissons 1977: 488, n. 69). Syphilis is well established on Daru, and periodic outbreaks have occurred since the 1970s of chancroid, non-specific urethritis, and genital

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herpes (Daru STD Clinic Case Registry[16]). Such outbreaks mirror dangerous national trends (Papua New Guinea National Health Plan 1986: 229). National gonorrhea and syphilis rates have risen dramatically (Elias 1986: 87):

Table 9.1
Gonorrhea and Syphilis in Papua New Guinea, 1971-88

Year	Pop. in 1,000s	Gonorrhea		Syphilis		
	#	#	Rate*	#	Rate*	
1971	2,490	3,286	13.2	1,525	6.1	*=per
1972	2,549	4,356	17.1	1,575	6.2	10,000 pop.
1973	2,592	5,158	19.9	1,024	4.0	
1974	2,690	6,333	23.5	1,347	5.0	
1975	3,696	6,403	17.3	1,897	5.1	
1976	2.751	8,998	32.7	2,257	8.2	
1977	2,808	9,105	32.4	1,937	6.9	
1978	2,869	12,119	42.2	4,028	14.0	
1979	2,931	10,383	35.4	4,818	16.4	
1980	3,010	10,893	36.2	4,637	15.4	
1981	3,074	11,121	36.2	3,395	11.0	
1982	3,139	13,456	42.9	4,161	13.3	
1983	3,204	16,173	50.5	5,899	18.4	
1984	3,228	19,696	61.0	6,943	21.5	
1985	3,343	19,645	58.8	7,980	23.9	
1986	3,419	23,527	68.8	7,936	23.2	
1987	3,499	22,068	63.1	8,365	23.9	
1988	3,580	20,741	57.9	7,559	21.1	

Even including the decline from 1986 to 1988, incidence of gonorrhea has increased nearly six-fold from 10/10,000 in 1969 to 57.9/10,000 (cited in Jenkins 1993: 80). The true prevalence of STDs on Daru is difficult to gauge accurately because of the absence of reliable census data, but the rise in incidence of GUDs (genital ulcerative diseases) such as syphilis and Donovanosis is alarming doubly given their role in HIV

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[16]. One doctor I interviewed in Balimo who was periodically stationed on Daru in the '70s remembers a particular outbreak of genital herpes, and treated often "full-blown cases" (field note, 1-9-91, Balimo). Another worker in the Pathology Lab on Daru said that in a series of 120 V.D.R.L.s, 38 had tested positive for syphilis.

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transmission (e.g., Greenblatt, Lukehart, and Plummer, et al. 1988; O'Farrell, Hoosen, Coetzee, and van den Ende 1991). Table 9.2 presents data on STD incidence on Daru, but for the years 1972-78 no distinction was made between gonorrhea (gon), syphilis (syph), and Donovanosis (Don):

Table 9.2

STD INCIDENCE, DARU, 1972-86

YEAR	GON	SYPH	DON	TOTAL
1972				15
1973				34
1974				97
1975				78
1976				84
1977				86
1978				103
1979	70	5	15	90
1980	65	20	25	110
1981	100	35	34	169
1982	85	40	35	160
1983	75	60	55	190
1984	65	90	80	235
1985	62	84	73	219
1986	104	177	131	412

sources: Daru STD Case Registry (1979-86); Irvines n.d. (1972-78)

In 1987, the first Papua New Guinean (officially) died of AIDS. This person was a policeman from the Morehead area not far from Daru, and he died in his own village after a brief stay in the Daru General Hospital near the end of his life. His HIV-infected

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wife and infant daughter both died later, shunned by community and health workers. By 1988, the seventh Papua New Guinean had died, and two of those first seven were females with histories of "multiple, expatriate and Melanesian sexual partners" (Currie, et al. 1988: 100). In 1989, the first positive antibody reaction to HIV on Daru was recorded. Two more were recorded in 1991 by the STD Clinic (Daru STD Clinic Registry), and another four antibody-positive blood sera were discovered in a sample of 235 antenatal mothers.[17] By 1992, 103 persons in Papua New Guinea had been diagnosed serologically as being HIV antibody positive (Post-Courier 2-20-92, p. 13), and 161 by December of 1993 (NSSRT and Jenkins 1994: 6). Though for several score reasons HIV seroprevalence remains a mystery, the form and persistence of the sex industry and the extent and persistence of the STD caseload leave me worried in the extreme about a likely explosion of HIV transmission in the near future. A recent letter from a friend and informant on Daru, a health worker with access to the STD Case Registry, is relevant here. He noted that during 1993-94, there were "6-7 hundred cases of gonorrhea, syphilis, and Donovanosis and others except HIV... Since you left we had

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17. Interview with three health workers, Daru, 28-1-91, although one informant gave the number as five since July. The brand name of the E.L.I.S.A.s used on Daru is "Serodia." These figures were also discussed at an "AIDS Advisory Committee" meeting I attended later that year. Despite repeated queries, I am still unclear about the HIV antibody testing policy; some health workers claimed that it was aimed at "the suspected ones" (field note, 2-5-91, Daru), others at all antenatal mothers, others at all women who had any kind of blood test done at one or another clinic (antenatal, family planning, etc.). In addition, when policies changed or when forms of avoidance of policy (e.g., not informing antenatal mothers of their HIV antibody-positive status) changed, it was hard to figure out why. One health worker said that she applauded the de facto change (towards not informing patients of their status) because "they don't know anything [about HIV]" anyway; another said that they "don't want to upset the mother when she's expecting." The public, the first health worker noted, however, should be notified: "they have a right to know" (field notes, 2-21-91, 3-13-91, Daru).

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two more HIV positives [but] they are not here in Daru, must have gone back home. We have not followed them up due to no transport" (2-28-95).

V. The Dangers of Sex

"French letters instead of French kisses,
or you'll be sleeping with the fishes" (Graham Parker)

As I have laid out in chapters above, within and between each form of prostitution on Daru there are many clear and recognizable patterns. Not so clear, however, are degrees and implications of contraceptive and STD/HIV infective risk, and neither is it well established what the risk is of maternal to infant transmission (cf. Schoepf 1988: 631). Condom usage is virtually nil on Daru, both within and without the sex industry, due to both structural barriers (economic, distributional, etc.) and cultural ones (fear, shame, etc.). Regarding the former, both "official" (church, health division, school, and FRPG) and "grassroots" (family, trade store, "traditional") resistance to condom distribution remains formidable. For instance, several tradestores refused either to distribute free condoms or to sell them retail, out of a combination of fear, ignorance of what condoms were, shame, and apathy, each well-grounded in some senses, less so in others. All but two of the churches whose representatives I contacted refused to allow condom demonstrations following presentation of AIDS video cassettes, which were allowed to be shown by the leaders of only those two denominations anyway. Condoms are expensive and supply and quality are low. Additionally, some nursing sisters do not dispense condoms to those they consider to "misuse sex,"[18] particularly younger,

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[18]. Like my own country in many ways, Papua New Guinea does not strike me as a sex-positive country. On the local, microsociological level, I would say a substantial majority of male informants and acquaintances spoke of sex as something with clearly demarcated

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unmarried, female, more sexually active patients. A health worker I interviewed said that while they had "planti planti" condoms in the dispensary to give away (which was not true at the time, as I was supplying them!), her Church taught her to discourage condom usage so as to discourage pre- and extra-marital sex.[19] When I mentioned the many circulars and directives that the Health Department sends out regarding the imperative of distributing condoms, she shrugged her shoulders and said that "we have to follow Church policy as good Christians."[20] Single people, adult or not, are consistently refused access to condoms in both Daru and Balimo.[21] Health workers also must face real and potential violence from other males (ex-, current, or estranged husbands, for example) regarding what they perceive to be their loss of control over female sexuality. Beaver (1920: 151) recounts one miserable midnight journey up a Fly River Delta village to arrest a man who had shot three arrows into his wife for sleeping, without his consent, with another man. Coastal Kiwai villagers customarily allowed for females to divorce

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deleterious effects on the body if engaged in too frequently, in the wrong context, while using the wrong "stail," or with the wrong person. Others linked sexual activity more precisely to bodily functions, as when one informant (field note, 5-23-91, Daru) said that he did not want to engage in sex more often because "you are losin' da blood altogedda."

19. For the same reason, I believe, vasectomies (performed now to the tune of six a week in Balimo by one exemplary doctor) are culturally feared by women to lead to more extra-marital sexual activity, because now no woman will "call his name," that is, claim his paternity (field note, 1-15-91, Balimo).

20. Interview, Daru General Hospital, 1-13-91. While twice in Balimo, I carried out a series of interviews both formal and informal with health workers. When I asked them whether or not dispensing condoms encouraged and had the effect of increasing the frequency of sexual activity, virtually to a one they replied "yes" and elaborated thusly that they thereby fear being "caught" as the ones who dispensed condoms to unmarried folk.

21. At another Health Center up the Bamu River, the medical orderly kept condoms in a locked drawer and only gave them to his married male friends (field note, 3-1-91).

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and remarry, but the new husband had to pay the old, who still "so to speak, retains a proprietary interest in her" (Beaver 1920: 66). One man (see Beaver 1920: 66) wishing to disengage his wife but not being able to, wishing to "gain the sympathy of the village," engaged two village youths to violate his wife, "after which he got rid of her." I found many female health workers to be stymied regarding the distribution of contraceptives to females still in or trying to disengage themselves from just such abusive relationships (see also Scheper-Hughes' notion of absence of female "sexual citizenship" in context of marriage in Brazil [1994: 993-94]). I found this notion of proprietary interest, as Beaver put it, rather alive and well on Daru in many ways. Unfortunately, in the greater interest of "stability," i.e., of no fights in the Family Planning Clinic, the woman's rights and freedoms qua woman are contravened in favor of the man's, qua husband, current or -ex. Health workers in this area, particularly the nursing sisters who staff various clinics, are already courageous enough for the work they do, and deserve enormous respect for the difficult task facing them, and for the delicate high-wire acts they must perform almost daily. They need and deserve official recognition and support in pressing upon this double standard.

Regarding the perhaps more intractable cultural fears exhibited by Daruans, many cultural barriers to greater condom usage have to be negotiated between countries,[22] between health worker and patient, and between men and women, married in

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22. Many of the relatively few who did not support my condom distribution efforts called upon notions of cultural sovereignty to chastise me. One informant, for example, said that "from traditional side" what I was doing was wrong because it was "not our PNG way" (field note, 11-14-91, Daru). Later, I came to understand that the problem was that sometimes it was not the condoms per se that offended but that they were sometimes distributed in relatively public settings, such as while walking down the road, in front of a trade store, and so forth.

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particular,[23] and many things can get in the way (cf. Maticka-Tyndale 1992).[24] At sagapari, for instance, when condoms first hit the scene in 1991, many male drinkers/customers initially balked, saying things such as that "they are a new tactical device; we didn't, our grannies didn't use them before." Others decried their contraceptive potential: "If you are mating [trying to have children] you can't use that one, if fertilizations are coming."[25] Some Bamu women, according to male customer informants, considered them to be evidence of either a new skin disease--arumo kikasi (Bamu=penis/grille, what might be in Pidgin, "koksikin pukpuk")--or a second penis.[26] Informants said that Bamu husbands sometimes harassed and beat the sexual partners of their wives for allegedly "spoiling" vaginas physically or dermatologically with condoms. One Kiwai customer informant put it at sagapari that "[t]hey [Bamu women] feel that it is

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23. I found on Daru that married women in particular have great fears about the practice (in a few cases) or the potential (in more) of insisting upon husbandly condom usage. Goldstein, too (1992: 32), in the Brazilian context, writes that "no married women, even those who knew that their husbands were not monogamous, were able to ask their husbands to use a condom."

24. Of course, it is hard to separate "cultural" from "religious" or "political" factors. One Catholic doctor employed at Wawoi Guavi timber camp, for example, refuses for essentially religious reasons to give out condoms to unmarried workers, but does dispense them to married workers. This, despite the roughly 50 to 1 male to female ratio and thriving sex industry at Wawoi Guavi. In addition, this doctor was reported to be a distributor of Filipino pornography to his male STD patients, but for educational reasons only, so as to facilitate the adoption of new and different sexual positions. (Was he also implicitly promoting perhaps "safer" sexual activities, e.g., oral sex?) Contextual factors must count for something as well; Patton (1994: 42), for instance, reported subsequent condom usage between Japanese male tourists and prostituted Thai women declining steadily following initially high levels, that "condom use tended to decrease as familiarity with the partner increased."

25. Field note, 11-13-91, Daru.

26. Early Europeans on the scene (e.g., "Tamate") possessed "double" feet, heads, and hands to the extent they wore and then "took off" shoes and socks, hats, and gloves. Understandably, seeing a sheathed penis "come off" would be a frightening thing indeed.

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hurting them, because they don't feel the experiences... Once a lady have it, she will feel a bit hasty and disturbing, like you are killing her."[27] Women prostituted by family members are often pressured into not carrying and using condoms because one goal of such transactions is for the man to marry the woman. Condoms reduce male pleasure and chance of conception, which might influence, therefore, marriage offers and marital stability. I asked an 18 year old, single male informant why a recent sexual contact had refused to use condoms, and he replied: "She want to get married to me, so that's why she don't like condom."[28] Women are also reticent to use condoms with potentially violent men, or with "boyfriends" who might turn into "husbands" to the degree to which they are allowed to go "skin-skin" and thereafter make payments of gifts, food, money, and alcohol. "Going skin-skin," in other words, may constitute the woman's price of surrender. In addition, being new contraptions--they must appear rather fantastic, as earlier must have white skin, hats, socks, shirts and shoes to lowland Papuan peoples--some women rightly fear the potential ill effects of condoms:

> Lawrence: Are you ever frightened about uh, condoms uh, spoiling your body in some way? Like...
>
> Erepai: Yeah, sometimes I get scared if uh, if a man is using the condom and I'm having intercourse with him, I always get this uh, funny feelings. They're not funny feelings, but you get really scared that the condom might uh, break inside, or loose, and then there are condoms in my, uh...
>
> Lawrence: Ai [Kiwai=vagina].[29]

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27. Field note, 11-7-91, Daru.

28. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-14-92.

29. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-14-92.

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Finally, women already rendered sterile from untreated STDs or from puripuri do not use condoms to avoid pregnancy. Leona, for instance, said "they already stopped my, what, bel [uterus]."[30]

Va. untreated Bamu: neglected crisis

STD treatment and prevention involves similar barriers, some of which are revealed most clearly by reference to particular ethnic groups. With the help of a research assistant, I reviewed and recorded twelve years' worth of the STD Clinic Case Registry.[31] Very few of the Kiwai, Suki, and Gogodala women discussed in above chapters show up in this Registry, though many have and continue to suffer from STDs.[32] Embarrassment, shame, fear of maltreatment by health workers (and by particular married nursing staff) and sometimes simple malaise and hot weather keep these women away.[33] For different reasons, Bamu women infected with STDs by husband, boyfriend and customer at sagapari are virtually never treated medically.

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30. Unrecorded interview, 9-1-91, Daru.

31. Work which awaits further analysis.

32. What treatment they do receive tends to be along unofficial channels, such as when they are diagnosed and treated on an outpatient basis or through wantok channels in the form of free antibiotics, sometimes taken prophylactically. One medical worker informant spoke disparagingly of another medical worker, infamous, who routinely obtained antibiotics from medical supplies and then went down to "Dokta Point" to distribute to Bamu women in exchange for sex (field note, 5-22-91, Daru). In Balimo, too, according to several health workers I interviewed, nursing officers and aides frequently took supplies from the supply office and gave them to wantoks for free, including amoxycillin, doxycycline, and large quantities of chloramphenicol (field note, 1-8-91, Balimo Health Center). A few informants (e.g., field notes 5-27-91, 5-29-91, Daru) spoke of but did not elaborate upon "custom ways" treatments for particularly syphilis which would "finish" at least initial-stage genital sores and ulcers.

33. Several informants spoke of the few Bamu women who did seek treatment for STDs but who only did so when it was too late: "they spoiled their bodies already, and then they died" (field note, 12-18-90, Daru).

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Consequently, as confirmed by one man at sagapari, who has seen four females this way, the tuk orobo's "way of walking is, they legs sidewise,"[34] that is, they have difficulty walking straightforwardly. In reviewing twelve years of STD Clinic Case Registry, we noted the names of a total of only seven Bamu tuk orobo and their husbands. Recall that wholly different cohorts of Bamu women toiling at sagapari were recorded twice in only several months. This indicates again the nature of migration to and fro, whether circular or not, that many Bamu women (and their husbands) in particular undergo. This appears also to be the case in Thailand, as girls/young women migrate from the northern and northeastern portions of the country to the Bangkok metropolitan center, become infected there with HIV and all manner of STDs and then

> simply move to a different sex establishment or locality, possibly moving on again when requests are made (for instance from the local health authorities or the sex establishment).for HIV testing. It is likely that a high level of mobility will become integral to the lifestyle of HIV seropositive CSWs [commercial sex workers] in Thailand (Ford and Koetsawang 1991: 412).

Because, by and large, most Bamu are not linked to health services in any sustained way, it is difficult to assess just how many of them are walking around concurrently infected. But many must be. Many women "walk side to side" and complain of their own and others' bleeding, painful ulcers. This is a walk easy to spot, and, during interviews, a smell easy to smell, at least in the case of Donovanosis. Some Bamu women have either never conceived, or have not for a long time, and are contracepting only by "custom ways,"[35] which might indicate sterility induced by PID.

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[34]. Field note, 11-7-91, Daru.

[35]. Beaver (1920: 68) mentions "actual means" taken to "procure either a temporary or permanent sterility," but does not go into detail. I believe, however, that he means to refer to

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The vast majority of male patients of the STD Clinic who list contacts at all list "Bamu woman," "Bamu prostitute," or "Bamu tu kina." Koria Sipai recounted to me three instances of gonorrhea and five of syphilis infection he contracted, he said, each time, from "Bamu gels": "Namba tri? At da same place. Same place I got it. At da same place I got it... [From the same ladies?] No, different. Those three are different. From there I had uh, swell cock. Sore on my cock. From that same. When gonorrhea is stop, and I start going up. Five times I had this. Sore on my cock.[36] Finally, many Bamu women

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physical substances and not just, say, a man, Baii, who "had only to whisper a man's name..." (1920: 136). He says elsewhere that "I have known actual cases where something has undoubtedly been given, but I have not been able to get the real something" (1920: 134). Today, among the methods Papuans employ include drinking water that has been "magiced," having words "thrown" onto them when married, leaving used sanitary pads over mud prawn (sikaro in Bamu) holes that they may be pulled down below, and placenta burial in ant hills, bush, and holes in the ground (egena is the name for the whole process in Bamu, "to stop babies"; field note, 5-22-91, Daru). One Bamu informant (field note, 11-7-90, Daru) said that her mother "put the word" on her when she married because she feared that pregnancy would "spoil her body," that her body would become old and her breasts saggy (amo toka=breast, no meat).

Placenta burial is also customarily practiced by Kiwai, from whom I learned far more than Bamu. For example, meresosowana and wiwopurinaware tumua means "to put baby's rubbish things (mere ubaobonunumabu [literally, baby, bad water, things]) in the bush." While I do not believe in the direct efficacy of such methods, I do believe that other "custom ways" work. I estimate that I spoke with at least 20 women informants and acquaintances who have not apparently conceived (though not yet reaching menopause or otherwise apparently suffering from an untreated STD) following performance of such kastom we. I could uncover no behavioral changes, either, i.e., decreasing frequency or different timing of intercourse, to explain their absent fecundity.

Kastom we that induced conception are also common, though perhaps less so, in villages. These methods included the ingestion of special roots, sitting open-legged next to a fire into which had been thrown a special concoction which exploded when heated, payment of money to a specialist who would "throw the word on her" and so on.

[36]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92. I found it difficult to address whatever differences may have been perceived regarding infections due to gonorrhea, on the one hand, and syphilis. I found that many, many more people had heard of the former term than the latter (cf. Orubuloye, Caldwell, and Caldwell 1993: 867). Nevertheless, I am also convinced that "gonoria" and "vd" or "bd" and local variants are glosses for STDs of all kinds, and that "gonoria" does not necessarily refer, in fact, to gonorrhea. Linguistically, too, working in Pidgin, English, and particularly through translation from Motu or Bamu, I found it extremely difficult to break through the ethnoscientific aspects of "STD" classification. In a culture in which "vaginal infections and

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asked for "tablets," "injections," sometimes even diagnoses of what I suspect were STDs when I treated their non-venereal sores, ulcers, cuts and scabies and those of their children during "sore and ulcer days."

Probably several hundred infected Bamu women and their husbands (who knows?, perhaps thousands), therefore, remain so. When they and their families migrate en masse from Daru either back to the village or to another sagapari-style locale at the Wawoi-Guavi Timber Camp (as they did over the Christmas/New Year Holidays in 1991) they go infected, untreated, undetected. The prospects of HIV-infected women leaving Daru for timber camps and sawmills at which a thriving sex industry caters to an international clientele are frightening to me, both for them and for others with whom they may come into contact. Combined with the probably several-to-several-score-more venereally-infected who depart from Daru each day/week, STD transmission poses serious public health risks and likely future problems.

During my 61 household census of Giwari corner, shame, language barriers, money,[37] and fear of medical personnel were also named as factors that keep women away from all forms of medical treatment, not just STD. Some in the health field have

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discharge are common" (Orubuloye, Caldwell, and Caldwell 1993: 867; Brown, Brown and Ayowa 1992; Brown, Ayowa, and Brown 1993), as I suspect Daru is, how does one tell the difference from vaginal lubrication, vaginal discharge, discharge due to excessive sex, discharge due to venereal infections, and those due to something else?

[37]. Fees for treatment of "grassroots" in the outpatient clinic were 50 toea, and initial prescriptions were an additional 50 toea. Public servants paid K2.50 and another K3.50 for a repeat hospital visit. Unfortunately, this led many of the latter to avoid official channels in favor of obtaining treatment/prescriptions/supplies from wantoks for free. In effect, this has resulted in the poorer subsidizing the richer (field note following interview with a health worker, 11-12-90, Daru). In Balimo, treatment is completely free at the E.C.P.-funded Health Center; treatment books were once used, but the K3 charge proved to be too expensive.

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poor opinions of Bamu, both as people and as patients, and blame them for their illnesses and plight. They say that Bamu "should go back to the bush," that they "believe in puripuri and don't take their medicine," that they abscond from treatment and are "living like dogs in the camps," that they become belligerent in clinic, and so on. Apocryphal stories do not help matters, either. In one, told by a co-worker, a particular nursing sister jabbed one Bamu woman extra hard during a pelvic examination because the sister suspected the Bamu woman of having infected her own husband, a frequent customer at sagapari, with gonorrhea. A male health worker confided in me once that "when the young ladies come up [to the STD Clinic for treatment] they don't know, what, how to do it [use condoms], so I give them a demonstration on my own stick [penis]."[38] Systematic observation of the customers streaming into and out of sagapari revealed male health workers among the village men, fishermen, and corner boys. Some of those health workers were trading antibiotics for sex (there and elsewhere). According to a retrenched male health worker, this was more or less standard practice for a time previously when sagapari was located right behind the hospital, i.e., at "Dokta Point."

To summarize: the parameters and problems of the sex industry have been laid out, and three particular problems identified. There are many obstacles to condom availability, distribution, and usage, and there are many untreated STDs both within and without the sex industry, and women lack anything even approaching full sexual citizenship. These problems require urgent attention in view of likely future HIV transmission, particularly since rising levels of HIV infection are likely to exacerbate

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[38]. Unrecorded interview, Daru, 7-1-91.

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them. Below I will isolate two particular problems in cultural perspective that point to social, cultural contradictions which compound these problems.

Vb. stds or stigma: which comes first?

First, women stigmatized by real or suspected HIV infection[39] will probably be even less likely to seek medical attention for STD or family planning needs. As untreated STD sufferers and suspected HIV-carriers, they are thus even less marriageable, more likely to be made outcasts by boyfriends and spouses, family and community, and sex partners,[40] and thus perhaps more likely eventually to participate

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39. I was perhaps more than a little surprised by the reactions I noted on the part of many health workers, which were to me quite puritanical in many cases. Many male health workers, though frequent participants in the sex industry, thought that to avoid AIDS one needed to "stay away from the unclean, the pamukus who go around the streets looking for men," as one informant put it (field note, 1-19-91, Doumori village).

Simple observation and interviews with seven nursing sisters and several other health workers have convinced me that on some levels, confidentiality means that everyone but the patient will know of her status, if HIV antibody-test results are positive. Further, the guiding idea appears to be that they should not be told, but that results "should be shared with rest of staff...," as one nursing informant put it, for their own protection (field note, 3-20-91, Daru). In another field note (2-21-91, Daru) I wrote:

> The tests are done here, so obviously the Pathologist knows, plus the other lab technicians most probably. The Medical Superintendent and Matron are of course notified (so whomever types up the letter knows), as are both doctors who "treat" the woman (with penicillin, according to two informants)... Of course, this is supposedly confidential, but...other nursing sisters and aides know, too. The family, however, doesn't know, and the sexual partner(s) aren't told, either. The sexual partners are told of the results of her blood test only if it's another STD like syphilis [in the case of a positive V.D.R.L.], and he is sent to the STD clinic for treatment.

As an example, one nursing sister during our interview (12-14-90, Daru) said that five women, all Kiwai, had already tested HIV antibody positive, that all five had recently been in Port Moresby, that all five were pregnant, that none of the five were notified of their antibody status, and that I knew all five, that is, that they are among the women in chapters 5 and 6.

40. Meiba, for example, from a Gulf Province village, about 30, well educated, sexually active extra-maritally, said that, in addition to hating himself after becoming infected with gonorrhea, he had "bad feelings about the one [I] got it from" (field note, 11-12-91, Daru). I found that this "bad feeling" was tempered quite a bit if the female in question was a girlfriend or "swithat," but

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further in the sex industry. Typically, however, during interviews and less formal chats, they blamed their infirmities doubly on "magic men" and on inadvertently having left their wet laundry on the clothesline, as this field note indicates:

> But it gets more interesting than that. As to her version of events, she says that she washed a whole bunch of clothing, her own panties, her nakimi's [in-law's] trousers, some baby's trousers, and her bubus' things, too, and then hung them up on the line. Her big sister was doing the cooking, she said. Her mother then went to play cards and then she followed her to the cards place, and played cards, forgetting all about the panties on the line. She said that she hung them up on the line, and that someone came along and put magic in them. She claims that she put the dry and clean panties on, went to sleep, woke up, and then in the morning when she went to pee found that she had a sore in her vulva. She and X claimed that there is some other sorcery man in the corner about my age who is doing this (she said that "there is a boy [aged about 16] doing magic to other girls, too," and that other sorcery men around claimed to have found out who it was, but refused to share the information with her or her family...).[41]

This particular "magic boy" is notorious for "spoiling" younger females, both by having already done sex with them and because he has not yet done sex with them. Consider another case study of one young STD sufferer, Pani, about 17 years old, rail thin, who had been long suffering from Donovanosis:

> At the time of our interview with Pani and her two female cousins, Pani had been going up frequently to the hospital for "maracin" [medicine] for her sores and pains, but wasn't getting any better. The doctors have allegedly forbade her to "go raun wid da boys," to "stay properly just by hehsef." When she goes around with more boys/men the sores get bigger, but when she stays by herself the sores stay the same (though never go down).
>
> After resisting greatly and running away several times, Pani was forcibly brought up by ambulance yesterday to the hospital. Pani got very frightened, however, probably because the whole corner was watching, and tried to run away. Her cousin caught her, though, and tried to comfort her by saying "it's okay, you can cry into my hands and we go up." So, they took her up.

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exaggerated if it were a Bamu tu kina.

[41]. Field note, 7-2-91, Daru.

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> She appears to have gotten two or three genital sores and has had them for at least two years without getting treatment. She has been only washing them with soap, water, Omo, and Detol.[42] Her sores [ai nato in Kiwai] have now spread along both groins, into inguinal folds, along anus, and up each buttock, and you can smell her [sores] from a distance (certainly up close).
>
> Her other cousin G also believes in mido dubu who can cause sores to come up in genitalia by poisoning clothing left too long to dry on the clothesline. G believes in addition that "with boys, if they rape you, not only one or two, they can make mark on you and sore will start up. Men and boys, they will rape you." She said that in Pani's case it must have been 5-7 males who raped her: "They will hurt her when they are doing sex and sore will come up."[43]

In Pani's case, having been thusly "marked" doubly by sexual violence, genitally and psychologically, taken away forcibly by ambulance, confined to the hospital, and made an STD patient, she is now stigmatized greatly by corner residents, male and female. Potential boyfriends would surely be those who had not seen "her skin go slack" and her skin change color to a sickening yellow. Her mother, though loving, is nevertheless ashamed of her daughter, who now must remain dependent. Lacking any marketable skills, having grown up on the island (and not in a village), and not being

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42. I was not able to confirm this, but I suspect that at least one woman in my sample in Chapter 6 used Detol as a kind of spermicide. One male informant spoke of her daubing into a rag something clear liquidy that "sikrapim sikin bilong en nogut tru" (that irritated her genitalia; field note, 10-23-91, Daru). Another male informant swears that a female health lecturer in Australia suggested the application of warm, diluted Detol to the genitals prior to engaging in sexual intercourse (field note, 11-11-91, Daru). This makes me think afresh about the possibilities, however remote, that Detol is being used also as a "drying," or "tightening" agent prior to sexual intercourse (cf. , for several African examples, Brown, Ayowa and Brown 1993: 992; Brown, Brown and Ayowa 1992; and Runganga, Pitts, and McMaster 1992: 1038). During the United Nations Women's Conference, held in Beijing, a large Chinese pharmaceutical concern, Hansun, made the following special offer for "VIP" delegates: use of a product it called "Women's Spring," a traditional herbal medicine designed to narrow vaginal walls, which they advertised as a "marvel of medical world in 20th century," one apparently without chemicals or hormones (Newsweek, September 18, 1995, p. 6).

43. field note, 10-18-91, Daru. Though no female informants who had been sexually assaulted put it this way about themselves, others frequently said that women were "marked" by such assaults, both bodily in terms of sores "coming up" as a result and socially, made more likely to be assaulted in the future, having already been rendered "fair game" by corner boys/village men.

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well-educated herself, Pani makes, in her present state anyway, a poor marriage prospect. Through others, I heard that her mother did not mind quite so much Pani's later forays up to the Hotel lounge bar because of the free food and occasional coins she brought home.

Another story I heard from two different informants during audiotaped interview involves a young woman, probably Leona, and another slightly older man, fresh out of prison, a classificatory cousin of mine:

> Leona: One of these corner gels, this is one of the pamuku meri, one of these road meris girls. That time we went drinking at the Motel, and he [the perpetrator] was, really, really, and we was drinking together, he was really really forcing that girl, "can you suck my," "please I'm frightened" [she said], you know, everything, he said "you are just a road girl, and whatever I'm going to say you are just going to do it, can you suck it?" And they were just sitting down, forcing, forcing. And then, from there, one of these boys, raskol fellow.
>
> Lawrence: Don't say the name.
>
> Leona: He just got one full bottle in his hand, and another full bottle in the other, and he just say, "just suck it, otherwise, I'm going to break your neck." From there, that boy just pulled his zipper down.
>
> Lawrence: Right, right, so he was really forcing her to do sex.
>
> Leona: Forcing, really really forcing her to, and she was just sitting down and getting frightened, looking at the bottle and getting frightened, "if I don't do it, he's going to kill me," he'll start doing it. So, we were just staring and looking at them, laughing.[44]

This and many other stories I heard about similar events seemed always to be funny to the male informants who told them, sometimes even to females. This, ironically, was something a British volunteer warned me of in my first week on Daru, in terms of maltreated dogs and maltreated women. Hmmm.

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44. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-14-92.

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Though I have not the data to confirm this, I suspect that the belief in the ability of mido dubu to induce STD infections is a strong one, and that it is related to stigma and sexual matters (for a Central African example, see Schoepf 1988: 631). Nanu'u, aged 20, living in the corner, explained it to me thusly:

> Lawrence: Can you tell me how these sicknesses spread? Is it just in sex, or can you get them, from, I don't know, toilets or kaikai or suguba or? Like, like gonorrhea, uh, VD, how do you get those sicknesses?
>
> Nanu'u: They get them from magic.
>
> Lawrence: Magic, okay. Tell me.
>
> Nanu'u: If you leave your clothes up there, skirt or underskirt, pants, the magic fellow come and hold your pants. And when you wear that pants. And morning you get up and went to go to change, when you wear it, and you, you wear it when you stay, when itchy come up, and start scratching, scratching, and it will come.
>
> Lawrence: And then sore will come.
>
> Nanu'u: And the sore will come.[45]

Another fellow and resident of an adjacent corner elaborated thusly:

> Koria: Oh, they'll put it [poison] on the pants. When, when the pants on the line. They will just go and talk to them [the to-be poisoned trousers]. Oh, that's something, we will make it already. Like water, you will just go and put it over there. Or otherwise, you will just go and talk, otherwise, you will just make the water and go and put it.[46]

A third Kiwai "mix" male in his early 30s agreed that these mido dubu can put poison into panties and trousers and skirts that hang up on the line. "Your prick will be

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45. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

46. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

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finish," he said, "the lady will put on the panties, feel itchy next morning."[47] Pani was frightened to go up to the Hospital because her deceased father was trying to hurt her for her disobedience, for the "mucking around with boys" that precipitated so many fights between her parents and herself and between her parents when her father was alive: "from beyond da, wat, he [will] hurt me."

These examples suggest a possible fatalistic stance that STD-infected patients take toward their maladies. It goes without saying that such attitude, if it be evident, is not at all confined to Papua New Guineans, but is commonly found in the STD/public health literature. Calov and Weir (1925: 722) suggested long ago that "he [The New Guinean Native] regards it [gonorrhea, in this case] as a mere nothing or he may actually be unaware he is suffering from a disease." I suspect that Daruans are quite naturally and greatly concerned with symptoms and signs that they are aware of, but stay away from STD Clinic-based treatment for a variety of other, sometimes well-founded reasons.

One is that sufferers may not cognize their maladies as sexually related. A second case study involves Haha'e, about 19, with a 9th-grade education, corner-mate of Pani:

> This morning B brought up Haha'e as promised, one of the other corner girls, in addition to Pani and Jipsy, who appear to be suffering from one or another STD infection. This young lady was shy, but like Pani, opened up quite a bit when we storied, and then when we had kaikai together later on opened up even more.
>
> Haha'e is staying in the corner, though her father is back in the village. At first she said that this sore came up about a week ago: when she scraped her body with a knife, "this sore came up...." She changed her story quite a bit, but she said that this sore was itching so she scratched it with a knife. The sore is perianal, it

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[47]. Field note, 11-14-91, Daru.

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> sounds like, and there are three of them. She said that it is about the size of two toea, red, bled when she scratched it, and she pointed to the pictures of sores from syphilis [from my STD bible; see Holmes, et al. 1990] when asked. She said that they are painful now and then, during toilet or after toilet.[48]

Like many others on Daru, Haha'e blames partly herself--a sexual indiscretion and lack of hygiene, in this case--for her symptoms; she said that she thinks that she got the sore from having a dirty vagina: ai nibo (Kiwai=vagina, no-good smell). Not having yet cognized it as an STD--which in fact it might not be![49]--Nanu'u was smearing on her sores as medicine the remains of "injection liquid" she had obtained from a previous outpatient visit that she had used to treat something else. Later she said that the sore had come up three days after going down to Frogtown and sleeping with some boy there, but the sore appeared not to be cognized in terms of sexual congress so much as moral transgression. Eventually, her "granny," the only one who had given her any advice at all when she reached menarche, suggested that she bathe in a basin full of Omo and Detol, diluted but warm. She tried this, painfully, and the sores "finished," but then "came up" again when she ceased bathing this way, evidence perhaps that Detol is, in fact, effective in clearing up perhaps residual bacterial infections but little else.[50]

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[48]. Field note, 7-2-91, Daru.

[49]. Landtman (1927: 45), for instance, writes of various Kiwai love medicines which can also be turned against another man or drum. Such a man who wishes another's drum-skin to break collects a particular leaf, has his wife wear it over her vulva, and then he pierces it/her, through the leaf, and then at a dance he throws the leaf into the fire.

[50]. Some of my field notes (e.g., 7-2-91, Daru) contain hints that Detol is also applied sort of generically to rashes and skin troubles.

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Vd. sexual double standards

Second, I believe that at or near the core of much social and physical misery on Daru is the sexual double standard (see also Walkowitz 1982; Thomas 1959; Maticka-Tyndale 1992; Goldstein 1992; Schoepf 1992). This double standard allows in some cases, dictates in others, that boys (but not girls) can "after" (follow, stalk, chase with knives, persuade, gris, pull off an airplane or push onto a boat, etc.) an intended lover. Female nursing students can be kicked out from schooling programs if they become pregnant but male students who impregnate them will not be. Girls (more often than boys) can be "pulled" from workplace, and particularly school,[51] if money is tight. Men must initiate sex with their wives (and wives have narrow margin for error in refusing them). Men (but not women) can routinely use or threaten to use fists and weaponry without many serious consequences. Men (but not women) can be sexually experienced pre-maritally. Married women (but not married men) must be faithful, sometimes even following divorce. Women (but not men) are by and large considered the sources of STD infections. The case of Nanu'u is again instructive of these double standards:

> Nanu'u: Oh, he [her first "husband"] stole me...he stole me and took me to Mosbi.
>
> Lawrence: How did he steal you?
>
> Nanu'u: Oh, he used to after me too much. He used to after me with a knife, but I never like him. We went down to the wharf, the boat, [where] the boat, was trying to take off. And I was just standing where the wharf is. The edge of the wharf...I was standing on top. And when he ran he just grab me and then dive

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[51]. As of 1981, throughout PNG as a whole, the male/female ratios for gross enrollment in, respectively, grades 1-6, 7-10, and 11-12 were 66/50, 17/9, and 2/.7 (Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 42, Figure 2.2, adapted slightly). In colleges, as of 1982, females accounted for only 15% of the total enrolled (Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1993a: 69).

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inside the what, boat. And I was almost fall down and he was holding me from the hand, and this boat, was, you know [taking off].

Lawrence: Okay. What did your parents think about that? Were they...

Nanu'u: Yes, they rang to police, but they didn't take any note of that... They said, "that's Daru life, since you [she and her new "husband"] are already in Mosbi. Mosbi life."[52]

What is good for the gander, however, is not apparently so for the goose. Nanu'u described the first time she tried "aftering" a boy:

Nanu'u: Well, I was aftering one police boy. At the party place. Didn't go with him, but I was just aftering him...just making signs. And people went and told mother. And mother told T and them. And they came and start belting me there. Ahhh...

Lawrence: At the party place? Sorry.

Nanu'u: Yeah. Sorry for me, they keep me in the drain. So morning I went. I report them to police. And they are, they are trying to send me to this, what, court, but I said, maski, give me chance.

Lawrence: So you got belted just because you were making signs to this fellow?

Nanu'u: Yes.[53]

The case of two sisters, to take another example, illustrates how the sexual double standard sometimes operates in the case of STDs. They had between them, from 1982 to 1990, 18 different cases of syphilis, non-specific urethritis, Donovanosis, gonorrhea, and genital herpes. One, despite this history, was considered the model of probity and restraint, but only by comparison with her sister, since the former was married and the

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[52]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

[53]. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92. The literature on the more overtly physical aspects of "sexual antagonism" in Papua New Guinea is, of course, massive. Marilyn Gelber shows (1986: 10-11, Table 2.2), for example, for a sample of 14 highlands cultures, that male violence towards women is culturally sanctioned for 12 of them. See also Law Reform Commission (1985).

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latter not. Their father, too, had had multiple STD infections when he periodically went away, as had a son-in-law, mother/wife, and daughter/sister. But when mother/wife and daughter/sister were forced to attend STD clinic with Donovanosis and syphilis, respectively, probably not as a result of their own infidelity, all hell broke loose before my eyes. Between 1990-92, another brother had three more cases of gonorrhea in quick succession, and each one he blamed on his new bride, a woman about fifteen years his junior. Being herself the "return leg" of delayed ("sister") exchange, she consequently bore the brunt of his blows when drunk. She suffered her in-laws' failure to help her even though they knew she was "staying quiet" (i.e., faithful), that she had already had at least two miscarriages, two or three cases of gonorrhea herself, and that she had been given by her husband the insulting moniker, "gonorrhea cunt." All this for a young woman still playing marbles when I first met her. Another case study from Central Africa reads eerily similar to the one I have described above:

> In May 1987, Mbeya's husband brought home an official notice about AIDS and left it on her bedside table. She laughed: "He just left it here, without saying anything." Concerned, she was afraid to broach the subject of condom protection. Then, late in 1988, Mbeya became aware that her husband was sick and not getting any better. She began to suspect that it might be AIDS and told him that she wanted to use condoms. Her husband refused. So she said that they should stop sexual relations. Her husband's family was outraged and he refused this too. They threatened to throw her out and keep her youngest daughter. Mbeya acquiesced. Following her husband's death, her in-laws accused her of infecting her husband, despite the logic of the situation: Mbeya protests that she married as a young virgin straight from a convent school and that all through the years she was a faithful wife (Schoepf 1992: 272).

She probably was. Nevertheless, the "logic of the situation" does not prevent her from becoming the focus of intense marital and affinal pressures. In my experience on

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Daru, this is the kind of pressure Daruan women are under. They are at risk,[54] then, from a sexual double standard, sanctioned by cultural "(il)logic" and practice, supported by the persons, culture, tradition, and weight of the law.

This sexual double standard is, of course, not unique to Daru. Throughout Papua New Guinea, with regards to domestic assaults, 66% of all married male respondents stated that they have beaten their wives at least once, nearly 50% do so at least once a year, and nearly 4% beat their wives at least once a month (Law Reform Commission 1985: 44, 49). In Tmindemasok village, Western Province, about three miles from Kiunga, "women are customarily not allowed to hit back" (Nomelea 1986: 8). To take another example, whereas a Lusi-Kaliai woman of West New Britain Province, for example, might be beaten, killed, and shamed for adultery, men can bring home second wives and lovers without penalty (Counts 1993: 251, see also 1984). Patricia Johnson (1981: 332) notes that for the Gainj of Eastern Highlands Province only public wife-beaters can be taken to court and that alternatives for women to avoid abuse are "culturally inconceivable." One high-ranking politician for North Waghi, William Wi, argued that wife-beating "is an accepted custom and we are wasting our time debating the

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[54]. Prostituted women on Daru, particularly those who toil at sagapari, seldom carry, use, or even are allowed to use weapons to protect themselves against customer, boyfriend, or husband. Whenever the gifts of paring knives, for instance, that I used to give them (along with other items) following "story" were discovered by male relatives and boyfriends, they were confiscated. Daruan women seem taught from an early age that weaponry is a male domain, though they do in fact sometimes fight back against men. By contrast, the Sexual Offences Act of 1985 in Britain in effect increased risks to prostituted women, insofar as it decreased the amount of time given for them to assess customers (by further penalizing "loitering"), and barred them from carrying an offensive weapon (in case they were picked up for loitering). Possession of condoms and AIDS literature, too, can now be used against women to justify a charge of loitering or intent to solicit, both in Britain (see Scambler, Peswani, Renton, and Scambler 1990: 268) and elsewhere.

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issue [in Parliament, referring to the Law Reform Commission of 1987]" (quoted in Counts 1993: 257).

Daruan women, too, have difficulty negotiating their way through such double standards. They seldom initiate sex, for example. One well-educated woman, prominent politically in both the FRPG and a local church council responded during an interview that women who enjoy sex, and who therefore would initiate it, are "crazy."[55] Moreover, they have little room to maneuver when their husbands request sex, particularly out of fear of being beaten and verbally abused. In many Central African communities, explains Schoepf (1988), refusing a husband's sexual advances is grounds for divorce, tantamount to social leperhood for a woman, though not so for a man. Here is how Savea Morea explained it:

> Savea: Our [Papua New Guinean] way is, feel shy to ask a man. We don't ask men to do that... [Why not?] Us, it's very hard for a girl to ask a boy for sexual. If the boy, boy wants, he can, and the girl will allow him. But the girl will not ask the boy... If a girl ask him and whether she gets into trouble...there's nobody to blame, that's what we do for custom side, we don't ask the men for.
>
> Lawrence: I see. Okay, interesting. Okay, now did, did your husband ever force you to do sex or make you do sex when you didn't want to?
>
> Savea: Yeah, sometimes he forced me just when he's drunk he used to force me... When he's drunk, he, he forces me to let him do this. When he's not drunk he don't. He don't force, he just ask....[56]

Savea above had even less room to maneuver. When married, she lived wholly away from her own people, she was half her husband's age, she was the "exchange" in a long-contested affinal squabble, and she was physically abused already whenever her

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55. Field note, 7-3-91, Daru.

56. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-24-92.

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husband drank. Even I, earlier, since I lived nearby, was suspected as a possible STD infective source of this woman, since at the time the husband had only had intercourse with her twice, when it was common knowledge that it takes at least six ejaculatory acts to "make the baby." Twelve of the 15 women I audiotaped the sexual life histories of recounted that their boyfriends and husbands frequently forced them into sex, particularly during and following drinking binges.

As a result of legal and social double standards, of women's inability to initiate sex, and of women's frequent fear of, and disgust at, husbands who come home drunk and force them into sex, men often go elsewhere. Men go up to the Hotel, to sagapari, or simply out on the road, and find alternative sexual partners. While not particularly laudable--no one likes an uba pe, male or female--men can and do get away with sexual, alcoholic, and physical behavior not allowed of women. In the case of the young marbles-playing woman above, since she was a) for a time, too young for intercourse; b) then pregnant twice; c) recovering from miscarriages, twice; and d) suffering several times from gonorrhea, both treated and untreated, she was at least normatively sexually unavailable. This I believe explains her husband's frequent forays to sagapari, his infections contracted frequently there, and the continuance of the cycle. Unfortunately for both her and him, no one seemed to want to break into this cycle at the point of, or in view of, his frequent violent behavior and over-drinking.

VI. STD and HIV Transmission Beliefs

Now that I have examined somewhat the social and sexual double standards, I want to address relevant beliefs about STD and HIV transmission. Like many (all?)

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people and peoples (cf. Maticka-Tyndale 1992; Schoepf 1988), Daruans combine both "traditional" cultural, sometimes "folk" models of illness (and treatment[57]) and pathogen transmission with newer, "scientific" information about HIV.[58] As one informant put it to me, after making a mark with sago flour on a woven mat, it is impossible to "just give up custom ways" so easily.[59] One health worker I interviewed in Sogai village, way up the Wawoi branch of the Bamu River, accepted the "biomedical" version of HIV being the infective cause of AIDS, but also added that he was careful never to step over the outstretched legs of male workers returned from Kamusi, who are

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57. Each village/ethnic group appears to have one or two indigenous treatments for sores/ulcers (whether sexually caused or not) and for discharge (again, whether sexually related or not). Usually this consists of various leaves or nuts being pounded, squeezed, or otherwise prepared and then rubbed onto the site of illness and wrapped in leaves. "Sympathetic" treatment is sometimes also effected, as when red leaves and flowers are crushed and applied to bleeding sores and ulcers.

58. For example, one of my adoptive female relatives was diagnosed in the hospital as suffering from "too much blood," and was enjoined by the attending physician to avoid eating coconut, aibica (a kind of greens), sugar, and cabbage, so as to "let off the extra blood." Field note, 11-2-90, Daru. Also, four (three females and one male) of the eight health workers I interviewed regarding family planning services (seven nursing sisters and a male orderly) indicated that they believed (and correspondingly feared) that an untreated, chronic STD would "come up" or "develop into" AIDS. As an ethnographer, I believe that in some cosmological way that is true. In addition, when informants sometimes spoke of genital sores resulting from swimming in the ocean, or of getting a cut or abrasion in the genital region, scratching it, with a resultant sore, I had to listen carefully and think twice before consigning the ideas to "folk beliefs." Similarly, when an informant said to me that "if lady has sickness and it's a dark night and you go up on top of her, that's how you get it [AIDS]" (field note, 5-23-91, Daru), I initially thought "what would darkness have to do with it?" Perhaps the informant meant that darkness would preclude the kind of genital inspection and sexual hygiene that sex and public health educators decry as generally lacking. Another angle to look at here is the degree of pragmatism involved, and the kinds of ailments regarding which people consult others. For example, when I asked informants how they differentiated (when they suggested that they did differentiate) between mido- or poison-caused ailments and other kinds (say, malaria), they often responded very pragmatically: the latter are cured by doctors who prescribe medicine and rest. Not-cured, not to say incurable, ailments are more obviously, to them anyway, mido-related.

59. Field note, 12-10-90, Daru.

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likely to have had sex with pamukus.[60] Koria Sipai reiterated during interview that both "sleep with friends" and blood-to-blood were modes of transmission: "these uh, what's that, needle, the needle they are using in the hospital, you have that. You have that sickness you will take the blood out from there and go to bed [subsequently, and infect others]."[61] But in addition, Koria listed "hap kaikai" (bits of food) and "hap bia" (half full beer bottles), via saliva, and second-hand clothing, via contact with sores, as transmission routes.[62] During another audiotaped interview, my 18 year-old, single female informant, Leona, moved discursively from talk--"and I just told him, 'you don't talk about AIDS, otherwise you might get AIDS'"--to toothbrushes--"It's the same, using the same toothbrush"--to buai to (probably) semen as infective route--[is there any way to prevent AIDS?]: "Yeah, by using condom."[63] My interviews and personal experience confirm that these ideas appear to be shared fairly widely throughout Daru.[64]

VIa. clothing

Clothing is often suspected as a transmission route, constituting probably a sixth to an eighth of all the questions asked during AIDS videocassette showings. T-shirts, trousers, hats, and particularly underwear are accordingly suspicious to many, a

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60. Field note, 3-4-91, Sogai village.

61. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

62. An informant early on forbade me from ever taking a half beer from anyone, so as to avoid being "magiced." Field note, 11-4-90, Daru.

63. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 2-14-92.

64. I say this on the basis of having simply been a participant/observer in Daruan living. As well, though I have not yet worked through this data base, I am thinking here partly of the several hundred questions asked on paper slips, which constituted free admission to the AIDS videocassette showings I gave townspeople.

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particularly important belief given the extent of both formal second-hand clothing trade (purchased in lots/bundles from Australia and Indonesia for resale locally) and informal (purchased for oneself, one's children, and one's lovers). Clothing is thought a transmissive route both directly (via contact with sores and pus), and indirectly (via close contact with a questionable person). Closely related are beliefs of contagion via bed sheets, pillows, and mats.

VIb. drinking containers

Cups, glasses, soda and beer bottles, and plastic containers are also thought to transmit HIV. Koria, for instance, said the following:

> Koria: Umm, (pause) umm, and what's that, plastic that we are using for the water. To water and wash with it, on the bucket. When the bucket is underneath, her two legs, while she is washing that, the one who is having this, temeteme [Kiwai=pain, sickness], while this, that bucket is underneath, and that plastic, already, it's over there, and when you are not using this, but, you are using your own bucket, but you using your own plastic to wash. And you get the water from the well, and fetch the bucket. You fill the bucket take it where, where, the washing place or where the bathroom. And you using that same plastic to wash. And easily, because we have holes on our skins. Easily, you can see. That water is going inside through the holes.
>
> Lawrence: In the skin. I see.[65]

Daruans are thus wary about sharing half-open bottles or leaving their drinks out. This once offered an easy route for mido dubu to work their poison and magic to both good and evil ends, and now allows HIV to enter the body and cause AIDS.

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65. Audiotaped interview, 3-3-92.

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VIc. sexual intercourse

Awareness appears high on Daru of HIV being sexually transmissible, that is, that it is something small and contained in various bodily fluids which can be transmitted in certain contexts under certain conditions, but this awareness is not yet matched by adequate knowledge of actual transmission dynamics. Few know that HIV infects many different kinds of cells present in semen, vaginal and cervical secretions. Few spoke of calculable risks in terms of number of different sexual contacts and different kinds of sexual activities engaged in. No one mentioned frequency of sexual contact change or hinted at the varied concentrations of HIV in the body throughout time and space. It could, of course, be that I simply asked the wrong questions, persons, or asked good questions of the right persons in the wrong ways. Nor am I suggesting that the Daruans I came into contact with should have known these transmission dynamics in the same way I do. Nevertheless, I am suggesting that thinking of transmission dynamics in terms of "going from man to man" (being promiscuous), "going on top" (following another man into the same vagina), "mucking around" (being promiscuous, staying up late, not obeying parents, etc.), "pamuking," and so forth, are spoken of generally as causing AIDS to "come up," and that these admonitions do not yet constitute a sufficiently precise understanding of or motivation regarding attempts to prevent HIV transmission. In this respect, Daruans are clearly similar to many Americans; the predominant belief is that something between pathogen (cognized in myriad ways) and bad behavior (ditto) causes AIDS. This just is not enough. Even if it were, structural barriers are formidable, too.

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VId. food, tobacco, utensils and etc.

Half-eaten food and incompletely smoked cigarettes are also suspected of being HIV transmissive routes already. Used condoms were mentioned a few times, too, as the agents of infection, not prevention. Untreated STDs, too, were mentioned often as causing AIDS, that is, say, gonorrhea turning into AIDS, genital sores coming up AIDS, and so on. Toilet seats, bad water, food scraps, cooking utensils, and the like, were all mentioned at least a few times as suspected HIV-transmissive agents. Washing brushes, too, were suspect in a few interviews, e.g.:

> Koria: And plus, the washing brush. He got that sickness, he is still, see he washed that water. He brushed the water. I mean, he put them on the land. And that brush, it's with that, water. He washed, his things already, and he got that brush, and to wash his things, see that's another part of way to get, pass the AIDS. When you washing your things, already its passed, and you dry that, you wear your shirt or wear your dress, or wear your trousers, and while you walking on the road, rain, and already that brush has passed it, dry on, and while you are walking on the rain, and that something, it's dry, but when the rain will [come, it will bring up the AIDS.[66]

If Koria Sipai has not had much western-style education, neither do his beliefs about HIV transmission differ greatly from those of other better-educated informants. One, a Town Council Member, was convinced that AIDS comes from rotten and diseased animals and foods, ultimately, that is, from Australia and America. Another, less well educated, suggested "em mas i stap long rabis ples olsem, ah, olsem olgeta long hap, ya" ("it probably comes from refuse heaps like those over there," gesturing to the other side of the public market place). (One of the more interesting facets of my daily "walkabout" on Daru was to get into these conversations with people from all backgrounds about

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66. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

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AIDS. On occasion, I found myself engaged in discussion of just these topics with someone I met while buying greens, coconuts, or bananas in the marketplace.)

Many more suspected vectors could be listed. Each of my informants, though, appear to be drawing upon a much deeper discourse filled with key symbols, experiences, and expectations which combine obvious awareness of germ theory (though not necessarily intimate knowledge of germs per se) with deeply entrenched notions of moral and behavioral elements. For example, Mabu, a well-educated Youth Pastor, husband to two women, temporary boyfriend to several others, answered that condoms "prevent gems from gettin' in touch with the human body," but then added that if he were a woman he would surely stay away from "Ministahs and Membas."[67] Buai spew is considered "bad," for instance, because it is dirty and unsightly and is thought to harbor germs.[68] Something of the sort appears to operate on a genital level as well. When I asked Erepai what she had heard about syphilis, she replied, "Syphilis is something like sperm coming from your own private part. Like it's wet, and it's same like when all your same things. And it's infective inside. [Inside your vagina?] Yeah."[69]

Daruans thus call upon a dense and elaborate system of meanings and symbols linking food, gender, genitalia, foreigners, spoilage, behavior, sex, tradition, gossip, and everyday storytelling. Hughes' Huli informants, too, were aware in some ways of the transmissive properties of STDs, but also believed that they could "catch" them (my

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67. Field note, 10-12-91, Daru.

68. Field note, 3-29-91, Daru.

69. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-14-92.

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term) from wearing trousers borrowed from, from hap simok (half cigarettes, cigarette butts) given by, and from sitting atop surfaces vacated by STD sufferers (1991: 135). Koria repeatedly mentioned the bucket's position under a woman's spread legs. Several Bamu friends repeated the Dian Fossey-crash-lands-and-mates-with-an-African-gorilla-theory of the origin of AIDS. On the whole, Daruans seem about as poorly-informed about HIV transmission dynamics as do the vast majority of Americans. Maticka-Tyndale's large sample of well-educated Canadian college students (1992: 242), too, displayed "great uncertainty and confusion" regarding both the biomedical model of HIV transmission and of its incorporation into "common-sense" models driving behavior.

VII. The Need For Research and Viable Solutions

Social scientific research on sexual behavior is imperative to solve the triple problems that STDs, HIV, and sexual double standards pose for Papua New Guineans. I think that social scientists working on these issues in Papua New Guinea have a rather unique role to play, and therefore a special obligation to disseminate their findings in such a way as to help solve some of the pressing social problems I have outlined above. Here I would like to outline briefly three such contributions social scientists in Papua New Guinea might make.

First, research must address the place of sexual networking in STD transmission, must investigate ideas about condoms and obstacles to their more frequent and consistent usage. It must also examine grassroots medical beliefs and practices, and must anticipate the likely impact of official health care policies and delivery on them. Leaders on all levels must begin to think seriously about the relationship between sex, sickness, and

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human traffic. As people move increasingly about (relocating, working, marketing, "spinning"), so do the pathogens (HIV among them). As these people come into contact with new partners and situations (school, drinking, dance and video parties, barracks, prostitution, timber camps, towns, and so on), sexual mores change. As sexual mores change (as sex is detached ever more from marriage, as average age at first intercourse plummets, etc.), sanctions on sexual behaviors--whether meted out by tribal elders or church leaders, teachers or parents--lose their potency. Demands for fun, music, sex, and alcohol are growing with an increasingly cash-based economy (cf. Hughes 1991). Without reliable qualitative data on these matters, politicians, health workers, and grassroots are unprepared for an HIV explosion and the multiple chains of misery likely to be left in its wake.

Second, social scientific research, particularly on the pressing problems of STDs, might better bring to light some of the nagging, sometimes even enigmatic concerns, that health workers have regarding how best to encourage better diagnosis, treatment, ultimately, prevention of STDs.[70] In particular, I believe that too many Daruans are staying away from the STD Clinic especially for reasons barely glimpsed by most, perhaps cognized but ignored by the rest. In the following snippet from Nemeru's

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70. In talking with health workers from around the Daru/Balimo area, I frequently encountered from the better trained the lament of poor STD diagnoses by the lesser trained. One of the former thought that a 30% accuracy rate (upon first diagnosis) would be sufficient (and a substantial improvement upon the current rate). For example, of two genital sores discussed upon presentation, the first is often diagnosed by ill-trained staff as "primary syphilis" and the second "secondary." In addition, the vast majority of health workers I interviewed appeared to believe that a "V.D.R.L. (Venereal Disease Research Laboratory, on Staten Island, source of the cheapest, most widely used diagnostic for syphilis) test" was some sort of generic VD test, diagnostic of virtually any sexually transmitted pathogen, the markers of which could be found in the blood.

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recorded interview,[71] some of these qualitative aspects regarding STD treatment are hinted at:

> Lawrence: How did you feel when you got these sicknesses? I mean, when did you go up to the hospital for treatment?
>
> Nemeru: Maybe two weeks, maybe three weeks, I was stay in the house. Until Monday, I tell Jipsy, "can you take me to the hospital?" Not enough to walk. Pain, and I want sleep. I used to shout with pain. And I tell Jipsy that. "Can you take me to the hospital?" And she got me to the hospital. And they check my what [vagina]. Yeah.
>
> Lawrence: ...Is this the sickness that Aberewame's mommy got, too?
>
> Nemeru: Yeah, I dunno. I was staying here, with Kuria and dem house, and she came. And Aberewame came and told me that "aw, dedi fest [her father first], mommy, too, she got like this sickness. First me, and after Aberewame, and mommy and now Doxie she got the like sickness..." She never wash. I get the sickness and I used to boil hot water and pour Omo. I used to sit down inside the dish. Sit down, little bit sleep, start paining. I used to put the pillow, sit down on top.
>
> Lawrence: Did you ever use Detol to clean the sores?
>
> Nemeru: Yeah. Jipsy buy them. I was clean that one. All the time wash.
>
> Lawrence: How did you do that style with Detol? How did you use it?
>
> Nemeru: Um, she told me to heat that, what, bottle, and pour it inside the dish. And, she told me you pour it inside the dish and you sit down in the, what, hot Detol. Yeah.

Anyone hearing Nemeru's weary voice (or those of any of the women in my sample) cannot help but be heartbroken in several directions. In her case, she was living between several households, and in each, one or more persons kept "coming up sick." Nevertheless, she did not consider prompt, potentially curative presentation at the STD

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[71]. 3-5-92, Daru.

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Clinic to be among her options. In her particular case, she is not treated well at the hospital; both male and female health workers scorn her for her uba pe status. In addition, she must endure long, shameful waits out front of the dispensary or inside, again, lengthily, shamefully, in front of the STD Clinic.[72] Accordingly, she must depend upon a certain manipulation of kin and social, sometimes even sexual networks to obtain treatment in the form of tablets, injections, etc. In her case, and in the case of many other more casual informants, sitting in a pan of Detol was seen as preferable to antibiotic treatment.

A third, equally appropriate and useful contribution that social scientists might make concerns the way in which "prostitution" is employed in public health and epidemiological writing about AIDS and STDs in Papua New Guinea. Standing (1992), Ankrah (1989), Nelson (1987) and Schuster (1979) have each in their own way examined the conceptual and methodological pratfalls of employing the term "prostitute" to the Eastern, Central, and Sub-Saharan African women who engage in multi-partner sexual unions and the term "prostitution" to the provision of sexual and other services extra-maritally. Luise White (1990) among others has examined the links between the scarcity and price of housing in colonial Nairobi, Kenya, and links the forms and intensities of more commercialized forms of sexual service provisions accordingly. These studies are invaluable for underscoring the "obvious" fact that sexual activities, like all others, are

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72. This was confirmed by not only STD Clinic and other patients, but by medical workers as well: "X said that plenty times the patients will show up, knock on the door, and if they don't see Y right away, they feel too much shame to be hanging out too long. X said that if they are seen, they will hang their head, and then scratch it, and then take off and sometimes never come back again" (field note, 5-30-91, Daru).

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always embedded more deeply and widely in a) other kinds of socioeconomic exchanges, b) historical processes, whether of local, regional, or even international origin, and c) sets of gender relations which express, reflect, sometimes even subvert (a) and (b). As I have taken pains to describe in Chapter 6, even on the level of sexual activities, these socially constituted meanings are never static, they never exist outside of or apart from the factors and processes mentioned above, and they are to greater or lesser degrees contingent, negotiated phenomena.

For this reason, and though I have done so on the "micro-" level in preceding chapters, "prostitution" is perhaps not the most useful concept to employ in analyzing the ways in which women of various ethnic, marital, occupational, and chronological statuses wend their way through life, through daily living, and through a declining political economy. The "exchange of sex for money or goods" appears to me to be one of those Maussian "total facts," at least in terms of those societies (apparently the majority of the world ethnographic sample) wherein women lack full sexual citizenship. No doubt the forms and frequencies I noticed in 1990 differ in some ways from those that, say, Edward Beardmore noticed among coastal Kiwai in 1890, or, say Gunnar Landtman noticed in the early nineteen-teens. Nevertheless, there must exist, on Daru and elsewhere, the social/cultural expectation that there is neither free lunch nor free sex. The expectation that the gift or provision of sexual services obligates returns now or later of cash, gifts, favors, loyalties, and goods encompasses probably all of the forms and instances of sexual and marital union I or anyone else might be able to demonstrate empirically. What Standing (1992: 478) calls the "transactional element" in context of Eastern and

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Central African societies and forms of sexual/marital unions is certainly no stranger to Melanesia. Thus, I would argue for a far more intelligently and sensitively contextualized deployment (if such be necessary) of terms such as "prostitute" and "prostitution." Bare minimum, the terms could be employed more gender-neutrally, that is, incorporating the male element, such that, for example, men who pay for sexual services under highly commodified forms of sexuality are equally "prostitutes." Various theorists have suggested as improvements versions of "multi-partner unions," and I believe that what is lost by terminological imprecision is gained back twice over in sensitivity to the fact of this deeper embeddedness of sociosexual networks in political economical processes, to the specificities of colonial and post-colonial history, and to the tenacity, and even bravery, of the women who struggle to preserve for themselves, their children, family, even sexual partners, a modicum of social agency, respect, and humanity.

VIII. A Few Tentative Suggestions

In view of the above state of affairs, I suggest the following:

1) All obstacles must be immediately removed to information about the use of and free access to supplies of inexpensive, high-quality, and appropriately-marketed condoms.

The Office of Censorship in September of 1992 requested that all pharmacies "remove every instruction leaflet contained in the packets of the Protector Condom before selling them." The instructions contained a line drawing of an erect penis that was deemed pornographic. Selling condoms without instruction manuals is just plain wrong, just as wrong as is selling prescriptions without listing side effects or processed foods

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without lists of ingredients; better attempts could be made to concoct and market instruction manuals, and they need not be considered pornographic or rendered pornographic in doing so. In suggesting this, I am in no way intending to portray Daruans or Papua New Guineans as terrible erotophobes or as the only such in the world. Right here in the U.S., recently, the American Red Cross acceded to pressure put upon it by its board members and particularly by its president, and wife of Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, Elizabeth Hanford Dole. Among other things, they objected to "the drawing of a penis in a handout on condoms and asked that it 'be redrawn in a more clinical fashion,'" whatever that means (!), and that the material (in brochures, handouts, videos, and so forth) was too "highly explicit in terms of sexual matters, including illustrations" (Berke 1995: A9).

Despite a number of cultural barriers to condom usage[73], Daruans seem to me to be ready and willing to make condom usage a more integral part of their sexual, health,

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73. I have mentioned some of these in previous chapters, but to reiterate I think they have primarily to do with 1) decrease in male sexual pleasure, 2) the cultural importance of having children, 3) the fears of vaginal, uterine, or cervical "blockage" should condoms come off and become dislodged inside the woman's body, and 4) male (sexual) dominance. Not all such "blockage" is bad; some "custom ways" regarding contraception induce "blockage." Some Kerema informants referred to shavings of a particular tree being added to rice or cabbage that would "put a block" somewhere in a woman's ovaries or fallopian tubes.) Members of some Central African communities (Schoepf 1988: 637) suspect condoms of having a "snake-like motility by which it penetrates cervix and uterus." In addition, however, are religious barriers. As one well-educated and -connected politician informant put it (field note, 2-20-91, Daru), "It doesn't say in the Bible that Jesus said to put on condoms and go sleep with your wives." In Sogai village, nearly atop a branch of the Bamu River, one elderly informant put it to me, through an interpreter into Pidgin, that "This sex stuff [knowledge about and teaching of] comes from God only, it doesn't come from men and women. Only from the Bible does knowledge come. When you get married, that's the time [you learn about sex]." I suspect as well that many women do not want to imply, in suggesting condom usage, that they are sexually active. Leona, for example, recounted to me regarding one sexual encounter that "he use the condom on me four times. [But] I'm not going around with the boys. I have no sick" (field note, 4-1-91, Daru).

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and family-planning behaviors. My "condom log" noting the distribution of 20,000 free condoms confirms that there is a "down" side of condoms (jealousy, misunderstandings, fear, shame in their application and disposal, etc. [[74]]), but that nevertheless there was tremendous support overall regarding condoms. Condoms are available, however, in only one trade store, where they are hidden away, are too expensive, and provoke shame in both seller and buyer. Condoms have been condemned by church leaders and Attorney General alike.[[75]] They are not available at drinking places and public sex environments. They are denied to the "wrong" patients both in STD and family planning clinics by health workers who fear that women will thereby become pamuku, adolescents promiscuous, and men adulterous. Social marketing campaigns must therefore commence immediately in order to 1) identify potential key nodes in distribution

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[74]. The genitophobia these issues suggest is not unique to Daru. A patent was granted recently to a U.S. inventor of a condom application device after numerous studies showed young American males to be uncomfortable applying and disposing of condoms (San Francisco Chronicle, 4-9-93, p. A10); need I mention the new tampon applicator technologies which give women the "choice" not to touch their own genitalia?

A second problem is the simple unknowing fear of what condoms are. Some of my married male informants at sagapari, for example, said that they would not want to use condoms with their wives because "she does not know how to use them yet, she will get suspicious." "The ones without education will get shock when fellows try to use condoms." "The wife is the one who will say, 'what, are you trying to kill me with that,' 'are you trying to spoil my body for nothing'?" (field note, 1-17-92, Daru).

[75]. At the first national AIDS seminar, Papua New Guinea's Attorney-General Bernard Narokobi said that "I don't believe condoms should be made available to the young people as it only promotes promiscuity and adultery" (quoted in the Post-Courier, 20-2-92, p. 12). My own experience as a condom distributor on Daru was that 1) young people were made more thoughtful (i.e., "why am I using this?") by having condoms, 2) that they talked more to each other about the consequences of sex and STDs, and that 3) they were better protected against unwanted pregnancy and STDs when they did engage in sex. So, while even given the fact that at least some on Daru could be shown to have engaged in sex more frequently having condoms in their possession, that does not necessarily mean that they were becoming thereby promiscuous; in fact, quite the opposite--more discriminating and thoughtful about the consequences.

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networks, 2) help people to overcome some unnecessary cultural, structural, and other obstacles to condom usage and make it more culturally appropriate, 3) encourage women to take a more active role in protecting themselves and their bodies, and 4) boost health worker efforts in family planning work. A few dedicated nursing sisters, an odd trade store or two, betel nut sellers, sports teams, drinking establishments, hotel staff, enterprising marketeers--think of the possibilities here! At present, of course, there is not in place a set of conducive social relations in which, say, condoms may be sold more "openly" by tradestores or canteens, much less by marketeers or betel sellers.

> 2) Regarding STD treatment and prevention, a clinic-based approach will not work for perhaps a majority of infected persons in and around the South Fly, particularly females, particularly in village or camp/settlement settings. New approaches have to be tried.

Jealousy, suspicion, pain, language, money, experience, and many other factors keep infected women in particular away from the Clinic. Fear and embarrassment add to this problem, particularly the long, shameful waits on a bench outside the Clinic in full view of others. The STD Clinic needs at least one female permanently assigned to it, preferably more. STD treatment and prevention need to be integrated into the existing health plan and philosophy, not segregated from it. STD patrols into camps, corners, wards, settlements, and villages on and around Daru, perhaps even schools, have not been done for years and years. This neglect points to many barriers between health workers and patients. Grassroots patients complain of health workers that "we never see them," "they refuse to come to our corner," "we are frightened of them," "we do not speak their language (in the case of Bamu)," "we have no money," and so on. Health workers have suggested in response that corner residents sometimes do not welcome

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them, that they shoot at them with arrows (in the case of one particular apocryphal story), and that they do not like "walking down there," in and amidst the muck and misery. Some health workers to me had sort of a "if you want help you gotta come to us" attitude, which is understandable and reasonable but which will nevertheless not work for X percentage of Daruans. A clinic-based approach almost by definition precludes such greater and more frequent contact that I believe both patients and health workers desire and which at least the former actually need.

> 3) The sex industry on Daru will continue to the degree to which gender inequities remain a constant in Papua New Guinea. These inequities must be addressed immediately.

Papua New Guinea is obviously not the only country in the world with well-established sex industries. Prostitution flourishes even in countries arguably much less gender-biased on other fronts, such as regards gynophobia, the fear of sexual intercourse, and so forth (e.g., Thailand). Nevertheless, each time a woman is beaten, victimized by the incestuous behavior of a father or other male relative, cut with a bushknife, hit over the head with a beer bottle, or killed by being struck in the spleen by a piece of firewood without the man or men involved being punished; each time she is made pregnant against her will, each time contract labor goes to men and not women, each time a community, church, or village elects a man to lead it instead of a woman; each time a woman is pack-raped or made otherwise to submit sexually to often drunken, violent boyfriends and husbands, each time the Police tell her to go home, that it is only a "domestic dispute"--each time, in fact, that women are not treated on a legal, social, political, and economic par with men the sex industry and the social, cultural, economic, and political relations

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which underwrite it, only gain strength. Bamu women predominate at sagapari not because of "traditional" promiscuity or kastom we but because the political economy demands it. Kiwai and Suki women predominate in certain forms of the sex industry not because of "culture" or loose morals, but because pisirimai-buyers, police, and politicians support it. The problem here is not the women or "culture" involved.[76] Rather, it is the fact of their being prostituted, the set of social relations within which the sex industry was forged and is maintained, the gender inequities that force women into selling themselves sexually.

> 4) Regarding female participants in the sex industry, their particular plight must be addressed on an individual, case-by-case basis and/or on a more community-level basis.

Only two of the women in my sample have ever worked for regular wages, and that employment was brief, temporary, and low-paying. When they do work with family members processing pisirimai their money is often taken by male relatives or squandered by themselves and the latter on beer. These women wish to work at "real" jobs, and all are capable and intelligent, but there are few economic provisions made for Daruan

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[76]. Ralston (1992: 169) quotes a poem by Grace Molisa to this effect:

"Custom"
misapplied
bastardised
murdered
a frankenstein
corpse
conveniently
recalled
to intimidate
women (1983)

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women generally, much less for unmarried, abandoned, widowed, and divorced ones on Daru. No provisions appear to be made for those already stigmatized for and by their sexual activities. Development programs, therefore, might have to take into account the individuality of these women and their circumstances, their shame at being seen as man- and family-spoiling uba pe, and their desire to be reintegrated into more supportive familial and economic networks.

For other sectors of the sex industry, a more community level approach might be more appropriate. Bamu, for instance, are the truly downtrodden on Daru (and in Balimo[77]), for a variety of reasons. There are few schools, roads, or Aid Posts in their villages, and even fewer work opportunities; migration to Daru, to Wawoi-Guavi timber camp, to Balimo, to Oriomo and Umudu sawmills, and to other locales where tu kina bus flourishes (such as Balimo periodically) is thereby one of the very few options they have. During a corner-wide census of a Bamu corner, we asked members of 61 households what three things they would do with 1,000 kina. Virtually without exception they did not say "buy beer, lollies, and smoke"; they said "buy food, fishing nets, and boats." Development programs aimed at Bamu, therefore, should be two-pronged. First, they should make village-living more attractive again by providing greater health, schooling, employment, and political opportunities in the village, such that migration to Daru, Kamusi, and so on, in order to engage in prostitution, does not become such an "attractive" option. Second, development opportunities and basic human rights should

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77. It would appear that the majority of rot meri in Balimo are Bamu women, too, who sell themselves for money, for food, for fish, and clothing (field note, 1-9-91, Balimo).

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exist for them as well on Daru. They must be guaranteed access to food, water, firewood, and shelter as well as health care, political representation, and employment. I do not, therefore, see the provision of such services, amenities, and opportunities as encouraging migration so much as evidence that such are not available in their villages.

> 5) Few Daruans are being reached by educational campaigns regarding sexuality issues, STDs, HIV transmission, or the realities of AIDS-related sicknesses. Such issues must be addressed now, while there still remains a tiny sliver of opportunity.

Even though there is a demonstrated link between STD infection and HIV, particularly as regards GUDs such as chancroid, syphilis, genital herpes, and Donovanosis, there is as yet no orchestrated movement on Daru to link the two together in a sustained effort. Globally, too, "[o]nly a tiny fraction of the world's prostitutes are being reached by any type of education/condom distribution programme, even though HIV prevalence among prostitutes often doubles every year" (The Lancet 1989: 1111). I suggest that for Daru, women and men at the nexuses of what appear to be incredibly dense sexual networks might provide, with sufficient, appropriate, sensitive, and sustained inducement the necessary links between public health outreach programs and efforts. These would of necessity include alteration of sexual behaviors, greater condom usage, training in STD prevention and treatment, and so on, on the individual level, and on a more public level, include discussion of the particular plight of women brutalized by the sex industry.

> 6) A significant social contradiction on Daru is the sexual double standard. This must end, since it is patently unfair that women are abused for behaviors (real and imagined) that many males specialize in.

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As I have indicated above, women are held to sexual and marital standards (pre-marital chastity and marital fidelity, relative lack of sexual enjoyment, non-initiatory stance towards sexual intercourse, etc.) that a majority of men come nowhere near upholding. Because of this double standard, women who transgress (or who are rumored to have done so) are beaten, jailed, taken to court, and otherwise abused for their trouble:

> Koria [about 26, married]: I was looking for her [his wife] in the night [suspecting adultery]. I can't find her. And so in that night I didn't even sleep. And from there I went to X kona I grab her from these, these people. Mother's people, I get her from there and I took her to Y kona. Since when you put the first step inside the yard, I started belting her... I hit her around...I think six times. In the belly...Everywhere. My hands, my legs were going. Over here, everywhere... Number six hitting was...she really, they, they was that uh, they admit her in the hospital....
>
> Lawrence: Now, what did her family do when they saw you belting her?
>
> Koria: Oh, they were, you know, some of them, they are on my side, they are talking, "oh, it's very true. You got right to do. It's up to you, it's what you want."
>
> Lawrence: Now what happens if a woman wants to belt her husband if the husband has been with girlfriends [as is the case with Koria himself]? Is that sabi [forbidden], or can the wife belt the husband?
>
> Koria: No, she won't, she won't hurt. She won't belt him. But, only thing is, she will talk to him. Talk bad words.[78]

Young female victims of sexual violence are "marked" and then treated as fair game by village and corner boys, as with Pani, whose story was partially narrated above. Older women laboring under uba pe status have already been "spoiled" and are seen almost as beyond further degradation, again rendering them fair game to the taunts, insults, sexual violence, rumor and gossip leveled at them by both males and females.

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78. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 3-3-92.

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Another sad example was a Bamu woman roundly excoriated for bringing her nursing baby with her to sagapari one day (cf. Carmichael 1982) even though 1) her husband forced her there daily, 2) her husband refused to seek work or generate income otherwise, 3) her husband took most of her earnings to buy beer with, and 4) beat her frequently for her trouble. Another young woman referred to above is called "gonorrhea cunt" though she was faithful to her multiply abusive husband. The Daruan sexual double standard is clearly the root of much social misery, a crucial nexus, a pillar almost, of the (sexual) political economy. Until the problems of the sex industry are aired, discussed, and dealt with satisfactorily, HIV infection will continue to spread without check, as will other STDs, many of them having extremely severe health effects. Only Daruans can prevent this disaster from happening.

In closing this chapter, and because I will soon leave much of my description and analysis of Daru behind, I wish to reiterate that this has been a most difficult chapter and dissertation for me to write. This is partly because I wish to avoid the taint of a moralizing, colonial attitude that I fear my words will have implied to some readers. I fear also that the preceding has suggested a certain disdain for Daruans that I do not possess. I have simply tried to recount what I saw, heard, and experienced during the 19 months of my fieldwork, and the depth of my anger and sadness at the contemporary scene on Daru. Let me emphasize in closing that I live in a country with greater than 1,000,000 people infected with HIV, with now over 400,000 cases of AIDS and over 270,000 dead already from it. I wish, therefore, only to be of some use to Daruans and to Papua New Guineans, in spite of whatever differences we may have. We live in one

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world and one world only. In addition to the concerns we may have about our own spouses, families, households, hamlets, villages, townships, cities, provinces, states, nations, countries and even continents, we must also reach out across these boundaries to help each other to end this scourge of our time, if only in the interest of those who will come after us.

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Chapter 10:

"Reflections on Ethnographer Shame and
Anthropological Accountability"

"The bearded young men with pipes
who dominated the advanced graduate
group looked as though they had entered
the world with boots on. There was no way I
could emulate them even if I had wanted to"
(Anderson 1990: 147).

"The reputation of the Indian man is based not on proof
of what he does but on common assumptions about
what he must be doing.
A married man...is expected to seek 'extra ginger'...
In a sense, the man is assumed,
approvingly, to be guilty of infidelity until proven innocent"
(Angrosino 1986: 70).

"I was so often 'accused' of being a Yoruba that when I went to
a market in which I was not certain I would find a friend to
identify me I made a point of...dressing 'like an American'...
I even abandoned my sandals in favor of moderately high
heels and put on make-up, including lipstick"
(Sudarkasa 1986: 175).

"Insider and outsider myths are not empirical generalizations
about the relationship between the researcher's social position
and the character of the research findings. They are elements
in a moral rhetoric that claims exclusive research legitimacy
for a particular group"
(Styles 1979: 148-49).

"The point is that, whatever the personal interpretations
involved, the attempt to transcend the separation of self and other,
bespeaking the equality of union, could never be entirely
divorced from the inequalities which partly
constituted that separation"
(Wade 1993: 211).

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I. Introduction: the crisis of Anthropology

Much has been written recently of the promise of ethnographic fieldwork and anthropological methods to help stem the spread of HIV transmission[1] locally and globally. Despite the occasional (and often lone) questioning voices,[2] anthropologists appear particularly well-suited to investigate sexual behavior and to propose and help implement sound solutions to various facets of the many AIDS epidemics. Our popular reputation[3] as sexual swashbucklers of a sort[4] is certainly intact, whether that springs from the topics we teach in class or the research strategies we plot and attempt to carry out. From the profusion of books with sexy book titles penned by one of our founding grandfathers, Malinowski[5]; to the longstanding rumors about Margaret Mead's Black

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1. See Parker, Herdt, and Carballo (1991); Carrier and Magana (1991); Herdt and Boxer (1991); Abramson and Herdt (1990). See also the many valuable essays in Herdt and Lindenbaum, eds. (1992), particularly those by Bolton (1992) and Abramson (1992). Herdt and Stoller (1990) also provide perhaps the most sustained attempt yet to configure what sound anthropological methodology devoted to the study of sex would look like. This work is not framed in terms of HIV transmission issues, though.

2. Often, as well, from outside the discipline (e.g., Abramson 1992).

3. largely bestowed upon ourselves, says Carole Vance, as "fearless investigators of sexual customs and mores throughout the world, breaking through the erotophobic intellectual taboos common in other, more timid disciplines" (1991: 875), and, we might add, cultures.

4. Though that tag should be reserved perhaps for those such as Vollman, an ethnographically-inclined novelist (1993; see also Bell [1994] who consciously compares Vollman to Errol Flynn, surely the swashbuckling prototype). One should not forget the 19th-century investigations of Sir Richard Burton of the infamous boy brothels of Karachi (see Brodie 1971, for an interesting psychobiography detailing The Devil Drives, that is, the impulse that drove him), or of the effect of The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, written by Aramia Stead, published in the Pall Mall Gazette, in 1885, which investigated what came to be known as the "international traffic in women and children."

5. As an undergraduate student I was never much encouraged to read Malinowski, but sections of The Sexual Life of Savages (1929) are in fact pretty racy, and must have seemed much more so decades ago.

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Widowish, bi-sexuality (three anthropological husbands?, an affair with Ruth Benedict?[6]); to the co-ed student of Indiana Jones in the first installment of his screen memoirs who every morning eyelid-blinked the message, "I Love You" from the front row; to the sleuthing, sexually-hip (and -put upon) anthropologist portrayed by Louis Gossett Jr. in the short-lived T.V. show, Gideon Oliver (one that began, not unpredictably, by discussing the sexual place of the Ardreyan Alpha Male in the animal kingdom)--we have fostered (or at least not protested too much) the impression that anthropologists are, if not more sexually active than others, at least more sexually knowledgeable. Wink, wink, nudge, nudge.

Despite our popular reputation, however, we professional anthropologists have always had a certain difficulty speaking and writing frankly about sex. Part of the problem is that so little actually ends up in the ethnographies we read that the empirical basis for comparative study of sexuality is rendered useless. As Herdt and Stoller note, "the detailed information necessary to study erotics and gender identity are usually omitted in ethnographies, at least until very recently" (1990: 2). But part of the problem is also (apparently) ethnographer shame. Murdock, for example, cannot quite bring himself to tell us what the preferred sexual position is among the Trukese, and instead refers (more winks, another nudge or two) the "curious" to Malinowski:

> The normal, routine posture assumed by the Trukese in copulation is one that is not even mentioned in Kinsey or, to my knowledge, in any other occidental work

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6. One of Margaret Mead's students, Ken Heyman, says that his mother disapproved of his going on a fieldtrip with her: "My mother wasn't sure that I ought to go, since Margaret had had so many husbands that I, at age twenty-nine, might be sexually maltreated" (quoted in Howard 1984: 366).

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> in sexology or pornography. It probably has never even been approximated by any native-born American couple, however experimental... (1965: 301).

Well, I don't know about that. As both Vance (1991) and Donald Tuzin (1991, 1994) suggest, our reputation for theoretical boldness and ethnographic raciness is largely undeserved, and we still lack a synthesizing theory of human sexuality. Abramson (1992) also helpfully reviews some of the methodological stumbling blocks which, when combined with anthropological reticence and perhaps less than total ethnographer forthcomingness (see Bolton 1992 for a notable exception), make our assessments of the kinds of sexual behaviors and histories I have observed and collected difficult to carry out and rely upon. Indeed, ethnographic and anthropological discourse on sex is still remarkable for its lack of candor, for its failure to get down to, inside, or on top of the truly nitty-gritty of sex. We still have difficulty finding out what other people really do sexually and what they have done in the past. We are still extremely reticent to talk about our own sexuality, in and out of the field.[7] Warren points out that "It is not always clear why sexual encounters should be reported, beyond a modern 'confessional'

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7. A welcome exception is Mariam Slater's under-appreciated African Odyssey (1976), in which she investigated sexuality plainly and curiously. She says (1976: 219) that she was "glad they knew two positions so that they did not think I was mad to ask about something they supposed could have no alternatives."

Another welcome exception is Tobias Schneebaum's Where the Spirits Dwell: an odyssey in the jungle of New Guinea (1988). Unfortunately, perhaps even because his works are so sensitive and so personal, Schneebaum is not read as being a trained ethnographer. His willingness to talk openly about participating in a headhunting raid in Keep the River on Your Right (1973) and his disclosure of homosexual activity with primary informants in the field among the Asmat (1988) is provocative in the extreme to us "professionally" trained ethnographers. Knauft (1993: 234, and personal communication) points to the "highly personal nature of some sections of Schneebaum's account" (specifically renderings of his homosexual activities) and pleas for treating of this work "with special caution" owing to the fact of his not being professionally trained, not necessarily because, not as an ethnographer, he wrote about his sexual encounters.

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impulse" (1988: 63). Her distinction between gratuitous, personal odyssey-style reportage and that which has analytical (or methodological) salience is an uneasy one, however. That is, it is perhaps not very difficult to spot instances of the former (e.g. Marcus 1964; Harris 1963). Precisely when the ethnographer's own sexuality and sexual activities have analytical and methodological salience, however, is not perhaps so easy to pinpoint. I suspect that this is one of the horns of dilemma that we remain stuck on during fieldwork and write-up stages. It points, minimally, to the often completely different ways in which our own differently-gendered, -sexed and -interpreted selves interact with members of our "host" communities. Might there not be a big difference--leading thus to perhaps entirely different methodological, legal, empirical and intellectual implications--between as a man "pawing scandalously" at village girls in the Trobriand islands, as Malinowski (1967: passim) did, and being brutally raped, as a woman, on a Caribbean island (see Wengle 1988: 4)?[8] Is not there a vast gulf separating a female fieldworker mistaken for a prostituted woman' in Brazil (Landes 1986: 130-32) for having worn the wrong shoes, and a "'big,' 'brown,' 'pretty-talking' man" who is called repeatedly "sir" by his informants (Whitehead 1986)? Is not there a big difference between male professors joking nervously in the elevators of an odd sexual encounter or two in the field and a female graduate student being reminded by male mentors on the verge of fieldwork to be sure to take birth control pills (Conaway 1986: 53)? Is it not relevant that becoming pregnant in the field was internalized by some as being the

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[8]. Another female professor of mine as an undergraduate was raped by an informant, and tried (but was unsuccessful) to prosecute the case locally, her rapist sharing a wealth of consanguineal and affinal ties with the local police chief. She was forced to leave the field (and eventually left anthropology), to my and its detriment.

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commission of a grave anthropological sin (e.g., Oboler 1986: 45-46), or that this was simply part of one's likely research methodology (Liz Brunner, in Warren 1988: 33-34; see also Rovner-Piecznik 1976)? Is there not a qualitative difference between Kath Weston attending "Prom Night" as an "out," though of course still narrating, lesbian anthropologist (1993: 16) and a Joe Styles "out" as a participating-in-sexual-activities, though not gay-identified sociologist (1979)? Could any female ethnographers approach their subjects (objects?) as Ralph Bolton did his (1992)?

It seems to me, therefore, minimally, that as a discipline we have wasted a vast untapped potential of inspiration, findings, and comparisons as simple as even male/female differences in fieldwork exhibitions of and misunderstandings around sexuality. I think of my own situation on Daru and the scrapes I got into due to my alleged promiscuity with local women, and it still makes me mad, but surely that anger pales next to the case of a friend of mine who had to return from fieldwork due to her impregnation by a local acquaintance and a subsequent botched abortion. In addition, I can talk here about my sexual scrapes, and were I to have been sexually active I could write about them in ways that Dona Davis (1986) could not, given both her status and station in the Newfoundland fishing community she lived amongst and her ostensible topic, menstrual effluvia as moral and mental barometer. How many male sociologists or anthropologists are likely to have encountered the following kind of exchange specific to female gender?:

> Judge [to male attorney]: Have you met Carol Warren?
>
> MHC: Is it Mrs. or Miss?

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Warren: Doctor.

MHC: I see (quoted in Warren 1982: 228).

Why have not such topics been discussed more trenchantly in terms of sexuality-that-charges-fieldwork-interaction, even on the level of simple masculine privilege in the field? What else are we missing out on? Has a more candid discussion of sexuality and gendered privilege in the field even been possible? Two early recollections of fieldwork advice written by notable women (Wax 1971; Powdermaker 1966) barely mention at all gender boundaries and their negotiation, much less those more properly sexual. Warren (1988: 33) notes that the "fieldwork literature on mutual sexual attraction and sexual episodes seems to be predominantly a male literature, while the literature on sexual objectification and hustling appears to be almost entirely a female one." Nevertheless, as she discusses interestingly (1988: 29-38), the literature devoted to both topics is relatively underdeveloped and scattered. Even Warren's gentle critic (Wade 1993: 199) on this point writes of the "virtual absence of any mention of sexual relations" in his later textual productions (1993: 211), despite having carried on long-term relationships with local Carib women during two fieldwork stints.

This reticence, however, has not kept us and those writing from the fields of public health, medicine, and sexology from employing "sex" toward other ends. We continue to use loosely in medical and sexological texts such unexamined vaguenesses as "sexual partners" in the context of non-consensual sex that prostituted women among many others are forced into (see another take on this topic by Patton 1994: 48-49). Meanwhile, we dub them thereby "promiscuous" even when we cannot offer a

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meaningful, quantifiable, even descriptive marker of it. We employ "sexual preference" to refer to non-heterosexual persons, but not to heterosexuals. We chalk up male sexual activity with females to the "heterosexual" category even when 37% of such males periodically have sex with other males (cited in Patton 1994: 58). We speak of "homosexual transmission," however, in reference to male/male sexual activity without regards to meaning, frequency, and implication. Moreover, we chalk up to the "homosexual" category contacts between males self-identified as "bisexual" but fail to put at least some of the heterosexual activity in male bisexuality (that is, instances during which males have sexual intercourse with females) under the "heterosexual" category. In the other direction, the Centers for Disease Control still classify a lesbian as "bisexual" if she has had at least once since 1977 sexual intercourse with a man, under whatever conditions. When lesbians are raped by men and then go on to develop AIDS, they are counted under the category of "heterosexual transmission," not under the category of "lesbians with AIDS" (Horne 1993: n.p.). "Bisexual" itself is a relatively undeveloped term theoretically (see Tielman, Carballo and Hendriks 1991), but moreover is not particularly well integrated even thematically between disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, and epidemiology. In addition, though Boulton (1991: 188) is right to say that "bisexuality refers to a very heterogeneous category of people," it is extremely questionable whether they share "one common behavioral characteristic" (1991: 188). The volume Bisexuality and HIV/AIDS itself (Tielman, Carballo and Hendriks 1991) is devoted almost wholly to male sexual behavior, both of them and with them.

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In the context particularly of HIV infection, we have continued to buy into and promote such notions as the existence of "Pattern One," "Pattern Two," and "Pattern Three" countries. Such facile designations have underwritten, for instance, the notion that there is, on the one hand, "AIDS," and, on the other, "African AIDS." "Pattern One," (loosely) describes areas/regions/countries in which further descriptors such as "injecting drug use" and "homosexual and/or bisexual behavior" are said to account for the bulk of HIV infections, but where "heterosexual behavior" is said to account for very few. "Pattern Two" countries, or, in the case of "Africa," continents, are thus by definition seen to lack both of these epidemiological scenarios, and so we have an "African AIDS," driven by "heterosexual behavior," most notably that of "prostituted woman's" and their "clients," truck drivers, and so on, but no "homosexual behavior" or "drug injecting." "Pattern Three" countries for the most part are seen to combine roughly parts of Patterns One and Two, namely, the drug injecting behaviors exhibited by residents of the former and the heterosexual behaviors expressed by inhabitants of the latter. These notions presume absurdly that whole communities, regions, countries, and even continents have more or less entrenched sexual/behavioral patterns to them, driven by some mixture of genetics, tribal custom and tradition, underwritten by national psyche and cultural character (see, e.g., Mann, Chin, Piot, and Quinn 1989). They make no sense whatsoever for one reasonably large community, much less for a province, a state, a nation or country, a region, and certainly not continent (see also Patton 1992). The problems are only compounded when "Pattern One Country" is wedded to "bisexual behavior" (e.g. Boulton 1991: 193), for then "bisexual" must then also mean simultaneously

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"homosexual" and "heterosexual," exposing the (epidemio)logical fallacies in and of such constructions.

So, we use "sex" a lot, but we do not very well study it. This brief discussion of problems in configuring the place of sexuality and sexual behaviors in HIV transmission is intended only to call attention to another, perhaps unconscious agenda here, that is, the deflective force of espousing others' real and imagined sexualities instead of speaking openly about our own. Much of what relatively little anthropological literature there is on sexuality seems to me to be sublimative in its effect, if not purpose. Too often, we feel safer pronouncing about "African sexuality" and "prostituted woman' fatalism" and "deviant needle-sharers" than we do fessing up to our own behaviors or of those of the people we count as belonging to the same community, to perhaps even our own "promiscuity" in some cases, to our own struggles in the field with sexual contacts and "partnerships" or their lack.[9] Further, some of what we know is by default--from diaries never intended to have been published, for example.[10] I do not understood this

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9. Though I am not advocating his behavior while trying to "free a sex slave" on assignment for Spin magazine ("Whenever she bit me I used to put my hands down her pants; then she'd grimace, laughing Aiee! and rest her head on my thigh" [1993: 142]), I do applaud Vollman's openness to talk about what surely more than one male patrol officer, missionary, or ethnographer has ever done.

10. As Wengle notes (1988: 25), despite a few anecdotal exceptions (Hsu 1979: 518; Stocking 1968: 193) the presumption is that if not all unaccompanied anthropologists are completely celibate in the field, sex is at least extremely problematical. Stocking notes (1968: 193) that "several anthropologists have indicated to me in conversation that their own sexuality had been a gnawing problem for them in the field." But what kind of gnawing problem was it? Of too much? Of not enough? With the wrong persons? With informants? With indigenes? Although I have no statistics to back up such a claim, I do not believe that it is always reasonable or desirable to remain celibate during fieldwork. My celibacy taught me that being (obviously) sexually active (with the exactly right person) would have smoothed over hurt feelings, quelled at least a few noxious rumors, and laid to rest nagging gossip as to with whom I was or was not sleeping.

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disciplinary conspiracy to keep from public and even collegial view the fact that we as ethnographers do on occasion impregnate and become impregnated by "natives" and become otherwise embroiled in local sexual intrigues whether we like it or not, whether we planned for it or not, whether we are responsible about it or not. Why can we still not yet admit that when we do fieldwork we are sexual creatures, tempted by flesh and opportunities but bound by ethics, perhaps constrained by language and shame? If we can speak candidly about linguistic faux pas that are both hilarious (Barley 1982) and methodologically consequential (Chagnon 1977), why can we still not use the "F" word in academic journals? If we can write about almost getting killed or almost getting others killed (Davis 1985); about participating during fieldwork in drug deals that go awry (Bourgois 1993); about losing our field notes overboard in a steamer trunk (Leach 1964 [1946]; or, better yet, losing our field notes overboard in a steamer trunk but paying a local diver to dredge them up [Landtman 1927:ix]) or out of the back seat of our car into the back yard of an abandoned building (Worsley 1984); about leaving our only copy of our doctoral dissertation on a train (Steiner 1967 [1956]); about participating in head-hunting raids (Schneebaum 1973) and even penis-sucking ceremonies (Schneebaum

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I wonder how much this affected Malinowski's general lack of empathy and rapport with "his" natives (see A Diary in the Strictest Sense of the Term, 1967). Apart from his hypochondria, his feelings of racial and cultural superiority, and his generally unfavorable portraits of "niggers," "boys," and "savages," Malinowski was also clearly suffering from sexual repression. Even when he could allow himself a moment of relaxation of repression and admit to attraction to some village girl, his other feelings stopped him in his tracks:

> At 5 went to Kaulaka. A pretty, finely built girl walked ahead of me. I watched the muscles of her back, her figure, her legs, and the beauty of the body so hidden to us, whites, fascinated me. Probably even with my own wife I'll never have the opportunity to observe the play of back muscles for as long as with this little animal (1967: 255).

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1988); about "pawing scandalously" at native girls (Malinowski 1967) and doing Swedish calisthenics to make up for it--what is so terrible about writing about love affairs? Is it so horribly personal that no one should ever know? Does it merely not happen often enough to be consequential? Or is it that our credentials as field workers would be called into question thereby? Do we believe that revelation of such behaviors would compromise our reputation as scientists?

Our shame and reticence to talk and write about our own sexuality as ethnographers in the field must have dire consequences far beyond the development of our discipline. The anthropology of sex lags far behind discoveries and theoretical developments elsewhere in our field, among them, ethnoscience and componential analysis, human ecology, early hominid origins, critical theory in medical anthropology, technologies of gender, and so on. Alarming rates of teenage pregnancy, the increasing number of women in some U.S. communities who do not "know" they are pregnant until they give birth, the newest syphilis epidemics, paralleled by chlamydia and genital herpes outbreaks that, at least in terms of numbers, dwarf HIV infection, and so on, deserve our attention, too.

But are we up to the task? Are we ready? Where have we been all this time? Perhaps a few examples will indicate how bereft until recently our field has been on the topic. Despite a single reference to "clitoris" in its index, Martin and Voorhies' otherwise exemplary volume, Female of the Species (Martin and Voorhies 1975) is notable for its

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total neglect of actual sexual behavior.[11] Two recent commentators have argued that it did not do so because "the data on women's sexuality cross-culturally had not accumulated sufficiently for an in-depth discussion" (Jacobs and Roberts 1989: 439). If that is even close to being true, and my sense is that it is, then there can be no more ringing indictment of our field's reticence to tackle the issue of sexual behavior. How can it be that the literature is so poorly developed when so many others, regarding inarguably more arcane and less practical, useful topics, are so well developed? Many recent, otherwise helpful texts with "Sex," "Sexual," and "Sexuality" in their titles still do not generally get around to talking about sexual behavior per se.[12] The editors of Sexual Meanings, for example, somewhat self-consciously remarked in a similar vein that readers would likely be asking themselves, "Where's the Sex,?" "do the natives engage in foreplay (and what sort)" (Ortner and Whitehead 1981b: 24)? Although disappointed that in "essay after essay" the erotic gives way to an "abiding concern for military honors, the pig herd, and the estate" (1981b: 24; but see Herdt and Stoller 1990), they nevertheless themselves revive Weber's ghost by replying that such questions such as the above are "sufficient to jolt us into the realization that we are on social, and more precisely, 'status,' territory once again" (1981b: 24-25). Where did the sex scurry off to? Are those the only reasons sex is engaged in, much less is erotic, to increase chances of gaining

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[11]. Laqueur (1990: 64-65) makes clear, however, that nothing is given with respect to the history of the study of sex, if the clitoris can be said to have been (re)discovered by Columbus (Renaldus) only in 1559. Pedersen (1991), too, argues that the Kikuyu clitoridectomy debate in British Parliament in the 1920s foundered not just on lines of national pride and surgical details but on the inability of Parliamentarians to utter the word "clitoris." I suggest that this is no less true now, here, in cultural anthropology.

[12]. Compare, e.g., Frayser (1985) and Voeller, Reinisch, and Gottlieb (1990).

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military honors, to facilitate increase of the pig herd, to consolidate the estate? Does not the erotic also at least occasionally threaten to tear them asunder? Or worse, in terms of the development of theory in our field, is this merely a more nicely dressed up form of functionalism? To argue this another way, is this merely yet another instance of a perhaps more subtle anthropological ethnocentrism? Are the reasons given above why we engage in sex? How many of us are thinking of ecological variables, genetic fitness, and transmissible property when we engage in sex? I believe that we will not even be able to address such timely questions, much less answer them, without addressing how people actually do sex,[13] as opposed merely to having it.

I believe that, at least by omission, our texts and lectures do not mesh with our thoughts and experiences, and that our audience, students, colleagues and host communities are the worse for it. Why did Malinowski have to hide in his Diary[14] his dreams of "a mistress with a white body," his daily "violent surges of sexual instinct for native girls," his "scandalous pawing" of Nopula, Malinowski's own little Trobriand island Lolita?[15] How are we to assess meaningfully and responsibly his fears of a sexual hysteria that he kept barely at bay by regular performance of Swedish

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13. (See also Parker 1989.) As has been implicit throughout, I prefer the more active verb form, "to do sex" as opposed to "to have sex," and anyway, this was how my informants put it to me on Daru. As an example of what I am talking about, in an otherwise methodologically useful piece with the subtitle "how much can a KAP survey tell us,?" Schopper, Doussantousse, and Oray (1993: 402) assume that "sex" can be classified into three categories: "premarital sex, marriage and extra-marital sex." Weber would be happy, but gone is the chance to examine how people actually do sex, much less what it feels like and means to them.

14. Hsu (1979: 530), however, thinks that Malinowski, being a great teacher, "would not have minded."

15. And Vollman (1993) had his own Sukanja, breasts not yet developed.

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calisthenics? How many other field workers have missed their mothers so much? How many more classic ethnographies are there out there that would have been enriched by another chapter or two about real and imagined love-making, by ethnographer and informant alike? Why did Raymond Firth remove the chapter on the sociology of sex in the third edition of We, the Tikopia? Whose Sex and Repression is it, anyway?[16]

I submit that answers to these questions are not sterile, that they have consequence to more than just the intellectual history of our field. In this age of AIDS and of people dying in uncounted ways in the streets and hospital beds, do we have time for innocuous metaphors and discursive renderings of cultures, bodies, and sexualities as "texts" (e.g., "Pattern 1 country," "homosexual promiscuity," "pre-marital sexuality," and so forth)? We need now more than ever focused, mutually interactive research on, frank discussion of, and then workable solutions to the problems posed by HIV and other STD transmission dynamics.

These dynamics have a number of important components to them, among them, physiological, anatomical, immunological, contraceptive, cultural, and psychological. Regarding just physiological components of "risk" (see Patton 1994: Chapter 3), assume, let us say, that intact, healthy vaginal and cervical mucosa provide reasonably effective barriers against the transmission of, say, HIV. What, then, for want of better terms, are the cultural, marital, and psychological, perhaps even erotic aspects of those physiological components that are related to HIV transmission? How "normal," then,

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16. See Malinowski (1967: 82, 282, 67, 68, passim), Firth (1967: xix). On a related note, why did E.E. Evans-Pritchard have to wait nearly until death before publishing on Azande warrior/boy marriages and homosexual behavior (1970) when it turns out to have been a significant feature of Azande life in several ways?

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statistically, normatively, morally is (the lack of?) vaginal lubrication and (the lack of?) sexual foreplay and desire? Should we be concerned by reports of the relative brevity of sexual intercourse? Or of the relatively early age at first intercourse or of the relatively high number of sexual partners, lifetime? What is the potential role of sexual penetration (via whatever orifice) by sharp and dirty fingernails or other objects in inducing infections, on the one hand, perhaps sexual arousal itself, on the other? Interesting and relevant East African ethnographic work has been done on topics such as the practice of vaginal drying and tightening by stone, hot water, powders, leaves and other pessaries, over-the-counter-prescriptions, cloths, and so forth (Brown, Ayowa, and Brown 1993; Brown, Brown, and Ayowa 1992; Runganga, Pitts and McMaster 1992). Even a cursory glance at this literature, however, makes clear that even practices that seem so commonsensically to be deleterious to vaginal mucosal integrity are sanctioned by both women and men. What might be taken by "us" to be "protection" against HIV (a "healthy," intact, well-lubricated vagina) is reviled by "them," as sign and symptom morally of "loose" vaginas, of promiscuity, of evil spells, and the like (cf. Mann, et al. 1988). Such practices may "in fact" be harmful on the microanatomical level to man and woman (Brown, Ayowa, and Brown 1993: 993), but so perhaps are better-lubricated vaginas in other ways. That is, perhaps ethnographers more so than others can uncover the importance of empirical and imagined links between "too much" lubrication and "too much" sexual intercourse, too many partners, etc. Getting down onto this level of sex raises a host of timely public health questions as well: could such, should such vaginally drying practices be adopted and even further eroticized (promoted, encouraged) so as

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further to maintain faithful sexual bonds between as yet uninfected persons? After all, "remaining faithful to one partner" has been the message saturating the airwaves for the past decade. Would this, could this be extended to other, even more "forceful" forms of sexual intercourse (e.g., "blood sports," anal or vaginal fisting, or those involving even more severe genital trauma)? Do we, should we encourage "safe" activities (i.e., those that produce lubricated vaginas) between unsafe (i.e., non-married) partners, or "unsafe" activities (those that dry or preclude the lubrication of vaginas) between safe (i.e., married, faithful) partners? Will we even be in a position to know of such things without attention to sex in more explicit fashion?

Regarding perhaps more "cultural" aspects to HIV transmission dynamics, why do men from some ethnic/racial/class groups seem to fear condom slippage during intercourse far more than men from others (see Grady, Klepinger, and Tanfer 1993; Klepinger, Billy, Tanfer, and Grady 1993; Tanfer, Grady, Klepinger and Billy 1993)? Could we, should we attempt perhaps to broker such discourses as we know of personally or intellectually? Why do women on Daru and elsewhere fear inordinately condoms coming off during intercourse and of removing them with their own hands? Why do Huli women fear condoms becoming entangled with fetuses? Under what conditions are women forced into sex? Do they resonate with any of the ways we might know about ourselves? How does a woman <u>do</u> sex with an obviously infected, ulcerated partner? Is such negotiation mediated primarily by financial considerations or by physical force? Are even what may be to us obviously ulcerated genitalia cognized as such by one and all? Does it even necessarily matter to those engaging in intercourse? Do we have any

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information to share regarding, for example, how we manage sexual relations with our own partners infected with and thus periodically infectious regarding herpes? How can she trick him into having intercourse with her hand instead of her genitals (Carol 1987: 95; see also Garber 1992)? What do men think about when doing sex with women obviously suffering from GUDs, or with those they suspect thereof? Do they climax more quickly or less so, are they more likely or less likely to use condoms? Does it matter how many times previously they have done sex with them? Do they even know when women have STDs? Taking my cue from an advertisement in New York City for M. Butterfly that lasted only one week on T.V., how could he not know? What leads women to blame magic men for genital ulcers and to use household cleaners and disinfectants such as Omo and Detol to treat them instead of seeking treatment at the STD Clinic? How can male health workers on Daru openly trade antibiotics for sex and personally demonstrate condom usage to currently infected patients? At what point cognitively or temporally do Japanese men on sex tours begin to slack off on condom usage with new partners (Patton 1994: 42)? How, in other words, do and can people do sex the way they do, and what are the medical and other consequences thereof? Can we even investigate such topics without including ourselves in the equation, much less plumb the depths confidently thereof?

Disciplinary chauvinism aside, and as Devereux pointed out long ago, ethnographers are probably no more or less prone to nervous anxieties about sex, particularly when it comes time to talk to informants about it (see Devereux 1967; but see Herdt and Stoller 1990). Tuzin (1991: 868) mentions two methodological problems

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regarding finding solutions, the first being related primarily to technical, ethnographic access to a sociobehavioral or a psychocognitive phenomenon. I wonder, however, whether in fact our access to sexual behavior is really more difficult a problem than is our access to a headhunter's dreams (Rosaldo 1980), to the location of a kuru bundle (Lindenbaum 1979), to a fraternity pledge's homoerotic fears (Sanday 1990), or to the exact recipe for zombi poudre and its antidote (Davis 1985). These are only four awesome examples of the application of anthropological know-how, but our history as a discipline is founded upon the same positivist premise: we can know about these things, and about witchcraft, too, magic, selfhood, warfare, conception theories, and so on. If so, then "technical access" really seems less of a problem than personal or philosophical. Tuzin's second methodological problem is probably closer to the mark. He notes the problem of the absence of any general conceptual framework in anthropology within/around which to situate the study of sexual behavior. Again, in the context of my discussion above, I wonder whether that might be due as well to our own shame, to the general American ambivalence about sex, and to academic fears in particular of discussing sex in a public arena (see Read 1980, 1984; Williams 1986; Blackwood 1986),[17] particularly same-gender sexual activity. That is, while Malinowski, Mead, Roheim, Devereux, and many other prominent social theorists were right to believe that, cross-culturally, most sexual activities are engaged in rather in private--Tuzin's first problem, though I suspect that with the profusion of sex industries this is becoming

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[17]. Vance (1991: 882, n. 4) recounts that her own grant application towards a study of sex was rejected partly because she was, according to her reviewer, "too young to engage in research on this topic"!!!!!!!!!!!

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increasingly less so--anthropological research on and writings about sex have scarcely been less private--Tuzin's second problem.[18] He is correct: we do not have the "conceptual apparatus" for dealing with sex (1991: 868). But why, and even if we did not for the more private instances of sexual activity, have not we developed them for more public displays?

Anthropological research on sex has of course become more "legitimate." But perhaps that is a result more of the increasing prominence of larger societal issues--pornography, child sexual abuse, fraternity gang rape, STDs, and now global HIV pandemics--than of any institutional/intellectual changes in our field. Despite our reputation as (occasional) authors of and (speaking for myself) sneak-peeking owners of many titillatingly titled tomes,[19] we still know surprisingly little about human sexual

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[18]. I want to mention here three exceptions from the same edited collection (Whitehead and Conaway 1986). Turnbull (1986: 18-19) mentions his first field trip in which he was instructed to sleep, just sleep, with his new "sister," a devout, young, attractive Hindu girl, who, "because she called me 'brother' expected nothing more (as did her parents)" (1986: 19). A maddeningly ambiguous "did," do not you think? Later, during his first field work, an extremely powerful Ndaka chief more or less ordered him to sleep, that is, have sex with, three of his daughters, each of whom, in succession, he refused on medical grounds (the entire family was syphilis-, yaws-, and leprosy-infested. He also refused the dismayed chief's final, very Maussian gift, his son--equally diseased--bearing food, which he accepted, the food, that is.

Johnson (1986) found himself, an African-American male, teaching at "Deerfield," a small village in the Midwest, and during the "long waiting stage" of his acceptance into at least the teaching community, he had to act appropriately non-sexual. Trying very hard not to interact sexually, verbally or actually, with his female colleagues, he "talked [instead] about lesson plans, pedagogical techniques, and the hardships of being a classroom teacher" (1986: 168).

Conaway (1986) writes honestly and insightfully about sexual expectations of her as an American woman fieldworker in Venezuela that seem to have derived more from her housemate, an American woman Peace Corps worker whom all of Conaway's host community members perceived to be sexually promiscuous. If there was a breakthrough in her work, it came when she announced, rather loudly and angrily, in the marketplace, to a frustrated would-be suitor, "You don't understand, I'm not Virginia!" (1986: 59).

[19]. See, for example, Robert Meadows, A Private Anthropological Cabinet (1934); Felix Bryk, Voodoo Eros: ethnological studies in the sex-life of the African Aborigines (1964); George Ryley

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behavior, particularly when the need to know is so great. This constitutes a "knowledge deficit," Tuzin notes (1991: 868), "severe with regard to sex in non-Western societies." Given the bewildering array of sexual beliefs and behaviors throughout the world, and the credo of holistic functionalism by which we claim to study them, why have we not studied sex very well? Could perhaps our shame, embarrassment, and anxieties have to do with theirs? Or is it the other way around? I think we need to refocus on sex in an entirely different way.

II. Refocusing on Sex

First, as Tuzin suggests, we need to locate and explore the disjunctures between behavior and idea and not be content with just idealized statements and dominant ideology. The large-scale surveys of Alfred Kinsey and his associates, of Shere Hite, Morton Hunt, Cosmopolitan, Redbook, and others make clear that bewildering variation is the only norm. Even when the bodily fluids of females, particularly menstrual blood, were held ideologically to be inimical to male bodies and interests, when Tuzin asked his

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Scott, Phallic Worship: a history of sex and sex rites in relation to the religions of all races from antiquity to the present day (n.d.); Paolo Mantagnezza Sexual Relations of Mankind, (n.d.); two works by a Dr. Jacobus X....., a French Army Surgeon, Untrodden Fields of Anthropology (1931), and The Ethnology of the Sixth [that is, genital, erotic] Sense: studies and researches into its abuses, perversions, follies, anomalies, and crimes (1939); Harold H.V. Cross, The Lust Market (1956); Anonymous The Secret Museum of Mankind, in five volumes (n.d.); Richard Burton, Venus Oceanica: anthropological studies in the sex life of the South Sea natives (1935a); and finally, another anonymous work, Praeputii Incisio (1931), which began as a paper read before the Southern California Medical Society. See also the HRAF-inspired compendium, Patterns of Sexual Behavior by C.S. Ford and F.A. Beach (1951). Edmund Leach writes in his 1984 autobiographical piece, "Glimpses of the Unmentionable in the History of British Social Anthropology," that two such texts by Malinowski--The Sexual Life of Savages (1929) and Sex and Repression in Savage Society (1927)--could not be checked out by graduate students in anthropology at Cambridge between 1929-32 without special permission from the librarian. The conclusion he draws is that anthropology was deemed not a proper field of study for undergraduates, but clearly sex was not deemed the proper study of anthropologists, either, undergraduate or otherwise.

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Arapesh male informants about cunnilingus he found that for many it was a "common and enjoyable form of lovemaking" (Tuzin 1982: 329; Schidloff, in Burton 1935a: 289, says that "[c]unnilingus is wide-spread among all primitive peoples...[and] even children are already prepared for this aberration"). Throughout Papua New Guinea a variety of respiratory, mental, dermatological, dietary, gastrointestinal, reproductive, and constitutional maladies are said to follow from too frequently, enjoyably and vigorously engaging in sexual intercourse. For many Daruans, however (and no doubt Papua New Guineans elsewhere), frequent sexual intercourse and sexual contact change is in fact the norm (see also NSSRT and Jenkins 1994), perhaps because there is so little else to do on the island. Women I met in Port Moresby who were in the sex industry there, too, were horrified at the idea of swallowing semen, but nevertheless swallowed that of powerful men or of their boyfriends and lovers. Four months into fieldwork I wrote naively in a field note, "regarding sexual behavior, again, there appears to be so much abhorrence to menstrual blood that no menstrual sexual activity ever takes place."[[20]] I now think that for some men and women the presence of or possibility of coming into visual or physical contact with menstrual blood has little if any dampening effect on sexual desire or behavior, though the fear may (or may not) remain intact. Daruan men sometimes asked me whether they would be "okay," whether their bodies, "body builds," and particularly "skins" would still "go slack" during intercourse with a menstruating woman if they used a condom. Men and women asked what the health risks were to themselves and to their sexual contacts of ingesting menstrual blood, and whether or not they should stop

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[20]. 1-9-91, Balimo District.

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engaging in cunnilingus because of the threat of AIDS. Even when persons know that contact with diseased genitalia causes infection, behavior may not change, as this later field note makes clear:

> Nor would there appear to be much awareness or fear of STDs [on the part of men going to sagapari.] The men said that the ladies don't ever go up for treatment to the STD clinic, that the STD clinic never goes down to the corners for STD patrols, etc. They also said that the fellows continue to do sex even when they do see pus and sores in the ladies' vaginas. They said that it's [either the pus produced by gonorrhea or the state of a vagina infected with gonorrhea] "just better," that it's "really good food," that the fellows only care about "pumping it."[21]

Sexual hygiene is another example. Notions of modesty and shame, and fears of contagion and sorcery lead Papua New Guineans, just like people everywhere, to hide bodily functions, genitalia, and sexual activity. Some of my Bamu informants, for example, told me that one example of kastom we in some Middle or Lower Bamu River villages dictated that should a man come upon a woman urinating or defecating he could and would either rape her with more or less impunity or skulk away in shame, fearful of her family's reprisal should she report his mishap. A man surprised by a woman, however, could get away with "chopping" her, or be shamed into avoiding her altogether thereafter. In those Kiwai, Gogodala and Pahoturi villages I visited on the mainland without pit toilets or latrines (admittedly in the minority), there was always a men's and a women's "side" to the outside, bush area, and for one to use that of the other gender was extremely bad form. Seeing anyone of the other gender in urination or defecation, beyond, say, children, was sabi, forbidden.

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[21]. Field note, 4-14-91, Daru.

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The problem is that maintaining such lines of difference is difficult-to-impossible on Daru. Corner/camp/canoe place residents without bucket toilet removal service, for instance, were forced to use "bush" areas between settlements or those abutting beach. Those areas, though, were not segregated by gender, leading to often compromising, awkward situations. If anything, I believe these spaces to have taken a more "male" aspect because public, than "female" which is to remain "private." Men, for instance, can urinate with impunity upside the back of Dwyer's Hardware, often in full view of passersby, in ways women cannot and do not. As well, females often simply refuse to use toilet buckets for their filthy, unhealthy state, more out of medico-aesthetic considerations than traditional cultural. As I have indicated in Chapter 7, however, excretory privacy and sexual modesty, much less genital hygiene at sagapari and many other venues of prostitution, is virtually nil. A relevant question here becomes thus "would sexual hygiene be better with more privacy, or with less?"

Such behavior might traditionally have led to rape or murder in some South Fly villages. Tuk orobo without underwear wipe semen away from their genitalia with dirty rags and rinse themselves from small puddles and pools of salt- or rainwater in-between and in full view of customers. A woman's diseased genitalia may be mentioned by a customer as having been "good food" that day, as having been a "good place for a drop," as several Bamu and Kiwai male informants put it. Deep cultural discourse regarding bodily fluids and bodily wastes may thus at best link tenuously with actual sexual behavior. The importance of such disjunctures is clearly in terms of configuring public health questions, such as which angle to predicate one's sexual hygienic campaign upon.

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Does one press, for example, for better hygiene knowing full well that privacy is nil? Does one promote condoms knowing full well that most will not use them? Does one repeat the refrain that one must "Follow God's Way" in terms of HIV prevention when hearers do not know yet what HIV is (much less believe in God)?

Second, we need to learn now to open a space within which to talk safely with our informants and friends in the field, and to share with them perhaps our own shame, beliefs and sexual histories as we inquire of theirs. Although I do not necessarily support Bolton's (1992) stance in toto, I do support his edging in the direction of participation:

> I spent most of my time, at all hours of day and night...in settings where gay men in Brussels hang out... There were no structured interviews, and I tended not to steer conversations toward the subjects of greatest interest for my research... Sex [however]...was an acceptable subject for conversation. Generally, I spoke with anyone who was willing... (Bolton 1992: 133).

This would be participant/observation even when we do not directly participate, as Bolton clearly did. With Erepai, for example, since I often felt embarrassed to ask her questions (for her sake, not mine, really), I tried to share with her my own experiences:

> Lawrence: Why weren't you comfortable [the first time you had intercourse]?
>
> Erepai: Because we both felt that uh, we, we, we enjoyed it, but then we were both bleeding at the same time. You know? You know what I'm trying to say?
>
> Lawrence: Oh, I see, yeah. Oh, okay.
>
> Erepai: You know when you first have uh, sex appeal. You were, you were, well, let's say you, you
>
> Lawrence: I remember.
>
> Erepai: virgin, for say, uh,
>
> Lawrence: I was eighteen, so....

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Erepai: (laughing) Yeah, okay. Thanks.

Lawrence: I was older than you [were when you lost your virginity].

Erepai: That's all right [very solicitously]... It's not tambu here, everybody's free to do their own thing here. They want to have sex, they can have sex. That's the thing here. Never mind you are divorced or you are a widow, you still have to have sex.

Lawrence: You have to have sex?

Erepai: You have to have sex! You can't stay without sex!

Lawrence: Cannot stay dry.

Erepai: Unless you have those [condoms]. Save it for me [laughing].[22]

Moments such as this made me realize that it was okay for at least some of my informants for me to show a bit of my own concerns and shame and fears. While on Daru, like Malinowski, I too dreamt of mistresses with white (and non-white) bodies. I, too, wanted to paw scandalously at Daruan equivalents to Malinowski's Nopula. The fact that I did not had as much to do with my own personal shame and embarrassment, my fear of horrible STDs made worse by heat and humidity (and the fact that my STD book was kept by my bedside), my frustration with enforced celibacy, my own Sex and Repression, as with any anthropological code of sexual ethics.[23] I should point out that to the vast majority of Daruans I came regularly into contact with, both my flaming sexual excesses and my apparent celibacy were equally "obvious." To members of host

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22. Audiotaped interview, Daru, 1-14-92.

23. Macintyre's (1993: 54) celibacy, too, was the object of some mirth for her informants on Tubetube island, Papua New Guinea. I question whether or not she would have written about occasional lapses had they occurred, given her status as mother and wife to husband and children living elsewhere.

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families, to colleagues in the health profession, and to passersby at sagapari, it was obvious to them that I was a frequent-walkin', Pidgin-talkin', beer-drinkin', and betel nut-chewin' sex machine. But to others, including some of the husbands and fathers of uba pe and tuk orobo, drinkers at sagapari, it was equally obvious that I was not at all sexually active. Some had great difficulty believing this. Here is a field note entry regarding one such encounter with Daruans:

> On the way there [to sagapari] this guy sort of glommed onto me, kind of scruffy (who isn't, here?, myself included) and he just absolutely couldn't believe that I've been staying "dry" [celibate, in this case, although "dry" can also mean hungry in others, poor, temperate]; I have to have been shooting my gede (sperm) all over the place because I'm European and I'm a man too, so I just have to be having sex all over. He said that he's worked with Europeans and has traveled everywhere and knows that they've got more styles [sexual positions], do more sex, and think about it more per square inch than anyone, so it just can't be true. He said that he's seen some of these blue movies and books with "licking de kan" and ladies "swallowin' de spem," and so on, and it just can't be true. He said when I told him that I go for story only with the ladies in TT Compound he didn't believe that that was either true or enough, that I should be fucking them, Nemeru especially. He said that he's seen me at sagapari and he has just been assuming that I've been drinking and fucking there like everyone else, just couldn't take no for an answer.[24]

My solution to this methodological roadblock for many ethnographers who study sex is for we ethnographers to share our shame and anxieties (as I have done above in a field note, and as I do immediately below in a diary entry) with each other, at least with our hosts and friends, perhaps even with our informants. Had I this conversation with the above acquaintance a bit earlier, for instance, perhaps yet another stumbling block might have been skirted. Perhaps thusly can we begin to compare our shame and anxiety with those of informants and those of other field workers struggling with similar problems:

---

24. Field note, 11-15-91, Daru.

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> ...Also, finally, I figured out that Aberewame was the woman the other day that was at George and Kuria's house and who blew me off from story [update: four times now]. She said that she was frightened to come up, so I forgave her (what a guy...) We also made appointment for first Monday, then Sunday, then Saturday night (tonight). I'm to walk down to [the store] at 5:45, pick her up, and come back up here for story. Perhaps I'll have Leona Bepi or Bepi Powai come with, just so people don't get the "wrong" idea (i.e., that I'm grisin her [attempting to seduce her] and will shortly do sex with her. On the other hand, what is the "right" story? That is, storying and drinking with and handing out condoms to pamukus isn't exactly kosher. I am slowly coming to realize that it's kind of impossible to have it both ways, as I do. That is, I want people to think of me in crystal clear, all-virtuous, straight and narrow ways, so that I can continue to pamuk around with pamukus, that is, tell stories with them. I mean, I haven't done sex with them, haven't kissed them or done anything that I would consider even remotely sexual, partly because the idea is repulsive, but then again... I hang out with them, people look in the window at Lai Nangup from the street and see me there drinking beer with Tunigi and Lai and sometimes ladies and they must wonder to themselves, "ahh, it's true, he really is pamuku." Or just yesterday, when I saw Aberewame on the street and she asked me for some condoms. So, I'm wanting to have instant closeness with pamukus and their clients, but I want them to be kept at arms', not to say other body parts' length. That's impossible, no matter how virtuous I am in fact.

We also need to write with greater candor and clarity about research methods and strategies that do not work. Not laying out the kinds of sexual/political scrapes we get into by just being in the field, much less by blundering and blustering about everyday, robs both the data of significance and context and our readers of important means by which to evaluate our findings, perhaps even by which to plan re-studies or their own original researches. I made nary a dent, I am sad to report, after 12 months of sustained presence, in understanding the life histories of several score Bamu tuk orobo and their husbands, people I saw and ate and socialized with daily. They simply refused to sit for interviews, as was their right. So, how reliable are my data, based as they are almost wholly on observations at sagapari almost exclusively? Not laying out our misunderstandings while doing fieldwork is not fair to our audience, either, and is not fair

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to future field workers. During my first week in the field, I was accused in a public, alcoholic harangue from the porch top by an affine of a health worker of either having AIDS/STDs myself, and therefore contaminating by my presence that person and potentially the whole island/country, or of having contracted AIDS/STDs from that health worker, "proving" in turn, by my interest in AIDS/STDs, that health worker's guilt, adultery, and suspected infectiousness, each of which constituted proximate causes of the alcoholic harangue.

This misunderstanding greatly altered my methodology insofar as I was forced to abandon an entire research instrument. I decided not to interview several closely associated health workers, and thereafter avoided the STD Clinic. I was accused later of having an affair with another health worker, which led to a court case and which closed off yet another potential site of fieldwork. This made me extremely anxious at several drinking areas where my accuser and his people congregated, and where, just before leaving the field, I was roughed up twice. The point is that though I was studying sex and trying to do so as directly as I could, I had to avoid as much as possible even incidental contact (on the street, in the market) with several handfuls of potential female informants, for their safety and mine. When twice I had rocks thrown at me for handing out condoms (once because condoms were suspected to be the agents of infection, not prevention, once because I had given them to my assailant's husband, a suspected adulterer), that, too, altered my methodology. I decided once not to give condoms to a man because I was afraid of possible repercussions from his wife, and he accused me of perhaps having slept with his wife and of therefore taking "her" side in their domestic

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squabbles. More candid discussions in our texts of such trials and tribulations as we sex researchers face, particularly as they affect methodological choices and research strategies and findings, are imperative. I remember being briefly stunned one morning while interviewing a still drunken informant about her sexual and alcoholic activities from the night before. When I asked her about condom usage, she said that her own "partner," a European member of a Fly River research team in this case, and several of his mates were "throwing their hands everywhere, but I don't want them to touch me." They pressed on, however, and one of them said "We see you with European man [me], so it's here [the condom]."[25] I never felt so responsible for the sexual risks and activities of my informants. This reminded me graphically of how my presence and research methods (drinking publicly, giving out condoms, associating with pamukus) literally created the data (the use of a condom, in this case). Part of the "invention of Culture" problem raised so cogently by Roy Wagner has thus great relevance to those investigating "sexual culture." Though he quotes the very passage I quote below, a case could be made that Bolton (1992) does the very thing Davis is warning against:

> The most direct resource available to the sex researcher is his [sic] own sexual experience. But a participant-observation study of sex entails several risks. For one thing, the investigator may mistake his personal peculiarities for universal features of social life (Murray Davis, quoted in Bolton 1992: 131).

Only by staking out what did not work, which research avenues were closed off, and so on, will our colleagues, hosts, and students be able to assess what does.

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[25]. Recorded interview, 1-17-91, Daru.

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Next, we must also own up to our feelings of bashfulness and shame. Many times I was able only with the greatest difficulty to leave my house in the morning for work, and found it distasteful in the extreme to go to the drinking place adjacent to sagapari where hundreds of passersby would stop and stare at me. Although I found Daruans to be at times needlessly shameful about sex, bodies, and bodily fluids, I became aware of my own shame at carrying out sex research, particularly as the misunderstandings and scrapes I kept getting into piled up. As I came to appreciate their shame about sex, I came to recognize mine:

> Yesterday, I went down to the motel...to check up on people as well. I gave out quite a few condoms along the way as well, and when I got there I was standing in the lobby outside the front desk and found what looked like Leona standing with her back turned, wearing that red terry cloth dress that I've seen before. I called out to her and yes indeed it was her, and she was very very drunk. Her earlobe was still oozing pus from that new earring. She also got very emotional when she saw me and told me how much she missed me, that she had worked on some papers (5) when I was away, etc. etc. At that moment, Aberewame walked up, too, even more drunk, and even more sentimental and emotional. She was wearing that horrible men's shirt unbuttoned in three places, was barefoot, and looked really beaten down. She came right up to me and tried to kiss me on the cheek, she was holding me and pulling me and stroking my hands and legs, etc., in a real display, "Oh Lawrence, you didn't tell me you were going, why didn't you tell me you were going, oh, madi auwo," [handsome man], etc., etc., and I was embarrassed as hell, because all kinds of people were watching and looking, new ones, and I was trying to distance myself from her but carefully, really carefully, so as not to make her go off in one of her patented rages...It didn't work. I couldn't get her, or Leona for that matter, to stand there without holding/hugging/kissing me, and I was uncomfortable, particularly when others came up. In fact when I went inside one guy, Kennie, a guy that I met and who remembered me from Balimo, mentioned the girls, as if to say, yeah, there's plenty here, mate, have some....[26]

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[26]. Field note, Daru, 3-4-92.

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Due to the fallout from having been stared at everywhere I went for nineteen months, I came particularly to dislike giving out condoms to those women with reputations as pamukus in front of crowds, particularly when I was carrying the six-packs without which I found it difficult to entice them in the first place into "telling stories" with me. Wink wink, nudge nudge, right right, "you're dispensing health information and prophylactic devices. Right." It kills me to say this now, but I think I understand what one drunken FRPG worker meant as he chased me and one of my pamuku sisters home one night with the words, "Hey, you, AIDS, fuck off from the country."[27]

III. Notes Toward a New Ethnography of Sex

By way of a brief conclusion, and because I have at some length, though implicitly, decried much of what I have learned in anthropology, I would like to suggest three possible improvements on anthropological research on sex. First, it is imperative

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27. Karp (1980: 92-93) writes interestingly of his experiences investigating behavior "in public places," in this case, the Times Square area of New York City, regarding pornographic bookstores and streetwalkers. When he tried initially to get information, as opposed to sex, from one or two prostituted women clustered together, and even after offering to pay for such information:

> She said, "He's making a survey. Do you want to go with him? He'll pay." The new arrival, the "girl in white," turned to me and said, "I won't talk to you, you'll bring me in." I replied, "No, I'm straight." Finally, she did walk over to me and said, "What are you doing?..." "I'm interested in prostitution. I'd like to talk to you."... "How much?"... "Ten dollars...." Then she said something like "Are you kidding? The best way to find out is to go out with me." I said, "No." She then said, "Then get the hell out of here. Get the hell off the street. I'll call a cop. You better believe it. Get the fuck out of here. Fuck, bastard, go write that I said 'fuck' in your fucking survey." (Note that Arlene Carmen had few such problems when she investigated brothels and massage parlors in New York City in the 1970s (see Carmen and Moody 1985).

I mention this vignette because the fellow above was upset at me, partly, because I refused earlier that evening up at the Hotel to pimp for him. I had come to the point of brokering women for ethnographic purposes in a way analogous to the ways sex brokers do sexually.

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that we write texts with methods in them as opposed to consigning them to the end of them. Robert Levine has noted (quoted in Herdt and Stoller 1990: 4) the

> growing recognition that biographical information collected in the field is inevitably filtered through the relationship between field worker and biographical subject, reflecting the personalities of both and the nature of their interaction, and that this process deserves explicit examination in research and subsequently in print.

Public health reports on HIV seroprevalence, for example, (and, sadly, many anthropological texts, too) typically begin with a "methods" section in which it is reported, not explained in full, how 1,233 "prostitutes" were "recruited" to "the study," how they were bled, followed, and bled again "to track the epidemic spread" of the pathogen from their vaginas to "the general population." It took me many months even to "see" prostitution in its many forms, even at such a locale as Daru where it is in so many other ways so obvious. At the end of nineteen months I was and remain murky at best on the question of who the "prostitutes" are. I doubt greatly any such claims thereby. Moreover, given my topic and the fact that I was not clinic- or organizationally-based, I was not able to recruit a single person to my "study," much less a whole "cohort" of "prostitutes." None of these analytical categories are sufficiently stable empirically to justify their current normative usage. It took me three tries and two weeks usually even to schedule interviews with prostituted women, much less carry them out, much less to do so in charitable, safe, and relatively uncompromising surroundings. I suspect my experiences are not unique. Failures and difficulties need to be discussed in our texts, not at their end.

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Such better-situated discussions of method would allow us to treat more humbly, skeptically, and ultimately perhaps more usefully the data collected by survey and other methods, and enable future field workers thereby to avoid the avoidable pratfalls. To take just one example, it would dramatically cut down the extent of stigmatization to which prostituted females are already subjected. To take another example, I would tell future AIDS researchers on Daru[28] to reconsider working too closely at and with health care settings and workers, neither being particularly conducive to the kind of qualitative ethnographic research that needs to be done on sex and STDs. They make great friends, they are wonderful people, and are extremely hardworking and resourceful in other ways. They are great to have on one's side, too. Also, while I would not tell future researchers on Daru to do without quantitative goals, instruments, and findings, I would suggest strongly that they consider in detail and write candidly about the set and setting within which their findings emerged. Informant recall and communicative style were influenced greatly by their and my sleeplessness and sometimes drunkenness, shame and jealousy, the presence of family and friends, and sometimes prior and potential customers (Abramson 1992 offers a cogent discussion on this front). Inviting pamukus to my house for interviews was not only potentially dangerous for them socially. It also necessitated their movement about the island during the day and subsequent public scrutiny ("where is she going now?"). It also meant that I had to buy beer for three to four times the number of people, since "escorts," often brothers and fathers, became necessary. My refusals to

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[28]. I recently heard that an international relief organization is going to sponsor work on Daru on child exploitation, including that under prostitution.

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do sex with these women were taken on three occasions to be even more exploitive and insulting to them and their relatives as acceptance. Attempting to sneak off to the bush or cemetery for a "private" interview (six-packs and tape recorder in tow) only aroused suspicions more. Insofar as difficulties are the data, we need to talk about them in the text, not separate from it. Secrecy, male "protection" and exploitation, jealousy, and so forth, are to my mind equally constitutive of "sexual culture" as are number of sexual "partners" and frequency of "partner" change, which are more "traditional" indices in both anthropological and public health literature. And if I felt deeply of and about some of these jealousies, secrecies, and anxieties then surely others did, too, which again helps to forge and maintain whatever may be considered the local "sexual culture." Gilbert Herdt notes (in Herdt and Stoller 1990: 42) that "[a]ll these--disturbances or joys were my work...By staying awake, by not blurring my awareness of what I felt, I sometimes found more of me and thereby allowed the ethnographer in me to find more of Sambia experience." If I am understanding his/their argument correctly, it is not enough merely to write about how we become psychologically involved in our fieldwork and fieldwork subject(s), but rather, to use these psychological insights to uncover those of members of our host communities. Gilbert winced when he heard the sound of wood striking flesh, but he winced partly because a) he knows that such behaviors are not exclusive to Sambia, and b) he knows that the woman in question did not laugh in response but, in this case, cried out for a dead mother. If any of these insights hold for the study of other phenomena, then surely they hold in context of things sexual.

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Second, therefore, we can and must write about our own sexual desires and meanings while we study sex, particularly insofar as they affect the way topics, informants, and research strategies are pursued or avoided. We need to write honestly about sociosexual scrapes we got into, what we did about them, and how they influenced the way we wrote up our findings. Although on Daru I was sexually attracted to many female informants (and wondered mightily and often about the possibilities at sagapari), I had a much harder time in Port Moresby remaining celibate and explaining to myself why I should be. We must bring this issue out of the closet, particularly insofar as our own sexual/self identities blur and sharpen through cross-cultural contact. Can we at least begin to talk about the issue of cross-cultural romance, enforced celibacy, and occasional flings? Can we not contribute our own chapters to a new disclosive, analytically salient, methodologically pregnant Sex and Repression? For example, think of the likely effects on my data and their analysis had I succumbed to temptation and engaged a Bamu woman sexually at sagapari?

Third, I would like to open up this discussion further by suggesting the further application of a research method that helped me to clarify and maintain sexual/ethical boundaries: making some prostituted women my "sisters" and their friends my "cousin sisters." It happened like this: once, in the "Dark Room" of a Port Moresby hotel lounge, while briefly doing comparative work on prostituted women there, a woman I had interviewed earlier that afternoon with two of her "sisters" leaned boozily into me as we were drinking together and said something like "please, I want some sex, can I have some sex?" I wanted to say yes, and part of me raced ahead with the justification that I was not

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in the field, i.e., on Daru, and that it was therefore okay, or at least not as bad. They will never even know. Fortunately, one of the other two interviewees pricked up her ears at that, and I said specifically to her, but loudly enough to be heard by the other, something like "but I can't do that, she is my sister," and then turned to her and said "you are my sister." Thereafter, neither woman expressed sexual desire to/for me, and better yet, both referred to and treated me as their older brother, watched out for me in public, shielded me from certain women in clubs, but steered others to me: "this is our white brada [brother] from Daru, you talk to him." This helped almost immediately to reframe my own conception of who I was and what I was doing. This new consciousness of purpose perhaps exuded from me in the form of actions and words. Particularly when inquiring explicitly of sexual activities (as the snippet below from a recorded interview about love magic illustrates), acting "brotherly" helped to minimize sexual tension. In another context I encouraged female informants who I was attracted to sexually to make me their "brother," and their friends to make me their "cousin brother":

> Lawrence: Can I smell this one [a bottle of marila, love magic], I want to see what it smells like? [gesturing to a small perfume bottle containing Johnsons Baby Oil mixed with bits of ginger and several local herbs].
>
> Ka'e: Okay, you can.
>
> Lawrence: Very interesting [girls laughing], very interesting, now let me smell one of yours, too. Are you going to wear that tonight?
>
> Ka'e/Eniato: [in chorus and in tune] Yeeeeaaahhh, but not for you, brada.
>
> Lawrence: Of course. Where are you going to wear it?
>
> Eniato: On my susus [breasts], wherever [giggling].

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Ka'e: [giggling]...yeah, wherever.[29]

I am not certain that had I not had the methodological epiphany mentioned above just prior to this interview I would have been able to keep from asking one or both for sex. (I am not suggesting that I deserved to be able to do so, only that it seemed imminent.) And how fortuitous! In Eniato's case, as we explored kin links, I discovered that I had been given the Doumori village name "Naso" which linked me directly to her, via Wasua village: she was my classificatory niece on the Gogodala side! No problem! Defining boundaries in terms of potential incest worked for me without exception (in an admittedly small sample size). Also, becoming someone's "brother" opened a far wider range of ethnographic possibilities than would have my becoming someone's swithat or boifren. This would have pitted informants, family members, and jealous boyfriends against one another, and pitted me against myself. Becoming a "brother" to these and other women, but not perhaps really becoming one, allowed me to learn about and speak more openly about sex than I would have otherwise. This contravenes, of course, common prohibitions that opposite sex siblings speak of sex in each other's presence, but it did not apparently present problems here, perhaps because I was not really a sibling, perhaps because it was 1992 and such "traditional" sanctions were no longer operative in the Dark Room, on the dance floor, or on Daru.

I tried the same tactic a third time with a young woman who I had originally planned and trained to become a research assistant,[30] perhaps one of only two

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[29]. Recorded interview, 2-28-92, Port Moresby.

[30]. Wade (1993), too, employed a female research assistant, but she eventually became his lover, too, and then really impinged (his word) on his work. Macintyre (1993) and Angrosino

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prostituted women on Daru that I was even remotely sexually attracted to. In her case, it was more than remote, it was imminent. I am virtually certain that I would have been at least tortured with the prospect of engaging in sex with her at some point had I not made (or attempted to make her) my research assistant. [31] This strategy worked almost immediately. It allowed me soon after to interview another young, attractive Kiwai woman about her several months of suffering with genital ulcers. It dampened my sexual interest in her, perhaps hers in me, and allowed us to begin working together more easily and no less freely, unhampered by sexual desire. A fourth instance concerns an informant whom I had made my own "big sister" (abida) at about the same time as, I now understand, I began being in big trouble with "The Shadow," her former husband. In this snippet of a recorded interview, she reveals what I had not cognized at the time, namely, rumor and gossip about our relationship:

> Lawrence: Okay. Does he [The Shadow] know about some of your fuck friends? Is he jealous of them too?
>
> Erepai: He doesn't know.
>
> Lawrence: He doesn't know?
>
> Erepai: No.

(1986) also discuss interestingly the way in which ritualized adoptions of new status helped to push forward their fieldwork (and understanding of it).

31. Despite my best efforts, she took off while I was away, made off with advance pay packets, and precipitated a huge fight with others in her corner that necessitated her leaving town immediately. In a sense, I now see that my attempt to "make her an honest woman" (that is, by becoming my research assistant) helped to turn her into an uba pe. I saw her again briefly several months later in Port Moresby at a fancy club while I was doing comparative work on "disko meris." While she apologized, she also asked if I would take her to wherever I was staying to do sex with her. I suspect that my real agenda had been apparent previously.

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Lawrence: But he's jealous of the other ones, just the normal ones.

Erepai: Just the normal ones.

Lawrence: That one I don't understand.

Erepai: And I told him about you, that I have a white brada [her emphasis], and he said "Ah, yeah, that's good."

Lawrence: That's okay?

Erepai: Yeah, that's okay. "I'm not cross with my brother-in-law," that's what he was saying. "I want to really see Lawrence one time" he was telling me, "but this fellow, is he bafalo?"

Well, no, I was not, but that is a good question. Perhaps if we can more frequently become "brothers" and "sisters" to one another in our communities, in our fieldwork, even to our colleagues as and when it becomes appropriate, we can contribute more directly to prevention of AIDS. As I close this dissertation (and chapter of my life) I would like to thank all my many friends, informants, families, brothers and sisters, even enemies on Daru for teaching me many valuable lessons about life and work. I hope that in some small way I can contribute to the betterment of theirs.

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A Postscript

In a recently published essay on "AIDS and the Social Body," Nancy Scheper-Hughes quotes from her own Death Without Weeping: "If we cannot begin to think about social institutions and practices in moral or ethical terms, then anthropology strikes me as quite weak and useless" (1994: 991). I concur with her in the main, but her claim raises for me manifold questions. First, how can anthropologists begin to do this without further abusing members of their host community? How can they speak out without adding to the already dense colonial, paternalist overlay that members our host communities have struggled against historically? Whose set(s) of morals and ethics does one adopt while investigating phenomena such as I have? Does one collect, obtain, or even invent particular kinds of ethnographic data so as to be able to bring it to bear on issues far more global in scope, such as the many AIDS epidemics? Or is it the other way round? Was I, in a sense, bringing in my own personal, idiosyncratic, Eurocentered understanding of prostitution and AIDS so as to convince Daruans of the error(s) of their ways? After all, is not that what morals and ethics are for?... Or am I merely bringing my own concerns and understandings as a human being to bear upon a problem that certainly appears to be well-nigh universal, a problem that happens to exist at both my field site and in my own hometown?

As I began this dissertation about three years ago, I did not know yet what precisely I was going to say. Fresh out of the field (still in it in some senses) many aspects of contemporary Daruan life--namely, the substance of this dissertation--greatly displeased me. I was particularly disturbed then (as now) at what I took then (and now)

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to be male violence towards females, particularly of the alcoholic and sexual sort I have striven to describe and analyze herein. I am convinced that what I saw, heard about, and otherwise experienced on Daru is real enough--I am convinced that sagapari does exist, that one-sided sexual/material transactions that express inequalities are ubiquitous, that women are beaten frequently, that STDs do present significant health and social problems, and so on. Nevertheless, I remain open to the possibility that others--whether grassroots, nursing sisters, FRPG Members and Ministers, or housewives--may see things very differently. And that presents me with my first quandary: did I really see a thriving sex industry on Daru with severe sociomedical implications likely to lead to an explosion of HIV transmission? I mean, I think I did, but...maybe what I saw was prostitution involving only a few people, certainly not constitutive of a sex industry.

The difference in perspective has real, material consequences. So much of what is written about Papua New Guinea these days is negative. Here comes yet another foreign researcher here to tell us of all the ways in which our social systems and customs are maladaptive, brutalizing towards women, headed for certain ruin, not as good as his, and so on. So much foreign(er) social scientific research depends upon the existence of, reifies, and thus helps to perpetuate the artificial divisions between "First," "Second," "Third" (and other) worlds. This is particularly true of recent literature on AIDS and economic crises, say, in "Central" or "sub-Saharan Africa." On the other hand, speaking only about Papua New Guinea, I can not say as I have ever encountered a social scientist who did not love Papua New Guinea and Papua New Guineans to the core--"warts and all," to be sure, but nevertheless to the core. I know that I do.

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I feel, therefore, ambivalent about writing what I have written, about the prospects of publicizing (in multiple ways) what I feel I must publicize, and about communicating my experiences and experience of others' experience in such a way that will probably reflect more negatively still on Daruans, on the Fly River Provincial Government, and on Papua New Guineans at large. Daru already has a bad reputation provincially and nationally, Western Province is described even by nationals as among the "least developed," and Papua New Guinea's reputation internationally still totters uncomfortably between tropes of the exotic, erotic, primitive, unspoiled, unsafe, paradisiacal, dangerous, and isolated. What is my role in all this?

Foreign(er) social scientific research in (Papua) New Guinea has often and rightly been accused of serving primarily foreign(er) ends (e.g., Hau'ofa 1975; Morauta 1979) to the exclusion of anything beneficial to the "subjects," often "objects" of study. Every few weeks or months or years or so a new spate of articles circulates in the western press regarding yet another purported "Stone Age" tribe coming out of "isolation," of continued socioeconomic strife linked to the Bougainville Crisis, of civil war that rages along the Papua New Guinea/Indonesia border, of continuing violence and of the renewal of "law and order" and "tribal fighting" problems in the cities and townships. Gruesome pack rapes are recounted in grisly fashion in the Post-Courier on an almost daily basis and sometimes even make waves overseas. To hear of yet another decline in earnings for smallholders of coffee, though, is about as well connected as most Americans feel towards Papua New Guineans. The specter of a possible AIDS pandemic will not likely improve the situation, doubly; it will feed already existing stereotypes regarding real and

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imagined sexuality, but/and will not draw non-Papua New Guineans any closer in terms of intervention. In the past three years as I have tried to educate students, family, friends, and fellow bus-riders about AIDS in/and Papua New Guinea, the response has almost uniformly been along the lines of either "oh, so they've got it, too, huh; wow, it's everywhere" or of "well, no wonder, I've heard those natives are really promiscuous."

The reality of Papua New Guinea, however, for probably the vast majority of those who have had the pleasure and privilege of living amongst and conducting research about Papua New Guineans, is of a truly magnificent country filled with incredibly interesting and helpful people who seem to have a way of getting under one's skin and into one's heart. I have yet to meet a single social scientist who did not feel that Papua New Guineans are well-educated, industrious, linguistically diverse, culturally rich, sweet and good-tempered. That stands for Daru and Daruans, too, despite what I have said in previous chapters. Maybe I should have said this more frequently. But then I have to ask myself: is this just my benevolent paternalism and romanticization of the (Papua New Guinean) Other showing through?

Whatever the answer, this is not the received picture here in the West. Historical and social scientific research has distorted Papua New Guinea communities and customs in a variety of ways (see charges leveled in Morauta 1979: 563, passim). Bias consists variously of ethnocentrism, of remaining traces of social evolutionary ranking of world cultures, of racism pure and simple, of mere incomprehension, of paternalism, of the results of linguistic incompetence--and the list goes on and on. I do not want to

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contribute to this, nor am I here to tell Daruans and Papua New Guineans what to do. I do not think nor did I attempt to act like a colonial--at least I do not think I did.

Nevertheless--you knew it was coming...--Daru is not a very pleasant place to live these days. In this respect, it is like probably the majority of American cities. Daru is not a safe place to walk around at night. It is not sober around (and often between) paydays. It is riddled with sexual and other double standards, and sexual violence of great intensity appears "acceptable" to too many people, measured partly by the degree to which the powers-that-be remain uninterested in AIDS or women's plight, and partly by the degree to which females in particular have internalized their own oppression. Daruan females not in the institutionalized form of the sex industry appeared to me to be just as heavily invested in the denigrations of pamukus and uba pe as were males who more directly use them sexually or otherwise profit from their exploitation.

So, what is happening on Daru? Which parts did I get wrong? What do I still not understand? Who has a right to point out things about a local community that may seem defamatory? Is there a place for "outsider" research at all? Are the findings of keyadubu (white man) relevant here anymore? Were they ever relevant? Is an HIV pandemic mounting slowly, poised on the verge of an explosion to have devastating consequences, or is it merely my own invention, a convenient notion which justifies my presence there and my current concern, not to say this dissertation? Where is Daru heading?

In the interest of furthering this important dialogue, I want to close with a passage from a book I am reading that my friends in Papua New Guinea may intuitively understand and appreciate:

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No culture has yet solved the dilemma each has faced with the growth of a conscious mind: how to live a moral and compassionate existence when one is fully aware of the blood, the horror inherent in all life, when one finds darkness not only in one's own culture but within oneself. If there is a stage at which an individual life becomes truly adult, it must be when one grasps the irony in its unfolding and accepts responsibility for a life lived in the midst of such paradox (Barry Lopez, Arctic Dreams).

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Appendices

Below are listed the various questionnaires, interview schedules, and the like that I and my research assistants employed during my field research. One of my research assistants, Adori Ganoi, helped me use the questionnaire depicted as Appendix 8.1 ("Socks Giveaway") and 7.1 ("Sagapari Watch"). My other research assistant, Suli Malu, helped me by filling out a Melanesian Pidgin version of Appendix 5.1 ("Ol Stori Bilong Slip Wantaim") following each and every of the sexual encounters he helped to arrange while we worked together. The first number of each appendix (e.g., 5.1) refers to the number of the chapter within which it is first mentioned.

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Appendix 5.1

Ol Stori Bilong Slip Wantaim

Tunigi Story #:..... Field note #:..... Today's Date:..... Field note codes:.....
.....
1) Stori day and date:..... 2) Request location and time:.....
3) # of men making request:..... 4) # of women asked for:.....
5) Personal information about
Man #1 Man #2 Man #3
a) residence..... b) asples/ethnic origin.....
c) marital status.....
d) where wife.....
e) occupation..... f) age.....
g) why in Daru.....
h) # times worked with Tunigi.....
i) why wants another woman.....

6) Comments/probable identity.....
.....

7) Personal information about
Woman #1 Woman #2 Woman #3
a) residence.....
b) asples/ethnic origin.....
c) marital status.....
d) has children.....
e) age.....
f) occupation.....
g) # of times worked with Tunigi before.....
h) when first worked with Tunigi.....
i) found her where.....
Comments/probable identity:.....
.....

8) Where did the party start..... finish.....

9) What time did people arrive and how (i.e., together, separate)
a) Tunigi..... b) woman/en..... c) man/men..... d) others.....

10) When did Tunigi leave.....
11) Who was at the party.....

12) Other party activities/spakbrus smoking?.....

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13) Alcohol consumption
a) how much alcohol was bought, total.....
b) who bought the alcohol.....
c) who was drinking.....
d) how much did the women drink.....
e) how much did the men drink.....
f) how much did Tunigi drink.....
g) how much did others drink.....
h) total reported consumed.....
i) total discrepancy, plus or minus.....
Comments:.....

14) Sexual activity:

	Woman #1	Woman #2	Woman #3
a) sex with which man.....			
b) # of times.....			
c) sex location.....			
d) sexual style.....			
e) condom usage.....			
f) how do we know.....			
g) # times sexed before.....			

Comments.....
.....

15) Did woman/en stay all night with man/en.....

16) How much money or presents were given to
a) woman/en.....
b) Tunigi.....
c) others (name and explain).....

17) Final comments.....
.....
.....
.....

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Appendix 5.2:

Family Planning Interview

The following is a set of questions I asked of sisters/nurses who work with Family Planning either in wards or in the Maternal/Child Health Clinic (MCH).

Personal Characteristics

1) Time/day/date of interview.....
2) Name of interviewer.....
3) Name of interviewee.....
4) Language interview conducted in.....
5) Character of relationship of interviewee to interviewer.....
.....
6) Marital and maternal status of interviewee.....
.....
7) Church affiliation, length thereof, and devoutness of belief (if possible to get at).....
.....
8) How long lived on Daru, and how long worked in this Hospital setting.....
.....
9) Home village, ethnic identity, and tokples(s) spoken.....
.....
.....

Work History

10) Length of service: how long have you been giving Family Planning counseling here on Daru at the MCH Clinic.....where else have you worked as a family planning counselor, and for how long?.....
.....
.....

11) Where and how trained: where were you trained for this type of counseling, and what was the nature of that training?.....
.....
.....
.....

12) Information updates: how often has the training you received been updated with new information or courses?.....
.....

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13) New information: what was the last new interesting or surprising thing you learned about family planning, and how did you learn about it?
.....
.....
.....

Counseling Duties

14) Frequency of counseling: how often is Family Planning counseling given each week, how many couples or individuals do you see in an average day, and how much time do you usually devote to each couple or individual?.....
.....
.....
.....

15) Counseling procedures: tell me how the counseling procedure works. Do you see individuals first, singly, then couples, or what? .....
.....
.....

16) Counseling decisions: how do you deal with problems such as a couple where only the man or only the woman wants to have family planning counseling and birth control devices?.....
.....

17) Counseling decisions: if the man and woman disagree on which method is best for him/her/them, how do you help resolve the dispute?
.....
.....
.....

18) Work satisfaction: do you enjoy giving Family Planning counseling, and if so, why? If not, why not?; what are some of the special problems you face?.....
.....

19) Work satisfaction: what is the best and worst thing about doing Family Planning counseling? best:.....
.....
worst:.....

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Hospital Policies

20) Hospital policies: tell me something about the official Health Department or Hospital policy about Family Planning and counseling? Are there birth control methods, ideas, or behaviors you are supposed to encourage or discourage?

.....
.....
.....

21) Do clients have to pay for counseling services or the birth control devices themselves?.....

22) Can a single mother or single father or single men/women come in and get family planning method counseling and supplies (i.e., unmarried mothers, single men)?.....
.....
.....

23) What do you tell your clients about the advantages and disadvantages of each of the following birth control methods?

a) birth control pills, advantages:.....
.....
disadvantages:.....
.....

b) lippes loop, advantages:.....
.....
disadvantages:.....
.....

c) Depo-provera injections, advantages:.....
.....
.....
disadvantages:.....
.....
.....

d) ovulation method, advantages:.....
.....
.....
disadvantages:.....
.....

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e) condoms, advantages:.....
.....
disadvantages:.....
.....

f) tubal ligation,
advantages:.....
.....
disadvantages:.....
.....
.....

g) vasectomy, advantages:.....
.....
.....
disadvantages:.....
.....
.....

24) What is the most often chosen birth control method, and why?

a).....
.....
b) next most frequently chosen.....
.....
.....
c) next most frequently chosen.....
.....
.....
d) next most frequently chosen.....
.....
.....
e) next most frequently chosen.....
.....
.....
g) next most frequently chosen.....
.....
.....
h) least frequently chosen.....
.....
.....

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25) Of all the above birth control methods, which one are you the most comfortable suggesting, and the least, and why?.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

26) Abortion policy: is abortion ever discussed as a birth control/prevention method? Does the hospital perform abortions, and if not, where does a woman go to get one? Are there customary ways of abortion?.....
.....
.....
.....
abortion in case of incest?.....
.....
.....
abortion in case of rape?.....
.....
.....
.....

27) Abortion policy: do staff here at the MCH clinic ever suggest abortions for already pregnant women, and if not, where can a woman get information?.....
.....

28) Client needs: what do your clients ask, if anything, about using "custom ways" to prevent or to space births?.....
.....
.....

29) Clinic policy: what kinds of things do you ever say to your clients about "custom ways," including burying the placenta, post-partum sex taboos, extended breast-feeding, and so on? Is there a Health Department or Hospital policy on "custom ways"?
.....
.....
.....

STDs and AIDS Policy

30) HIV antibody testing: what is the Health Department or Hospital policy on HIV antibody testing here in the MCH clinic?.....
.....
.....

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31) HIV antibody testing: who is being tested now for HIV antibodies, and are blood samples tested for anything else (i.e., syphilis, hepatitis B antigens, etc.)?.....
.....
.....

32) HIV antibody/other testing: what, precisely, are women told about blood samples being taken, and what is the policy reason behind it?
.....
.....

33) HIV antibody/other testing: Are women whose blood is tested told of the results? Who by, how?.....
.....

34) HIV antibody/other testing: who else knows of the results of the blood tests, and how do they learn it?.....
.....
.....

35) HIV antibody testing: are the woman's family members or sexual partners notified? If so, by whom, where, how?.....
.....

36) Counseling decisions: if you know the results of your client's HIV antibody test, does that affect the kind of counseling you can give, and how so? For example, would you counsel to have an abortion if the results came out HIV antibody positive?
.....
.....

Sexual Practices

37) Risky sex: what are some of the sexual practices here on Daru or throughout Western Province that you think are particularly risky in terms of STD and possibly HIV infection?.....
.....
.....

38) Risky sex: what can you tell me about the practice of prostitution here on Daru?.....
.....
are young girls ever forced into it by their parents or others?.....
.....
.....

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39) Condom usage: Do you think that more people are using condoms due to fear of STDs/AIDS?.....
.....
.....
.....

40) Condom campaigns: What are some of the special problems you have with promoting condoms/how do you think we could better promote condom usage to stem STD infections here?.....
.....
.....
.....

Total time of interview:.....

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Appendix 6.1

Old Stori Bilong Ol Meri Wokabaut

Stori #:..... Field note #:..... Date:..... Woman:.....
Field note codes:.....
.....

1) Korobere day and date:.....
2) Request location/time/circumstances:.....
.....
3) Tunigi involved/how.....
.....
4) Woman's: a) asples/ethnicity:.....
b) residence:..... c) age:.....
d) marital status..... e) married before:.....
f) where husband:.....
g) occupation:..... h) children:.....
i) family planning method:.....
i) # times with this man before:.....
Comments:.....
.....

5) Man's: a) asples/ethnicity:.....
b) residence:..... c) age:.....
d) marital status:.....e) where wife:.....
f) occupation:.....
g) why on Daru:.....
h) # times w/ Tunigi before:.... i) # times w/ woman before.....
j) other ladies he's been with on Daru:
1) ..... # times:... 6)..... # times:...
2) ..... # times:... 7)..... # times:...
3) ..... # times:... 8)..... # times:...
4) ..... # times:... 9)..... # times:...
5) ..... # times:... 10)..... # times:...
k) why wants another woman/what did he say.....
.....
Comments/probable identity:.....
6) Party start (time/place):..... finish:.....
7) Who else at the party:.....
8) Other party activities:.....
.....
.....

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9) Alcohol consumption: a) how much bought:.....
b) where bought:..... c) who bought:.....
d) who drank:.....
e) woman drank:..... f) man drank:.....
f) others: 1)..... 2)..... 3)..... 4).....
g) reported consumed:..... h) discrepancy:.....
h) drank how much before sex:..... i) after:.....
Comments:.....
.....
10) Sexual Activity:
a) sex with which man:.....
b) # of times:..... c) sex location:.....
d) sexual style:.....
e) # condoms used:..... f) who provided:.....
g) # times sexed before..... h) where:.....
Comments (enjoy sex/drinking, etc.):.....
.....
.....
11) Sexual Hygiene:
a) woman clean first:..... b) where:.....
c) with what:.....
d) man clean first:..... e) where:.....
f) with what:.....
g) woman clean after:..... h) where:.....
i) with what:.....
j) man clean after:..... k) where:.....
l) with what:.....
Comments:.....
.....
12) Woman stay all night with man:.....
13) Payment:
a) paid how much:..... b) when:.....
c) Tunigi paid:..... d) others:.....
e) other gifts:.....
14) How Spent Money:
a) total:
b) kept for self:
c) gave to others:
1).....
2).....
3).....total=
15) Final comments.....
.....

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Appendix 6.2

Sex Working Interview

1) Tell me where you are from, and a little bit about your life.
Probes: a) village from/residence now? b) lived how long/elsewhere in this/other town? c) marital status? # times married/when? current/ex-husband from where? where now? others? d) age now? husband's age when married? e) kids? adopted in/out? ages? ex-others support? f) how you support self/others? g) work history?

2) Tell me how you learned about sex when you were growing up.
Probes: a) parents/school/church/work/girls/boys taught? what age? thought what? b) play sex with other girls/boys? what? c) sex within family? who? when? what happened? d) saw 1st sex where? who? where? thought what? e) pornography then/now? who? where? what? f) marila in your village? you used? Others use on you? g) talk about sex tambu? why? did what about it?

3) Tell me a little bit about your first two boyfriends.
Probes: a) their/your age? single, married? b) from where? c) met them where? d) payment/presents he/you gave? e) parents think what? f) you/they use marila? g) sexed with them? # times/where? consequences?

4) Tell me a little bit about the first two times you had sex.
Probes: a) who/where from? b) your/their age? c) how arranged? d) birth control/worried about bel? e) think/feel afterward? enjoy sex? f) you/him bleed? did what? g) they gris/force you? how? why? h) presents/payment?

5) Tell me everything you know about the prostitution situation here in town/village.
Probes: 1) Pamukus: a) ladies called what? b) where from? c) married, single, ages, occupations? d) where/why pamuk? e) why start/stop? f) husbands/family/community think what? g) alcohol? h) what is this work called?
2) Customers: a) who? called what? ages? single, married? occupations? b) price/arrangements? c) why men pamuk? wives ever find out? what happens? d) alcohol? 3) Others involved: a) security? b) taxi drivers? c) hotel/club personnel? d) brothers/wantoks? e) escorts? 4) Other forms of sexual exchange?: a) families selling sisters, daughters, wives? where? how? price/arrangements? b) housewives that pamuk? who? where? why? prices? who customers? c) outdoor, tu kina bus? where? who? how much d) streetwalking/park bench sitting? ages? residences? customers?

6) Tell me about the first few times you got money and/or goods for doing sex.
Probes: a) where? situation? b) who? married, single, occupation? c) how made arrangements? family/wantoks involved? how? d) # times? styles? birth control? e) alcohol involved? how? f) feel/think what? shame? fear? g) why did

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it? Money, beer, love, pleasure? h) parents/family find out? what happened? i) paid how much? how spent? j) how soon after was next time? who? where? how much?

7) Tell me about the last three times you got money and/or goods for doing sex.
Probes: a) where? situation? b) who? married, single, occupation? c) how made arrangements? family/wantoks involved? how? d) # times? styles? birth control? e) alcohol involved? how? f) feel/think what? shame? fear? g) why did it? money, beer, love, pleasure? h) parents/family find out? what happened? i) paid how much? how spent? j) how soon after was next time? who? where? how much?

8) Where are some of the places where you've done sex work?
Probes: a) list where/why each place b) how find men/men find you? c) use brokers/messengers? they find you/you them? d) favorite places? least favorite? why? e) any trouble places? f) how get around? taxis? paying gate fees?

9) Tell me about some of your customers.
Probes: a) ages of all, occupations, single/married? Blacks? Whites? b) what call customers? c) how paid? get how much? most/least? been tricked? free ones? why/did what? e) favorite/least favorite customers? why? f) hurt you? g) cleanliness? h) # partners this past fortnight/month/lifetime? i) how do they gris you? j) want to become boyfriends/husbands? say/do what? k) love any customers? why? do different styles w/ them? why? they give gifts/money?

10) How do you decide when and how to do sex?
Probes: a) use what tokples? why? b) who decides timing? # times usual? location? on premises sex? c) do what before you do sex? hygiene? d) take clothes off/leave on? why? d) stimulation? he stimulate you? e) offbeat requests? f) anal, fingering, oral, kissing? how often? why? why not? g) heard of other styles? h) orgasm? how? how often? i) styles that hurt? do/think what? j) styles won't/will do
with paying/non-paying partners?

11) Tell me something about all of your regular boyfriends.
Probes: a) who, where from, occupations, single/married? b) why call them boyfriends? c) sex with them? how often? d) get paid/presents? how much? e) go where with them? why? f) talk in street, see each other at other times? g) you love them? why? they love you? why?

12) Tell me about some of the problems you've had?
Probes: a) wives/girlfriends find out? b) ever been reported/jailed? what about curfew? police relationships? c) hurt by customers? called bad names? what? d) STDs? how? what? did what? e) pregnancies from customers? did what? f) curfew? police? security? taxis? hotel/club staff?

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13) Tell me how you feel about condoms.

Probes: a) first time? who had? think what? b) why use condoms? why not? c) men think/say what about condoms? d) use with boyfriends? husbands (if married)? if not, why not? e) customers refuse? why? you say/do what? f) obtain where? keep where? have any now? #/brand g) ever used same one twice or more? h) use them for oral/anal sex? i) use grease? what? how often?

14) After sex how do you feel?

Probes: a) how soon wash? b) shame? why? c) they treat you how after? d) want to sex again? e) make more arrangements? f) they take you home? how? been stranded? how get payment? problems? worries?

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Appendix 7.1
Sagapari Watch

Observation #:..... Field note #:..... Field note codes:.....
.....

1) Name: 2) Day and date:
3) Observation time:
a) started when: b) finished when:
c) watched how long: d) to/from town:
4) Weather: 5) Tide: 6) payday/loose week:
7) Observational locations:
a) watched from where:
b) wrote notes where:
c) wrote notes how long after watching:
d) watched while passing urine or excreta:
e) people knew you were observing them:
f) anyone cross or ask questions:
g) what else were you doing while you were watching:

8) Locations of men:

	where was:	how many in:	age of men in:	group name:
Group #1:				
Group #2:				
Group #3:				
Group #4:				
Group #5:				
Group #6:				
Others:				
Comments:				

9) Men's activities:

	beer/hardstuff:	how many drinking:	look spak:
Group #1:			
Group #2:			
Group #3:			
Group #4:			
Group #5:			
Group #6:			
Group #7:			
Others:			
Comments:			

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10) Women's identities:
group #/name/corner/block/married/age/seen her here before/
Woman #1:
Woman #2:
Woman #3:
Woman #4:
Woman #5:
Woman #6:
Woman #7:
Woman #8:
Woman #9:
Woman #10:
Woman #11:
Woman #12:
Comments:

11) Locations of women (example: back left, front left, center right):
where was: how many in:
Group #1:
Group #2:
Group #3:
Group #4:
Group #5:
Group #6:
Comments:

12) Activities of women: (give names and time if you can)
doing what: number left/arrived:
Group #1:
Group #2:
Group #3:
Group #4:
Group #5:
Group #6:
Group #7:

13) Sexual behavior that you saw with your own eyes:
woman's name/man's group/man spak/what style/where/how many times/
1)
2)
3)
4)
Final comments (any condom usage, talking, new styles):

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Appendix 8.1

Socks Giveaway

Giveaway #:..... Field note #:..... Field note Codes #:.....

.....

1) Name: 2) Day/Date/Time:

3) Location: 4) How approached/reactions:

5) Other Names for Condoms:

6) Condom Giveaways:

	1 /	2 /	3 /	4 /	5 /	6
a) Sociodemo:						
1) Age:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
2) Sex:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
3) Res:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
4) Eth:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
5) MS/kids:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
6) Work:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
where:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
7) Skul:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
grade:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
b) Condom Use:						
1) Use Bef:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
FN:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
2) Partners						
say:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
3) Got:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
4) Will use						
on who:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
where:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
c) Sexual Behavior:						
1) When last						
sex:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
Where:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
Who:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
Give/Get						
K/pres:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
2) # partners						
FN:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
Month:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
Life:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...
3) Age 1st						
sex:	... /	... /	... /	... /	... /	...

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Appendix 8.2

Life History Interview: Men

Thank you for meeting with me today. I want to story with you about sexual behavior to help stop this new AIDS sickness. I don't want you to mention any names. No one will ever hear your voice or see your name except me, so please don't worry. I want you to answer with the full story, and please tell only the truth. If you want to stop at any time, or if you don't want to answer any question, just tell me. Okay, first I'm going to ask you some simple questions:

a) from where? b) stayed on Daru/town how long? c) married/single, how many children? d) how support yourself? others support you? e) age? f) church? which one, how often? g) schooling? where? grade finished?

Okay, now I want to ask you some questions about when you were growing up.

1) Tell me what you learned about sex when you were growing up.
   Probes: a) first sex ed? who taught? what taught? b) learned what about women/bodies/menstruation? who taught? c) any blood-letting or initiation? who/what done? where? you how old? d) learn about sex elsewhere? e) learned from mates? what? f) 1st time saw others sex? where? think what?

2) In your village are there any sex/dating/courting customs like karim lek or tanim het or brukim kumul?
   Probes: a) take place where? who? called what? b) participants how old? c) you take part? did/think what? d) have sex during? e) payment/gifts involved? g) marila in your village? what kinds? you used/used on you?

3) Tell me about the first three girlfriends you had.
   Probes: a) her age/your age? single, married? b) from/met where? c) how made arrangements? d) you/she use marila? e) her/your parents find out? did what? f) how long with them? (for married men) g) how many girlfriends until now? sex w/ how many?

4) Tell me all about your first three sexual experiences.
   Probes: a) who? where? older, younger, single, married? b) how made arrangements? who initiated? used what styles? shame? her? sex w/them again? c) you/she bleed? did/think what? d) payment/gifts? e) sex with other boys/mates?

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5) Tell me everything you know about the prostitution situation here on Daru.
Probes: 1) Pamukus a) ladies called what? b) where from? c) married, single, occupations? ages? d) where pamuk? e) why they pamuk? e) know mates sexed with them? price/gris/arrangements, etc.? f) you tried them before? why/who/where/price? 2) Customers a) who are customers? single, married? occupations? b) price? c) why men pamuk? wives ever find out? what happens? 3) Other Types a) any other kinds of prostitution? (wife-daughter-sister-selling?) b) which people/corners involved? how old? single, married? c) where? d) price/arrangement? e) customers who? f) you been asked/tried? explain.

6) What kinds of sex or sex styles are tambu here?
Probes: a) incest? b) widows/widowers? c) homosexual? d) adultery? e) underage? e) others? (i.e., while women menstruating or pregnant or nursing)

7) (for single men) Where can single people go to do sex?
Probes: a) how make arrangements? what time? b) styles? others? c) singles sex after party/dance/sports/church? where? d) spak? spakbrus? girls spak? e) places you've sexed on Daru/in village? why? g) village/community thinks what about premarital sex?

8) (for single men) Tell me about all your sex partners in the past month (if none, six months, year, lifetime)
Probes: a) from? b) met how/where? c) they married/single? d) # times? e) styles? f) you spak? her? g) presents, money exchanged? h) her parents ever found out? think/did what? i) you/she used marila? j) you gris/been grised? k) forced ladies to sex? how? why? l) made babies? m) # partners lifetime? n) partners usually climax? how? if not, why not?

9) (for married men) Tell me about your sex life with your wife.
Probes: a) how often sex with her/how often in last month? b) who asks, you or her? c) how often enough for you? her? you/she happy with sex life? d) where sex? others? e) when spak, want sex? she does/says what? f) try new styles? she thinks what? g) (if wife been bel) # times to make baby? sex into bel how long? h) sex tambu after birth how long? when started sex again? problems? you go elsewhere? i) menstrual sex? no, why not? yes, think what? j) ever bleed during sex? her?

10) (for married men) You and missus using family planning now?
Probes: a) ever tried custom ways? b) heard about condoms? used them? think what about them? c) wife ever avoid/refuse you? why? you do what? d) problems w/ other methods? e) want more kids? how many?

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11) (for married men) Have you had any girlfriends since you've been married?
Probes: a) # partners? b) where/how met? why? c) they older, younger, single, married? d) been spak? e) payments/gifts? f) wife find out? what happened? g) sex better or worse? h) will again? i) girlfriends now? j) made babies? k) # partners lifetime?

12) (for married men) Has your wife had any other boyfriends since you've been married?
Probes: a) where/how did they meet? why? b) # different partners? older, younger, single, married? c) money, presents exchanged? occupations? d) you find out? what happened? (if say no to all, she does what during your absence?) e) # her sex partners lifetime?

13) (for divorced/widowed men) Have you had any girlfriends since you've been divorced/widowed?
Probes: a) sex tambu for widows/divorcees here? b) sexed how soon after death/divorce? c) # partners? who? where? # times? d) been spak? e) payment/gifts involved? f) use family planning? worried about her bel? did what? g) want to marry again?

14) (for divorced/widowed men) Tell me about sex life when you were married.
Probes: a) sexed how often? b) who initiated? c) what styles? d) ever force her? e) she ever refuse you? f) been spak? she do/say what? g) did what during absences? h) other partners? who? where? single, married, older, younger? payment/gifts? wife found out? what happened? i) wife ever have other partners? who? you find out? what happened? j) # sex partners lifetime?

15) Have you heard about Sexually Transmitted Diseases?
Probes: a) names/signs? b) sick spread how? non-sexual ways? c) had STD before? what symptoms? came from where? d) sex partners had STD? how know? e) local treatments? wantok treatment? g) sorcery/poison involved? h) how prevented?

16) Have you heard about AIDS?
Probes: a) what is it? where does it come from? b) any on Daru with it? how spread? c) prevention/avoidance? d) local treatments? e) you afraid? why? e) will do what about it?

Okay, any questions? Do you have any worries you'd like to express? Please do so.

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Life History Interview: Women

Thank you for meeting with me today. I want to story with you about sexual behavior because we need to get information from women to help stop this new AIDS sickness. No one will ever hear your voice or see your name except me, so please don't worry; I will keep your story secret. Also, please don't mention any names when we story. If you want to stop at any time, or if you don't want to answer any question, just tell me. When we story, please tell me the truth. First, a few general questions:

a) from where? b) stayed on Daru/in town how long? c) married/single, how many children? d) how support yourself? others support you? e) age? f) church? which one, how often?

Okay, now I want to ask you about some customs in your village (or on Daru). Please try to give me the full story.

1) How do people make tatoos here on Daru/in the village?
   Probes: a) tools? share? how many? b) why make them? c) you tatooed? d) who cuts? payment?

2) Do people cut or bleed themselves for other reasons?
   Probes: a) tools? share? how many? b) who does? payment? c) what parts of body? why? d) you been bled? when, why, where? e) male/female initiation here/in village? what age? what done? bled how? by who? f) you been initiated? how? what age? taught what? who taught?

3) Tell me what you learned about menstruation when you were growing up.
   Probes: a) parents/school/church/friends teach you? what? b) try make menarche come? what? c) change behavior? how? d) celebrate menarche? how? e) talk w/other girls? what said?

4) Tell me about your first menstrual period.
   Probes: a) where when happened? how old? think/did what? b) tell parents/others? said what? c) celebrate it? how? d) use what 1st time? use what now? used other things? e) go through initiation then? how old? did what?

5) In your village are there any courting/dating customs like karim lek or tanim het or brukim kumul?
   Probes: a) take place where? who? called what? b) participants how old? c) you take part? did what? think what? d) have sex during? e) payment/gifts involved? g) marila in your village? you used/used on you?

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6) Tell me what you learned about sex when you were growing up.
Probes: a) parents/school/church/work/girls/boys taught? what age? thought what? b) play sex with other girls/boys? what? c) saw 1st sex where? who? where? thought what?

7) Tell me a little bit about your first two boyfriends.
Probes: a) their/your age? single, married? b) from where? c) met them where? d) give you money or presents? e) parents think what? g) use marila on them/them use it on you?

8) Tell me a little bit about the first two times you had sex.
Probes: a) who/where from? b) your/their age? c) how arranged? d) birth control/worried about bel? e) think/feel afterward? enjoy sex? f) you/him bleed? did what? g) they gris/force you? how? why? h) presents/payment?

9) (for single women) Where do single people do sex here on Daru/in the village?
Probes: a) where? why? b) how arranged? messengers? what time? c) parents/others think what? d) you go where with boyfriend(s)? why? go in groups/single?

10) (for single women) Tell me a little about all the sex partners you've had in the last month (if none, six months, year, lifetime)
Probes: a) from where? occupations? age? b) meet them how? do sex where? c) # times? styles? d) presents/payment/beer? e) you used marila-gris/used on you? f) they forced you to do sex? g) they/you spak? h) # partners lifetime? i) use condoms? think what?

11) (for married women) Tell me about your sex life with your husband.
Probes: a) how often sex with him? # times last week/month b) who initiates? c) how often enough for you/him? d) where sex? other places? e) ever forces you? explain. f) he spak? you do what? you spak? g) menstrual sex? h) complaints? his complaints?

12) (for married women) Tell me about your sex life when you were pregnant and/or nursing.
Probes: a) (if been bel) sex into bel how long? b) sex tambu after birth how long? when started again? caused problems? c) he go elsewhere?

13) (for married women) Are you using any kind of family planning now?
Probes: a) custom ways? explain. b) Depo/pills/others? c) condoms? think what about them? have any now? d) ever avoid/refuse husband? why? he says what?

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14) (for married women) Have you sexed with others since married?
Probes: a) took place where? why? b) # different partners? older, younger, single, married? occupations? c) payment/beer? d) husband ever find out? what happened? e) sex better or worse? why? will do it again? f) (if no to all), why not? g) # partners lifetime.

15) (for married women) Has your husband ever sexed with another woman since you've been married?
Probes: a) where/how did they meet? why? b) # different partners? older, younger, single, married? c) payment/beer? d) you find out? what happened?

16) (for divorced/widowed women) Tell me about your sex life since you've been divorced/widowed.
Probes: a) tambu here for widows/divorcees to sex? b) men been grisim you? c) sexed how soon after death/divorce? d) # partners since widow? last time sexed? who? how many times? ages? boyfriends now? e) they/you spak? f) family/community find out? thought what? g) payment/gifts involved? h) use family planning? worried about bel? did what? i) want to marry again? why?

17) (for divorced/widowed women) When you were married, did you enjoy sex with your husband?
Probes: a) sexed how often? b) who initiated? c) what styles? d) ever force you? explain. e) did what during absences? f) other partners? who? where? payment/gifts? husband found out? what happened?

18) Tell me what you've heard about STDs
Probes: a) names/signs? local names/treatments? b) you had before? come from where? c) seen STDs on sex partners? came from where? did what? d) how they spread? poison involved? food/drink/clothing?

19) Tell me what you've heard about AIDS?
Probes: a) means what/is what? b) comes from where? c) how spread? prevented? d) you frightened? why? e) will do what to avoid it?

Okay, any questions? If you have any questions for me, or you'd like to express your worries or whatever, do so.

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