Incest in Palau: "Deleumuu Undressed"

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Abstract:
Black (1978) and Shewman (1992) have written specifically about incest in the Palauan society; however, these publications, in some respect, have fallen short of articulating the essence of incest as a subject of severe conflict in the traditional and contemporary Palauan society. This paper will attempt to lay out the cultural framework from which incest is defined, summarize actual cases of incest in Palau and finally discuss some future actions needed to clarify the definition as well as, detailing the "burden" of incest in the Palauan society.

Information review reveals that incest is occurring in Palau at alarming rate; however, most of the information are communicated through kelulau (whispers). Kelulau is a secretive and subliminal way for the Palauans to discuss some of these extremelymekull subjects especially, incest. It is the level of kebiili where incest is defined and could differ from clan to clan. Through kelulau one begins to understand that in the Palauan society incest is defined vertically and horizontally through the different units of the social structures. Kelulau reports higher rates of incest even before 1992. Current data bank does provide enough information for accurate prevalence rate of incest in Palau to be determined. The article has attempted to provide some basic information about incest in Palau. In all of these incest is defined vertically and horizontally. The Palauan society must be held as the overall perpetrator if it continues to neglect addressing the issue of incest in Palau. (PHD, 2005 Vol 12 No 1 Pages 84 - 91)

The Beginning of Palau
In Uchelet (Beginning) Belau, Dirrirechuul gives birth to Kim. Kim begets Latmikaik. Latmikaik begets Ucheljanget, Dillebuu and Uab. Dillebuu begets Kebili, Seked, Dedae, Mengidabrutkoel and Dilodechu. Mengidabrutkoel "pregnates" Turang who is Dedae's daughter. Mengidabrutkoel is Turang's maternal uncle. Dilodechu evolved to Dirrirechulabau who evolved to Milad. Milad gave birth to Imyune (Ngaramlongui State), Melekeok (Melekeok State), Imeliik (Almeiliik State) and Oreo (Koror State). Imeliik is the female and the other three are males.

Introduction
Many authors have written on various issues in Palau but there is limited published information on the subject of incest. Black (1978) and Shewman (1992) have written specifically about incest in the Palauan society; however, these publications in some respect have fallen short of articulating the essence of incest as a subject of severe conflict in the traditional and contemporary Palauan society. Incest is a problem that has existed and exists in the recent past and current generations. Available information from other writers such as Miklouho-Maclay (1876), Hazikata (1930s), Barnett (1940s) and Smith (1980's), one can conclude that it existed not only in the recent but also remote past. The life epic of Mengidabrutkoel, the recordings by foreign ethnographers, the works of foreign social scientists and the oral journal of Kelulau (whispers) allows one to make the assumption that incest has been a part of the Palauan society and perhaps, from its inception. This paper will attempt to lay out the cultural framework from which incest is defined, summarize actual cases of incest in Palau and finally discuss some future actions needed to clarify the definition as well as, detailing the "burden" of incest in the Palauan society.
framework whether religious, ethnic or otherwise. Therefore, in the Tobian experience Black makes an observation that while marriage is not acceptable in the forbidden kinship, sexual intercourse is tolerated. If this observation is true, then are the Tobians and Father Marino saying the same thing? If not, then here lies a prime example of such conflicts that is part and parcel of the whole discussion. These conflicts however, must be felt and not just understood by those who attempt to study them.

Palau: the Place

Republic of Palau is the western-most Caroline Island in the Micronesia lying 500 miles east of the Philippines, north of New Guinea and 800 miles southwest of Guam. Palau comprises of 340 mostly high volcanic islands with a total land area of 188 square miles.

Uchelel Belau states that Uab "stood for 4 days, fell over because the body was engulfed in fire. Uab lifted the right foot and kicked Ngears (Angaur State) away, then as he fell; the burnt parts became the rock islands the other foot became Beliliou (Peiliu State). The body became Babeladaob (main island), with the buttocks became Irai (Airai State), knees became Bukiirengel, waist and heart became Ngerdubech, lower abdomen became Bukiierenriil, elbow became Bukiacheliid, neck became Chol and head became Ngerchelong (Ngechelong State). This is how Palau was formed.

Palauan: the People

It is estimated that during the time of the first European contact around the mid 1500's there were about 50,000 Palauans. The later part of the last century the population had dwindled down to about 4,000

Palauan Society

Palauan society is a consanguine matrilineal (rasechlokeak adil) culture, which includes layers of social structures that define and spell out the specific roles and expectations of all members of the society. All Palauans belong to at least one clan and in many cases may belong to several clans. In the Uchelel Belau, the eusal saus (4 pillars) of the Palauan society are Aimeliik (Imeliik), Koror (Oreor), Ngaremlengui (Imeyuns) and Melekeok. Traditionally, each community (belau) has 10 chiefs and 10 chiefesses and four of those chiefs are the eusal saus. (Palau Society of Historians 1997a)

The basic structure is "ongalek", ancestral kin comprised of a mother and her children. The next layer of structural unit is the "obii" (family), which is formed by several "ongalek" units. Several "obii" form "kebili" (clans) and several kebili form "kebili" (federation of related clans). In these layers of "belonging to" structures lie all the rules and principles of the Palauan traditions.

Women are the payers and earners simultaneously while the men provide the cultural system by which that transaction happen between related and unrelated women. It is a culture of reciprocity through a complex funnel-like economic relationship where the men are the funnels and the women are payers and recipients. The glue that holds this structure together is this system of multi layered societal units of ongalek, obii, kebili and kebili. It is the violation of this glue that is the essence of incest in Palau.

Incest in Palau

Information review reveals that incest is occurring in Palau at an alarming rate however, most of the information are communicated through keulau (whispers) (The Society of Palauan Historians 1997b) Kelau is a secretive and subliminal way for the Palauans to discuss some of these extremelymekull subjects especially, incest. There are different types and levels of kelau. Through kelau, Palauans have been discussing incest for generations because there has never been a written language until the foreigners came to the islands. This discussion has been almost undetected by outsiders. Outsider can mean outsiders to the Palauan society or outsiders of the particular kebili, kebili, obii or telungalek. Kelau also provides information about the tolerance, not necessarily the acceptance on what is considered incest. It is the level of kebili where incest is defined and could differ from clan to clan. If a kebili sets
up what is considered incest, which would apply to all the obili and ongeleik in that kebilii. This set up may not be the same as how it is defined by the level of kebilii. It is therefore critical for us to explore how incest is defined within the confines of these social structural units before we begin to define its burden in the community.

Definition of Incest in Palau
It is Mr. Lot in Genesis and Mr. Mengidabrutkoel in Ucheol Belau who might have committed the first cases incest. However, many stories in the Bible tell the stories of incest including Jacob who is looking for Isaac’s wife from his “own kin”. It is in Leviticus that the rules of “unacceptable” behavior are considered including incest. In Palau, earlier recordings of ethnographers, social scientist and kelulau talks about many rules of avoidance. These seem to be common among many of the studied group of Micronesian. It is through the rules of avoidance that kelulau begins to talk about incest not just as a mekull (taboo) but also deleboes (cultural-sexual-emotional awkward obscenity) and kora charm (behaving like animals). In this respect incest is an obscene taboo of an animal like behavior. In the Palauan culture, mekull and deleboes are defined and felt differently. For example, all deleboes are situational mekull but not all mekull are deleboes. Incest however, is mekull and deleboes all the time and therefore makes it an issue of extreme conflicts in the Palauan society, kmai di uiaa charm (much like animals).

This has been a discussion of heterosexual incest however; homosexual incest will necessitate adding another layer of the obscene-taboo-animal like behavior called menguchet ea raoc (chewing a mango root) or mengol ea otar (carrying a log on the shoulder). These titles pertain to male gender homosexuality. There is no given name to female homosexuality as if there was no one knows it even among the kelulau. To add the layer of homosexuality to incest is more cognitive rather than the cultural-sexual-emotional layer of taboo-ness because, it has been thought as impossible to happen in the past. It is unclear at this time what is the interface and if there is one between the rules in Leviticus and the rules of avoidance, one is left only to speculate.

It is safe to say that marriage and sexual intercourse between 1st degree cousins, father-daughter, mother-son, uncle-niece, aunt-nephews is absolutely forbidden and would constitute the clear definition of incest in Palau. It is after this level where it becomes conditionally forbidden such that the definition, acceptance and tolerance of marriage and sexual intercourse between relatives begin to get fairly diverse and complicated. This is where a Palauan tradition can sometimes “correct” it by meraul na laulai (fixing the floor) however, this process is kebilii dependant. Example of this complexity is documented by Peter Black in the Tobians (Hatchobei State) experience where he writes, “sexual intercourse with a clan mate (providing that the genealogical connection is no closer than first cousin) is forbidden but arouses no great reaction when it becomes known. It is only when the parties try to formalize the union that the full complex of wonder and horror, ghosts and insanity, is triggered.” This is not isolated to Tobi Island. It is also found in some clans in the Babeldao Island.

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It is important to note that comparatively the Southwest Island of Palau, Hatchobei State (Tobi Islands) and Sonsorol State (Sanaitara Islands) seems to have similarities with Woleai experience. (Smith A 1960) However, the members of Hatchobei and Sonsorol States who migrated to Eang, Koror show patterns of incestuous behavior much like that of the Ewan, Kosrae. (Ritter, 1979). The islands of Ngaur (Angaur State) and (Kayangel State) comparatively have a lot of similarities with the Bikini Atoll (Kiste and Rynkiewich 1976) and the Eauripik Island of Woleai. In this case, ecological isolation lends itself to endogamy such that the probability of incest is increased. On Babeldao, the West Coast (keiukl) and most part of the East Coast (despadiel, the incest pattern is a combination of patterns described in the Yap Island (Lobby 1976 and Schneider 1957), Kapingamarangi Island (Lieber 1972) and Arno Atoll. In the east and south coast of Babeldao, there are several clans that kelulau describe to have tendencies of comparable to that of the Namoluk Atoll as described by Mac Marshall. (Mac Marshall 1971).

Palau National Code (PNCA 17) defines incest as, “every person who shall unlawfully engage in sexual intercourse with another or such a close blood relationship or affinity that marriage between the two who so engage is prohibited by law or custom.” The PNC is purposely vague because of the variations and complexities that are inherently part of the Palauan society. It is interesting that “unlawfully” and “prohibited by law” is used when there is no other law(s) regarding incest in the PNC which then leaves the definition to customs and traditions.

Through kelulau one begins to understand that in the Palauan society incest is defined vertically and horizontally through the different units of the social structures. It can also happen between blood-related
individuals as well as relatives through a formalized union such as marriage, adoptive and alliance. For example, vertical incest is that of uncles, aunts, mothers, and fathers having marriage and/or sexual intercourse with nieces, nephews, daughter and/or sons. It includes step, adopted and alliance relatives. Horizontal incest occurs between genealogical degrees such as siblings and cousins whether blood, step, adopted, alliance relatives. Siblings, 2nd cousins are absolutely forbidden, horizontal relatives. Absolutely forbidden relative is deeper for maternal cousins than paternal cousins, such that maternal 5th degree cousins might be absolutely forbidden but paternal 5th degree cousins might only be conditionally forbidden. The level is again defined at the level of different kebliti.

**Cases Summaries by VOCA Program-Palau**

The following Table 1 contains skeleton summaries of the cases that have been reported to the Victims of Crime Assistance Program in the Ministry of Health, Palau. (Koshiba 2000) The details of the cases are not discussed so that the anonymity of the people involved is not conveyed. It is meant to give a point of discussion about cases of incest in Palau.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Victims</th>
<th>Relationship of Perpetrators to Victims</th>
<th>Legal Outcome</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 year old (F)</td>
<td>Stepfather and an Uncle</td>
<td>Filed as sexual abuse</td>
<td>No judgment yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 year old (F)</td>
<td>Uncle (23)</td>
<td>Not filed</td>
<td>Victims infected with Chlamydia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 year old (F)</td>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>Case dropped. Victim refused to testify</td>
<td>Brother 6 y.o. was accused of “sexual abuse” but charges dropped because “victim” refused to testify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 year old (F)</td>
<td>Stepfather and Uncle</td>
<td>Not filed</td>
<td>School GPA 1.0, “attention deficit”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 year old (F)</td>
<td>Grandfather, Uncle and Brother</td>
<td>Grandfather and Uncle died before trial. Brother was charged with sexual abuse</td>
<td>Brother hanged himself. Victim unable to finish high school. Recurrent nightmares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 year old (F)</td>
<td>Stepfather</td>
<td>Filed for Sexual Abuse. Judgment is pending</td>
<td>Stepfather in jail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 year old (F)</td>
<td>2 Cousins (10 and 14)</td>
<td>Not filed</td>
<td>“started to enjoy it” Lasted 5 years. “Having difficulty with relationships”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 year old (F)</td>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>Filed. Grandfather found guilty of sexual abuse</td>
<td>Grandfather was paraplegic and never went to jail. Victim committed suicide 2 years later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 year old (F)</td>
<td>Stepfather</td>
<td>Filed. Stepfather found guilty of sexual abuse</td>
<td>Victim gave birth to a child. Never finished high school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 year old (F)</td>
<td>2 Uncles</td>
<td>Not filed</td>
<td>Victim dropped out of school. “Married young, divorced and committed suicide.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 year old (F)</td>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>Rape Charge filed and judgment is pending in court</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 year old (F)</td>
<td>Stepfather (34) and his younger brother (32)</td>
<td>Not filed.</td>
<td>Stepfather left island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 year old (F)</td>
<td>Stepfather</td>
<td>Filed. Convicted of molestation</td>
<td>Stepfather was jailed. Victim: “joined gangs, ran away, prostituted, dropped out of school, got married at 15 years of age.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 year old (F)</td>
<td>Father and Older Brother</td>
<td>Not filed.</td>
<td>Mother refused the filing of charges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 year old (F)</td>
<td>Stepfather</td>
<td>Sexual Abuse Dropped</td>
<td>Mother refused to cooperate. Victim gave birth to a baby boy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This part of the table is obtained through kelalau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age/Gender</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Custom Outcome</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51 (M)</td>
<td>Paternal 1st cousins</td>
<td>“dilemma” This is not fixable by through the culture</td>
<td>Married for &gt;20 yr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 (F)</td>
<td>Maternal 1st cousins</td>
<td>“dilemma” Same as above.</td>
<td>Married for &gt;20 yr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 (M) D</td>
<td>Step-siblings</td>
<td>“meruul ualol” This is fixable.</td>
<td>Married for &gt;20 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are several issues that have become apparent in reviewing the above Case Summary Table and are discussed below.
1. Definition of Incest- Redefinition.
2. Prevalence of incest in Palau
3. Demographic Information.
4. Data and Surveillance.
5. Stereotypes: male = perpetrator and female = victim.
7. Consensual Vs Forced Incest.
8. Social and psychological effects of incest.

The "acts" of incest has been confined to marriage and sexual intercourse and by having done so, the "other sexual acts" such as, fondling (omerberabek) and oral sex (omengang?) in the defined kinship have been taken out of the discussion of incest and discussed as "sexual abuse and/or molestation." In Keliulau indirectly talk about such behavior and ranks them in the order of the taboo-ness (mekkel), obscene-ness (delebesiel) and repugnancy-ness (kikongel tekci). In such respect, fondling and oral sex with the member of defined "forbidden" members of the kinship should constitute an incestuous act. It is unclear whether these acts were part of the sexuality in the traditional Palauan society however, it must be considered in dealing with the sexuality of the contemporary Palauan society. In that respect, they too must be considered acts of incest if performed between the forbidden members of the kinship.

Prevalence of Incest in Palau
Richard Shewman (1992) reports that there were 31 incidents of sexual molestation in Palau and forty percent (12/31) were considered "incest". Keliulau reports higher rates of incest even before 1982. It is interesting that in 1988, "28 girls became pregnant between 14-18 years of age. Records in 1987 shows a 2 month old and a 3 year old female positive for gonococcal infection however, little was done of assess further into their lives as parents did not wish further assistance." (MOH 1990) Keliulau can articulate more than 20 cases of incest at around or before 1992 and, theses are mainly concentrated on the Desbedall (East Coast) of Palau.

Table 1 does not include cases of fondling and oral sex among the forbidden kinship as incest such that, an "18 month old is brought to hospital with bloody diaper and upon examination, it was noted that somebody tried to insert something into her vagina." (Koshiha 2000) The point being, clear definition would also define the prevalence rate. Current data bank does provide enough information an accurate prevalence rate incest in Palau to be determined. Once the definition is agreed upon then, it will take a meticulous data collection to document the true prevalence rate.

Demographic Information
Currently the available data is inadequate in providing the demographic distribution of the age of the victims, perpetrators, those with accessory to the knowledge and the clan involved. The data available while known in Keliulau, does not allow one see the full demographic information and therefore, would require going back to Keliulau to find this information.

It is critical to document not only the specifics of the case as would be necessary for surveillance but also the general information about the ongalek, obiili, kebelli and kiebelli. It is also important to collect data specific to the people, place and situation. For example, the data for mental and physical disabilities, isolation of the place, the situation (reporting and tolerance of the act) of the relationships surrounding the incident, affect the recording of incest. In many cases, segmental or clan keliulau does include all of these information so that a accurate and detailed data collection can take place and be accessible.

Data and Surveillance
Data and surveillance is separated from the demographic because it usually means "documentation" which may not be practical in Palauan society. Documenting the specifics of incest in Palau would mean that everyone might "know" about therefore, it is important that the information is owned by the particular clan. In many clans keeping tracked (pathological-ethical-moral faults) are not "broadcasted" in the society because in the long run it may be detrimental to the overall health of the family, clan and the society. Therefore, it would be practical to have a central data bank that will only have registration numbers and the detailed information is left with the head of the clan. This will in essence leave the information to the ownership of the clan and is only accessible to the society through legal and traditional requirements.

Stereotypes: males = perpetrators/ female = victims
In reviewing the data from Victims of Crime Assistance Program it becomes apparent that for whatever reason, the “establishment” thinks of the victims as a female and perpetrators as a male. As such, the case of an 8-year-old female who is labeled a “victim” where as her 8-year-old younger brother is labeled as the “perpetrator”. In many of the cases, the mother is not even considered as perpetrators on the basis of “accessory to the knowledge” In the case of consensual adults, who is the perpetrator and who is the victim? Traditional system does not attempt to label one a victim and one a perpetrator; the whole clan would be labeled. In consensual adults incest is usually blamed on the female for causing the act to happen. In the case of two children, they are only considered to be ngalek (just children). In the case where an adult is involved with a minor, the minor is not labeled as chebuul (pity on the helplessness) but the adult is labeled as smercher (sick). Perhaps in a small society like Palau, the labels given have created a stereotypic attitude toward individuals involved where as the Traditional system does not make such labels readily and therefore, allows all members of the society to formulate their own feelings and attitude toward all involved.

Consensual Vs Forced Incest

The last three cases in the table are examples of incest that happens among “adult” and even though some happens in the absolute and conditionally forbidden kinship the particular clans involved in many ways will unwillingly accept being called Delemumuu and move on. In those conditionally forbidden kinship omerellel a ulaol takes place. All the other cases involving young girls, the Palauan society currently becomes “numb”, withdraws and allows the western jurisprudence to take over. In Kelulau societal asceticism happened and in many cases the discussion of about black magic such as olik (dead magic) and actual murder is discussed. (Techetbos Kelulau 2000).

Social and Psychological Effects of Incest

Information available both in written documents and Kelulau reveals that severe social and psychological damage happens not only to the individuals involved, victims and perpetrators but also to the teluungalek, oblii, kebilil and keliilil. In many of these cases, depression, failures in education (modern and traditionally), societal drifters, problems with personal relationships and in some instances suicide are social and psychological effects are magnified in small society like Palau.

Contributing Factors to Incest

Reviewing the cases provided by VOCA, it becomes apparent that stepfathers and uncles are the most common perpetrators in what appears to be a vertical type of incest. While this is speculative, it may be related to the issue of bonding and emotional attachments. Many of these cases involve the mother or grandmother remarrying and thereby exposing the young daughter or granddaughter to incest by the step-relatives.

Traditionally, for those who fall into the absolute forbidden kinship the whole clan would be given a label called Delemumuu (pathological ignoramus). Being labeled Delemumuu brings about uncorrectable shame to the whole clan.

According to kelulau, one of the most common contributing factors to horizontal incest in Palau is the process of adoption. In many cases, the adoption through the matrilineal side only account for few of the cases of incest. This is because many of the individuals involved are told about their maternal and paternal relatives much more readily compared to those who are adopted through the patrilineal side. Because of the insecurities of the children running to their “real” relatives, the biological mother’s relatives, many are never told the whole “truth and nothing but the truth.” In such cases, they are susceptible to be involved in incestuous relationship.

Intra and extra-island migration is another factor that has led to many incestuous relationship and even
marriage. As more Palauans choose to live abroad, intra or extra island, the likelihood of incest to happen increases especially among those who chooses neglect to discuss their family trees. Keluluau talks about natural attractiveness among the members of the “blood” kinship such that it is discussed as, “mesisich el kaiskurs a rasech” (there is a strong bonding among the ‘one blood’). It is discussed as natural attractiveness independent of knowledge.

Conclusion
The article has attempted to provide some basic information about incest in Palau. It has dealt with the basic structure of the Palauan society from which jurisprudence and traditional laws must interface in defining what is culturally appropriate and therefore, what is not appropriate. It has become apparent those whilere are absolutely forbidden kinship, there are also conditionally forbidden kinship that permeates all clans in the Palauan society. It is the conditionally forbidden kinship that leaves room for a lot of confusion within and outside the culture. In all of these incest is defined vertically and horizontally. Some communities in Palau differ because of demographic isolation while some are Palauan communities with cultural norms comparable to the “outer” islands of Yap and Chuuk. Even on Babeldabo, many level of tolerance is found such that one is led to believe that characteristically, Palau seem to have several combinations of all the studies on incest done in the other Micronesian Islands.

In all of these comes the issue of incest that while it is considered “animal like behavior” of the utmost obscene taboo, what is left are victims. True victims are the individuals, the families, the clans and the community at large. Consensual “adults’ becomes secondary in the whole scheme of things because in general terms, marriage is just a business arrangement. It is young children that end up with the most damage to their well being. The Palauan society must be held as the overall perpetrator if, it continues to neglect addressing the issue of incest in Palau.

It is the conclusion of this paper that the issue of incest which involves innocent and defenseless individuals must be addressed seriously in the legal and traditional systems. And in the interface of jurisprudence and traditional justice is a justice lost for the “victims” of this inhumane insult only because of the fear of traced. In the very end, the traditions, the culture, the customs, and the legal system and for that matter the nation must rise up to uphold the least of us. And if society is to deny the right of an 18-month old girl who is sexually victimized for due process, then the society has just become the perpetrator.

It is the loud cry of innocence violated, the emotions of life violated and sense of culture security destroyed that is the essence of incest as the utmost Delemuuu.

References


Gibbons, C., Yanglemau, Plaintiff v Mahoburmalu, Defendant. Civil Action No. 37, Trial Division of the High Court, Palau District: June 27 1858.


Only in growth, change and reform paradoxically enough, is true security to be found

*(Anne Morrow Lindbergh - 1906*