This chapter offers a preliminary analysis of some of the most significant cultural, psychological, and social features of the complex phenomenon of 'suicide' (kup-maak kaanam-in [literally, 'to die by oneself alone']) among the Bimin-Kuskusmin of the eastern Mountain-Ok region of the West Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. Although I shall note some comparisons with female suicidal behavior, I focus primarily on adult male self-destruction not only because it exhibits a remarkably high incidence from any comparative perspective, but also because its genesis, prevention, and ultimate social costs are of paramount concern to the Bimin-Kuskusmin. Beyond the personal tragedy of loss reflected in grief, depression, and mourning, any suicide brings about a major disruption and dislocation of the kin and community of the deceased. No formal mortuary observances, which are denied to all suicides except male ritual elders who occasionally take their lives in the face of ritual failures and in altruistic acts for the common good of their clans, are held to assuage the 'guilt' (daamantuuk) and 'shame' (fiitom) of close kin and to heal the rent in the social fabric of those communities that were most closely bound to the deceased. All too often, however, a recognizable staccato drumbeat from a men's house signals to near and distant communities of the approximately one thousand persons of Bimin-Kuskusmin society that an adult man of a particular hamlet has died by an act of suicide.

Anthropological studies of suicide remain relatively rare and are still largely encompassed, explicitly or implicitly, by particular interpretations of Durkheim's (1966) classic study, which forcefully segregated psychological studies focused on clinical explanations of individual cases from sociological analyses of those facets of social structure that produce a given pattern or distribution of suicide within a group. With its interwoven emphases on matters of social structure, social control, social change, the individual-in-society, and culture (i.e., "collective representations"), Durkheim's theory of suicide seemed to accommodate some of the most central foci of anthropological concern. Many of these emphases are represented in the
limited set of anthropological studies of suicide in Papua New Guinea. Yet, the complexities of at least non-Western suicides, as exemplified in Malinowski's (1926: 77-79) renown Trobriand case, were not readily encompassed by the limitations of Durkheim's typology.

Some of these limitations seemed to be recognized and partially resolved, however, in an important contribution by Jeffreys (1952), which introduced a critical nexus among cultural values, social status, power, and revenge in the form of "Samsonic" suicide. Indeed, Jeffrey's view, explicitly or implicitly, has significantly informed a number of recent analyses of suicide in Papua New Guinea, both in general (Gatenby 1968; Healey 1979; Parker and Burton-Bradley 1966; Stanhope 1967), and in particular among the Maenge (Panoff 1977), Gainj (Johnson 1981), Kaliai (Counts 1980), several Eastern Highlands groups (Berndt 1962), several groups in southwest New Britain (Hoskin, Friedman, and Cawte 1969), and the Oksapmin northern neighbors of the Bimin-Kuskusmin (Boram 1980: 317-322). Many of these and certain other studies of suicide in Papua New Guinea have also noted the significant role of shame as a mechanism of social control and as a culturally constituted provocation of and motivation for suicide (see also Sinclair 1957; Smith 1981). Few of these studies, nevertheless, include much, if any, descriptive or analytic attention to psychological features of suicide (but see Hoskin, Friedman, and Cawte 1969; Parker and Burton-Bradley 1966; Smith 1981; Stanhope 1967).

The predominant concerns of these studies of suicide in Papua New Guinea have often been focused exclusively on women's suicides. The analyses have attended prominently to female suicide as an expression of the assertion of power among the otherwise powerless — especially in contexts of marriage (see Counts 1980; Gatenby 1968; Healey 1979; Johnson 1981). Mention of suicides among the aged are almost non-existent, and children's suicides are rarely noted (but see Boram 1980). Although comparatively less is known about the cultural nature and social circumstances of men's suicides, male suicide is noted in a number of these studies (Berndt 1962; Boram 1980; Gatenby 1968; Malinowski 1926; Panoff 1977; Parker and Burton-Bradley 1966; Sinclair 1957; Smith 1981), but male suicide too is typically encased in discussions of shame and revenge.

All of these studies, however, document rates of suicide to be not only significantly higher than any Durkheimian expectations, but also much higher than the admittedly low estimate of a 0.7 per 100,000 indigenous suicide rate.
for the whole of Papua New Guinea from 1960 to 1965 noted by Parker and Burton-Bradley (1966). Furthermore, only some of these analyses give special prominence to aspects of historically recent, socially disintegrative, and traumatic social change as a significant factor in high suicide rates, although such social change does figure in Parker and Burton-Bradley's (1966) interpretation of their estimated rate. Thus, there is at least some evidence to suggest that a number of more or less "traditional" Papua New Guinea societies may have had or may have quite high, but relatively stable rates of suicide in the normal course of socio-historical events.

Among Bimin-Kuskusmin, the overall rate of suicide in a population fluctuating between 900 and 1700 persons over about six generations slightly exceeds 10% (131) of all known deaths (n=1293) prior to the period of field research (1971-1973), for which reasonable case histories could be reconstructed. Of these 131 suicides, 61.8% (81) were adult men, and 38.2% (50) were adult women. During the 24 months of field research, 56.8% (33) of all known deaths (n=58) were suicides. Of these 33 suicides, 66.7% (22) were adult men, and 33.3% (11) were adult women. There is no clear evidence that dramatic, disruptive social change among the relatively isolated Bimin-Kuskusmin has yet significantly altered these remarkably high suicide rates, or that notions of social disintegration, revenge, or shame will largely account for them. Thus, Bimin-Kuskusmin suicide, especially among adult men, requires a multifaceted explanation befitting the complexity of the phenomenon.

The Myth of the Hanging Tree

The most explicit cultural image of Bimin-Kuskusmin suicide is the myth of the hanging tree, that portrays the primordial origins of suicide as preceding "natural" death in mythico-historical time. As in most images of suicide, the myth emphasizes adult male suicides and depicts them as fundamentally the consequence of a flaw in both bodily and spiritual constitution implanted in the fetus at conception by the mysterious force of 'ancestral fate or destiny.' It also recognizes that an individual's life circumstances, especially the experience of severe social isolation, may exacerbate this congenital flaw.

In this myth, the great androgynous ancestress Afek, after giving birth to the ancestors of all of the original Bimin-Kuskusmin clans, divided her walking staff into three parts. She planted one of these parts in the valley forests, one in the foothills, and one on the mountain summits. Three great trees grew
from these pieces of her walking staff. The lowest tree became the 'tree of life,' and its path was immediately followed by all the ancestors. The highest tree became the 'tree of death,' and its path was not trodden until Afek eventually bestowed the curse of death on the people. The middle tree, however, became the 'hanging tree,' and its path always exhibited the signs of the passage of lone travellers. The path from the 'tree of life' is a single path for children, then branches into paths that follow the life-course and rites of passage of males and females, and finally again becomes a single path at the base of the 'tree of death.' Travellers interact together as they pass along this straight, cleared, and brightly lit path, surrounded by ancestral spirits and by flora and fauna of special importance. The 'tree of death' festooned with brightly decorated skulls is full of leaves, nuts, fruits, and singing birds.

In contrast, the narrow path to the 'hanging tree' is gloomy, overhung with vines and spiderwebs, stony, and barren. Neither ancestral spirits nor flora and fauna are to be found near it, and lonely travellers pass along its course without seeing or hearing one another. The 'hanging tree' is leafless, bare, and broken. Vine ropes hang from its branches, and piles of shattered, rotting skulls surround its base. Travellers to the 'hanging tree' are almost always forlorn, slovenly, depressed adult men, stumbling along the rocky, twisting path.

The myth portrays complex cultural schemas or folk models of suicide etiology. In brief, the suicide-prone individual is notable for a fundamental flaw in bodily and spiritual constitution. This flaw, brought about at conception by the mysterious force of 'ancestral fate or destiny,' is manifested mainly in defects of the finiik 'spirit.' Fiiik represents the ordered, judgemental, and responsible aspects of personhood that govern proper cognition, emotion, and behavior and that develop through socialization and enculturation. As a consequence of these defects of the finiik, there is no regular or certain control of the erratic impulses of the khaapkhahuurien 'spirit,' which represents the more idiosyncratic aspects of the self that are prompted by unpredictable thoughts and feelings, and emerge in the course of individual life experiences. In women and children, who are invariably dominated by the khaapkhahuurien, such defects may exaggerate their erratic behavior, but they are more enveloped by the immediate environment of hamlet communities than are men.
For men, the decade-long cycle of male initiation rites should ritually strengthen the finiik and bring the erratic khaapkhabuurien into appropriate alignment with the dominant finiik (Poole 1982b). With flawed, suicide-prone men, however, the expected consequences of initiation do not properly occur because of the fundamental defects in the finiik. Thus, such men are known to carry into manhood their flawed childhood behaviors, and to be obviously defective men. Indeed, the portrait of such men conforms in many respects to the image of the "rubbish man" — the antithesis of the prestigious, influential, politically and ritually powerful "big man." They cannot conform to the elaborate and demanding image of adult masculine strength, force of personality, stoicism, and self-control (Poole 1982a). They fail in the expected tasks of ritual and politics, and of hunting, gardening, warfare, and exchange. They neither give nor receive much support in their communities, where often they are despised and unwelcome. It is said that many of them will build a house in the isolation of the forest or will frequently retire to an isolated garden hut, and that many of them, meeting with some personal disaster, will end their days by walking into the mountain forest on a moonless night and hanging themselves from the limb of a tree.

The Nature of the Data

The two sets of data on Bimin-Kuskusmin suicide include reconstructed cases (see Table 1) that occurred before the period of field research (131 suicides out of 1293 deaths); and cases (see Table 2) that occurred during the period of field research (33 suicides out of 58 deaths). Both sets of data include only adult male and female suicides. These cases are the typical suicides 'by hanging' (sauf terotero kaanam-in, literally, 'to die by or on a taut rope'), which is the most common method. The next most frequent method is leaping from a cliff or jumping into a torrential, boulder-strewn river.

The Bimin-Kuskusmin recognize a number of ambiguous and special cases of suicide, including certain animals endowed with significant aspects of finiik 'spirit'; some ancestral spirits that commit a special form of 'spirit suicide'; spontaneous abortions or stillbirths categorized as 'fetus suicides'; certain violent men of 'angry hearts' believed to be possessed by a form of violent insanity, who sometimes expose themselves to outrageous risks in warfare; and some deaths classified as accidental but typically involving a man of skill and strength who has recently experienced some traumatic event that
has left him in a state of 'depression', and then suddenly has a simple but rather suspicious and fatal accident in the course of everyday pursuits. There are also unusual deaths that conform somewhat to Durkheim's characterization of altruistic suicides. These include the suicides of some male ritual elders, who may, after repeated failures in the conduct of important clan rites, serve their clan best by taking their own lives. There are also brave men who, in the heat of battle, deliberately take the blows of enemy weapons to shield a comrade. Also, an uninitiated and unwed girl who is found to be pregnant may rid her kin of the enormous stigma by performing that inevitably lethal form of "abortion" that involves hurling oneself, abdomen first, from a rock ledge into the fork of a tree below. Finally, a woman divined to be a 'witch' may relieve the community of the trauma of a public execution by killing herself. In all, thirteen reconstructed cases and four contemporary cases conformed to these various kinds of altruistic suicide. Although this chapter does not focus attention on these forms of altruistic suicide, or the other special and ambiguous cases of suicide mentioned above, I would note that all these cases tangibly enhance the Bimin-Kuskusmin view that they suffer a considerable loss of lives through acts of suicide.

My concern in this essay, however, is primarily to explore the less unusual or ambiguous cases of suicide. In most of the suicides that occurred during the period of field research, I was able to witness some aspect of the suicide paraphernalia, the context of the suicide, and the condition of the body of the deceased person. Although there are neither public periods of mourning nor formal funerals for suicides, there are invariably post-mortem, divinatory "autopsies" of the bodies by ritual elders to determine both the immediate and the ultimate "causes" of the suicides. Through some surgical excavations of the corpse, these "autopsies" — cast in the idiom of the fate of the 'spirit' of the deceased — align various aspects of life-history and recent misfortune with cultural schemas concerning the etiology of suicide. All such "autopsies" were both witnessed and recorded during the period of field research.

The reconstructed cases present different problems, for no direct observation is possible. The stigma of shame descends upon the entire clan and community of the deceased for not having recognized the signs of and prevented the impending suicide, and people within these communities are reluctant to discuss the suicides among themselves. Yet, an identification of past suicides
is nonetheless possible. First, suicides of adults do not result in the deletion of the person from genealogies, but there is a general taboo on the use of the name of a suicide among many relatives until divinatory "autopsies" are completed and the corpse has been informally buried or disposed of in a river, and there is a permanent taboo within the clan on the use of that name. A nameless person in a genealogical narration is unusual, and the only other persons appearing without names are 'witches' and children who died before they received formal names and became proper social persons, both of whom are identified in other ways. Members of other clans, with the sole exception of members of the lineage of the suicide's mother, however, can provide both a name and details of the circumstances of the suicide and the deceased's life-history. Second, the skulls of suicides never appear in clan ossuary caves or clan cult houses. Third, all ritual paraphernalia of a suicide are destroyed. Fourth, the gardens of the deceased are abandoned for three generations. Fifth, the hamlet of the suicide is reorganized so that no houses are built on the site of his or her men's or woman's house, which has been burned. Sixth, special taboos are placed upon the cognatic descendents of a suicide for three generations until the female-linked 'male blood' of the deceased is no longer viable. Thus, they may not intermarry with members of the lineage of the suicide's spouse, who is usually implicated in the immediate "causes" of the suicide. They may neither wear cassowary-plume headdresses nor hunt or trap cassowaries, for a suicide is an offense against the great ancestral figure Afek, whose paramount symbol is the cassowary. They may neither visit nor take food from the hamlet, garden areas, or pandanus groves of the deceased. They must conduct special sacrifices and wear special amulets to ward off attacks of the suicide's khaapkhabuurien 'spirit,' who remains angry at them for their lack of support. They must undergo divinations to ensure that they themselves have not become suicide-prone, for the khaapkhabuurien 'spirit' of the deceased will attempt to weaken their finiik 'spirits' and turn them toward depression and suicide. Furthermore, these divinations insure that they have not inherited, through the 'male blood' of the deceased, some vestige of his or her 'ancestral fate or destiny' and consequent vulnerability to suicide. Finally, the shrine of the lineage of the deceased contains a distinctive sacra marking the presence of a suicide.

These linked markers serve well to identify the presence of a suicide. Persons beyond the clan and descendent cognatic kin of the deceased will
usually provide a variety of gossipy details about the circumstances of the act, the results of the divinatory "autopsy," the life-history and personality characteristics of the person, and miscellaneous observations. For all cases in which the suicide was known to living Bimin-Kuskusmin, I conducted interviews that generally followed Weisman and Kastenbaum's (1968) "psychological autopsy" format, but adapted to the local features of the Bimin-Kuskusmin behavioral environment and cultural schemas for suicide. I also had an unusual opportunity to observe and interview persons regarded as acutely suicidal. Bimin-Kuskusmin recognize that certain personal characteristics, in conjunction with certain personal misfortunes, may produce an acute vulnerability to suicide. Under such sets of circumstances, clan ritual elders will conduct formal divinations of the person to determine the extent of vulnerability and to recommend certain preventive measures. Typically, such preventive measures involve assigning some close kinsperson, friend, or 'bond friend' — a ritually constituted relationship among men of the same initiation age grade who are usually also informal friends — to stay with the suicidal person day and night and to guard against suicide attempts. At the time of my fieldwork, nine men were divined as suicidal and given preventive attention. I already knew these men to varying degrees and was able to interview both the putatively suicidal man and the person assigned to watch over him. The interviews with the suicidal men also included the administration of certain projective tests that I had already used with a number of other men. In addition, I inquired into each man's reputation and social networks of friends and supporters by tactfully posing questions of a limited number of the man's close hamlet-mates. It should be noted that, of those men divined as suicidal, three committed suicide before the conclusion of field research and two more subsequently.

The Suicides of Men

Although male suicide is highly stigmatized (except in the rare cases of the altruistic self-destruction of failed ritual elders and selflessly heroic warriors), even greater stigma attaches to men who attempt suicide and fail. Such men are treated with utter scorn for lacking the forcefulness, strength, and stoic self-control of proper Bimin-Kuskusmin masculinity. During the period of field research, one unfortunate man, held in low esteem in his men's house and often despondent over a bitter, failing, and childless marriage, made
an unsuccessful attempt at suicide. The rope apparently broke, and a group of foraging women found him gagging and semi-conscious, and brought him back to his hamlet. For almost three months thereafter, he was universally and constantly ridiculed, and his shame became increasingly acute. Finally, his wife left him in the midst of a public and humiliating quarrel. That night he disappeared from his men's house, and he was found two days later by boys playing in the forest. He was hanging from a sacred pandanus tree, a symbol of the male ritual domain in which he had never been able to gain even a modicum of prestige.

The combined total (n=103) of all men reported or known to have committed suicide in both reconstructed and contemporary cases exhibits a number of interesting commonalities. All were between 23 and 34 years of age, a time in the Bimin-Kuskusmin social life-course when men have recently completed initiation, have married and are beginning to start families, and are launching careers in the linked domains of ritual and politics. Only two of these men had become incipient 'curer-diviners,' which is the least prestigious of ritual "ranks." Aside from the previously mentioned ritual elder who had committed a form of altruistic suicide, none of these men had ever become any kind of 'ritual leader' or 'man of political-economic importance.' In contrast, 86% (89) of these men had the reputation for possessing one or more of the following traits: being stingy and failing to share; being cowardly and unsupportive of others; being generally irresponsible in expected familial duties and collective male responsibilities in hamlet and clan; being irascible; being thoughtless, tactless, and uncaring; being self-centered in many ways; being subject to explosions of anger at minor slights; being slovenly and unkempt; and being childlike. Virtually all of these characteristics exhibit a decidedly unmasculine demeanor. Most emphasized was that such men are petulant complainers and express their fears and anxieties publicly and often. This trait might well be viewed as the antithesis of expected masculine behavior.

Such men are often said to be despised and subjected to insult in public settings, with the dire consequence of shame. In the face of insult they become petulant or withdraw rather than defending themselves verbally or with weapons. A number of such episodes, which are quite rare among men in general, occurred during fieldwork. Among the contemporary cases (n=22), ten men spent uncommon amounts of time in isolated garden huts. Two men had a reputation for
frequent visits to distant men's houses where they were more comfortable and less subject to insult. Four men did not even live in a men's house, which is very unusual for young men. Two men were the object of incessant arguments in their men's house over their expulsion. Sixteen of these men had a reputation for not being asked to join in cooperative hunting, gardening, and trapping. In my questions about the social networks of men divined as suicidal, six of the nine men rarely appeared among any informant's favored fellows. These men had managed to create only a few weak bonds with other men, i.e., the relationships seemed to involve little time and energy, emotional intensity, intimacy (especially mutual confiding), and reciprocity. The impression of their social isolation was truly overwhelming, and the self-assessments of the putatively suicidal men I interviewed reinforced this impression.

In all cases of men who had committed suicide or were deemed suicidal (n=112), a particularly striking characteristic is their relationship to the institution of bond friendship. The bond friendship is a ritually constituted relationship between two men of the same age grade who have often been lifelong friends on an informal basis. Bond friends support each other in disputes, assist each other in exchange, participate in the rearing of each other's sons, fight together in battle, help each other in raising bridewealth or compensation prestations, and share in a common lifelong bond of sharing and trust in myriad ways. Above all, they can confide in each other without fear that the personal anxieties revealed in the relationship will be communicated elsewhere, for severe ritual sanctions befall any man who betrays his bond friend in this way. Thus, bond friendship offers a psychologically important refuge for relaxation and acknowledgement of weakness and self-doubt among men who otherwise must wear a rigidly stoic mask in even their daily encounters, or else risk humiliation, shame, and a decline in their manly careers in ritual and politics. Only 12.5% (48, n=387) of all Bimin-Kuskusmin men who are fully initiated and never associated with suicide during the period of field research did not have a bond friend, and many ritually and politically important men had two or more bond friends. In contrast, a startling 93.2% (104, n=112) of the men who had committed suicide or who were deemed suicidal did not have a bond friend. Presumably these men did not have any male friend close enough to choose them or to accept their choice as a bond friend. As a consequence, most of them were denied a vitally important relationship of intense social support among men.
Perhaps the other social relationship that provides intense support, albeit differently, for men is the bond of marriage. Despite ideological assertions about the inherent antagonism in male-female relations (Poole 1982b), marriage not only is almost universal for men and women, but also marriages are commonly characterized as being good when husband and wife share familial aspirations, exchange confidences, and support each other in countless ways. In the privacy of marriage, men rarely fear that their divulgence of personal matters will surface publicly under humiliating circumstances unless the quality of the marriage has deteriorated and separation or divorce is imminent. Most men marry in their early twenties and begin the all-important task of raising families, especially sons. Without children, a man's chance for a ritual or political career of prominence is doomed, and he may never become a proper ancestor. The affinal relations wrought in marriage become vital bridges in extending exchange networks and gaining political support. Less than 8% of all Bimin-Kuskusmin marriages are ever threatened by serious forms of separation, and less than 6.5% terminate in divorce. In the entire Bimin-Kuskusmin community, only two men and three women over the age of 25 had never been married. The most fragile marriages often involve inmarried alien women from other groups, notably the Oksapmin, because bridewealth transactions founder on differences of custom. Affinal relations are also impaired and do not easily gain solidity over long distances and infrequent contact, and these inmarried women are often desperately unhappy in their strange new communities.

In all cases of men who committed suicide or were deemed suicidal, almost 8% had never married, and 67% had married relatively late, often after one or more rejections and some difficulties in raising appropriate bridewealth. About 19% of these marriages had suffered serious separation or had ended in divorce. Some 31% of these men had married Oksapmin or other alien women. Among the contemporary cases those married men whose marriages were more or less intact were still judged to have fragile marriages in 14% of these cases. Of the nine suicidal men, five gave special prominence in interviews to the difficulties of their marriages. In none of these cases was a man married polygynously, although about 4% of the more prestigious men in the general population have more than one wife. Perhaps because of both late and bad marriages, 15% of the men among the contemporary suicide cases who had surviving marriages and were 28 years old or older had no children, which was true of only 2% of all other ever-married, living men. Thus, the suicidal man,
by virtue of failures in friendship, bond friends, and marriage, is likely to be significantly more isolated from his community at large and from the possibility of intimate social relationships than is the general population of men.

Many men deemed suicidal were characterized as generally strange and at times highly reclusive. Although most initiated men undergo ritual forms of possession on certain occasions, these suicidal men were said, in 7% of all cases, to undergo bizarre, idiosyncratic forms of possession, which were attributed to their uncontrolled khaakhabuurien 'spirits'. Indeed, their life-histories revealed a number of peculiar traits and tendencies. In 34% of all cases, these men had had a traumatic experience in early childhood, such as the death of a parent, sibling, or friend; a suicide in their extended family; or the separation or divorce of their parents. In many instances, lifelong traits of frustration, hostility, aggression, petulance, selfishness, and friendlessness were variously attributed to this trauma.

In a striking 28% of all cases, these men were lastborn or only children of their parents. The lastborn or only child has a reputation for being monumentally spoiled by the mother, to whom it clings for a prolonged period of time. Lastborn or only children are often weaned one to two years later than other children. Of course, because parents cannot always know that their most recently born children are their lastborn, some children are treated as though they were the lastborn despite later births; and an additional 3% of these men (among the contemporary cases) were treated in this manner. The fate of the lastborn child is particularly inauspicious for sons, for being the 'mother's child' does not bode well in local reckoning for the subsequent development of masculine traits. Indeed, the lifelong traits attributed to these men bear much affinity to the stereotypic characteristics of the lastborn child, and such men are often said to be unmasculine, feminine, or childish in their demeanor. Ultimately, their fundamental flaw of 'ancestral fate or destiny' and their isolated, friendless childhood are said to give way to a failure in male initiation, which is later detected in divinatory "autopsies" after they have committed suicide. Thus, faced by the considerable demands of the male realm of Bimin-Kuskusmin social life, they have shown themselves to be significantly lacking in manly qualities, and they have suffered many consequences from the public recognition of this lack. Both interviews and projective tests among the suicidal suggest an ambivalence and often a
resentment of the many demands of being a man in this society, as well as an occasional glimpse of self-doubt concerning their ability to conform to this demanding image.

The intensive interviews with the men who had been divined as suicidal showed many signs of the frustration, hostility, petulance, resentment, and sense of personal isolation attributed to them. They revealed innumerable slights and insults suffered over a lifetime. In the midst of these complaints, so uncharacteristic of adult men, occasionally appeared glimpses of enduring depression and a lingering sense of helplessness and hopelessness. Interestingly, the very fact of their being labelled as suicidal was a common focus of resentment and anger, for they uniformly predicted, with ample justification, that such labelling would exacerbate many of their already severe difficulties in their communities. Indeed, I often discovered, in the course of these interviews, that I was providing a kind of concern and support by my questions which was an unfamiliar but welcome experience for them. I suspect that the issues of transference in these interviews are different and far more complicated than in many other interviews of similar kind with other men.

Divination and Prevention of Suicide

Divinations of vulnerability to suicidal impulses proceed from two forms of local recognitions that are complexly interwoven. First, the conformity between stereotypes of suicidal men and knowledge of the life-histories of particular men is inevitably in the background, for certain men are known to be less able to withstand traumas than others. Second, certain kinds of circumstances are believed to trigger massive and overwhelming sakhiliq 'anxiety', that may culminate in suicide by such already fragile men. These recognized circumstances, believed to function as the immediate "cause" of suicide, seem to be of two kinds. One kind has to do with a single, sudden, and highly traumatic loss, typically in the form of the death of a parent, child, or wife, or more rarely, a sibling or a treasured friend. This trauma seems to be focused on the final loss of one of the very few truly personal and possibly supportive relationships that such men have. The other kind has to do with a convergence of a number of minor traumas that enhance a sense of failure and self-doubt: a minor insult in a public place; an incident of disrespect from a child; the loss of a garden to landslides; a quarrel with a spouse; et
cetera. In this instance, it appears to be the accumulating weight of minor misfortunes that tip an already fragile balance in a man. When personal traits and misfortunes converge in an inauspicious manner, a clan elder is usually summoned for the divination of the presumably vulnerable man.

The divination itself usually takes place in the man's hamlet plaza, where his reflection is examined in a pool of water and pig's blood. Divinatory objects are floated on the liquid, and the pattern of objects on the reflection of the man's face is "read." Often the clan elder already is acquainted with much detail concerning the life-history of the man and the circumstances of his recent misfortune, but other hamlet members add information from their observations in response to the cryptic, open-ended questions of the elder. The vulnerability to suicide is never in much doubt; and if it is deemed serious, the elder will bestow upon another man the responsibility of keeping watch over his suicidal clansman. Ideally, this guardian should be a bond friend, but often suicidal men do not have any such relationship.

The guardian is instructed to permit the suicidal man to withdraw from the hamlet, which is usually his desire. Often, the two men retire together to the isolation of a garden hut or forest haunt for many days. During this time, the assigned guardian encourages the suicidal man to talk about his sense of trauma and anxiety and assures him that his revelations of personal frailties and doubts will not be publicly acknowledged. Within about a week, however, the guardian begins to draw the suicidal man out of his self-imposed isolation. First, he is taken to some isolated vantage point where from a distance he can watch gardens being tended and children at play. Then a few men of his own choosing are invited to visit the suicidal man in his isolated abode, and they often bring gifts of food and tobacco and news of the everyday events of the hamlet. Later, the suicidal man is encouraged to visit his hamlet in the quiet of midday or the still of night, but he may withdraw at will. Finally, and very gradually, the man is encouraged to return to his men's house where he will be warmly greeted, left in peace, but carefully watched by the other men. If all goes well and there are no signs of impending disaster, the man will gradually and carefully be reintegrated into his hamlet community, which will nurture him as never before for a period of time. When the crisis has passed and divinations reveal no acute vulnerability to suicide, the man may again resume his former life. However, his former life being what it most likely was, the cycle of crisis, divination, and preventive action may again emerge.
Of the nine men deemed suicidal, three had experienced this cycle at least once before.

**Cycles of Suicide and Social Change**

Although the suicides and attempted suicides of women seem randomly distributed throughout the social calendar and embedded in the immediate circumstances of loss or marital discord or threat and fear, the suicides of men appear to be patterned differently (see Table 2). There are often more exaggerated delays between immediate "causes" and suicidal acts, especially if the causes involve a loss of relationship through death. Three patterns seem to emerge. First, many male suicides appear to cluster in the approximate three-month period between the semi-annual pandanus nut harvests when ritual activities, trading expeditions, ceremonial exchanges, and communal feasts are in abeyance, and when many persons have deserted the hamlets to live in garden huts and prepare gardens or to engage in prolonged hunting, trapping, and gathering. The distant stands of semi-cultivated fruit trees must be tended at this time, and many people use the occasion to make visits to kin and friends residing in other "tribal" groups. During the periods of intense social activity when the hamlets are fully populated, even the most estranged of suicidal men is encompassed by the frenzy of rites, exchanges, feasts, trading expeditions, and constant ebb and flow of social interchange. As people disperse and the hamlets begin to empty, however, a sense of isolation may increase.

Second, many male suicides seem to exhibit an "anniversary effect." The trauma of a death may immediately result in some enhanced expression of anxiety and of depression, but there is no resulting suicide for a period of time. Then, often in the season of social dispersal when the sense of isolation is most acute, some encounter with a favored haunt of the deceased, recognition of a time of some special event shared with the cherished person, or other environmentally induced remembrance of the loss seems to lead to another bout of massive depression and an act of suicide. In this instance, it may be the convergence of a period of relative social isolation and the sudden memory of trauma produced by an event within that period that is most important. In the aftermath of a suicide, a number of immediate family members of the deceased reported the apparent triggering of such memories and the quickly ensuing depression and suicide.

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Third, within the three-month period of social disengagement from the hamlet centers, male suicides are not randomly distributed, but rather seem to occur in clusters. During the period of field research, an initial suicide might be followed by two to eight other suicides within a few weeks, and then there would be no further suicides for a month or more (see Table 2). This pattern occurred three times in two years. I suspect that the pattern may be partially explained in terms of Phillips' (1974, 1979) view of the significance of suggestability and imitation in the triggering of suicidal acts, especially when the publicity given to such acts is intense and local. In the Bimin-Kuskusmin case, the cycle of events seems to take the following form. An initial suicide becomes the intense focus of immediate gossip that radiates throughout a widening sphere of hamlets until most of the Bimin-Kuskusmin community is privy to the news. Even in the season of social dispersal, people will visit one another in isolated garden sites and forest haunts and even distant "tribal" groups to convey the information about the event. There is often a lull in the intensity of gossip at the time of the divinatory "autopsy," and then the intensity of gossip again peaks to convey the information revealed through divination. When this second burst of gossip has subsided, there is a lapse of three or four days; and then a succession of suicides often follows. Perhaps this intense and repeated focus on suicidal action, coupled with a diffuse but exacerbated sense of social isolation and the sudden memory of an acute, traumatic loss, may provoke the suicidal person to action.

There is no evidence for long historical cycles in the distribution of suicides among Bimin-Kuskusmin, although such cycles would be most difficult to reconstruct from local ethnohistory. Yet, there is some suggestion of occasional outbreaks of suicide during times of collective stress, such as famine, drought, warfare, and illness. On the one hand, such special times of collective stress might seem to enhance social solidarity through the banding together of groups in the face of common threat, and to some extent such incidents probably did produce that effect. On the other hand, such events clearly generated a great deal of collective fear and anxiety and occasionally resulted in the temporary abandonment of hamlet settlements as people traveled abroad in search of food and water, sought refuge in more defensible but scattered stilted war houses or cliffside caves, or dispersed to farflung kith and kin to avoid the sorcery attacks bringing epidemic illness. Cycles of
famines and droughts have probably always been traumatic features of Bimin-Kuskusmin history, and such collective traumas may well exacerbate personal ones, especially if they are coupled with community dispersals and the ensuing sense of social isolation to which the suicidal person seems so vulnerable. Episodes of intense warfare are also traditional, but certain patterns of warfare and the advent of epidemic illnesses are not. In these latter instances, the recent social changes brought about by the coming of white explorers, administrators, and missionaries began to have certain initial consequences, and some of these consequences have affected or may affect the patterns of suicide in various ways.

In the mid to late 1940's, the government station at Telefomin to the west became a center for exploration patrols that began to move throughout the Mountain-Ok region. At the same time, both a famine and a drought were sweeping the region. Many small groups, fleeing government contact and seeking food and water, began to attack the Bimin-Kuskusmin from all quarters. Traditionally, the Bimin-Kuskusmin were accustomed to fighting on one flank while protecting themselves elsewhere through the establishment of alliances. In this instance, however, attacks are said to have come from everywhere, and there is archaeological and genealogical evidence that many hamlets were burned and the population suffered very heavy losses. In the midst of this chaos, a dramatic outburst of suicides also occurred.

In the mid to late 1950's, an epidemic of influenza began to spread from the area of Telefomin. Bimin-Kuskusmin attributed this phenomenon to some form of sorcery attack by Europeans in revenge for the so-called Telefomin Massacre. They watched its course as it crept ever closer to their settlements. As the epidemic took its toll among neighboring groups, they noted its particularly devastating impact on young children. For various reasons, Bimin-Kuskusmin came to the conclusion that this peculiar sorcery attack was directed at their young boys, the future of their ritual and warfare prowess, and their calculated response was unfortunate. Leaving girls dispersed among their scattered natal hamlets, they relocated all the boys from the three communities that lay in the apparent path of the epidemic, and moved them into a giant, stilted defense house, where they adorned the boys with powerful amulets and set about performing protective rites. As both ethnohistory and genealogy reflect, when the epidemic struck, the dispersed population of girls suffered relatively minor losses, but the congregated boys were almost annihilated. In
the immediate aftermath of this immense tragedy, a large number of male and
female suicides occurred within a short time, and among these suicides were
many parents of the boys who had succumbed to influenza.

The new forms of social change were again influencing patterns of suicide
during the period of field research. Lured by extravagant promises of
adventure and fortune, a small group of young men volunteered for coffee
plantation labor at a site near Mt. Hagen in the Western Highlands. Their
decision went against community consensus and the expressed wishes of their
clan ritual elders, and they departed in a state of anger and shame. During
their short absence, the gardens of the families of two of these men fell into
disarray in a landslide, and pigs destroyed the remaining crops. The wives of
these two plantation laborers committed suicide. They had been plagued by
incessant rumors of the deaths of their husbands, troubled by the complaints of
their hungry children, and no doubt worried about their ambiguous fate under
these unknown circumstances.

The men on plantation fared little better in the end. Far from their
known world, they met with unexpected and degrading humiliation and physical
abuse, fought with European overseers and indigenous co-workers, inflicted
wounds on their own bodies, lapsed into deep depression, and were promptly
repatriated home within two months. Shortly after their return, and for the
first time in Bimin-Kuskusmin living memory, two of these men were stricken by
what was divined as the characteristically female 'possession' of newly married
women far from their natal hamlets and supportive kith and kin. In the
remaining six months of fieldwork, one of these men committed suicide in the
classic fashion. Subsequently, the other man followed him to the 'hanging
tree'. The remaining ex-laborers were subjected to divinations for
vulnerability to suicide and were given appropriate preventive measures, and
for several years these ritual precautions were taken with all returned
laborers.

Contrasts with Suicides of Females, Children, and the Aged

Suicides of females, children and the aged present a contrastive picture
and different sort of data from suicides of men. For example, only men are
divined for possible vulnerabilities to suicides. Unambiguous suicides among
the elderly are extremely rare and usually do not appear among the
reconstructed cases.
During fieldwork, one old man with a serious upper respiratory infection traveled to the high mountain forest at night in the wind and rain to conduct a minor sacrifice. One of his sons had recently died, and another was neglecting and often arguing with him. His two wives had long since died, and his three daughters and other two sons lived in distant hamlets. Although the community had abandoned the hamlet in which he had lived for many years, he refused to move to the men's house of the new hamlet, but remained alone in the ramshackle men's house of the old and decaying hamlet. These circumstances, in conjunction with his long illness and increasing frailty and the peculiarity of his nighttime venture, led members of his community to wonder about the "cause" of his death when he did not return from the mountain and was found dead by his unsupportive son on the following afternoon.

Although unequivocal suicides among the elderly may be rare however, suicide threats are not, and during fieldwork I recorded 22 instances of such threats by old men and women, primarily against sons and occasionally daughters. Such threats almost always refer to hanging. Often they are embedded in standard curses and involve serious complaints about children's neglect of aged parents. Usually these threats do not result in suicide attempts. But one old and furious woman stood all of one day in the forest near her son's men's house, cursing loudly while trying to lodge a vine-rope among the branches of a tree. Although the son sought to calm her, it was generally recognized that she was far too frail to accomplish her threatened task.

Children, regardless of their congenital flaws and defects of character, are assumed to be nurtured lavishly and encompassed by throngs of adoring kith and kin who tend to all their needs and whims. Indeed, such adoration and attention is remarkably common, even towards children who are admittedly obnoxious in elaborate ways. Yet, during the course of field research, two young boys between five and seven years of age made serious attempts at suicide. In one case, both of a boy's parents had died within the previous six months. Although he was adored by his father's brother who had formal responsibility for his care, this man's wife, who directly looked after the boy, resented her new responsibility and verbally abused him for being too demanding. Her children bullied him mercilessly and took some cherished trinkets that had belonged to his dead mother. For several weeks, he moped about the hamlet alone and often wandered off to sit in his dead mother's
garden and cry. One day, after he had refused to eat or to talk, he wandered at dusk into the forest. He followed the path to cliffs that are renown for suicides, but was turned back by marsupial hunters with torches who were returning from the mountains.

In the other horrifying case, a young boy's mother was formally accused of witchcraft, and the community agreed to a public execution. Her husband, in a predictably unwise action, rushed armed to her defense and was caught up in the community frenzy of execution as a witch's accomplice. In this form of execution, both parents were bound to a tree trunk, and long cassowary-bone slivers were driven into parts of their torsos. The screaming young boy was forced to watch the lengthy ordeal. Immediately afterwards a clan elder angrily denounced the community for having inflicted this horror on the boy, and assigned one of his close friends to watch over him. The two boys wandered for weeks along isolated forest paths, sleeping in caves and foraging for food. When they returned tired, hungry, and filthy, the boy who had guarded his friend reported that the latter had tried to slip away several times at night, until he had bound them together with a liana rope. Much more commonly, children of both sexes threaten suicide rather elaborately in the course of a variety of complaints, but adults almost never seem to take such threats very seriously.

The threats of adult women between about 18 and 35 years of age, however, are usually taken quite seriously. Women do commit suicide with some regularity, but they attempt suicide far more than they commit it and far more than does any other category of persons. During the period of fieldwork, 11 adult women committed suicide, but nine other women made one or more of the 18 female attempts at suicides. All women's suicides seem to be associated with family misfortunes. Of the 11 completed suicides, four were associated with the death of a child, one with a divination of permanent barrenness that boded certain divorce, two with the death of a parent or sibling, and three with the death of a spouse. One case among these three was associated with the impending fate of leviratic or widow remarriage, and one with severe marital discord that involved harsh wife-beating. Of these 11 women, seven were inmarried wives from the Oksapmin people to the north. It should be noted that such women from the Oksapmin reside at a great distance from their own kith and kin, often do not speak the local vernacular, and are often treated quite badly by local women of their husband's hamlet. For long periods of time following

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their marriages and relocations, they find little friendship and support among other women, and older women are often loath to defend these alien wives against an abusive husband.

The attempted suicides of women are virtually always due to one form or another of marital discord. Some women have attempted suicide repeatedly. Indeed, of the nine women who attempted suicide during fieldwork, one did so on four occasions, another woman three times, and yet another woman twice. The more typical pattern, however is a single attempt by a young woman during the early months of her first marriage before she has borne children. Many young women have difficulty adjusting to the many responsibilities of being a wife, after the less demanding schedule of maidenhood. Being at the command of a mother-in-law compounds the burden, and young husbands are often intolerant, and may strut their masculinity by being domineering and abusive. If the burdens on young wives become too difficult, the first sign is often an attack of the distinctive maarmaal 'possession', which quickly brings a divination, a temporary repatriation of a woman to her natal hamlet, and a stern admonition to a wayward husband. It is widely recognized that 'possession' is sometimes a prelude to a suicide attempt, which is often quite public and ostentatious. A flurry of suicide threats, which are extremely frequent among women whose demands are not being met, may precede the suicide attempt. Indeed, 93 such threats were recorded among 67 women during the course of field research.

When women are apparently intent upon committing suicide, however, they may not threaten frequently or at all, but rather exhibit varying signs of withdrawal and depression. At such signs other hamlet women may intervene to comfort and console the dejected woman, and to take over responsibilities of hearth, home, and garden. Under such circumstances, women informally keep a watchful eye on one another and offer empathic support, but there is no formal divination of suicide risk or preventive intervention except by women who have special responsibilities in the domain of male ritual. On occasion, suicidal women, on the pretext of going on a round of gardening or gathering, slip away into the deep forest to hang themselves.

More usually, however, women making suicide attempts first begin to prepare vine ropes in a hamlet plaza, angrily claiming that they are making pig tethers or rope to lash house beams. Then, in the early morning or late afternoon when people are busily moving between hamlet and garden, they tend to station themselves along a main path. They make it apparent they intend to
hang themselves, until passers-by dissuade them from their "intent" or, in the most serious cases, cut them down. Not at all to her surprise, however, the woman often then finds herself the recipient of gifts and kind attention from her husband, who is faced with community concern and pressure.

Interestingly, although women attempt suicide almost twice as often as they actually commit it, Bimin-Kuskusmin perceive the opposite relationship to be true. Furthermore, women attribute high rates of female suicide to excessive female work and overbearing male dominance. Men, however, usually claim it is the dominance of the erratic khaapkhabuuri 'spirit' in women that characteristically causes them to attempt suicide, though sometimes incompetently.

Summary

It is clear that Bimin-Kuskusmin suicide is complex and deeply embedded in traditional cultural forms and social forces, although recent social change, epidemics, and plantation labor experiences, have somewhat exacerbated the problem. This essay has sketched some apparent patterns of this complex phenomenon by attending to matters of social solidarity, cultural schemas, modes of local divination and prevention, and case studies. The distinctive characteristics and extraordinarily high rates of adult male suicide are intricately bound up, I suggest, with the considerable psychological "costs" of a highly demanding, widely pervasive, and markedly rigid emphasis on the stoicism, toughness, bravery, ferocity, strength, and self-control of culturally constituted masculinity. This emphasis begins in early boyhood, is massively reinforced in the ordeals of male initiation, and subsequently becomes the basis of achievement and prestige in the male sphere of social life. Even suicide itself, ordinarily a sign of the failed man, is caught up in this imagery in the emphasis on not failing in this final act. Ironically, yet somewhat predictably given the emphasis on self-control, a vestige of masculinity is better preserved in suicide as a supreme act of self-control and forceful assertion than in a vengeful act of homicide, which is relatively low among Bimin-Kuskusmin outside of contexts of warfare with other groups (see Palmer 1965).

To acknowledge frailty of almost any kind, except in the privileged and protected revelations to bond friends and wives, if available, is to risk humiliation and shame and to witness the erosion of public prestige and
self-esteem. Perhaps most men learn to cope in varying ways with their inevitable recognition of a discrepancy between the public image of their person and the private knowledge of their self. Indeed some features of this discrepancy are recognized in the cultural schemas focused on the contrast between the finiik and khaakhabuuri 'spirits'. Some men opt out of the cycle of prestige to devote time and energy to families of origin and procreation, to become magnificently skilled in forest and garden pursuits, and to build networks of friends. Some men, however, allow no sign of stress to surface publicly, conform splendidly to the expected image of manhood, and may rise to the pinnacles of male prestige. Yet others, perhaps due to early socialization, enculturation, and life experiences, fail disasterously in pursuing the option of prestige that they have chosen; but they cannot gracefully withdraw from its incessant demands, and they plummet into a downward spiral of increasingly social isolation, humiliation, self-doubt, self-reproach, helplessness, and despair. Once caught in this spiral and unable to activate any meaningful socio-psychological support systems to extricate himself, a man is perhaps always near some threshold of endurance and is extremely vulnerable to any additional stresses that deepen his descent into despair. One outcome all too commonly may be to exit by means of suicide.

These tentative conclusions support the claim that Bimin-Kuskusmin suicides are only partially explicable by exclusive reference to the Durkheimian model, to "Samsonic" social motivations, and to culturally constituted notions of shame. These suicides are not only shaped by cultural forms and embedded in social contexts, but also enacted by individuals somehow caught in the potential snares of these socio-cultural forces. In anthropologists' understandable allegiance to some variation of Durkheim's profound insights into the phenomenon of suicide, the struggle of the suicidal individual has been predictably lost from view and relegated to the realm of an individual psychology or psychiatry that often ignores the socio-cultural context of that struggle. I prefer to conceptualize Bimin-Kuskusmin suicides as the acts of enculturated individuals — not of automatons driven only by external forces — in a "culturally constituted behavioral environment" (in Hallowell's phrase). This view demands the difficult theoretical task of constructing an analytic framework that accommodates cultural, psychological, and social factors in a principled way that illuminates fundamental problems of the individual-in-society. With that task in mind, this essay has emphasized
certain characteristics of suicide in a small, remote Papua New Guinea society that cannot be properly understood without some conceptual clarification and resolution of these more abstract issues.
NOTES

Acknowledgements. Field research among the Bimin-Kuskusmin (1971-1973) was generously supported by the U.S. National Institutes of Health, the Cornell University-Ford Foundation Humanities and Social Sciences Program, and the Center for South Pacific Studies of the University of California, Santa Cruz. The New Guinea Research Unit of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, and the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of the University of Papua New Guinea provided much valuable assistance. Above all, however, the Bimin-Kuskusmin people who shared the horrors of their 'curse' of suicide are owed the primary debt of gratitude.
Table 1
Reconstructed Cases of Death with Attribution of Primary Cause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Cases (N)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infant Mortality</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>(25.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witchcraft</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>(22.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicide</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>(10.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warfare</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>(8.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>(7.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>(7.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>(5.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accident</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>(4.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestral Spirits</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>(3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorcery</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>(2.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Age</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>(2.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-ancestral Spirits</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1293</strong></td>
<td><strong>(99.9%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Almost all cases exhibit mixed etiology. Thus, "primary cause" designates the most frequently cited, most emphasized, and most significant ultimate cause of death in each case. It is a very rough categorization.

2. Here "witchcraft" is defined by the indigenous category of *tamam*, where "witches" are primarily adult women and their "victims" are largely adult men. Some suspicion of witchcraft permeates almost all cases of death.

3. Suicide here includes cases reckoned as relatively unambiguous by Bimin-Kuskusmin, e.g., by hanging, by leaping from great heights or into dangerous rivers, ravines, etc. (when witnessed by others), and certain cases of stillbirth (when the mother has provoked anger in the fetus) and of fasting. Some cases are positively valued (e.g., certain ritual sacrifices of self, certain self-destructive acts in battle); some are mixed (e.g., women who are pregnant with illegitimate children, men who have committed incest or rape of uninitiated girls); but most are negatively valued and involve a denial of critical aspects of personhood.
and, consequently, of proper burial, mortuary observances, and ancestorhood. Of these 131 suicides, 81 (61.8%) involve men, and 50 (38.2%) involve women. Suicide is very rare among the very young and the aged, but is somewhat more common among the latter.

4. The category of "Other" includes all cases of deaths where there is more than one "primary cause," or where ambiguity precludes other classification.

5. Bimin-Kuskusmin themselves suspect that some accidents are, in fact, suicides, but are often loath to judge them so formally when no witnesses to the act can support the suspicion. The probability of the suicidal character of an "accident" is generally assessed in terms of evaluations of the "personality characteristics" of the individual, the intimacy of social support available to him, recent stressful events and circumstances, history and present signs of "depression," and peculiar characteristics of the "accident" itself.
Table 2
Chronology of Attempted and Completed Suicides During Fieldwork
(July 1971 to July 1973)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ATTEMPTED SUICIDE</th>
<th></th>
<th>COMPLETED SUICIDE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
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<td>Apr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jun.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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1 | 18 | 22 | 11
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