war, to be precise, a

'banana war", between the two

economic giants - America and

the newly emerging 'united'

Europe, flying on the wings of

their new common currency -

'Euro'. You can define it as a

'war for banana', or, 'war over

banana', or, 'war of banana'. In

fact, it is a big clash of interests

between them. And this 'war'

seems to be coming closer and

closer due to the recent failure

of any breakthrough in their

talks at the World Trade

Organization's (WTO) HQ in

Geneva, where it has been

hanging fire since 1993.

Although WTO is supposed to act

as a mediator to settle any trade

dispute that arises between its

member states, numbering

some 134, it has failed so far to

The Director General of

find any meaningful solution.

WTO, Renato Ruggiero, in a re-

cent statement, has reiterated

that the solution of the dispute

lay within the WTO's dispute

procedures, included in the

Dispute Settlement Under-

standing' (DSU). Still both the

parties are locked in 'wrangling'

over interpretation of certain

clauses. America, as usual,

wants to have its own 'interpre-

tation' as the final one. 'Head

win, tail you lose', is perhaps

the bottom-line of its policy.

And America has been enforc-

ing this policy of 'might is

right', since it had grounded its

former one-time cold-war rival

Soviet Union, to have a smooth

'solo-flight' like a' 'lone-ranger'

Banana Business, or

Monkey Business?

But how the banana 'explo-

■ OMESTIC Violence is now

recognized as one of the

most entrenched and

pervasive forms of violence in

our society, and it causes long-

confidence, leading her to be-

lieve she is crazy, stupid, or use-

less, etc. There is continual psy

chological harassment, verbal

abuse and behaviour by the

partner (and often by his family

as well), which humiliates the

woman and erodes her belief in

herself. Emotional abuse in-

cludes terrorizing the woman

by verbal threats to her life, and

damage to her treasured objects.

by the man that damages the

woman's social relationships.

Verbal abuse in front of other

people — such as put-downs,

jokes or criticisms of her

weight, appearance, sexuality,

or intelligence — is a form of

controlling a woman by

severely limiting her access to

money or financial resources. A

man may demand that his

partner manage housekeeping

on a very small amount of

money, may abuse her for not

being able to do so, and in many

cases, he may also disagree with

and refuse to pay for her own

material needs. On the other

hand, he may prohibit that she

go out to work, and may make it

impossible for her to do so, or

he may demand that she hand

over her income to him if she is

Sexual abuse includes a

range of sexually abusive and

exploitative behaviour towards

the partner including rape,

threats of violence, forced

compliance in degrading sexual

acts, forced viewing of pornog-

raphy, sexual harassment, etc.

the most pervasive form of do-

mestic violence. It is a domi-

nant feature of all violent rela-

tionships, particularly during the build-up phase before a

physically violence episode.

The culture of violence at

home a fostered and main-

tained by patriarchy, which ac-

cepts inequality between men

and women in almost all

spheres. Women in such soci-

eties are given no personal

Verbal or emotional abuse is

allowed to go to work.

**Economic Abuse** refers to

social abuse.

Social Abuse is a behaviour

down the wide 'wild' world.

## 'Banana War' against Europe: "Head I Win, ES, it's perhaps going to be a full-fledged economic

Tail You Lose" US Policy?

by A M M Shahabuddin

To make EU toe US line in global trade would be more subtle but potentially destructive, in case the current WTO talks go against America. In that case WTO's authority as a mediator may even be undermined. To face such an eventuality, how far EU member countries would succeed only future events will show.

has now reached such a pass that though the majority of the 134 members have most of the time supported Europe's decision and viewed the US tactics as 'unfair', they have now became 'fed up' with endless and prolonged 'banana talks', wasting, according to them, precious time and energy of the organization at the cost of other disputes getting pending. So they would prefer to have an early solution of this banana problem' in which both parties are heading for an unpleasant political row. This 'row' would perhaps change the 'banana business,' into a 'monkey-business', in the long run.

When persistent efforts are being made by WTO to find a solution, America has recently come down with heavy hands to block European goods from being imported as a 'retaliation' of EU's decision to bypass American bananas. To be more pointedly effective, American administration has asked American importers of European goods to deposit funds to the tune of US\$ 520 million as compensation for the American banana companies for their alleged lost sales equal to that amount as a result of EU's new

## 100 pc Tariff on

sion' occurred at all? The European Goods episode began some six years Thus America has built up a ago, in 1993, when European Union (EU) decided to import strong tariff wall by indirectly bananas from its former imposing 100 pc tariff, blocking colonies in the Caribbeans, imports from Europe. America known as 'banana republics', has, no doubt, raised a big instead of America, in order to storm over a 'pack of bananas' boost the economy of these de-And surprisingly, America has slapped a sort of 'sanctions' veloping countries. Since then America is grumbling about against Europe, on a published EU's banana policy and the distest of EU imports, without any pute has preoccupied most of formal approval of the WTO. the time of the WTO. The matter which is now mooting the whole dispute. But America has practically 'monopolised' its authority to impose sanctions against 'recalcitrant' countries to teach them a good lesson to be long remembered. It has a good track record of such sanctions with which it has come out with flying colours. In such cases, America flies high, no doubt, but as it goes up, it shows its 'long tail' to the world below.

### 'Unjustified' Action

Says EU As expected, the US action has evoked a sharp reaction from the EU. The EU Trade Ambassador to WTO, Roderick Abbot, giving his reaction, told an on-going WTO meeting that the American action was 'unjustified, unauthorised, unlawful and unacceptable'. Mr Abbot further said that United States is declaring war on any or all WTO members whose compliance it decides is inadequate and - to judge from our recent experience — on the basis that will enforce its rights but will not necessarily respect its obligations." A bold and new voice, no doubt, raised against the only superpower of the world by Europe! But the US officials now attending the 'banana talks' at the WTO were reported to be 'adamant' that the 'sanctions' in the form of 100 pc punitive tariff imposed by the Clinton Administration was "the proper way to protect against EU foot-dragging." But who is dragging whose foot? Who will be the judge, if WTO is ignored by America? One's advantage is proverbially another's disadvantage. That is why the EU has openly accused Washington of "declaring war on countries that fail to toe the US line on global trade rules".

#### **US-Japan Trade War** It is not anything new with

America. It had shown this 'bul-

ly' face during its "trade war" with Japan a couple of years back when Japan refused to comply with US dictates. Since Japan has assumed the role of a creditor country, replacing America, in 1986, America felt panicky that it might lose its economic supremacy to Japan and the Japanese 'Yen' was considered as a big rival of US dollar. America's ever-increasing trade deficit of about 60 billion US dollars was the main cause of the clash of trade interests. because Japan was now in a commanding position. And Japan had always refused to liberalise its trade policy and give special preferences to America, so that America could 'gate-crash' into the Japanese markets with huge merchan dise, including cars and electronics. But that didn't happen. Today, economists think that the US global trade deficit in 1999 is likely to surpass the 'record' \$169 billion imbalance set last year. And the growing trade deficit between the two countries reached a bursting

point. In 1995, President Clinton announced that Washington would take strong action against Japan for its 'recalcitrant' behaviour and the President's National Economic Council (NEC) thought of imposing a tariff against Japanese goods, mostly cars and electronics, up to 1000 pc, targeting some one billion US dollars worth of imports from Japan. As a prompt reaction to this US 'threat', Japan sought WTO's ad-

And in this US-Japan 'tradewar', the role of EU countries

was remarkable. They not only distanced themselves from America, but also supported Japan against America's "bullying behaviour". That created a big 'sinus' problem for America!

Now for America, the only way out to bring 'recalcitrant' Japan to its knees was to use its 'secret weapon' of manipulation by its 'grand-master' economic magicians to deestabilise the financial market and thereby cause wide-spread turmoil in Asian and particularly Japan's money market. And that is exactly what happened. Japan's economy slided down the hill and it is now swallowing American 'elixir' and 'healing pills' through the spoons of IMF. According to recent reports, American goods, mainly cars and electronics, have now found their way into the Japanese markets. So what the Americans couldn't achieve through trade-talks, got it through sheer 'economic magic'.

The same history of US 'bullying policy' and manipulation is going to repeat itself in Europe to cut EU to its proper size. The scenario is the same and the 'medicine' being 'prescribed is also the same. They have just imposed the tariff on imported goods from EU countries at 100 pc as a retaliatory measure against EU's decision not to import American bananas. And America knows well that if this 'arm-twisting' policy does not achieve its mission, it would use its 'secret weapon' invisible in application, but quiet 'visible' in its 'reaction'! Japan's 'recovery' is a wonderful example for EU countries to take note of.

US Dream about

Europe In fact, America has a long-

cherished dream about Europe since the end of World War II, when it had fixed a target on the distant horizon. Beginning with the launching of the 'Marshall Aid', named after the US Secretary of State George Marshall, America spent millions of dollars for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of war-devastated Europe. It undoubtedly paved the way for a solid 'bastion' for America in Europe during the cold-war period. It was further strengthened with the formation of NATO and stationing of US forces and war machines in strategic areas of Europe to look over the shoulders what its cold-war rival Soviet Union was 'cooking' in its backyard in Eastern Europe.

But there always comes up a 'snag' that blocks the way of a smooth passage. That is what happened when Europe, as a united force, wanted to stand up, under the EU and walk tall before America, particularly af-ter the floating of its common currency 'Euro' which threatens as a potential rival of US dollar, as Japanese Yen once did. So America discerns a danger

America's next move, therefore, to make EU toe US line in global trade would be more subtle but potentially destructive, in case the current WTO talks go against America. In that case WTO's authority as a mediator may even be undermined. To face such an eventuality, how far EU member countries would succeed only future events will show. But before that, the EU will have to put its own house in order as the en masse resignation by the EU commission members on corruption charges at this moment gives a wrong signal. The strategists and opportunist are always waiting in the wings to take advantage of pitfalls. The storm over the imposition of 'punitive tariffs' by America against European goods is gathering over the horizon. The 'eye' of the ensuing storm is already shining. Europe will have to pull up its socks and stand united to face

# Culture and the Issue of Disability by Shahidul Haque

ULTURAL aspect of any country/region is not easy to define. It is principally dependent on sociology. economy, psychology, of a particular society as well as region. Hardly one can fix the limits of impact of religion, political system on culture. Consequently, it is very difficult to circumscribe culture. Owing to extensive and multidimensional inheritance, culture reflects its heterogeneous as well as homogénous traits in every sphere of life, which starts from family and does not end to a certain boundary. Culture by its origin is transnational. It is evidenced by individual character to the national character in every moment in our everyday lives. Main theme of this article is to realise the roots of development. It is an attempt to visualise cultural deeprooted-ness of the notion - development. This is not an endeavour to delve into development as a whole concept. Rather this will centre round cultural barrier. which is impeding and delaying our national development.

My 17 years working experiences in different capacities entail one of the most stunning encounter, that is all of us are much concerned about individual or family development, while we are equally indifferent about the institution from where we are receiving the means to lead the family. Institution here infer to one's own working place. Attachment to a particular institution/organisation in other words employment/engagement is the way to bear up our family, social life as a whole. It's the origin of every material aspect and social affiliation to some extent of our life. It's like a tree where institutional involvement is the root and social life can be termed as branch and/or leaves. However, we are much responsive to the branch and leaves and almost entirely apathetic about the

Now the question is in this unresponsive surroundings how long the root i.e. institution will remain operative to support the individual, family and the society as a whole? This maneuvering looks like violating the institution for the sake of family. This raping behavior involves gaining personal satisfaction at the cost of institution where with every motion it is gradually dying, fading out. losing its strength instead of developing. In reality, our such behaviour identifies our culture as more masculine and is a simple projection of our own cultural alienation, breach in our indigenous ideas, emotional distance, reduced aspiration and above all experiences. That is again strongly tied up with a specific situation to a particular history. On the other hand, yet we could not manage to develop any alternative way for developing a well-accepted behaviour, achieving recognition, good values and above all an effort for sustainable development to be followed by the

nation builders. Most of the nation building initiatives, in other words development efforts, taken by the experts since the very inception of Bangladesh are abortive in nature. It is time to break the silence about the abortive. While we are trying to illustrate this burning scene of this milieu there is no question of keeping silent about this shortcoming in our development effort.

Cultural aspects of disability in this paper will be interpreted in terms of being in the midst of present development initiatives, which are mostly imperfect in nature as described above. A growing number of experts of local communities, donors and government are more or less much aware about the disability issue. It is also true that they are very much sympathetic to this issue especially when it is time to express commitment in any public arrangements like seminar and workshop. However, it is little bit hard to see and say to the nation, why they forget and lack commitment in their work? Why they forget to include this when they adopt policy, undertake development work, and when they finally implement any policy? Where is lying the roots of this failure? Why their commitment, if any, is only in the speech, and words; why it is not in the practice?

If we have a deeper vision of our culture we can obtain some logical explanation to such indifference. Ours is a predominantly paternalistic kind of culture, which manifests domination of one on others. In a paternalistic culture the receiver can hardly have any opinion because, here it is the service provider who has got to fix everything for the recipients. This is reflected even in case of love and affection where controlling is one of the most strongest criteria of such phenomenon. In a paternalistic

society like ours where domination of opulent on the indigent prevails in almost everywhere, progress and development are bound to be very slow. Gradually, the suppressed groups lose their spirit to flourish and to develop their qualities. And in a paternalistic culture like Bangladesh the non-disabled people triumph over the disabled people. In such a tradition non-disabled are the ones to decide everything either good or bad for the disabled. Practice of

such behaviour makes us to almost entirely forget the sufferers who really know what sufferings is. Consequently, problems of disability remain untouched in many cases. Secondly, religious tradition

is playing a vital role in our culture. This arises mostly from the way of interpreting values by different groups. It is found that it was possible to interpret religious values with value added approach and one can hardly find any interpretation which are value neutral in nature. This value-added interpretation is creating dependency in the name of helping the people. What we see in our tradition is that in the name of helping the helpless it is encouraging begging culture which in turn is also distorting morality.

Thirdly when religious scholars especially from Islam always remain much conservative while prescribing social functions, their stress on conservativeness makes interpretation of religious values more and more obscure. Then it becomes much hard to challenge social injustice, inappropriate class structures and to stand against social exploitation and domination. They have developed some mechanism to fight against social injustice but those are very much idealistic in nature, in other words much ambiguous. In a developing country like Bangladesh where more than 80 per cent of the people are uneducated, there it is not easy for the majority to deal with such ambiguity to develop a deep insight. The general people due to their information deficiency cannot circumscribe all the religious values. Consequently they remain almost entirely dependent on others to perform their religious duties. In such a situation helping the vulnerable becomes one of the strongest path to get a better life after death. This helping heritage has taken the shape of giving alms. The givers have also got an idea that the more the recipient is vulnerable the more will be the return.

Gradually, a culture named begging has developed among the vulnerable. People got used to give more alms to the disabled beggar, as they look more vulnerable due to their functional limitation. In this almost all of the givers abide by the process to their own gain i.e. a better life after death but none is caring to develop inner qualities of human beings although disabled so that their dependency would disappear. However, duality exist even in this practice of giving alms. The disabled beggars are getting more alms on the street when the givers notice them. Nevertheless, they are almost entirely excluded when the favour is provided in a more systematic way. For instance, in Islam jakat, fitra etc. are given in a methodical way. People who are giving jakat and fitra it is a preplanned event for them. However, supply is very little in the face of overwhelming demand. As such getting jakat and fitra involve practicing muscle power among the receivers which ultimately leads to ex-

Our society is a case, where everyone is talking about physical integration and no one is wondering about mental/psychological integration. Without integration of body and mind it is perhaps very difficult for any one to work as a whole. This is one of the ultimate causes of our under develop-

clusion of disabled beggars

Though we are at the end of the Asia and Pacific decade for the disabled people, if we try to scan the achievement it will be very hard to find cases of success that would sustain. Especially when it is the question of raising voice about cultural development and disability issue, we find that everywhere we are stopping the whole of development and disabling our spirit and strength. In our culture or practice no one is looking for his/her own fault, rather everyone is much busy in detect-ing others' fault. We are much used to advise other but no one is keen to practice some good advice in his/her own life. In this situation what should be the expectation from the policymakers and implementers regarding disability issue and on integrating it in the sphere of our national activities, one

rector, SARPV-Bangladesh.

# Preventing Domestic Violence

by Akhter Jahan Rahman

In emphasizing non-violence and punishing violence, one must offer to replace the rewards of violence, with the rewards of happier relationships, independence within relationship, self-respect, self-confidence, selfresponsibility, openness, and the respect of one's family,

term harm to the victims. It is estimated that 90 to 97 per cent of domestic violence is perpetrated by the husband or male partner of a marriage or rived from their husband's; and they are looked upon as chatde facto relationship. It takes many different forms. It may be tels, men being their owners. When a woman marries, she bephysical abuse, or emotional, verbal, social, economic and comes the property of the husband. On the wedding day the sexual abuse. Such abusive woman in our culture is meant relationships are marked by a to "salaam" or "pronum" her sustained power imbalance in husband. They are brought up to favour of the violent partner. believe that their heaven is at Emotional Abuse: This hap the feet of their husbands. The pens when the husband or male belief that women are subordipartner in an intimate relanate to men who need to keep tionship deliberately underthem in line, exists in other culmines the wife's or partner's

> tures as well: The man who is not master of his wife is not worthy of being a man' (18th century French

'Never hit your woman with the petal of a rose but the thorny stem' (Spanish saving) 'A wife may love a husband who never beats her, but she does not respect him' (Russian

'Women should be struck regularly, like gongs' (An Eastern saying)

Thus domestic violence knows no cultural bounds, nor socio-economic barriers. It is not just an aberration of some 'bad marriages', but an expression of the power relationship implicit in marriage, and of the culture of masculinity. Traditionally boys are brought up to expect that they should be dominant in their relationship with women, and to have greater economic and social power than women. Society sanctions this in many ways.

Women's traditional role puts her in a master-servant relationship with her husband. He is the boss of the family because he provides for them. In return, the woman is responsi-

ble for satisfying all his needs. Over time, violence has become part of the definition of masculinity. Boys and men receive powerful messages from a wide range of influences which teach them that being violent is part of being a man. 'Real men' are strong, tough and powerful. Men are considered to be the owners of their families, and therefore superior and should be 'in control'. Femininity is equated with being docile. child-like, helpless, passive, obedient and dependent. The idea that women should be 'kept in their place', i.e., the place of subordination and of lesser importance than men, is still powerful, and influences the position of women in most patriarchal societies today.

Thus cultural and traditional practices lay the foundation for domestic violence. It does not take the form of physi-

cal abuse in all cases; nor do the other forms of abuse exist intensely in all homes. But to the extent that women's prescribed subservient roles exist in a society; to the extent that masculinity is equated with toughness and domination of women: and to the extent that violence is accepted and promoted in cultural and other activities (e.g. in literature, films, sports etc.) the groundwork exists for men to use violence as a method of controlling their partners and families.

Preventive Approaches

The Women's Movement brought the issue of domestic violence out into the open in the late '70s, and insisted that it was a crime and should be treated as such by the police and the courts. Legislation has now been passed in many countries criminlising, it in an effort to protect the victims and the children who are also traumatized by it. However, criminal sanctioning alone is not going to stop domestic violence. Deterrent is necessary in cases of known violence. However, effective prevention of domestic violence needs to be approached from three different directions.

Primary prevention, which involves addressing entire population with a view to preventing violence from occurring at all. This will be elaborated later.

Secondary prevention involves directing intervation strategies towards subsections of the population which are believed to be at particular risk. Programmes and services are aimed at helping the women who have been abused, and their children who have witnessed domestic violence. Programme objectives are to empower the victims, and to enhance their ability to develop safe, non-violent relationships. Programmes are also established to help the children who are the 'silent victims', whether or not they demonstrate symptoms of harm. Some important aspects of such secondary prevention programmes are frequent home visits by Social Workers, and linking families assessed as high-risk, programmes (such as, violence counselling, assertiveness training, personal development courses, parenting training, etc.). Secondary prevention programmes would also involve training police officers, family lawyers, marriage counsellors, hospital staff and other professionals with abused women as

clients, to identify domestic violence and take protective ac-

Parents are also given help in understanding the effect of domestic violence on children. and on their own relationship. They need assistance in dealing with issues of gender, conflict resolution, power and control They are linked to parent education programmes to stop the use of corporal punishment in child management, which teaches acceptability of the use of violence by the more powerful on the less powerful. Parents are taught non-violent child rearing practices as alternatives. Sweden first imposed a ban on corporal punishment in child-rearing, in 1979.

Tertiary prevention refers to strategies put in place to reduce the severity, duration and recurrence of problem after it is established. These programmes are aimed at individuals who are already demonstrating problems. Thus the violent men are first of all restrained, then referred for treatment involving anger management, training in problem solving skills, values training (or re-training), personal development, etc.

**Primary Prevention** 

Corporal punishment and violent practices in families do not exist in a vacuum, and therefore, without addressing the roots of the problem, secondary and tertiary preventive measures will only have limited influence. Changes to the legislation and punitive measures rely on control and suppression. Furthermore, no country could provide adequate services for all victims and survivors. Primary prevention must be a big part of all preventive efforts.

The Australian National Strategy for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (Calvert, 1993) emphasized the need for changing people's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour. Social and structural factors behind violence need to be addressed and modified, he, gender roles and the construction of "masculinity" and 'femininity'. Social factors that must be addressed are:

1. The structural imperative of male dominance in the family and in society at large,

2. Cultural norms that encourage/excuse violence, especially male violence, in the family and the wider society. and condone female suppression and victimization, 3. The training in violence

that goes on in both the family and society. 4. The use of violence for 'so-

cially legitimate' purposes, 5. The lack of perceived alternatives for dealing with the inevitable conflict that naturally arises in family-life.

Braithwaite (1992) says that

an undesirable beahviour, like murder, needs to be unthinkable for us not to contemplate carrying it out. He says that the processes of 'shaming' murderers in the 'old' days, was more about internalizing mores of society in order to discourage aberrant behaviour, than being punitive and negative. It aims to increase pride, self-esteem, and identification with one's community as a result of internalization. Braithwaite of offers and example of a domestic violence enforcement pyramid and says that the aim should be. for children to grow up with an internalized abhorrence of violence, to take pride in respecting the rights of others, including women, and to take pride in caring for others. In his model, the self-sanctioning conscience would be the first deterrent, and criminal sanctions would be at the top of the pyramid, with social disapproval, family confrontation, confrontation by outside agency workers, and restraint orders coming in between these, in ascending order.

Primary prevention must therefore begin with **childhood**. Attitudes, beliefs and behaviours are learnt in early childhood, and it is harder to unlearn them in adult hood. School programmes need to be developed at both primary and secondary levels to teach children to be morally against domestic violence, to value all human beings equally, to share responsibilities, and to confront conflict in non-violent ways. One such programme, called the Perry Preschool programme, is being successfully tried in many areas of the United States. Similar programmes will also be useful at the late primary school level i.e., between 8-12 years of age, when children's cognitive development can allow them to confront the issues of violence in their own families, before the impact of violent role modelling becomes entrenched in their social conditioning and behavioural patterns.

Programmes for adolescents need to: highlight the issue of violence during dating:

· raise awareness of the nature and extent of violence against girls and women in relationships;

 increase the understanding of young people of the effects of domestic violence, and dating

violence: educate young people of the unacceptability of violence and abusive actions by boys men against girls/women;

 encourage attitudes and skills in young people that will

enable them to develop non-violence, equitable relationships; · teach and encourage girls of the indicators of violence and

to take steps to protect themselves from these actions: educate young people in how the stereotyping of men's and women's roles contribute

to domestic violence: familiarize the youth with resources available to them,

their families, and their friends. Awareness of the effects of domestic violence on children should be raised within the community. The government, the community, and individuals need to work together to achieve this. Community education campaigns involving the media, the publication of information packages, pamphlets and videos, at government as well as community levels, need to be established. Programmes need to be developed which encourage equality between boys and girls, men and women, and greater involvement of males in child-rearing. There should be encouragement at the private as well as the public sector, of men to be more empathic, caring and demonstrative. Programmes need to be supported by changes in social values, and new images of social relations are required. There also needs to be more regulation of violence in

sports and television. In emphasizing non-violence and punishing violence, one must offer to replace the rewards of violence, with the rewards of happier relationships, independence within relationship, self-respect, selfconfidence, self-responsibility, openness, and the respect of one's family.

Levinson (1989), in his cross-cultural study of 90 communities found 16 societies in which "family violence is largely non-existent". To use his words: "Violence is not an inevitable consequence of family life, as evidenced by the 16 societies." Whilst is can be discouraging that only 16 out of 90 societies came up to scratch, it can also be taken as encouraging that the 16 societies demonstrate that it is possible to live without violence.

The writer is Senior Psychologist, Family and Youth Service, Department of Human Services, Government of South Australia

### identity; their identity is de-Garfield ®











