PACIFIC STUDIES

A multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study of the peoples of the Pacific Islands

SEPTEMBER/DECEMBER 2007

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PUBLISHED BY
THE PACIFIC INSTITUTE
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY HAWAI'I
IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER

Articles and reviews in *Pacific Studies* are abstracted or indexed in *Sociological Abstracts, Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts, America: History and Life, Historical Abstracts, Abstracts in Anthropology, Anthropological Literature, PAIS Bulletin, International Political Science Abstracts, International Bibliography of Periodical Literature, International Bibliography of Book Reviews, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Anthropoligical Index Online,* and *Referativnyi Zhurnal.*

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PACIFIC STUDIES

NEGOTIATING GRANDPARENTING

STYLES AND STRATEGIES IN A CHANGING PACIFIC

Guest Editors
M. Jocelyn Armstrong
Juliana Flinn

A Pacific Studies Special Issue
Vol. 30, Nos. 3/4 (Sept./Dec. 2007) • Lāie, Hawai'i

PACIFIC STUDIES

Editorial Policy: *Pacific Studies* is published quarterly by The Pacific Institute, Brigham Young University Hawai'i #1979, 55–220 Kulanui Street, Lā'ie, Hawai'i 96762, but responsibility for opinions expressed in the articles rests with the authors alone. Subscription rate is US$40.00 yearly, payable to The Pacific Institute. The Pacific Institute (formerly The Institute for Polynesian Studies) is an organization funded by Brigham Young University Hawai'i. The Institute assists the University in meeting its cultural and educational goals by undertaking a program of teaching, research, and publication. The Institute cooperates with other scholarly and research institutions in achieving their objectives. It publishes monographs, produces films, underwrites research, and sponsors conferences on the Pacific Islands.

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This publication is printed on acid-free paper and meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

ISSN 0275-3596
ISBN 0-939154-77-3

Volume 30 September/December 2007 Numbers 3/4

SPECIAL ISSUE

NEGOTIATING GRANDPARENTING: STYLES AND STRATEGIES IN A CHANGING PACIFIC

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PUBLISHED 5/2008

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PACIFIC STUDIES

SPECIAL ISSUE
NEGOTIATING GRANDPARENTING:
STYLES AND STRATEGIES IN A CHANGING PACIFIC

Vol. 30, Nos. 3/4 Sept./Dec. 2007

GUEST EDITORS' PREFACE

IN SOCIETIES AROUND THE WORLD, population aging is engaging more women and men in the experience of grandparenting, and the duration of the experience is increasing. In response, grandparent research has seen a significant expansion and diversification across disciplines and settings, first in the societies of North America and Europe, although studies in African and Asian settings soon followed.

This collection of contributions from anthropology and cognate disciplines extends the reach of the research to a selection of Pacific societies and to a different set of grandparenting contexts. The relatively recent emergence of population aging in most parts of the Pacific, and the local histories, social structures, and cultural attitudes and values shaping the contemporary practice of grandparenting, afford new comparative perspectives and can inform the development of concepts and theories. The larger contexts of kinship structure and overall status of older people in society, which have distinguished anthropology's research of grandparenting in the past, continue as core contexts but other, more immediate ones such as individual life history, family change, community networks, residential environment, and so on have become increasingly relevant.

From the first stages of planning the collection, it has been our objective to examine grandparenting in the Pacific in the broad context of ongoing change in the grandparent role worldwide. We chose definition and relevance of the role as our focus. The project has its origins in a series of sessions at annual meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO). In accordance with the ASAO format, we began with an open, informal session to recruit potential participants and identify specific topics of interest. This was followed by a phase of working sessions for which

continuing participants prepared papers for review and discussion. The discussions identified shared issues and themes that would guide the next round of paper development. A final, formal symposium was devoted to further examination of the issues and themes and their implications.

All of the contributors have completed extended field research in one or more Pacific societies. The studies on which the articles draw involved firsthand field research in the societies the articles feature. The studies were all designed for research of wider topics—the demography of aging, the epidemiology of aging, the processes of social aging, and various forms of social development and change. In some cases, aspects of grandparenting were a planned topic of inquiry; in others they became one as the study progressed. Either way, the wider studies facilitated contextualization of the grandparent material and aided interpretation and comparison. Our collective reviews and discussions identified three recurring themes of change: *i)* intersection of being a grandparent and having senior status in society, *ii)* diversity in styles or ways of grandparenting, and *iii)* grandparenting as a strategy for coping with societal and other macrolevel social and cultural change.

The first theme recalls anthropology's longstanding attention to the position of older people in society as a context, but it also speaks directly to our focal question about change in definition and management of the grandparenting role. Our studies point up the importance of considering self-definitions, as well as variation by gender, ethnicity, and urban/rural environment. The styles theme connects with a well-established area of interest in the newer, multidisciplinary, grandparenting research. Our Pacific analyses suggest development of existing typologies for cross-cultural and cross-societal application and, again, the relevance of gender, ethnicity, age and other conditioning factors. The theme of grandparenting as a strategy for coping with sociocultural change contributes to a new perspective. Our Pacific evidence includes adaptation to change in education, economy, family organization, living arrangements, migration patterns, and attitudes and values. The perspective could guide future research and comparison. It also has theoretical relevance beyond grandparenting, for example, to our understanding of family systems, age as a principle of organization, and aging and modernization.

The grandparent/senior status theme receives more attention in some of the articles but is generally present. The styles and strategies themes, on the other hand, are each more developed in some articles, less so in others, and thus, defined the order of presentation.

We join the other authors in acknowledging significant contributions to the project's development and quality by others. Ann Chowning and McRose

Elu with Rod Mitchell prepared papers for the ASAO working sessions and enriched those discussions. Dorothy Counts filled the critical role of discussant for the working and symposium sessions. David Counts, Ward Goodenough, Alan Howard, and Eugene Ogan contributed valuable comments and suggestions as audience participants. We are deeply grateful to Dorothy Counts for writing the collection's introduction and to Françoise Douaire-Marsaudon and Alan Howard for agreeing to co-author its epilogue.

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INTRODUCTION: THE PRACTICE AND PROSPECTS OF GRANDPARENTING IN THE PACIFIC

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The contributors to this special issue represent the orientations and approaches of several social science disciplines and are variously involved in interdisciplinary endeavors. However, anthropology is the primary discipline and ethnography a shared methodology. It is a main task of any ethnography to make the exotic familiar and to treat the familiar as though it were exotic. The papers in this special issue achieve this for grandparenthood in the Pacific. The familiar concept of grandparenthood is shown to have multiple meanings in close examinations of how the status is achieved, for example, what it means for a person's position in society, what roles are attached, and how grandparents may contribute to the survival and development of their communities and societies and adaptations to sociocultural change.

ALL OF THE PAPERS in this special issue draw on firsthand field research in the society or societies the papers feature. The authors represent a diversity of disciplines, but anthropology is most authors' primary discipline and ethnography a shared methodology. One major task of ethnography is to make the exotic familiar and understandable and to treat the familiar as though it were exotic. The papers in this special issue achieve this for grandparenthood in the Pacific, a familiar concept that is multivalent when we carefully examine how the status is achieved, what it means for the person's place in society, what roles are attached in Pacific societies, and how grandparents may contribute to the preservation of traditional knowledge and, indeed, perhaps the survival of a generation of children.

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The papers draw from a variety of sources. Sela Panapasa's paper on Fiji uses a combination of household census data and case studies. The data for Sally Keeling's paper were acquired in a longitudinal study of European aging in a semirural setting in New Zealand, while Jocelyn Armstrong's research was conducted with Maori and European women in urban New Zealand. Jeanette Dickerson-Putman's data were collected on Raivavae in French Polynesia. The papers by Vicki Torsch, Laurence Carucci, and Juliana Flinn are based on interview and participant-observation research in Micronesia.

What's in a Term?

Many years ago, during a lecture in a graduate anthropology course at the University of Texas, Gilbert McAllister observed that kinship is the diaper pin of human society: it holds everything together. Among other things, kinship terminology suggests common patterns of behavior expected of people who share a kin term. The "diaper pin" metaphor is particularly appropriate for a discussion of grandparenthood, as diapers are usually reserved for the very young and the very old. The variation in kinship terms for grandparents in the societies discussed in this collection demonstrates that grandparents hold societies together in many different ways.

For example, the people of Pollap in Micronesia described by Flinn (2007) have no way to say "my grandparent." The term for a grandmother is the same as for mother and, indeed, grandmothers continue to have the responsibilities that accompany motherhood. Caring for her grandchildren is part of a woman's role of mother to her child, the mother of her grandchildren. The terminology signals that the Pollapese approach to grandparenthood blends roles and responsibilities and extends into the next generation the parenting role of the domestic cycle (Goody 1958). On Pollap, the term for grandmother/mother or—as it may be glossed—senior woman describes an active, knowledgeable leader and household manager. Pollapese call a woman who manages a household the term that is also glossed "grandmother" even if she is young. These women are recognized as being knowledgeable, experienced managers and are expected to be outspoken and to scold juniors—including their grandchildren—when it is appropriate to do so. The practice of calling a mature woman by the term also used for "mother" or "grandmother" signals the behavior that Pollap society expects of women as they move through the domestic cycle.

According to Keeling (2007), in Mosgiel, a small-town community in New Zealand, grandparents say their role is inclusive and extends beyond strict descent, with kin and nonkin accepted as grandchildren in many cases. One

woman told Keeling: "The kids all call me grandma" and suggested that there should be a specific collective noun for a group of grandparents: "a pride of . . . should not be restricted to lions!" she said.

In her study of European and Maori women in the city of Wellington, New Zealand, Armstrong (2007) observes that both groups may distinguish terminologically between biological and nonbiological grandchildren, although it is a more common practice among European grandmothers. European women used the terms "proxy," "deputy," and "substitute" to identify nonbiological grandchildren. Although Maori might use the English word "adopted" to specify grandchildren acquired by the Polynesian tradition of older people fostering grandchildren, they more commonly use the inclusive Maori word *mokopuna* to refer to biological grandchildren, fictive grandchildren, and groups that include some of both. In public settings mokopuna can refer to all the grandchildren of all the grandparents in attendance regardless of actual relationships. As one woman explained: "The little ones are all looked at as mokopuna. . . . We don't wait around to see whose child it is."

On Ujelang and Enewetak Atolls in the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Carucci (2007) reports that a reciprocal and multireferential term, *jibw-*, is used to link grandparents–grandchildren. This term is also the address term for grandchildren and means "the relationship path that interconnects me and you (an endeared person, two generations apart, a relationship typified by lightheartedness and indulgence)." Most often, the term refers to grandchildren, while grandparents are most commonly addressed (and sometimes referred to) by terms that translate as "grandmother" or "grandfather."

In summary, we see that kinship terminology signals the variety of ways in which Pacific people identify and relate to relatives (or, indeed, all members of the community) who are of the alternate generation. When grandparents call or refer to all children of the alternate generation by the term for grandchild—as Maori do—it is clear that grandparents are responsible for all those children who are theirs to love, discipline, and protect. In some societies grandparents and grandchildren call each other by the same term, a recognition that one generation is the replacement for the other. In others there is only one term for mother and grandmother. In these societies the role of grandmother appears to be an extension of the role of mother.

Becoming a Grandparent

The papers in this collection document the variety of ways in which people become grandparents. People become biological grandparents when their children become parents and, as Armstrong (2007) observes, one of the implications of increased life expectancy is that people can expect to spend

more years as grandparents than did earlier generations. However, in some societies fewer people become grandparents because more young couples choose work or careers instead of children, or because of social factors such as divorce, single status, or late marriage and childbearing (see Szinovacz 1998). These trends have changed the nature of grandparenthood.

Carucci (2007) describes a situation in Ujelang in which a woman in her twenties achieved the status of grandmother by adopting the first child of an age-mate who alternatively referred to her as mother or grandmother. Because of the death of her family's elders, the young woman was the decision maker for her larger family and held responsibilities usually given to a much older woman. The adoption, which emphasized her authority within her family, was accepted by her siblings, who often reinforced her status of grandmother to their children by referring to her as *būbū* (grandma).

In some societies grandparents adopt their grandchildren as their own children. As discussed by Dickerson-Putman (2007), it is common for middle-aged Raivavae couples to adopt a grandchild. Often it is the grandparents who initiate the adoption, for the Raivavae feel that grandmothers have the right to ask to adopt a grandchild, especially the first-born grandchild. Dickerson-Putman reports that Raivavaen women told her that because mothers become lonely when their adult children leave home, they ask for a grandchild who will bring life and joy back into the household. Raivavaens expect the grandparent/grandchild relationship to be characterized by strong bonds of affection, with grandmothers receiving more affection and being given more authority than are grandfathers. Indeed, many grandmothers refer to their grandchildren as their pearls.

Grandmothers may also adopt their grandchildren if they feel that the parents lack either the resources or skills for caregiving, or if their children request the adoption because they are moving to an urban area where the expenses of child care are more than they can handle. Maternal grandmothers also often adopt the children of their unmarried adolescent daughters as adolescence is seen as a time to experience sexual freedom and shy away from responsibility. Raivavaen parents have jural responsibility for their children so, if a grandparent adopts a grandchild, the adults negotiate how rights, resources, and responsibilities are apportioned at the time of adoption. Usually jural responsibility for the children is passed to the adopting grandparents. If the situation changes, for example, if the parents are unable to have children, the adoption may be reversed.

Armstrong (2007) found that among European and Maori women in her urban New Zealand study there were sizeable numbers of both biological grandchildren and nonbiological or "fictive" grandchildren. One of the older European women presented herself as grandmother to her five biological

grandchildren and to "a marvelous collection of deputy grandchildren" she had acquired across the years. "They're not a burden," she was quick to explain. "I love 'em all."

In addition, there were both Maori and European women who identified themselves as being grandmothers solely on the basis of relationships with the biological grandchildren of siblings, other kin, friends, or other nonkin. Several of the European women had developed significant fictive grandmothering relationships as a result of chance encounters in a work, educational, or organizational setting.

Grandparenting and Aging

There are a number of ways in which people are classified as old. These include chronological age, functional ability, historical age, and social time (Neugarten and Datan 1973, 57) or social age (Counts and Counts 1992, 6). The definition of old age that is based on social age is not synchronous with chronological age or with an individual's stage of maturity but involves the person's state in the life cycle or the domestic cycle, such as the birth of grandchildren and great-grandchildren or the death of middle-aged children. In some of the societies discussed in this collection, when people become grandparents they are automatically categorized as elders or senior members of society without reference to their chronological age or their physical condition. For example, Dickerson-Putman (2007) observes that Raivavaens place grandparents in two life course categories: wise, mature, respected adults, and old people who stay home, withdraw from work, enjoy leisure time, and have reduced voices in community affairs. A person's behavior is the critical criterion for defining their position in the life cycle. Most Raivavaens become grandparents after the age of about forty when their children become parents. Those grandparents who have settled down with one partner to raise children, and whose behavior is mature, are considered to be adults. In contrast, those who spend much time at home and withdraw from work are considered to be old persons. The general decrease in physical vitality and social engagement that leads to this withdrawal also reduces the old person's voice in community affairs. Elsewhere in Polynesia, for example Niue and Tahiti, a third category of elderly person is reserved for those who are weak, feeble, senile, and decrepit. This category overrides the status of grandparent, and people who are so classified are objects of contempt (Barker 1997; Levy 1973; Oliver 1981).

Armstrong (2007) argues that neither New Zealand European nor Maori women necessarily consider becoming a grandmother as a primary factor in their entering old age. They recognize that others often consider the role of

grandmother to be part of being socially old; however, the women themselves think that the simple fact of being a grandmother is less important than its meaning for other themes of social aging such as social generativity and social integration. Among New Zealand Europeans in Mosgiel, Keeling (2007) found that the self-definition of "old age" is based on a person's social age. An eighty-five-year-old woman whose daughter becomes a grandmother is reminded of her own progression through her life course. Movement through the domestic cycle is evidence of advancing age and defines Mosgiel residents as seniors.

As noted above, Flinn (2007) recounts that Pollapese consider the grandmother role to be a continuation of the role of mother, and the term for senior woman/grandmother describes a household manager who is knowledgeable, experienced, and a disciplinarian. One Pollapese term that may be translated as grandmother means "hardened, strong, mature woman" or "senior woman." Women in this category are active, strong, and hard working. They are considered to be wise, knowledgeable, and experienced and, consequently, they are leaders. According to Flinn, these qualities are applied to women because of their advanced age and experience and not because they have grandchildren. Instead, these older women are also grandmothers. The behavior expected of active seniors contrasts sharply with the inactivity that people consider to be appropriate for those who are termed "elderly person" or "great-grandmother." These women are often physically and/or mentally infirm and are content to stay at home watching children and making mats.

Aging brings grandmothers in many cultures more authority, fewer restrictions, and more opportunity for achievement and recognition as they live past their childbearing years (Brown 1982). As Keith observes

> A glass of beer with the boys, freedom to let out a four letter word, or let go in a public dance are privileges of old age for many women in the world. The liberty to ignore previous constraints is the compensation available especially to old women in many cultures (1980, 350–351).

The Pollapese grandmothers described by Flinn enjoy the right to clown and be outspoken and confident. For example, at a holiday feast, a group of grandmothers performed spontaneous taunting, teasing songs and dances directed at the men, behavior that would not be acceptable for their daughters. In addition to being assertive, both maternal and paternal grandmothers on Pollap have the responsibility to advise and scold their juniors, including their grandchildren. Because a Pollapese grandmother has more knowledge and experience, people often consider her views to be important and Pollapese

expect parents to defer to the wisdom and seniority of grandparents in almost all matters.

As discussed by Torsch (2007), there are basically two words in the Chamorro language that apply to people in their later years. *Saina* is the Chamorro word for elder. It signifies the qualities of wisdom, knowledge, activity, respect, and power in the family and community. The term *manamko* has the opposite connotation, that of being old and worn out. Individuals labeled manamko are not respected and have no one to care for them. These terms express the bipolar nature of aging experienced by old Chamorro. Those who behave as active, traditional grandparents are considered to be saina; those who do not are termed manamko.

What Does It Mean to Be a Grandparent?

The papers in this collection document the cultural variation that exists in the activities of grandparents: family and community responsibilities of grandparents (who are also often the elders of the society), the relationship between grandparents and the parents of their grandchildren, and the interaction between grandparents and their grandchildren. There may be a warm, mutually beneficial reciprocal relationship involving daily contact, or grandchildren may be caught up in the local culture and have little in common with their grandparents. Some grandparents share living quarters with their grandchildren, and others are grandparents at a distance.

This collection also speaks to Radcliffe-Brown's "grandmother hypothesis," which posited that grandparents were marginal to society (1940). Radcliffe-Brown alleged that both grandparents and grandchildren are peripheral to the society as a whole, the former because they are withdrawing from society and the latter because they are just entering it (see also Ikels 1998). An alternate interpretation suggests that female menopause and senescence are steps toward withdrawal from competition. This withdrawal assures that mature women will not compete with their children and grandchildren for resources, thereby contributing to their success in the process of natural selection (Washburn 1981; Weiss 1981; Williams 1957). Indeed, Lancaster and King have recently proposed that a woman maximizes her reproductive success if she ceases to produce children in middle age and concentrates instead on investing her energy and resources in her last-born child and her grandchildren (1992).

Caspari and Lee's recent work supports this argument (2004). They observe that a dramatic increase of older adults occurred about 30,000 years ago, a development contemporaneous with a cultural revolution involving rapid innovations in art and technology. They posit that two million years ago the proportion of the early hominid Australopithecine adults who lived to

twice the age of sexual maturity was one in ten. This proportion went to one in five a million years ago with the appearance of early members of the genus *Homo*, and increased to four in ten for Neanderthals living 130,000 to 30,000 years ago. Then, about 30,000 years ago, the ratios dramatically changed to approximately two older adults for every young adult. Caspari and Lee suggest that this increase in the number of older people, particularly postmenopausal women, started a cultural revolution. The presence of enough older people to help rear children gave the group a survival advantage and allowed larger populations. These grandparents also had time to teach children skills, ideas, and traditions, thereby transmitting and preserving their group's culture. While Caspari and Lee do not argue that human females live past their reproductive years *because* their presence contributes to the survival of their grandchildren, their data do seem to support this argument. If these hypotheses are correct, older adults—especially older women—are central, not marginal, to the success of social life.

Dickerson-Putman (2007) discusses how help provided by Raivavaen grandmothers is critical, rather than peripheral, to their children's success. Grandmothers look after their grandchildren while the parents attend school or work. Grandmothers also act as "coparents" to grandchildren when their adult children are ill or undergoing a life crisis. The energy and resources that Raivavaen grandmothers invest in their grandchildren, regardless of the birth order of the children's parents, are critical for the educational and occupational success of the family.

The relationship between parents and children is often a formal one, as is the relationship between grandparents and their affines, the grandchild's parents. The affinal relationship may lead to tension between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law, with dire results for the woman who has less power. This problem has been explored by Brown (1982, 1992). Indeed, affinal tension between grandparents and the spouse of their child may lead to hostile behavior that can destroy community peace or even lead to warfare. This dangerous aspect of the grandparent/affine relationship is explored in traditional stories, a point I have made for the Kaliai of West New Britain (Counts 1980).

Radcliffe-Brown (1940) contrasts the formality between parents and children with the easy familiarity, sometimes expressed as teasing or stylized joking characterized by insults and suggestive behavior, that frequently exists between grandparents and grandchildren; see, for example, Simmons (1942) on the Hopi. According to Carucci (2007), on Ujelang and Enewetak Atolls it is not uncommon for a newborn simultaneously to be related to others as both grandchild and grandparent. Grandparents jokingly suggest that they might be a subservient spouse to a young child or propose another member of the family as a potential marriage partner for the infant. As the child grows

older they engage in joking and sexual banter with him or her. This form of joking erases the age difference between grandparents and grandchildren and suggests an easy relationship of equality between the two generations. The cross-generational joking and familiarity that typifies the grandparent/grandchild relationship is combined with the respect that is due to elders. This type of respect/joking relationship is usually reserved for people who are well respected and whom most of the members of the community refer to as grandmother or grandfather/respected elder.

Torsch (2007) reports that the Chamorro elders of Guam have a passion to preserve cultural values, maintain close kinship ties, and continue the ethic of caring and sharing. Some older adults accomplish this by maintaining traditional grandparenting roles. Traditionally, everyone on Guam worked hard all of their adult lives. Older household members contributed by gardening, performing domestic duties, and providing child care. There was no "retirement," and until the late twentieth century, there were no senior citizens' centers. Social activities were centered on family and church, both of which are still a significant part of the lives of older Chamorro. Today, the workload is lighter, and older adults on Guam have other choices. Many now attend programs at senior citizens' centers, which are located at the community center in each village, while others participate in the workforce. In modern Guam there are many choices that allow older people both to continue to be productive and to engage in leisure activities.

Grandparenting at a Distance

Most of the grandparents of previous generations in societies described in this collection expected to live near their grandchildren and develop close ties with them. Now children move away to work, to continue their education, or to live near the family of their spouse. Consequently, many of today's grandparents must be grandparents from a distance.

In an earlier work Keeling (2001) described the experience of distanced grandparents. She found that there were variations in the way that grandparents in small-town New Zealand define closeness when discussing their relationship with their grandchildren. She contrasts the relationships of grandparents who live near their grandchildren with those with grandchildren who live in other towns or even on other continents and whom they may see only once or twice a decade. She also describes what one grandfather calls the "distance in time" between him and his grandchildren whose lives and attitudes are different from his own when he was a youth.

Although it is not called by this term, the notion of a "distance in time" between grandparent and grandchild is expressed in Armstrong's paper on urban grandmothers in New Zealand (2007). Geographic separations were a

common experience for both Maori and European grandmothers. However, there were grandmothers in both groups who had found that while geographic separation can impair a close relationship with their grandchildren, proximity does not necessarily promote one. They talked about grandchildren with troubling personality traits or living in broken families, for example, as difficult to relate to. These grandchildren may be described as being at a "distance in time"; the grandmothers' sense of contribution to the future of society through grandmothering may be diminished.

Being a grandparent usually means being an in-law as well, with the tensions that the relationship brings. There is cultural variety in the expectations that the community has of grandparents who are also elders. In some societies the work of grandparents is critical to the welfare of both family and community, while in others modern conveniences no longer require that people work hard all of their lives, and older people are free to enjoy leisure time. The papers in this collection document the rich diversity in the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren, which may be marked by easy relations of equality, joking relationships, and by the formal adoption by grandparents of their grandchildren. Others are grandparents at a distance and may seldom see or lack affinity with their grandchildren.

Grandparents and Change

Living Arrangements

As the paper by Panapasa (2007) details, the living conditions of Fijian grandparents vary greatly and may depend on the place of the household in the developmental cycle. If the grandparents are still young and head the household, then they control resources and may provide economically stable and supportive home conditions for their grandchildren. In contrast, if elderly grandparents move in with their children, they are less likely to be heads of the household than if their adult children move in with them. These grandparents are often economically inactive and less able to contribute fully to the economic well-being of the household. They may provide childcare in order to reciprocate for the support the household provides, but their ability to influence decision making is limited.

The papers in this collection explore variations in the living conditions of grandparents. Some are householders with their children and grandchildren living with them. Others live in their own homes with a grandchild and develop a reciprocal relationship. Grandparents care for their young grandchildren who, in turn, care for them in their old age. In these circumstances younger, active grandparents are likely to control family resources and play a significant role in household decision making. They may live with

their children and grandchildren in a common residence or in a family compound where their circumstances depend on their ability to provide childcare, do domestic chores, or contribute in work or kind. Or they may be active, involved grandparents in ways that do not depend on coresidence or they may be happily independent, become increasingly socially isolated, or be victims of neglect and perhaps even violence (cf. Foner 1984; Morauta 1984; Zimmer 1990).

Changing Styles of Grandparenting

Keeling (2007), Panapasa (2007), Dickerson-Putman (2007), and Torsch (2007) document the role of grandparents in the New Zealand community of Mosgiel, Fiji, Raivavae in French Polynesia, and among the Chamorros of Guam, respectively. In these societies the grandparental role is complex. It depends on the place and power that grandparents hold in family and household as well as on their relationship with their grandchildren. Those who live in the same household with their grandchildren usually influence the way the grandchildren are socialized and may be able to reinforce traditional values that emphasize the support of older members of the family. As Panapasa notes for Fiji, this may be critical to older people in developing societies; it may allow them to temper the rapid economic change that creates a society in which older people have little part.

Keeling discusses six styles of grandparenting in Mosgiel, New Zealand. Four of these styles refer to the behavior of grandparents (conserving culture, caring for grandchildren, attending ceremonies, and reciprocal support between themselves and grandchildren), one style refers to the status of fictive or proxy grandparent and the roles associated with it, and the sixth refers to the physical, cultural, and emotional closeness or distance between grandparent and grandchild.

Panapasa describes how Fijian grandmothers act as coparents when their children are ill or unable to parent because of work or school commitments or because they have moved away. In this situation, either grandchildren move in with their grandparents or a grandmother stays in the grandchildren's home during the day and returns home to sleep. Dickerson-Putman reports that the traditional Raivavae pattern of grandparent adoption has changed as young couples leave for the capital city of Papeete because of reduced economic opportunity on Raivavae. Many young parents anticipate that they may permanently live elsewhere, and this leads them to initiate an adoptive relationship between their child and a grandparent. Some young couples living in Papeete say that they want a grandmother to adopt an infant and raise it in her home because they want their children to learn the local language and culture. Others said that they asked the grandmothers to adopt

young children before they left for Papeete because it is too expensive to feed and educate a child in the city. This is a significant change from the earlier pattern of adoptions initiated by grandparents for their own benefit.

In her discussion of styles of grandparenting among the Chamorros of Guam, Torsch notes that older Chamorros once said that the best part of being old was having grown children and grandchildren. This reflected the significance that Chamorros placed on kinship ties and continuity in intergenerational relations. However, the styles of grandparenting are changing in modern-day Guam. One underlying reason is change in the function of the extended family. Once, the family was the center of the household economy of fishing and farming. Now, more family members work away from home in wage-labor jobs, and the household is no longer the base for economic activity. Added to this, longer life expectancy is changing intergenerational relations because some families have five generations living and interacting, where at one time two to three generations was the norm. Consequently, today's relations between the generations range from the Chamorro traditional "ideal" to a radical and "shameful" adoption of American patterns of disrespect and neglect.

Grandparenting and Sociocultural Change

As Torsch's (2007) discussion of the changes occurring in grandparenting among the Chamorros of Guam documents, Pacific societies are experiencing rapid change that affects grandparents and the extent to which they are relevant to the younger generation. The papers in this collection describe the effects of change on the grandparenting role and on the experience of being a grandparent.

Flinn (2007) observes that the result of the migration of young Pollapese adults to Chuuk, Guam, and Saipan is that caregiving grandmothers have the opportunity to spend time abroad and to participate in the wider world. Pollapese movement is not new, but political change, education, and the search for employment have affected the volume and destinations of today's young adults and the mature women who care for their children and grandchildren.

What Does This Bode for the Future?

One path for the future suggested by data presented in this collection of papers is that as Pacific Islanders become more drawn into the global economy and move to urban areas, the knowledge and traditions preserved

by the grandparental generation will become less relevant. A second possibility is that as the parental generation moves into towns to find work or educational opportunities, grandparents will be the ones to raise children and to pass on to them the traditions and culture that the parental generation rejects in favor of being Europeanized or Americanized.

A third eventuality, also suggested by conditions elsewhere in the world where most of an entire parenting generation is lost to war and disease, is that grandparents will be left to take up the duties and responsibilities of parents to their grandchildren. This situation is already in place in New Zealand communities where parents are imprisoned, suffering from drug addiction, or otherwise unable to provide the necessary parenting.

While any of these trajectories are possible, it seems likely that rather than being marginalized, as Radcliffe-Brown (1940) suggests, the nurturing role of grandparents will be critical to the health and well-being of their grandchildren as well as the preservation of traditional knowledge and culture. This is especially true if the third possibility comes to pass and the parental generation is decimated. In this case, the survival of a generation of children will depend on the strength and wisdom of their grandparents.

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GRANDMOTHERING AND SOCIAL OLD AGE: AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND VARIATIONS ON A UNIVERSAL THEME

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This paper explores change in definition and relevance of the grandparenting role in a population of young-old (ages sixty-five to eighty) women in urban New Zealand, and compares the experience of European and Maori women. I focus on how becoming and being a grandparent is configured into perceptions of social old age and seniority. New Zealand women of both ethnic groups recognize becoming a grandmother as still commonly considered a key marker of social old age by society at large. Differences are evident in ideas about how the role contributes to today's self-definitions. In women's own definitions, being a grandmother is treated as part of a configuration of role change in later life, of which new commitments to social generativity, for example, or expanded opportunities for social integration are also a part. The significance of the grandmother role varies according to how it connects with these other role developments.

POPULATION OR DEMOGRAPHIC AGING has encouraged a new interest in grandparent research in recent years, with studies that address a variety of topics being undertaken in most societies of the world (Robertson 1995; Szinovacz 1998). Variation in the experience of grandparenting is evident, but more comparative studies across cultures, nations, or ethnic groups are needed to understand the range of variation and the effects of contextual factors (Ikels 1998; Szinovacz 1998). In this paper, I draw on research of social aging in a multiethnic population of urban women in Aotearoa New Zealand[1] to compare the experience of women representing the European

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and Maori ethnic communities. I focus on how becoming and being a grandmother is configured into the definition of social old age.

The population of New Zealand has been aging steadily since the 1950s, and the trend is expected to continue into the 2050s. The 2001 census showed that the number of old people (aged sixty-five years and over) had more than doubled since the census of 1951. It is projected to more than double again by 2051. By the census of 2051, around 26 percent of the population will be old, up from 12 percent in 2001 and 9 percent in 1951 (Statistics New Zealand 2002).

The growing presence and prominence of older people in society has moved researchers from diverse disciplines to give more attention to studies of aging. The nation's multiethnic populations and lifestyles offer attractive settings in which to develop comparative cross-ethnic studies in the social aging domain. A major project begun by Sik Hung Ng and colleagues in 1994 has focused on positive aging and intergenerational relationships among Chinese, European, and Maori New Zealanders (Gee 2001; Ng et al. 2000). Oral history projects and life-story issues have been advanced and many include a cross-ethnic sampling (e.g., Maclean 2000). The literature on aspects of social aging in particular ethnic communities including European (Keeling 1999, 2001) and Maori (Durie 1999; Maaka 1993; Metge 1995) has grown. The study of social aging among European and Maori women on which this paper draws was designed to include definitions of who and what is socially old as a main topic of inquiry. The study's ethnic comparisons show both similarities and differences regarding the relevance of being a grandmother. European and Maori women agree that *becoming* a grandmother is a common and generally important emblem of social old age for women in contemporary New Zealand. There are European/Maori differences in approaches to *being* a grandmother and, in particular, to how it connects with other role developments and themes of social aging.

Defining Old Age

Nationally and internationally, and throughout the Pacific, most contemporary official definitions of old age are based on chronological rather than social aging. Aotearoa New Zealand exemplifies the widespread practice of using sixty-five for national census purposes and sixty-five or sixty for most other official purposes. The advocacy organization Age Concern invites membership at age fifty. The Land Transport Safety Authority uses eighty to define a person as an "older driver" for whom stricter tests apply. However, sixty and sixty-five are the markers known to society at large.

Chronological definitions of old age typically have broad social meaning in contemporary society, and New Zealand is no exception (Koopman-Boyden 1993). The threshold designated typically coincides with a major life transition, as sixty and sixty-five have with compulsory retirement from full-time employment and eligibility for a government pension for current cohorts of old New Zealanders. The increasingly widespread practice of distinguishing between "young old" (sixty-five to eighty) and "old old" (eighty and older) in development of aging policies and programs has helped confirm the connection. The young old are generally healthy, active, engaged, and independent; the old old are increasingly frail, less independent, and more in need of support services for daily living.

As several of the papers in this issue well demonstrate (e.g., Carucci 2007; Flinn 2007), in cultural definitions of who is socially old, chronological age may or may not be important; it may or may not be closely linked to some of the social criteria that apply (retirement in New Zealand, for example); or it may be just not especially relevant (Albert and Cattell 1994). For current cohorts of old people, it may not be known though this is rare in New Zealand. At the same time, cross-cultural and cross-national surveys report general agreement regarding what social factors are taken into account (Fry et al. 1997; Sokolovsky 1994). By far the most common marker of becoming socially old is change in the set of social roles one occupies in relation to other members of society. Change in family roles prevails and many societies recognize assumption of the grandparent role as a marker of socially old. For women, the role of grandmother recurs as a primary marker but remains open to variation from the perceptions and interpretations of women themselves as well as the effects of cultural and situational factors.

Researching Ethnic Patterns in Urban New Zealand: Setting and Participants

I collected information on the views of New Zealand European and Maori women in the course of field research for a larger study of aging and old age among urban women living in the greater Wellington area. European and Maori represent the area's original and dominant ethnic communities. Members of the New Zealand European (also known as Pakeha European) community represent the nation's current ethnic majority. They are descendants of British and other Western European settlers who colonized New Zealand beginning in the early 1800s. Members of the New Zealand Maori community represent the nation's and Wellington's largest ethnic minority group. They are descendants of New Zealand's indigenous Polynesian population. Members of all ethnic communities have access to identification

as New Zealanders, but ethnic identities and life-ways remain significant and are evident in many public as well as private settings and activities.

My study included three phases of field research: a year-long phase during 1994–95, a six-week period in 1997, and another year-long phase in 2001–02. In each phase, information collection focused on in-depth interviews with a core group of forty older women with each woman participating in a series of semistructured conversational interviews. All were conducted in English, the primary language of both communities. The main topics of discussion were the contemporary definition and meaning of social old age, and the organization of social support for aging in the community. The first topic (definitions) relates more directly to the focus of this paper but the second (support networks) often yielded information that applies, for example, to woman's involvement as grandmother in support exchanges with grandchildren. Most of the findings reported in this paper are drawn from these in-depth interviews.

Information collected by means of additional interviews and observations has provided additional perspective and helped with interpretation. I completed three kinds of additional interviews. Most were with professionals and organization personnel whose work centered on older people; others were with members of the women's families and communities; a small number were with older women living in other urban places, completed as opportunities arose during travel for other main purposes.

All of the women in the core study group were in their sixties and seventies when the study began, making them chronologically young old. The Maori group compared as younger in years but not markedly. Most of the women had been married, in most cases to men of the same ethnic group. A majority of the women in both ethnic groups were married when they joined the study. The remainder were widowed or single. All of the women lived in the community in private homes or apartments. They lived alone, with a husband or partner, or as a member of simple two-generational family households. There were no cases of extended family coresidence that included three or more generations living under one roof. Two of the Maori women had units of their extended families living in the same neighborhood, and there were women in both groups who had grandchildren living near enough for regular or frequent visits. The grandchildren came for daycare by a younger grandmother, to check up on an older one, or to stay overnight on weekends. Most of the women were long-term residents of the Wellington area; more than half of both the European and Maori subgroups had lived in the area for more than thirty years, in other words for most of their adult life.

Collectively, the women presented several of the leading chronic health conditions of later life, notably arthritis, diabetes, hypertension, and hearing and vision impairments, but all of them judged themselves to be in fair or better physical health relative to other New Zealand women their age. Women of both ethnicities talked about their own experiences of the conditions in terms of slow-downs, energy losses, and not being able to walk as far as they used to. The general perspective was that they were not major issues—just "less of this and that" in the words of one of the European women. As a group, the women represented the more healthy, physically active, independently mobile, and socially involved young-old urban New Zealander.

Becoming a Grandmother: A Shared Experience

Though worldwide surveys have shown transition to the status of grandmother to recur as primary in the definition of social old age, in many of today's societies the transition is neither assured nor every woman's choice. In most societies, with increases in life expectancy, more older women are experiencing the status of grandmother and the number of years spent in the role is increasing. At the same time, as Maximiliane Szinovacz (1998) documents in a review of the situation for older North American women, other demographic trends such as more late marriage, delayed transitions to motherhood, childless unions, divorce, and singlehood are effecting limitations and will continue to do so. All of the trends are evident in New Zealand (Davey 1998; Statistics New Zealand 1995, 1996). It may be that the transition to grandmotherhood is becoming less expectable for today's older women than it was in the past.

Also commonly at issue for women in many settings is whether the transition is ascribed or achieved. In strictly biological terms, the status can be considered ascribed. When a woman's child has a child, she becomes a biological grandmother. In other cases, the status would compare as achieved, as when a woman takes on or is given the position of adoptive, step, or fictive grandmother. The demographic trends of longer lives, later marriage and parenthood, divorce, and so on are impacting this aspect of the transition as well. For example, depending on her own marital or partnered status in later life, and/or the status of her adult children if she has any, an older woman may have one or more biological grandchildren, one or more fictive grandchildren, some of both, or no grandchildren, biological or fictive. There were women of both ethnicities in my urban New Zealand study who presented themselves as exemplifying each of these possibilities.

I use fictive as a term of convenience for the nonbiological grandmother or grandchild status. It is a somewhat controversial term, mainly because it

can be taken to imply that the relationship in question is less than "real" and, as such, of less value. In the family and kinship literature, the relationships are also referred to as pseudo, but with similar negative or conditional connotations (Shipton 1987). At the same time, the literature contains numerous examples of fictive ties that appear to be stronger and more active than the comparable biological ones.

Both European and Maori, together with New Zealanders of other ethnicities, accept the English-language term grandmother as appropriate for women who are active in the role regardless of how the status was established. As Sally Keeling (2007) notes and nicely illustrates in her paper on European grandparents, strict use of the biological/fictive distinction by grandparents themselves is considered *in*appropriate in most everyday contexts. For grandchildren and their parents, terms of address serve to identify particular members of a set of grandparents. Examples from my Wellington study included "Grandma" and "Nanna" to distinguish between the members of a biological set of mother's mother and father's mother, and "Grandma," "Nan," and "Gmar" (for a stepgrandmother named Marjorie) to distinguish a trio of two biological grandmothers and a fictive one.

The contemporary Maori vocabulary includes both Maori and English terms and, as Joan Metge points out in a recent presentation, in usage both sets are used with "meanings influenced by their [other-language] counterparts" (1995, 137). However, whether Maori are speaking Maori or English, the Maori term *tupuna* (grandparent) and the English terms grandparent, grandmother and grandfather have a wider reference than the English terms do when used by European New Zealanders. They are understood by Maori to refer not only to a child's parents' parents but also to the parents' parents' siblings, cousins, and their spouses. In principle, the biological/fictive distinction is of little or no consequence as far as these kin relationships are concerned. Terms of address resemble the English-language style of favoring diminutives of the general terms, for example, "Tupu" for grandfather or grandmother; "Grannie," "Nannie," "Nanna," or "Nan" for grandmother.

The information from my Wellington study indicates similar patterns of European/Maori usage in the terms of reference for grandchildren. When European women with both biological and fictive grandchildren wanted to distinguish the fictive ones, use of the term "proxy" recurred. One woman used "honorary," another "deputy," and another "substitute." One of the Maori women used "quasi." Maori at large may use the English word "adopted" to specify grandchildren acquired under the Polynesian tradition of fostering out biological grandchildren to childless older people. More common, however, is use of the Maori word *mokopuna* (often shortened to *moko* in conversation) which is inclusive. In public settings, it can refer to all

the grandchildren of all the grandparents in attendance regardless of biological/nonbiological links. As one of the Wellington women explained the current pattern at Maori gatherings she attended: "The little ones are all looked at as mokopuna." All the grandparents take a turn at chastising, loving, nursing the children. "We don't wait around to see whose child it is." She acknowledged that things were changing, that "the young ones are getting away from it but they still respect those of us who continue." As for herself: "For the life of me, I don't know who they are. I say 'Moko, come here,' and they come." In the remainder of this paper, I use fictive for convenience in general, the biological/nonbiological distinction when it is relevant, and the women's own terms when they used one.

All but two of the women in my Wellington study presented themselves as biological and/or fictive grandmothers. The two who did not were both Maori, but their explanations seemed to be more personal than ethnic. Both had married later than was usual for their cohort of Maori women. For one, the marriage had not produced children and she had returned to her professional career. The other woman had children who were partnered but had decided not to have children of their own outside of marriage.

Among the women who were biological grandmothers, the number of grandchildren ranged from one to twenty-two. All age grades, from infants to adolescents and young adults, were represented. In line with census data showing that Maori tend to have larger families than Europeans (Davey 1998), the larger sets of biological grandchildren belonged to Maori women in the study group, and the only biological great-grandchildren belonged to one of the Maori women, but there were women in both subgroups with both younger and older grandchildren. There were both European and Maori women among the biological grandmothers who were also fictive grandmothers, and there were women in both ethnic groups who identified themselves with grandmother status by virtue of fictive relationships alone.

Exemplifying involvement with both biological and fictive grandchildren, one of the older European women presented herself as grandmother to her five biological grandchildren and "a marvelous collection of deputy grandchildren" she had acquired across the years. "They're not a burden," she was quick to explain. "I love 'em all." Some were the biological grandchildren of friends who had come to Wellington for school or work and been referred to her as a source of local knowledge and networking. Others she had "picked up" through her diverse volunteer and community service work. Her experience was not unique. Other women had similar stories. "I have lots of proxy daughters and granddaughters," said another European woman with ten biological grandchildren. Most of the proxies were the biological daughters or granddaughters of close friends and colleagues met during her long and

distinguished career as an artist and the fictive grandchild bonds included a strong mentoring element. In another European case, a woman whose seven biological grandchildren were all teenagers or young adults when we first met subsequently acquired a new fictive one. The father, an ex-son-in-law with whom she retained a friendly relationship, had no living parents and encouraged his former mother-in-law's interest in the son of his new partnership. The son called the woman "Nanna" as did her biological grandchildren; she talked about him as "my Auckland grandson," referring to his place of residence.

Among the women who identified with the grandmother role by virtue of fictive relationships alone, relationships with the biological children and grandchildren of siblings, other kin, friends, or other nonkin were variously described. There were both European and Maori women who related to all of their sizeable number of grandnieces and grandnephews as grandchildren. Two cases, one Maori, one European, involved women who had never married who described their embeddedness in close three-generational extended families as relating them to large numbers of the youngest generation as grandchildren. The Maori woman talked about them as "my mokopuna." The European woman used "substitute grandchildren." One of the European women, married but without children, described herself as "an extra grandmother" to the young children of nieces and nephews she had always been close to. "I helped mother them," she said. "Now I help grandmother." Nonkin connections had facilitated another European woman's acquisition of three "proxy" granddaughters and an "honorary" grandson. She was married with adult children but no biological grandchildren and, for the time being at least, no expectations of any. Her proxies were the school-age daughters of young neighbors whose biological grandparents lived in Australia. The parents initiated the New Zealand relationship by asking their older neighbor to fill in on family and school occasions. The honorary grandson was a young adult "adopted nephew" of long-term middle-aged friends. The only son of a solo parent, he had opted to remain in the community when his parent moved to a distant city. He was effectively dependent on his local aunt and uncle for family interaction. He became a regular participant in the woman's family activities, as his aunt and uncle had long been, and the honorary grandmother/grandson bond "just evolved." Finally, for several of the women, both Maori and European, significant fictive relationships had developed independently of an intermediary, kin or nonkin, typically out of chance encounters in a work, education, or organization setting as illustrated above by the women with the "marvelous collection of deputy grandchildren."

Most of the grandmothers were in regular contact with at least some of their grandchildren, but time and distance constraints affected the frequency

and mode of contact. Time constraints were a general consideration to the extent that most of the grandmothers maintained a full program of nonfamily involvements, for example, late-life learning commitments, active formal association memberships, and regular volunteer service. The constraints were more critical, however, for women still in positions of paid employment outside the home. Two of the younger Maori women, both very family centered, had arrived at quite different solutions regarding time for their young grandchildren. "I came into the workforce late in life," explained one whose career had developed in exciting ways, "so haven't been available to be the typical Maori grandmother" by which she meant one who chose to stay at home and take care of her little grandchildren. The other, also in a successful and satisfying job, had negotiated a four-day work week and set aside the freed day for care of three preschool granddaughters. In part, she was helping the working parents meet daycare needs but she also wanted regular interaction with the grandchildren while they were still young. She talked about the freed day as "my moko day." A younger European woman gave wanting to have more time with her grandchildren while they were young as one of her reasons for taking early retirement from a fulfilling professional job. "It was my selfish reason," she said.

Geographic separations were also a common constraint. While the grandmothers all lived in the Wellington area, the grandchildren were dispersed. Some of them lived in the Wellington area or at outside locations within easy driving distance. Some lived in other parts of the North Island, or lived in the South Island. Others lived outside New Zealand in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, or the United States. In all cases, contact was maintained by means of letters, cards, telephone calls, and e-mail, and in most cases there had been an exchange of visits. There were no significant differences in contact patterns between the European and Maori grandmothers. As a group, the women were in touch with their grandchildren and seemed to be well informed about their interests and activities, accomplishments, and concerns.

Being a Grandmother and Social Aging: A Diversity of Approaches

Do young-old urban New Zealand women consider being a grandmother a primary marker of social old age? Is ethnicity a factor? The Maori and European women in my core study group agreed that grandmother was one of the roles commonly included in others' perceptions of socially old. There were ethnic differences as well as similarities regarding how the role was treated in self-perceptions. In the women's own views, becoming and being a grandmother, by itself, was less important than how the new status and role

connected with other developments or themes of social aging. The experience and interpretations of the connections varied, sometimes along ethnic lines, but a shared set of other developments and themes emerged. I have previously identified a set of six such themes (Armstrong 2003). Sampled here are connections with the themes of social generativity and social integration.

Social Generativity

Women in both ethnic groups saw active involvement in grandparenting as helping to advance the sense of social generativity that is widely associated with "successful" social aging. Generativity has been defined succinctly as investment of oneself "in forms of life and work that will outlive the self" (Kotre 1984:10). Aging without a sense of social generativity has been shown to put a person at disadvantage for satisfaction and contentment in old age since an absence of generativity implies presence of the alternative, a sense of stagnation (De St. Aubin and McAdams 1995). Generativity can be biological or social. Transition to grandparent status by way of one's child having a child can provide a sense of biological generativity. Activation of the grandparent role in relation to either a biological or fictive grandchild is a potentially rich source of social generativity. Other sources increasingly available in today's modern societies include life-story writing, mentoring, and volunteering (see Gee 2001, for volunteering opportunities available to older New Zealanders), but grandparenting is available to older people everywhere.

A sense of social generativity is well documented as a key theme in the meaning of the grandmother role for American women. Women of diverse ethnicities are represented, among them White American (Vaillant 2002), African American (Timberlake and Chipungu 1992), and American Indian (Weibel-Orlando 1997; Schweitzer 1999) women. The centrality of the theme is confirmed in accounts of both negative and positive experiences.

Some of the New Zealand grandmothers in my Wellington study had experienced the generativity theme in a negative or problematic way. Cultural difference came to bear for a Maori woman, some of whose fictive children were European, when one of them wrote to inform her that he and his wife had named their recently born first child Rawhiti after "her Maori grandmother." This clashed with her Maori culture—"you don't do things with our names without asking us"—but not wanting to distress the new parents of whom she was very fond, especially in writing which was the only option at the time, she withheld comment. As it happened, her concern dissipated across the years. By the time of our first meeting, when the granddaughter now a teenager visited Wellington, her Maori grandmother took pleasure in introducing her as "Rawhiti, my namesake."

Other Maori women recounted ongoing negative or problematic experiences. For some of them, younger grandchildren who lived troubled lives as members of broken families had put the women's sense of generativity at risk. For others, young adult grandchildren who chose to distance themselves from Maori identity and culture challenged the women's sense of generativity. A European woman made the point that to have a grandchild is not necessarily to like her or him. In the course of detailed descriptions and evaluations of her ten biological grandchildren, one granddaughter was singled out as "totally different from the rest [and] the one I warm least to," due mainly to displays of selfishness, unkindness, and other characteristics the grandmother found troublesome. Another European woman described one of her three families of stepgrandchildren as "less easy to relate to" than the other two. She described them as "not very nice" and "selfish" in nature and recalled instances of "unkind" behavior she had witnessed. There were both Maori and European women who reported different patterns of interaction with different families of grandchildren as having more positive and more negative outcomes for their sense of generativity. In another shared experience, social generativity through grandmothering could also be impaired by geographic separation, especially when it involved a whole family of younger grandchildren living abroad for an extended period.

In all, however, most of the women reflected with satisfaction on their grandchildren's social development and their own sense of investment in its course. The European grandmother with ten biological grandchildren enjoyed strong relationships with the other nine. Her one-by-one descriptions covered age grade, character, activities, interests and accomplishments and conveyed her generally deep sense of generativity. The woman for whom relationships with one of three families of grandchildren were troublesome enjoyed solid and satisfying interactions with the other two. For several of the Maori women social generativity through grandmothering met a traditional cultural ideal. As one of them noted in talking about her three preschool granddaughters, later life *should* include the "joys" of being with grandchildren and watching them grow up. For another, a grandmother of sixteen grandchildren of diverse ages, seeing the older ones succeeding in their educational and other endeavors was the number one satisfaction of old age: "The best thing to see," she said with a smile. Both women had nonfamily involvements that also advanced their sense of social generativity—the first wrote children's books in Maori with Maori themes to help promote early formal learning of Maori language and culture; the other worked in several capacities to encourage more Maori youth to pursue higher education—but being a grandmother was without question their primary source. Interviews that Joan Metge completed with Maori in their twenties and thirties provide

a rare sampling of the grandchildren's perspective. Grandmothers were especially remembered for abiding interest in the achievements of their mokopuna (grandchildren) and for their quietly communicated but significant expressions of praise and encouragement (Metge 1995).

Finally, women in both ethnic groups included successful transmission of family and ethnic culture as important to their sense of social generativity. Women of both ethnicities had participated in the production of family histories. While prepared for both children and grandchildren, the grandchildren were the primary audience. In one European woman's experience, the older grandchildren had also shown more interest in the project than their parents. One of the older European women illustrated the experience of differing transmissions to biological and fictive grandchildren. With her biological grandchildren she focused on family heritage and values: watching the next generation build meaningful lives and seeing some of the culture she valued being continued. Several of the young adults among her proxy grandchildren were continuing her dedication to advancing the European community's contribution to Wellington's and New Zealand's art culture. Helping their grandchildren retain a "Maori side" in a European-dominated world through the transmission of Maori identity and culture was a focus for several of the Maori women.

Social Integration

Women of both ethnicities also viewed being a grandmother as a potentially significant link to social integration in old age. Social integration is variously defined in narrow and broad terms. I use a broader definition currently in favor in the American social aging research literature which views social integration as involving both embeddedness in a network of social relations and participation in a diversity of meaningful social roles (Pillemer et al. 2000). Being a grandmother helps maintain the network; being an active grandmother can facilitate the role development. Social integration contrasts with social isolation, or the lack of significant relationships and fulfilling roles. It has some particular salience for women aging in larger urban areas, such as Wellington, where risk of social separation and even isolation is typically higher than it is in rural places. Vicki Torsch (2007) presents a poignant Chamorro case study from urban Guam.

Grandchildren help "keep you young" said one of the European women in my Wellington study; they "keep you young at heart and up-to-date" said another; they "keep you from feeling old" said a Maori woman. The view that grandchildren help keep their grandparents socially connected and integrated in an aging society is widely held among older people in urban New

Zealand. The European and Maori women in my Wellington study described grandchild facilitation of integration in diverse domains, from information technology to religion, and at multiple levels, from family to global. My discussion samples recurring domains and circumstances and examines European and Maori experience for ethnic similarities and differences.

There were women in both groups who named grandchildren as their source of instruction in computer skills. Others had completed a course of formal instruction but retained grandchildren for review and consultation. The use of e-mail for communication helped with integration at the family level for grandmothers and grandchildren who were geographically distant. It also aided the maintenance or establishment of involvements in wider local and national communities. A European woman who was not a computer user noted her position of disadvantage. Her older grandchildren were far flung around New Zealand and abroad and all used e-mail for communication with family. A number of organizations of which she had long been an active member and wanted to remain so were in the process of transition to e-mail communication and electronic newsletters.

Three Maori women described grandchild contributions to their participation in Maori community occasions for which Maori was the primary language. The grandmothers grew up during a century of drastic decline in use and teaching of Maori; the grandchildren have grown up in a period of active resurgence. One women, an active *kuia* (female elder) with good speaking knowledge of the language who was often called upon to speak for her community, used a teenage grandson with superior knowledge as a consultant for special occasions on which she wanted to be sure and perform well. Two others with limited competence in the language described using Maori-speaking grandchildren who were also participating in an occasion as interpreters. In each case, the grandchild facilitated a more meaningful level of involvement in the event.

Several of the women without biological grandchildren, saw their fictive ones as contributing to various valued styles of integration. The European woman with three proxy granddaughters who lived in her neighborhood and attended local schools valued the extended family dimension they added to her life but, equally, the connection they afforded with the school system. Across the years, she had developed a rich record of service and social advocacy in the community and welcomed the opportunity to add volunteer service in the schools. Her honorary grandson, a young adult, added yet another "dimension of interest" by connecting her with the interests and concerns of local youth. For a never-married European woman, her large network of substitute grandchildren (twenty-one grandnieces and nephews) served as a link to significant forms of integration. She maintained a strong

network of close friends, another set of supportive connections through her church, and a diversity of active association memberships, but her grandchildren were a valued source of extended family ties and incorporations. As well, their various involvements in education kept her in touch with the field in which she had a significant career, and she drew security from having recently designated them as the beneficiaries of her estate.

For two of the Maori women, one married with children but no biological grandchildren, one never married, fictive grandchildren helped them meet the traditional expectation of being a grandmother for transition to the status of "female elder" and the positions of leadership and other engagements in Maori affairs the status offers. Even so, in describing her local elder activities and the "group of nannies" with whom she shared them, the married woman distinguished herself as the only one without biological grandchildren. "The others have their own grandchildren," she said. "I don't." During the second phase of my study, she became "a real grandmother." Not in good health at the time, she found the daycare responsibilities she took on demanding, but she said of her new role, "I'm loving every moment of it." Her elder role had a new and deeper meaning, too, she said now that she had her "own moko."

A number of women, both Maori and European, acknowledged appreciation of a grandchild's contribution to their social integration even when it was problematic. Their examples involved beliefs, values, and behaviors that were distasteful or distressing. An older European woman commented on the popular music preferences of her teenage and young adult grandchildren. She didn't like the music but knew it was important to them and had learned to live with it. She accepted it as part of the wider "intergenerational contract" of which she was a strong advocate. Another described a similar tolerance of dress styles. The first time the eldest of her teenage grandsons turned up on his noisy motorcycle clad in helmet, black leather jacket, and boots was something of a shock but not one to dwell on or make an issue of. What mattered were his regular visits and the good conversations they had. She was decidedly less accepting of his efforts to recruit her to the Pentacostal church he and his teenage siblings had joined. The specifics of Pentacostalism aside, she had never been a regular participant in organized religion and was not looking to become one. She continued to listen to her grandson's accounts of his Pentacostal activities, however. Her comments conveyed an interest in staying current with the grandchildren's different beliefs and behaviors and a recognition of their growing significance in contemporary New Zealand youth culture.

Both European and Maori women described their experience of direct exposure to different living arrangements and lifestyles by young adult grandchildren. Reactions varied but, overall, acceptance or resignation prevailed.

The European grandmother who found her grandchildren's music difficult was unfazed when one chose living together over marriage. Updating me on developments during the third phase of my study, she was delighted to report that a young adult granddaughter had "a partner whom I absolutely *adore*." A Maori woman who described herself as having a "good" (caring, informed, in-touch) relationship with each of her large set of grandchildren expressed a quite different but not uncommon attitude of dismay in her comment that "I don't approve of this partner thing." She chose to reserve comment, however, and had no hesitation in full acceptance of two great-grandchildren one such union produced. One of the older European grandmothers described a similar mix of dismay and resignation. A grandson had been living with his girlfriend for several years, and a granddaughter had recently become engaged and moved in with her fiancé. The granddaughter's behavior caused the greater distress. She was a favorite and grandmother and granddaughter had developed a special bond in recent years. "She's become like a friend, really," the woman said. "I see less of her now." But it was the new living arrangement that was at the root of her distress. She had come to accept it but reluctantly she said and was led to remark that her deceased husband, the young woman's grandfather, would have been "horrified."

Positive experiences prevailed in respect to grandchild contributions to involvement and integration at international and global levels. Some of the involvement was passive, similar to the vicarious experiences Sally Keeling (2001) describes for the European old people in her study of small-town aging in New Zealand. The main link was young adult grandchildren travelling overseas and sending photographs and newsletters for the grandparent to display and share. Similarly, a number of women in my urban study had teenage or young adult grandchildren travelling and/or working overseas with whom they were in regular communication and whose experiences they enjoyed learning about and being able to share. However, the majority of women also described active occurrences. They involved grandchildren of various ages and covered a range of specific experiences.

A recurring link for both European and Maori women was young grandchildren living overseas with parents working in other countries—Australia, Canada, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States—during the periods of my study. Most of the grandmothers had visited, sometimes with their husbands, sometimes alone, and in some cases, when the family's absence was extended, multiple times. Some of the women maintained a pattern of regular visits each year or every other year, but additional visits were also made for special events such as the birth of a new grandchild. For a Maori woman, the birth of a first child to one of her sons occasioned her first visit to England and her first solo trip overseas. She prepared well for both firsts.

She sought advice from relatives and workmates about travelling alone and read up on Stonehenge and the other historic landmarks she expected to visit. While there, she exploited the opportunity to expand her understanding of other ways of family life in time spent with the English maternal grandmother. "I learned a lot," she said modestly but with satisfaction.

Other accounts from women of both ethnicities involved grandmothers with international travel experience for nonfamily reasons such as work or a conference giving their young New Zealand grandchildren the experience of an overseas vacation. Most cases involved a younger grandparent couple, and Australia, close in time and relatively affordable, was the usual destination. For one of the Maori grandmothers and her husband taking their three young granddaughters to Australia for a ten-day vacation at a coastal resort also provided their own first overseas travel for strictly pleasure purposes: "An exciting if exhausting adventure," the woman recalled.

Teenage mokopuna helped facilitate the special experience of one of the older Maori women when she travelled as a chaperone on overseas tours of Maori youth concert parties the grandchildren were selected for. She had travelled previously to visit families of grandchildren in Australia and the United States; the travel as chaperone for the concert parties extended her experience to the United Kingdom and most parts of Europe. Her recollections were full and informed. She took pleasure in recounting highlights such as a particularly gracious and generous hosting by the mayor of Vienna in Austria, but she also offered perceptive observations on the character and people of each place visited.

Young adult grandchildren contributed to a variety of active involvements. Two of the European women described travel to Australia and England respectively to attend a grandchild's university graduation. Another traveled as family representative and reporter to meet a granddaughter's German fiancé and his family. Two others, both widowed, used grandchildren resident in Canada and England as motivation for an overseas trip as part of eightieth-birthday celebrations. A Maori woman described her experience of a different but not uncommon form of involvement. A grandson working in Australia sent a Swedish friend to stay during the friend's visit to New Zealand. Such encounters were typically welcomed and enriching. "A real charmer," recalled the Maori women about her Swedish guest. However, the most common young adult facilitation of international integration for women of both ethnicities was a grandchild completing his or her "OE" or the year or two of overseas experience that has become an institution of New Zealand culture. The women in my Wellington study included grandmothers with grandchildren "doing their OE" in Canada and several European countries, but for those who took the opportunity to visit, the most common location by

far was England where it is relatively easy for young New Zealanders to obtain longer-term work permits. Seeing the grandchild in her or his OE environment was, of course, only part of the visit. A typical trip would include, for example, visiting other family, seeing countries like the United States or Singapore during stopovers, touring the United Kingdom, enjoying the excitement of a London theater performance, or shopping for family and friends in New Zealand. For some of the European women in particular, typical trips included a first, or rare, meeting with English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh cousins or other extended family. All in all, being a grandmother had involved the women in my study in worldwide travel, extended visits to other countries, overseas vacations, late-life learning about other people and cultures, and otherwise led them to a varied collection of meaningful involvement and integration in world society.

Conclusion

This paper examines the place of grandmother status and role in perceptions of social old age in New Zealand using information collected from women representing the European and Maori communities in the greater Wellington urban area. The experience and views of women in the area's other ethnic groups, notably Chinese, Indian and Pacific Islander, are lacking. In addition, the study has involved only chronologically older women and was limited to women living in urban places. The views of younger grandmothers or of rural-dwelling grandmothers are not represented.

The information indicates that grandmother status remains a common and generally important emblem of social aging for women in contemporary New Zealand. Older women who do not become biological grandmothers often establish themselves in or are accorded the status of fictive grandmother, and some women are both biological and fictive grandmothers. The European/Maori ethnic comparisons show both similarities and differences. Regarding transition to grandmotherhood, the ethnic differences are, it seems, not marked. Other factors such as marital status, employment status, and personal choice seem to play a larger role. The differences appear to be more evident in European and Maori views on how the role of grandmothering contributes to self-definition as socially old by way of interplay with other role developments and themes, including the nature of contributions to social generativity and the significance of opportunities for social integration. The linkages appear to affirm contemporary treatment of grandmother as one of a configuration of emblems of social aging which for urban women of different ethnicities in New Zealand variously also includes social status, seniority, and social renewal, as well as the social generativity and social integration featured in this paper (Armstrong 2003).

Looking ahead, and beyond New Zealand to other Pacific societies, as population aging proceeds apace across the next half century as it is predicted to, it will continue to influence the grandparent experience for both men and women and, thus, its meaning for social aging. The two trends of increased life expectancy and smaller family size are already showing important effects. Of particular interest perhaps, is the extended duration of family roles and relationships such that grandparents and grandchildren can build up decades of shared experiences. It exemplifies the concept of cobiography in aging families and invites research attention to the growing presence of grandparent/older grandchild relationships and their social significance (Uhlenberg and Kirby 1998). Positive outcomes for family solidarity and attachment of new social value to the grandparent role have been indicated in American studies though, at the time of writing, ethnic and other variations remain to be explored.

On another front, as studies from across the Pacific in Papua New Guinea (Chowning 2003), Micronesia (Flinn 2007), Fiji (Panapasa 2007), and French Polynesia (Dickerson-Putman 2007) are showing, the responsibilities of grandparents are changing. One of the most dramatic changes in recent years has been an increase in the number of grandparents who are the primary caregivers of young grandchildren. At the 2001 census in New Zealand, there were close to 5,000 New Zealand grandparents registered as "second-time parents," and the count was generally agreed to be well short of the total. The situation is known to cut across ethnic and other lines, but again, we need research and information exchange for understanding the diversity of approaches to this newly relevant link between being a grandparent and social aging and its implications for grandparenting as a strategy for coping with societal change.

NOTES

The research on which this paper draws was initiated and developed during sabbatical leaves from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, United States, and while the author was a Research Associate and Resident at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. The Centre provided significant institutional and colleague support for the research and this is gratefully acknowledged. The women who cooperated as resource persons are also most gratefully and warmly acknowledged. Without exception they took an informed interest in the study. Their cooperation and collaboration continues to be deeply appreciated. An early version of the paper was presented at the Ageing in a Diverse New Zealand Conference, Wellington, New Zealand, June 2002, and published in the conference proceedings (Armstrong 2002).

1. Aotearoa New Zealand, a recently introduced official country name, combines New Zealand, the name established with British colonization in the nineteenth century, with the precolonial Maori name in use at the time of contact.

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IN MY NANA'S HOUSE: GRANDPARENT HOUSEHOLDS IN FIJI

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This paper uses a combination of household census data and case material to examine change in grandparent status and role in Fiji in the context of development and the impacts of modernization and population aging. On one hand, there is more need and pressure for grandparents to be caregivers of grandchildren and sources of stability and continuity within family and home. On the other, there are the increased costs associated with greater longevity among the grandparent generation, such as care of a frail and dependent grandparent. Social exchange theory is used to compare these costs and benefits across five grandparent household types that vary according to composition and headship.

POPULATION AND SOCIETAL AGING, and more specifically the increasing prevalence and practice of grandparenting, are widely understudied areas in contemporary Pacific societies. Attention to the well-being of people at later stages of the life-course, and the contributions they make within the family and community, are often overlooked, especially as they become frail and dependent. Like many nations in the throes of development, Fiji is experiencing changing social circumstances that include growing concerns with unemployment, poverty, urbanization and international migration, as well as growth in female labor-force participation. These changes have resulted in an increased need and pressure for grandparents to act as the caregivers of grandchildren and to represent a source of stability and continuity within the family and home (Barr 1990; Bryant 1993; Panapasa 2000; Plange 1992; United Nations Development Program 1997). Counterbalancing this are the increased costs associated with greater longevity for members of the

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grandparent generation, such as care of a grandparent who has one or more chronic conditions like hypertension, diabetes, and disability. One of the growing challenges to families is integrating both the benefits and costs of grandparenting into the family support system.

This paper addresses these issues by examining the structure and headship patterns of grandparent households and offering insights into the role and influence of grandparents in contemporary Fijian society. Headship is held by the person designated on the census record as recognized by the household as being in charge and having overall control of the home. Grandparenting is defined as the relationship between older people and their biological or adopted grandchildren. Throughout the Pacific, and elsewhere, longer lives for women mean that there are more grandmothers than grandfathers, hence the paper's main title: *In My Nana's House*, in my grandmother's house.

The paper uses a combination of census and interview data for an integration of quantitative and qualitative analyses. The use of census data means that I can associate grandparent/child dyads from the household roster can be identified when these individuals are directly related to the household head, but not when family members are classified under such census designations as "other relative" or "nonrelative" of the head of household. Consequently, the paper looks at a group of grandparents conservatively as defined by the census. While this does not impair either the validity or the generalizability of the results, the restrictions that census-based household definitions place on the ability to assign family relationships across all household members is a consideration in the analyses and conclusions. The qualitative data used in this paper were collected during two periods of fieldwork and provide insightful information on the real life experiences of grandparent households in Fiji. The qualitative data included case studies collected through a series of personal interviews with the elderly household head in his or her home. The interviews examined a series of structured topics related to family support and coresidence but the questions encouraged open-ended responses so the interview could shift from topic to topic in a way that provided comparable results but did not impose a formal structure on the discussion.

Using a theoretical framework of social exchange, the household living arrangements of older people are examined and their headship status is used to differentiate variations in power and status among grandparent households. Grounded in economic theory, social exchange theory is based on economic cost-benefit models of social participation and the means by which individuals within social units such as households negotiate care,

support, and other positive forms of interaction (Dowd 1975; Lee 1985). The grandparenting role fits this theoretical construct as it represents the exchange process between older persons, other family members, and grandchildren. Grandparents can play an important role in the well-being of families and grandchildren in Fiji. When grandparents are active in behaviors that contribute to the economic, physical, and emotional care of grandchildren, these contributions benefit the household unit and help justify the cost of social support, caregiving, and medical expenses associated with physical care that the grandparent may need.

When we factor in the headship status of the grandparent within the household, we can identify shifts in the "opportunity structure" of this simple exchange model. In general, the contributory aspects of the grandparenting role are seen as representing a negative function with time. As grandparents age, the risk of impairment and frailty increases, and when this occurs they have fewer social resources to offer the household. Reduced resources result in declining status and a decreased ability to exert power in their social relationships (Cowgill and Holmes 1972; Dowd 1984; Hendricks 2001; Treas and Logue 1984). With advancing age and increasing levels of impairment, they may be forced to accept substandard levels of care and support if they are unable to offset their costs with their contributions and keep a balanced exchange within the household (Lynott and Lynott 1996). Headship can impact the pace of this decline in status as homeowners will have higher power and status within their own household as compared with older persons who live in the home of a child or relative.

Fiji: The Place and Its People

Fiji is a multiethnic nation located in the center of the Pacific Ocean slightly south of the equator and bordering the international dateline. It consists of 330 islands of which one-third are inhabited, and the islands are distributed over 1.3 million square kilometers of ocean with a total land area of 18,333 square kilometers. In 1996, the total population was 775,077 of which over 90 percent resided on the two major islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu (Fiji Ministry of Information and Media Relations 2003). The three largest ethnic groups are indigenous Fijians (51 percent), Indians (43.7 percent) whose ancestors were brought to Fiji to work on cotton and sugar plantations when Fiji was under British colonial rule, and Rotumans (1.2 percent) whose heritage is traced to the Polynesian island of Rotuma which has long been politically a part of Fiji (Fiji Bureau of Statistics 2000). Population aging in Fiji has increased steadily over the past thirty years with the median age

increasing from 16.5 to 21.2 years between 1966 and 1996. In the same period, the size of the population aged sixty and older increased from 3.5 percent to 5.4 percent. This growth among older adults is expected to continue, reaching 7.0 percent of the population when data from the census of 2007 are reported and 13.0 percent by 2026 (Fiji Bureau of Statistics 1998; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1999).

Like many developing countries, Fiji lacks any major national-level entitlement programs for income security or health care in old age and its pension program with the Fiji National Provident Fund is often inadequate to cover the full expenses of older adults (Barr 1990; Panapasa 2000; Plange 1992). Care and support for older people are typically provided by family members and this care is reciprocated by the older persons who provide assistance to the family through tasks such as baby-sitting, domestic help, gardening and, on occasion, financial support (Panapasa 2000; Rensel and Howard 1997).

Grandparents and Household Organization

Social scientists have made considerable efforts across the years to better understand the influence and activities of grandparents within the family and household unit (Coyle 1998; Drucker-Brown 1985; Ikels 1998; Sokolovsky 1997). Grandparents have been documented as caregivers, transmitters of knowledge, and sources of continuity and stability (Robertson 1995; Smith 1995). In contrast, some of the research suggests that grandparents act as competitors with children for limited household resources and are perceived as a cost and a burden for the family unit if they become disabled or chronically impaired (Martin 1990; Palloni 2001; Panapasa 2002; Panapasa and McNally 1995; Vatuk 1990).

The study of grandparenting in the developing world suffers from a lack of broadly generalizable information such as basic demographic indicators that can be used to measure the role of the grandparent as a family member. Except for a few small qualitative studies (Barker 1997; Rahman 1999a, 1999b; Vatuk 1990), little is known, for example, about the household structure in which grandparents reside and their status within the household as a mediating factor for power and authority. The Fiji census data can be used to examine the residential structure of older people who live with their grandchildren as opposed to those who do not. By examining patterns such as household structure and headship we can learn about the different types of households in which grandparents reside and variations in the ability of grandparents to impact the lives of their grandchildren.

The coresidence of grandparents, adult children, and grandchildren is widely considered a necessary condition for maintaining a decent quality of life among older people in developing nations (Apt 1996; Hermalin, Roan, and Perez 1998; Rahman 1999a, 1999b). While not a perfect solution to the needs of the older adults, coresidence represents the best available insurance for older adults to obtain adequate care and support on an ongoing basis (Knodel, Chayovan, and Siriboon 1991; Martin 1990; Martin and Kinsella 1994). The combination of lack of entitlement programs for older members of society and pension systems that benefit only a select few typically results in older adults living with and relying on the family for support, especially among the oldest old (Andrews and Esterman 1986; Martin 1989). However, this support is often reciprocated by the older adult through baby-sitting and other contributions (Hermalin, Ofstedal, and Chang 1992).

Extended family coresidence creates opportunities for ongoing activities that define the grandparenting role by providing direct, immediate, and daily access to grandchildren. Preliminary work by Knodel and others (Knodel, Chayovan, and Siriboon 1991; Knodel, Saemgtienchai, and Obiero 1995) has suggested that in Thailand residential proximity can provide similar opportunities for both the care of older adults and the ability for grandparents to provide support to families with grandchildren, but there is little empirical evidence for this assumption in the developing world generally. In Fiji, where issues of access, a limited communication infrastructure, and social norms all present barriers to noncoresident care, it can be assumed that grandparents who do not live with their grandchildren have only limited contact with and impact on their lives and as such are peripheral to the exchange networks that mark the coresident grandparent/grandchild relationship.

It is often argued that the transmission of information and cultural values across generations is a central benefit of active grandparenting (Mueller, Wilhelm, and Elder 2002; Szinovacz 1998). A less well understood aspect of this process is the role of the grandparent within the household structure. Prior work in Fiji has found grandparenting to involve multiple roles as caregiver, socialization agent, disciplinarian, and authority figure (Panapasa 2000). However, it is not simply the act of being a grandparent that matters, but also status and role in the household in relation to the grandchild. Grandparents who are the heads of households, for example, may present more economically stable and powerful households for grandchildren to live in. Such households often contain multiple income earners with both household head and adult children engaging in labor-force activity. In such households, the grandparent would be expected to have significant influence in the day-to-day management of the household and in the decision making that underlies household economies.

The Demographic Structure of Grandparent Households: A National Sample

This study draws on household data from the 1986 and 1996 Fiji censuses (Fiji Bureau of Statistics 1988, 1998) to identify grandparent household types and to put the role and influence of today's grandparents in societal context. All households containing grandparents age fifty and older were examined to provide a comprehensive picture of household composition for the time period. The data were organized on the household level so specific residential types could be identified regarding the structure and roles of coresident grandparent/grandchild dyads. Three household types were defined according to the role the older household member plays in terms of grandparenting: head of household grandparent, coresident grandparent, and noncoresident grandparent. Case studies collected in 1997 and 1998 are used to illustrate each grandparent household type, to sample the grandparenting experiences of the three primary ethnic groups, and to explore the influence of social and economic circumstances.

Types of Grandparent Households

Based on the preceding discussion, five specific household types can be identified to provide a deeper understanding of the distribution of older adults by grandparent household type and insight into the structure of similar residential systems in the Pacific and elsewhere. The five types are:

i) Type I. Grandparent-headed household where grandparent is household head or spouse of head with at least one grandchild living in the household.
ii) Type II. Coresident grandparent household where grandparent is not household head with at least one grandchild living in the same household.
iii) Type III. Secondary grandparent household where grandparent lives with relatives with or without grandchildren.
iv) Type IV. Grandparent- or older adult-headed household without grandchildren living in the same household.
v) Type V. Grandparent or older adult coresident of household without grandchildren living in the same household.

Grandparenting Heads (Type I)

In this type of household, the grandparent is household head or the spouse of the head. This situation occurs when grandparents are the owners or

primary residents of a household unit that also includes adult children and grandchildren. These adult children may coreside due to economic considerations, such as being unable to afford an independent household. Field interviews with families and social service organizations suggest that such situations are often the result of a negative experience such as marital dissolution or legal problems, but they may also result from more positive behaviors such as altruism where coresidence gives family members access to job opportunities and health services, especially in the urban centers. Grandparent heads have the strongest impact in the practice of grandparenting as they control the home in which the grandchild and the parent of the grandchild live. Household power and economic decision making tend to reside in this type of grandparent, and as a consequence he/she can influence concerns such as educational choice, access to nutrition, health care, and a host of other issues that are central to the well-being and progress of coresident grandchildren.

Case study 1. Mr. Marika, an ethnic Fijian, is a healthy-looking sixty-seven-year-old retired schoolteacher who lives with his wife and grandson. He is well cared for by his wife who has health problems but still rises every morning to prepare his meals and help him get ready to work in his small plantation. Mr. Marika is economically well off compared to many older Fijians. He has his own home, of concrete construction, with three bedrooms and modern appliances, and receives a small pension. He works in his garden every day and grows vegetables for his family. He is proud that he can provide for his wife and assist with his grandson's education in Suva city while the parents are assigned to teach in the outer islands. His wife and family defer to him, and he will freely give advice on issues related to the activities and well-being of the family. He feels children no longer respect older people as they did when he was young and that this is a poor reflection on Fijians today and the way they are raising their children. He is determined to instill a sense of respect and responsibility in his grandson and spends time instructing the child in Fijian values as well as school learning.

Case study 2. At seventy-seven years of age, Mr. Mishra, an ethnic Indian, is a very successful, retired businessman. He and his wife, Sarita, age seventy, live comfortably in the second-floor apartment of a two-story residential building made of concrete and located in an urban town on the main island of Viti Levu. Living in the same shared compound but in separate housing are Mr. and Mrs. Mishra's sons and their families who provide much emotional support and when necessary assistance with both personal and

instrumental activities of daily living. With prior incidence of stroke, Mr. Mishra's physical capabilities are limited and his speech is slightly impaired. Nevertheless, he looks presentable and carries himself with considerable dignity. Due to his position as the family patriarch, Mr. Mishra and his wife are revered and seen as successful role models for their children and grandchildren who continue to manage the family business.

Case study 3. Ms. Hanisi is a seventy-six-year-old Rotuman retired from a major hospital where she worked for thirty-five years. She lives in a wooden house with three bedrooms with an unmarried brother, unmarried son, daughter-in-law, and two grandchildren. Ms. Hanisi welcomed her daughter-in-law and grandchildren to her house as her son got into trouble with the law and was unable to provide for his family. The household income consists of Ms. Hanisi's pension and her unmarried son's income. Her daughter-in-law and brother are unemployed and assist in household activities instead. Ms. Hanisi is in good physical health. She has a slight hearing impairment and eyesight problems which prevent her from crocheting and reading the Bible and hymnals. However, she attends the Rotuman District Association, which meets once a month to plan activities with other members from the same district. She receives a lot of attention and care from the adults in the home and her grandchildren are very helpful with running errands. Since her unmarried son often travels on business, the other adults often assist with her needs. Ms. Hanisi is treated with great respect within the household and considered a valuable source of advice on family matters and the cultural code related to traditional functions such as weddings, funerals, and baptisms.

Coresident Grandparenting (Type II)

The coresident grandparent role occurs when the grandparent is not the household head but lives in the home of a child where grandchildren are present. This type of household often occurs due to loss of a partner, the onset of frailty and disability, or the need for some form of care and support between the parties involved (Barr 1990; Panapasa 2000; Plange 1992). This is the typical grandparent/grandchild dyad situation that is often discussed in anthropological literature on the role of older adults in developing country settings (Rhoades and Holmes 1995; Sokolovsky 2001), and in research on the support and nurturing aspects of grandparents as care providers (De Vos 1990; Ofstedal, Knodel, and Chayovan 1999). Older Fijians residing in this form of household are the group we would expect to be providing

nonmonetary contributions such as baby-sitting, housekeeping, and transmission of values to the household economy. However, because they are in direct competition with grandchildren for household resources they do not control, they are at higher risk of economic vulnerability and unmet needs than grandparenting heads. As prior work has shown, they are also at higher risk of abandonment in the event of disability, impairment, or the inability to provide reciprocal services to the household (Panapasa 2002; Panapasa and McNally 1995).

Grandparents who live in the homes headed by adult children typically represent a different level of status and power within a household. Such grandparents are often older, economically inactive, and less able to fully contribute to the household economies. Activities such as childcare are seen as one way to reciprocate for the support provided by the family, but the ability of these grandparents to impact the household decision-making process is limited.

Case study 4. Mr. Isireli, an older ethnic Fijian, lives in a rural village with his daughter and three grandchildren in an open traditional-style thatched house. At night, Mr. Isireli lies in the farthest corner from the door, and the other members of the family spread out on the floor as well. Mr. Isireli is supported by his daughter and receives no income of his own. He has been able to do gardening around the house until recently. Now, however, due to the progression of diabetes he can barely walk. In past years, he would go to Suva city for a medical checkup once a month, but he no longer has the money for transportation and could not travel even if the funds were available. His daughter gives him very little assistance in terms of money since she has her own children to care for. However, she helps by giving him herbs and Fijian medicine. The district nurse has never paid him a visit, nor does he get assistance from the village nurse since she is not trained to help someone as seriously ill as Mr. Isireli. Despite his limitations, Mr. Isireli tries to be helpful around the house and helps baby-sit his grandchildren.

Noncoresident Grandparenting (Types III–V)

This role is represented by older Fijians who live in households where there are no residents who are formally identified as grandchildren. The main category (Type III) consists of persons aged fifty and older who are neither the head nor parent of the head of the household in which they live. This type of residential structure is common in Fiji where 14 percent of the older population lives in households in which they are either a secondary relative

(sibling, aunt, uncle, and cousin) or a nonrelative. This household type is the weakest and least desirable form of household structure for older adults regardless of grandparenting status because they have only limited say or control over household economies.

Other varieties of noncoresident grandparenting are older adults who are either the heads of households without grandchildren present (Type IV) or a coresident in a household without grandchildren (Type V). This often occurs when children and grandchildren move away from the grandparents' home to set up independent living in a separate town or overseas and on rare occasions because the older adults do not have any grandchildren of their own. Economically, these household types are desirable for older people as they are not in direct competition for resources with coresident grandchildren. However, they put limitations on the older adults' ability to directly interact with grandchildren who reside in other households. The following case study depicts the typical circumstances of a grandparent resident in a noncoresident grandparent household setting.

Case study 5. Keresi Bilo, an older ethnic Fijian widow, is very sickly. She lives with her nephew in a dilapidated house and does her cooking outside over a fire. She receives twenty dollars a month from her late husband's ex-serviceman pension and relies on her nephew and the generosity of her neighbors for food, clothing, and some money. With the rising costs of public transportation and medical treatment, Keresi relies on the health services of the village nurse, which are subsidized by the government. The cost of traditional medicines is included.

How does the experience of grandparents who coreside with their grandchildren compare to those without coresident grandchildren? Are there potential benefits from coresidence that imprint themselves on the demographic record of household formation? These are very basic questions that have not, as of yet, been systematically examined within the context of Fiji.

Table 1 presents a summary distribution of grandparent household types in Fiji during 1986 and 1996 by age, gender, marital status, ethnicity, and economic status. Of immediate importance is the overall stability of household types across the ten-year period. In the face of economic downturns, political instability, and the pressures of modernization and rapid change in Fiji, this finding suggests that the observed family units have an inherent cultural stability that has remained consistent in the face of massive upheaval of the economic and social fabric of Fiji since the 1980s. Despite a 25 percent increase in the number of individuals aged fifty and older between 1986 and 1996, the overall distribution of household forms remained virtually unchanged. In 1986, 38 percent of older adults lived in grandparent-headed

households, 11 percent in coresident grandparent households, 14 percent in secondary grandparent households, 36 percent in grandparent- or older adult-headed households without grandchildren, and 2 percent in grandparent or older adult coresident households without grandchildren present. Ten years later in 1996, the proportions were respectively 36, 10, 14, 39, and 2 percent.

In general, this represents a positive finding for older people and grandparenting roles because it suggests that a large proportion of older adults are able to maintain some stability in household power structures. The decade between 1986 and 1996 was a turbulent one for Fiji. With the political, economic and social instabilities arising from coups in 1986 and 1987, the social structure was significantly altered. The large-scale out-migration of Indians resulted in virtually no net population growth for the nation during the ten-year period. In many ways, Fijians generally were negatively affected by the unrest with downturns in employment, education, and foreign involvement. Despite these changes, however, the basic household structures for older adults remained largely unchanged. This suggests a high degree of stability in family formation and residential choice among the population as a whole that has proved to be resilient. Because there is such similarity in the structure of these households across time, discussion can focus on general patterns relevant to both periods. The percentages are drawn from the 1996 census data unless otherwise specified.

Headship and Grandparenting

Most grandparent-headed households (Type I) in Fiji are headed by older male adults in their fifties peaking at ages sixty to sixty-nine before steadily declining with increasing age. Grandparents who are household heads or spouses of head are able to maximize opportunities for daily contact with grandchildren. They enjoy a situation in which they have economic and social control of the household and can have a strong impact on the care, socialization, and intergenerational exchanges within the household. As the household head, the grandparent is a powerful figure with authority and responsibility for day-to-day contact with grandchildren and can have a major impact on the socialization and development of the grandchild.

In contrast, a similar proportion of older adults live in homes without grandchildren present (Types IV and V). This is interpreted as a choice on the part of either the grandparent or the parents of the grandchildren as another analysis has shown that two-thirds of all grandchildren in Fiji do not live with a grandparent. Because of near universal marriage of adults and ongoing high fertility, almost all older adults have children and potentially

TABLE 1. **Percentage of Older Adults by Grandparent Household Type and Demographic Characteristics, Fiji 1986, 1996.**

	1986 Household Type[1]					1996 Household Type				
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
All older adults	37.6	0.9	13.8	36.0	1.7	36.1	9.9	13.6	38.6	1.9[2]
Age										
50–59	38.7	4.9	11.5	44.0	0.9	35.2	4.4	11.9	47.5	1.1
60–69	40.5	13.4	14.3	29.7	2.2	41.6	12.6	13.5	30.4	2.0
70–79	30.7	24.7	19.1	22.2	3.4	32.3	22.8	18.3	22.5	4.1
80+	20.2	32.9	26.4	15.4	5.1	19.0	32.8	26.6	15.8	6.0
Gender										
Male	38.9	5.2	11.9	43.3	0.7	37.3	4.9	11.6	45.4	0.8
Female	36.2	16.7	15.8	28.6	2.8	35.0	14.6	15.5	32.1	2.8
Unmarried females[3]	19.5	30.6	29.0	15.8	5.1	19.7	27.6	29.3	18.1	5.3
Marital status										
Single	4.1	8.7	65.5	20.7	1.1	6.1	7.7	60.5	24.6	1.1
Married	43.7	5.4	7.9	42.3	0.8	41.7	4.9	7.5	45.1	0.9
Widowed	25.2	29.9	21.9	18.1	4.9	26.5	26.8	21.0	20.7	5.0
Separated	13.9	14.3	38.5	30.0	3.3	16.3	8.4	36.0	36.7	2.6
Ethnicity										
Fijian	36.0	10.1	18.0	33.9	2.0	36.0	8.5	17.0	36.7	2.0
Indian	41.0	11.8	8.3	37.6	1.4	38.0	11.6	8.7	40.1	1.6
Rotuman	32.3	15.7	19.0	30.8	2.4	28.6	12.8	20.7	35.2	2.7
Other	25.8	.0	16.7	46.9	1.6	23.7	8.3	17.8	48.0	2.2

TABLE 1. **Continued**

	1986 Household Type[1]					1996 Household Type				
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
Economic status										
Employed	40.2	2.1	8.2	49.3	0.3	40.6	1.9	7.1	50.1	0.4
Unemployed	34.0	8.7	20.6	34.7	1.9	21.1	8.8	28.9	32.3	2.0

Source: Fiji Bureau of the Census 1988, 1998.

Notes:

1. I. Grandparent-headed household where grandparent is household head or spouse of head with at least one grandchild living in the household.
   II. Coresident grandparent household where grandparent is not household head with at least one grandchild living in the same household.
   III. Secondary grandparent household where grandparent lives with relatives with or without grandchildren.
   IV. Grandparent- or older adult-headed household without grandchildren living in the same household.
   V. Grandparent or older adult coresident of household without grandchildren living in the same household.
2. Due to rounding, some percentages do not add to 100.
3. Unmarried females comprise women who are not listed as the spouse of the head of the household.

grandchildren (Panapasa 2000). Almost 90 percent of grandparent- or older adult-headed households without grandchildren (Type IV) report having living children, but consistently at least 20 percent of these grandchildless households lack the presence of adult children suggesting that such households reflect a choice driven by complex family decisions. While many of these older household heads may very well live in close proximity to grandchildren, distance impacts their ability to play a role in the grandchildren's lives. Even living a few houses away from a grandchild introduces walls and barriers to the ongoing socialization and behavioral reinforcement that is part of the coresidential process. When distance is translated into miles, urban *versus* rural, or international separation, the barriers to contact and exchange of knowledge may become insurmountable. A number of American studies have found that grandparents who do not coreside with grandchildren have only a marginal effect on the grandchildren's lives; the grandparents have less responsibility and contact due to both physical as well as emotional distance (Goldscheider and Lawton 1998; Silverstein and Parrott 1997).

Coresidence and Grandparenting

Living in the home of a child, while common in Fiji in both 1986 and 1996, represents a less popular residential form. Only 11 percent (1986) and 10 percent (1996) of older adults lived in coresident households (Type II), where the grandparent resided in an adult child's household with grandchildren present. Grandparents in coresident households represent a pool of primary caregivers and as such help influence the socialization of grandchildren on a daily basis through baby-sitting and other supportive activities such as cooking, cleaning, and house-sitting. While the presumed level of interaction between grandparent and grandchild is thought to positively benefit both parties, it is also a reflection of the lower levels of power and authority associated with being a nonhead within the household.

Under a system of reciprocity for support and care, older persons who live within the homes of their children help provide a benefit to the household by caring for grandchildren. This need for reciprocal contributions may help explain why less than 2 percent of Fijians age fifty and older coreside in households without grandchildren present (Type V). Prior work (Panapasa 2000) has argued that from a strictly support perspective these are optimal households for the older people if care is altruistic, as they do not have to compete with children for scarce economic and social resources. Under a reciprocal model of care, however, older persons who do not own their own households would typically be found in households where they could provide

an ongoing contribution such as childcare in exchange for care. While no direct measures of exchange exist in census data, disparity in the distribution of residential form implies that older people are more welcome in households where they can make a constructive contribution to the household economies either through headship or childcare. Households where older persons simply coreside with their adult children represent very rare occurrences suggesting a rationale for the strength and stability of the multigenerational household in Fiji.

Older Adults as Secondary Household Members

Almost 14 percent of older adults lived as members of secondary grandparent households without grandchildren (Type III) in both 1986 and 1996. While this represents a sizable proportion of the older population, the census data cannot inform their role as grandparents. Due to the structure of census data and the need to relate household members to the head, secondary grandparent households represent a mixed group of individuals who cannot be directly linked to other members of the household. It is clear from qualitative work that older adults who have limited power within such a household unit that factor negatively impacts any grandparenting role they might seek to assume (Barr 1990; Panapasa 2000; Plange 1992). Further research is required to learn more about the role such older adults play in their Fijian households.

Sociodemographic Variation Across Grandparenting Types

Table 1 also depicts demographic variation in the grandparent household types. Change in the structure of households with members aged fifty and older between 1986 and 1996 is small even for broad demographic characteristics such as age and ethnicity. This stability across time suggests that period effects did not play a measurable role in changing household composition and residential choice among the older population. It also argues for the long-term stability of the extended family system in Fiji.

Cohort effects clearly play an important role in shifting household structure among older Fijians and their place as grandparents within families. For grandparent-headed and grandparent coresidential households the effects of age and mortality can be seen in the transition from headship to coresidence. Older adults in their fifties represent the vast majority of household heads or spouses of heads for both types of grandparent-headed households (I and IV). With increasing age, however, a rapid decline in headship is observed and by age eighty only 15 to 20 percent of the older

population are heads of households; however, declines in headship are much slower among older adults who have grandchildren in their homes compared to those who do not and more grandparents who head households with grandchildren present retain headship beyond the age of eighty.

As headship declines with age, a complementary increase occurs in coresident households (Types II, III, and V). This can be seen as a cohort movement away from headship and towards coresidence as age, widowhood, and impairment impact autonomy and increase the need among older people for support and care from the family. The strongest shift is in coresident households where grandparent/grandchild dyads are maintained. This household type increases from representing only 5 percent (1986) and 4 percent (1996) of older adults at age fifty to 33 percent by age eighty. While longitudinal measures are lacking, the shift is consistent with qualitative findings that suggest a life-course transition of grandparents in grandparent-headed households to coresident households with grandchildren present (Barr 1990; Plange 1992). The shift in secondary grandparent households with or without grandchildren present (Type III) is also marked—from 11 and 12 percent at age fifty, to 26 and 27 percent at age eighty plus. Secondary grandparent households may well represent the primary residential form among older Fijians who do not maintain direct coresidence with grandchildren. As a result, they have less access to family networks for late-life living and support.

Gender differences in household type are marked with males representing the majority of household heads and females present as spouses of heads. Females are more likely than males to coreside with their children and they are slightly more likely to be found in secondary residential forms. Older women without spouses are predominantly found coresiding with adult children and grandchildren or with relatives, although 20 percent maintain headship of households with adult children and grandchildren present.

Current marital status also impacts the household type an older person resides in. As expected, never married and separated older persons are predominantly concentrated in secondary grandparent households but they are also represented in older adult-headed households without grandchildren. Married older adults are much more likely to head households both with and without grandchildren. Widows show a fairly even distribution across four of the five household types, grandparent coresident households without grandchildren (Type V) being the exception; however, there may be a strong gender bias in the proportion of males becoming household heads and females living as coresident grandparents or as secondary members of established households.

The census data show only minor differences by ethnicity. While Indians have somewhat higher proportions of older adults acting as household heads, these differences are not marked. Indians are, however, much less likely to be residing as secondary household members compared to other ethnic groups. Among households where the older grandparent is coresident, Rotumans represent the largest proportion followed by Indians, Fijians, and other minor ethnic groups. Overall, though differences do exist in the structure of household type by ethnicity, they are not striking and seem to represent an expected variation arising from the ethno-cultural diversity of Fiji's population.

Differences in economic circumstances as measured by employment status are instructive. Older adults who are household heads have much higher rates of economic activity compared to those in other household types, and employment status is much lower among those residing in alternative household types. While both the 1986 and 1996 census data show 40 percent of older adults heading households with grandchildren present and 50 percent of those heading households without grandchildren being employed, only 2 percent of older adults who coreside with adult children and grandchildren and 7 percent of those living in secondary households are economically active.

Conclusions and Implications

This paper has used a combination of household census data and case material to examine the changing role and influence of grandparents in Fiji in the context of development and the impacts of population aging. Social exchange theory provided a framework for comparing the benefits and costs of contemporary grandparenting across five household types that vary according to the presence of grandchildren and the status and position of the grandparents.

Fijian grandparents can and do successfully influence the lives of grandchildren without sharing a home with them but the household based grandparent/grandchild dyad is a potentially powerful context for their role in socialization, support, and caregiving and the maintenance of cultural norms on the importance of family. Both sides of the relationship benefit from coresidence as the child gains from early care and support by the grandparent, and as they age together, the child can increasingly contribute to the care and support of the grandparent.

Like grandparenting among the Chamorros in Guam (Torsch 2007) and Anglo-Europeans in small-town New Zealand (Keeling 2007), the role of being a grandparent in Fiji is complex and can be expressed in various ways depending upon the access grandparents have to grandchildren and their

status and power within the household unit. Grandparents who have some measure of control within a household either as heads or the parents of heads can be expected to have a greater impact on the socialization of the grandchildren under their care and may help reinforce traditional values that are essential to the support systems of older adults in developing nation settings (see Apt 1996 and Rahman 1999a, 1999b for African and Asian case material). In Fiji, such reinforcing mechanisms may be among the few avenues available to older people to cope with a rapidly changing socioeconomic structure which is ill-prepared for the needs of an aging society. While this is not directly evident from analysis of the census data, the older adult residential patterns that emerge are consistent with those indicated in the interview data.

The overall analysis suggests marked differences in the position and experience of Fijian grandparents between households that contain grandparent/grandchild dyads and those that do not, and differences when the grandparent is the head of the household or lives in the house of an adult child. In life-course perspective, age plays a major role in transitions from autonomy to dependence regardless of the presence of grandchildren. Still, older household heads who live with grandchildren are likely to maintain control of their homes for a longer period than do heads lacking coresident grandchildren. Further, though more research is needed, it may be that grandparents who head households containing grandchildren will find it easier to transition into a supportive role in the home of an adult child when they can no longer maintain their own home.

As is the case in almost all aspects of social aging, Fijian women and men appear to follow different life-course transitions into specific household types, and these differences may significantly impact their expectation of and access to care and support as they age. While in part an artifact of differential mortality, grandmothers are more commonly found as coresidents in the homes of their adult children while grandfathers tend to remain the heads of their own homes. When and if headship becomes a disadvantage is unclear but many findings of gender and aging research indicate that older men are largely dependent upon their wives for care while women develop broader networks of care and support that serve them better in later years of life (Kim and Kim 2003; Shaw 2005). Level of economic activity also plays a central role in the type of household an older person is associated with. Not surprisingly, headship is associated with employment, and withdrawal from labor-force activity is associated with coresidence in the home of another.

The implications of sociodemographic characteristics for the grandparenting experience are widely discussed in the research literature on grandparenting in the United States and other developed country settings

(e.g., Szinovacz 1998). Further work is needed to fully understand the Fijian and other developing world contexts.

NOTES

The author is grateful to Jocelyn Armstrong, Juliana Flinn, and Dorothy Counts for their valuable suggestions and insights, and to Timoci Bainimarama for permission to use the 1986 and 1996 Fiji census data.

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GRANDPARENTING STYLES IN AN URBAN/RURAL BORDERLAND IN NEW ZEALAND

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This paper on grandparenting styles draws on ethnographic interviews with old-old (80 and older) Anglo-Europeans living in a small-town community in New Zealand. The interviews were collected as part of the social content of a longitudinal study of the epidemiology of aging in an urban/rural borderland setting. Analyses indicate that grandparent status and role are both central to and contingent upon how old-old people negotiate and sustain independence and autonomy in the context of family and friendship networks. Diversity is examined using a typology developed from research on American Indian grandparents in an urban/rural situation as a framework, and modifications of the typology to accommodate the increasingly common experience of grandparenting in old-old age are suggested.

WITH INCREASING LONGEVITY IN NEW ZEALAND, along with many other parts of the world, grandparenting roles are extending also in terms of duration, complexity, and variety. While parenting roles are very predominant in both social research and public policy debates addressing the community significance of socialization and enculturation, New Zealand research has paid markedly limited attention to grandparenthood in any discipline. Thus, anthropologists are not alone in belatedly exploring the experience and reality of these later-life roles as they extend in generation, scope, and style. Particular consideration in this discussion is given to local New Zealand styles of grandparenting in light of comparative ethnographic perspectives.

The notion of extended family relationships spanning four living generations is increasingly common, while photographs of five-generational

Pacific Studies, Vol. 30, Nos. 3/4—Sept./Dec. 2007

family groupings are seen as noteworthy in local newspaper reports. Zodgekar refers to the "two generational geriatric extended family" as a significant component of demographic aging in New Zealand (Zodgekar 1999), and as posing particular challenges to the intrafamilial and community management of dependency relationships. Accordingly, intergenerational relationships have been the subject of considerable analysis as part of a growing body of positive aging studies, using both sample survey and social psychological approaches (Koopman-Boyden and Hillcoat-Nalletamby 2000; Liu et al. 2000; Ng et al. 1998, 2000). Together with work by Armstrong (2003, 2007), this paper adds ethnographic content to shared conceptual paradigms of family relationships in New Zealand, and develops engagement with central social scientific theories, through the incorporation of anthropological perspectives.

Koopman-Boyden and Hillcoat-Nalletamby, for example, propose a model of family transactions that "shifts emphasis away from stages of the life-course to an emphasis on process and heterogeneity within and between cohorts" (2000, 14). Their study, however, relies primarily on extensive mail survey data collection rather than intensive qualitative interviewing. Shared behavioral patterns observed in such survey data can be enriched by discerning themes, which are themselves culturally meaningful, derived from qualitative research methods such as those used by anthropologists.

Among a growing collection of popular works, some offer advice on "active aging" (Millar 2001), while others have focused on grandparenting in a lively "how to" style. Gribben's *Grandparenting with Love and Laughter* (2000) exemplifies this latter approach and updates her earlier popular parenting handbook. The photographs, stories, and allusions in this genre relate to the phase of early grandparenting, with the grandchildren consistently represented as children, generally under the age of ten. There is some advice on managing the changing relationships with the parental generation, but little that speaks to grandparents for whom this phase is past, as their grandchildren themselves start establishing families in the next lineal branches of the family tree.

Some personally authored narratives throw light on individual experiences of New Zealand grandparenting specifically (Else 2000) and on advanced aging more generally (Maclean 2000). Published life histories, autobiographies, and biographies of public figures also contribute potential perspectives on how grandparenting is performed in a contemporary setting. Today's grandparents review their own grandparents' lives and their interactions with them, along with their current grandparental roles. References to and honoring one's antecedents and forebears, often treated as if specific to New Zealand's indigenous Polynesian Maori, in fact apply across the nation's multiple cultural traditions, as does significant personal and cultural

investment in grandchildren. Taking a broader and multicultural scope in a book celebrating New Zealand families, Winn and Holdom (1999) cover a wide range of terms and relationships under the title of *Grandads Grandmas Nanas and Poppas.* They use both text from interviews and photographs to represent this variety.

Changing national patterns in family formation, household composition, and geographic mobility provide a backdrop against which older people in any contemporary community live their lives. Information on health and social status (Statistics New Zealand 1995; New Zealand Ministry of Health 2002) and living standards (Fergusson et al. 2001) is accumulating. The grandparents whose experience is presented and discussed in this paper were community-based participants in a unique epidemiological and longitudinal study, the Mosgiel Longitudinal Study of Ageing (MLSA) conducted by the Department of Medicine, Otago University Medical School, Dunedin.

The Mosgiel Longitudinal Study of Ageing

At the time of the study, Mosgiel was a community of over 13,000 people, positioned geographically and culturally in an urban/rural borderland, fifteen minutes by road from Dunedin, a city of over 100,000 people, yet linked to an extensive hinterland of scattered smaller communities, with the very low population density that is typical of the region, Otago-Southland, in the southernmost quarter of the South Island. This positioning has been discussed fully in a previous paper on the significance of context, distance, and place in the experience of aging in New Zealand (Keeling 1999).

Housing in Mosgiel is mixed in style and age. Older people are likely to live in small clusters of four semidetached units, which share a common driveway, interspersed with three- or four-bedroom single-level bungalows for younger families. Most of these houses were built in the post–World War II period, when Mosgiel was developing as a periurban industrial and residential area, serving the surrounding farming area, wider provincial region, and nearby city of Dunedin with both agricultural and manufacturing sector industries. By the 1990s two major purpose-built retirement villages had been established, based on a strong cultural image of Mosgiel as a "good place to grow old."

The MLSA provides a wide-ranging description of the health and social situation of the majority of the residents of the community of Mosgiel aged over seventy years at the time of the project's start in 1988, and follows those still living in that community six to eight years later. From nearly 800 participants in the baseline phase, 313 were interviewed again in the period from 1994 to 1996. At the time of this follow-up interview contact, I joined the

project as anthropologist. In addition to accessing the social networks and social and professional support data generated by the baseline and six-year follow-up survey phases, my supplementary anthropological approach centered on a series of twenty further extended qualitative interviews (Keeling 1998).

The twenty people I interviewed were chosen at random from the surviving MLSA participants in 1994–1996, at the time they took part in their follow-up interviews. They ranged in age between eighty and ninety years and included three men and seventeen women. All had been married, and all but one had biological grandchildren; most also referred to their several great-grandchildren. Eighteen of the twenty interview participants were widowed, and fifteen lived alone, with the others describing a coresidence situation with one or more of their children, and in one case with a grandchild.

The qualitative interviews followed an invitation to "talk some more" about family and friends, and it was in this context that talk about grandparenting emerged. Aspects of interactions with grandchildren have featured in analyses of the complex styles in handling distance (Keeling 2001). Similarly, in negotiating support (material, social, and emotional), the concept of style and performance is applicable to describe the flexible and situational behavioral repertoire accessed by the older people in their narratives of relationships with family and friends. Grandparenting, through this analysis, emerges as a series of negotiated relationships, with the reciprocal content of these ties fluid and dynamic, in a way consistent with the conceptual approach presented in Finch and Mason's *Negotiating Family Responsibilities* (1993).

Typical Mosgiel Grandparents

Mrs. Simpson (not her real name) was a grandparent whose social network was extensive, involving fourteen named people, other than grandchildren, and in whose social world her nine grandchildren and nine great-grandchildren played significant parts. Her social network was of the type that Wenger (1994) would call "locally integrated." She lived with an unmarried daughter, but in common with the others interviewed who were in coresident living situations, the household was not a three-generational one. They lived in a small two-bedroom house with a small well-tended garden, in a typical Mosgiel tree-lined street with several other similar houses.

Mrs. Simpson had been widowed for many years and had never driven a car, but she was extensively involved with local community service organizations. Family and friends have always been available to transport her to events and activities outside the home, and she has reciprocated with home cooking

and general hospitality. She was a vigorous correspondent, particularly with grandchildren, many of whom did not live locally, and her sitting room was fully decorated with photographs and evidence of her participation in extensive family gatherings. The current baby photographs on display were of great-grandchildren. Two of Mrs. Simpson's grandsons lived locally and helped her with household chores. When asked who initiates this help, she said "Oh, well, I say, 'Could you come and do this? Bring screwdrivers, and things like that,' and then I always have a meal for them." She saw this as an affectionate and loving relationship: "They love me, and always kiss me, you know. We have a very good relationship, really, though I don't see as much of my other grandson. He's always busy."

Mrs. Thorn, another typical grandmother, extended her talk of intergenerational linkages beyond conventional descent lines, which may relate in part to the fact that her own two children were adopted, and while her son had died in his early twenties, her daughter moved north and has raised her own family on the North Island. She illustrated her concept of what I have called "substitution of network members" (Keeling 2001): "I think I've got such a coming-down-the-ladder family, so to speak, that my nieces' families take over a good deal, too. You see, one niece had five children. There are sort of reserves coming on; they sort of hand on the job."

The three men interviewed all had smaller social networks, as well as smaller numbers of grandchildren, and none had great-grandchildren. It is not possible to evaluate the extent to which these gender differences might be representative of a broader picture, as the quantitative data from the wider Mosgiel study do not extend to any tabulation of grandparental relations.

For Mr. Clark, his nearest relative in geographic terms was a nephew, and his only son lived an hour's drive away, with his wife and Mr. Clark's two grandchildren. Mr. Clark was eighty-nine years of age and felt that the care he gave to his wife in the last two years of her life, when she was bedridden, while it was clearly given with love, had deprived him of regular contact with his local men friends. Now they too have died. In his interview, Mr. Clark acknowledged his loneliness, and said he was considering moving into more sheltered accommodation as he could not work in his garden or manage his daily needs due to failing eyesight.

Mr. Wilson had no grandchildren, as his only child had never married and continued to live with Mr. and Mrs. Wilson. Mr. Wilson's discussion of family continuity was oriented to the past, apparently due to the fact that he had cared for his own mother and unmarried sisters who had lived nearby. He simply said, "My family's all gone now," despite the fact that he still lived with his wife and son.

Mr. Burt also shared a housing arrangement with an unmarried daughter, and an unmarried son who worked mostly overseas. However, he had a married son who also lived in Mosgiel, and his four grandchildren in that family featured significantly in his conversation. He described himself as a storyteller, relaying the family tradition of farming life in rural Otago, and contrasting this with the modern urban lifestyles in northern cities that are likely to attract his grandchildren away from Mosgiel.

"The Kids All Call Me Grandma"

In their responses to the invitation to talk more about family and friends, the Mosgiel interviewees showed that they were well aware of the connotations and meanings embedded in local forms of address and reference. All but two of those interviewed were second-, third- or fourth-generation New Zealanders of broadly Anglo-European descent. The two exceptions were women who had emigrated from Scotland and England, respectively, during their married lives. The New Zealand–born were commonly "local," with this defined as coming from the Otago-Southland region, with those from further afield having generally "married into" local or regional families. None acknowledged Maori descent, though Anglo-Maori intermarriage has a long history, and only one spoke about a son marrying a Northland Maori woman, and "moving away up there" (to the northernmost quarter of the North Island).

There was thus a broad acceptance that in cultural terms, tracing and naming kinship relations reflects Anglo-European or Pakeha New Zealand patterns, acknowledging bilateral ties, but with patrilineal transfer of surnames, among this generation of older New Zealanders. The terms grandparent and grandchildren are thus reciprocally applied to those tracing a descent relationship across two generations. Gender is differentiated simply by using the more specific terms: grandmother, grandfather, granddaughter, grandson.

Terms of address are more idiosyncratic and familial, although there are clear features in how these evolve. It is common for a family to want to differentiate between grandparents, through the use of different names on the "mother's side" and "father's side," respectively, and how this is achieved depends in part on the sequence of first grandparenting. For example, if a new baby is born to a couple, and the baby has four living grandparents, one set of grandparents may already have been named in relation to an earlier grandchild, so some names have already been taken, and the new grandparents' choice is restricted, if confusion is to be avoided. Most families want to use a shared term for the group of grandchildren who share grandparents by descent.

My interview evidence suggests that these negotiations are conducted amicably, and are sometimes resolved as the new grandchild learns to talk, and his or her own version of a family name may move into wider use. Thus one hears of grandparents who are called highly personal names (Lala and Ga Ga, for example), while other choices are more common: Gran, Grandad, Grandma, Poppa, Nan Nan, Pop. Although the use of personal names is common at this same generational remove from children, with the addition of the Aunt/Uncle label as a sign of status (Aunty Janet, Uncle Bill), some grandparental terms are themselves derived from personal names (Pop-Billy, Janny).

The Mosgiel grandparents also showed that their roles as grandparents were inclusive and extended beyond strict descent relations. When the phrase "the kids all call me grandma" was used in one particular interview, the reference was to grandchildren acquired through subsequent remarriage of a daughter in this case, as well as to children in the neighborhood. The strict use of step or half before grandchild is considered both clumsy and unnecessarily grudging, and several people made a point of stressing their desire to embrace and welcome additional children into the family circle, whether by informal adoption or at least without qualification. One woman suggested that there should be a specific collective noun for a group of grandparents or grandchildren and thought that "a pride of . . ." should not be restricted to lions! This inclusiveness and phraseology shows pride in both the number and quality of relationships with grandchildren.

Styles of Grandparenting

Mosgiel grandparents carry out their roles and responsibilities in a variety of styles. The identification and description of styles is a recurrent topic in the American grandparent literature, and recurs as a theme in the contributions of Dickerson-Putnam (2007), Torsch (2007), and others in this issue.

In this section, I adopt and adapt the discussion of American Indian grandparenting styles presented by Weibel-Orlando (1997) to assess the analytic and comparative potential of style as applied to the cultural configuration of grandparenting roles in Mosgiel's New Zealand Anglo-European community. In addition to exploring grandparenting styles, this discussion draws on Finch and Mason's (1993) insights into the negotiation of family responsibilities in extended families. In analyzing the Mosgiel familial support data, processes were clearly identified in Finch and Mason's terms: balancing dependence and independence, negotiating commitments over time, making legitimate excuses, and enacting reputations and moral identities in the negotiation of family responsibilities. Grandparenting style can be played out in any of these processes.

Weibel-Orlando (1997) identifies six grandparenting styles: cultural conservator, custodian, ceremonial, distanced, fictive, and care-needing. The cultural context of her study is of North American Indians who were "retirement relocators" from urban California back to their more rural childhood homelands in later life. The six styles are neither mutually exclusive nor culturally unique, as the following illustrative exploration will show, derived as it is from a very different, largely Anglo-European, cultural context in a southern New Zealand urban/rural borderland. The comparison is primarily conceptual, offering a framework for ethnographic consideration of similarities and variations in grandparenting styles.

Weibel-Orlando's styles are defined by seven factors, including the quality and intensity of the grandparent/grandchild relationship, grandparents' perceptions of their grandparenting roles, accessibility between the generations, the type of social and familial integration of the grandparents, personal goals of the grandparents, stability of the relationships at the intermediate parental level, and the age of attaining grandparenthood (Weibel-Orlando 1997). How relevant are these factors in the Mosgiel grandparents' talk and conduct as grandparents?

The Cultural Conservator Grandparent

Weibel-Orlando elaborates this style primarily in the sense of grandparents raising grandchildren (1997). In Mosgiel, this style was clearly expressed within the familial context, in the sense that older people were keepers of the family story and curators of the family tree. Keeping track of genealogical and affinal connections was demonstrated with pride in the interviews I completed. Women particularly demonstrated their role as "kin keepers," and as a point of reference through and around which family news circulated.

Modes of communication and the transmission of this family knowledge were reinforced (as discussed below) by participation in familial life-course events, frequently through face-to-face contact. Use of the telephone and letter-writing both featured as key elements also, along with holiday and occasional visits if the family was dispersed. Within the family, grandparents continued to tell the stories of family history. In at least two instances, interview participants showed family histories and photograph albums that they were writing and compiling at the time of the interviews with the specific intention of passing on knowledge to their grandchildren (Armstrong 2007). One woman said proudly that her family history now needed to be reprinted, as the first 500 copies had been distributed at a recent family gathering honoring the arrival of her own great-grandparents into the district in the 1850s.

When Mrs. Bremner spoke about her grandchildren, she said "they get a lot from grandparents," and noted with regret that her own children had not known her own or her husband's parents. She was using the opportunity of her ninetieth birthday in the month she was interviewed to reflect and write down both the story of her own life and a wider family history, saying, "If I don't give it to them now, it's a lot they are going to lose."

Talking about sharing stories was closely linked to the double meaning embedded in "passing on": the passage of time and the urge to share life stories and experience with others was openly addressed. These older people were clearly aware of life's transitions, which bring the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of experience, and they saw this cultural capital as worth sharing with those close to them in kinship or community.

No references to more recent technological methods of communication such as e-mail and the Internet feature in these Mosgiel interviews, as they were conducted before 1996 (cf. Armstrong 2003). In New Zealand in the 2000s, grandparental participation in the World Wide Web is widespread (Armstrong 2007), and it is an open question whether this might have inclusive or exclusive tendencies: keeping grandparents linked into family communication networks or marginalizing those who are unable or unwilling to adopt the newer modes of communication so extensively used by the younger generations.

The Custodial Grandparent

In Weibel-Orlando's terms, this style relates to situations where "unanticipated family trauma separates child and parents" (Weibel-Orlando 1997, 148), and the grandparent takes on care of the child. Transmitting cultural and moral values within the family, being the source of family and historical knowledge, is one thing, but being responsible for the care and protection of a grandchild or grandchildren is another. While this situation of custodial responsibility for grandchildren was rare in Mosgiel, there were two cases described that strongly and clearly suggested that the significance of this style should not be underestimated.

Two women spoke of having a custodial relationship with a grandchild from birth, in the sense of having been the primary caregivers for these infants. When Mrs. Edwards' granddaughter at the age of four went back to live with her mother, who was by that time married and living in the nearby city of Dunedin, Mrs. Edwards said, "It broke my heart." Despite having had this experience, she went on to comment somewhat critically on her own son's style of becoming a nearly custodial grandfather. He was providing a home to his daughter and her young family after the breakdown of her

marriage, and Mrs. Edwards was very clear about the difficulties sixty-year-olds (particularly grandfathers, she thought) face in dealing with preschool children on a daily basis.

Mrs. Burgess continued to speak of the grandson for whom she had cared as "my boy." At the time he was in his midteens, and effectively lived with his grandmother during the school week, as his mother, stepfather, and half siblings lived in a small neighboring rural community. In addition to preferring not to face an hour's travel each day by bus, he and the rest of the family also recognized that his continued company for his grandmother was now important for her. While she was aware of subtle shifts in the balance of dependency within their relationship, she clearly appreciated the fact that he continued to call his place with her "home."

Caring *for* others shades sometimes imperceptibly into caring *about* their well-being, and this range of caring was evident in the way the Mosgiel grandparents talked about their grandchildren. Expressions of worry or anxiety about grandchildren were indicative of an underlying sense of custodial concern and responsibility for their well-being. "Worry" was described in several instances about young adult grandchildren's choice of occupation or difficulties in finding satisfying work. While positive comments about grandchildren were expressed on the establishment of long-term relationships through celebrations of marriages and births, worry, disappointment, and distress surrounded the breakdown of partnerships. When the dissolution of a marriage also interrupted contact with the next generation, grandparents described their sense of loss and concern for the continuity of their relationship with the younger children (see Drew and Smith 2002 for American comparisons; Flinn 2007 for Micronesian comparisons).

Conversely, expressions of pride in the achievements of grandchildren related to public and personal achievements such as graduation, selection for a national sports team, adventurousness in overseas travel, and job advancement or promotion. Although in one breath, these older people might refer to their grandchildren as "their pride and joy" (or one particular grandchild might be singled out in this way), the downside reflects worry and anxiety at times, and certainly carries an implication of ongoing responsibility, even as these grandchildren enter their twenties and thirties.

Acknowledging previous invisibility of grandparenting roles in New Zealand social science research, Read (2003) claims that the recent heightened interest in this field has two sources: demography and child care. She proposes investigating three distinct role categories in her doctoral research by interviewing grandparents in the three groupings of those who have full-time care responsibilities for grandchildren, those who supplement for parent care while parents are at work themselves, and those who see themselves as

fitting the "traditional image of grandparenting." A clear exploration of just what is embedded in this traditional image would clearly be a welcome contribution to New Zealand cultural and family studies.

The Ceremonial Grandparent

Although Weibel-Orlando encountered only two American Indian cases of this style of grandparenting, Mosgiel examples were frequently described. In both settings, this style is distinguished from distanced grandparenting (below) by the public display of grandparental participation, particularly in family and life-course events (Weibel-Orlando 1997). While the Mosgiel grandparents perhaps would not describe their role in terms of ceremonial behavior, their presence at life-course events, again primarily within the family, clearly carries symbolic significance. Two grandmothers, Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Edwards, spoke at length of the particular importance of their participation at the wedding of a grandchild, despite extensive and expensive travel required to make this possible.

Other annual or calendrical events (birthdays, anniversaries of family events, Christmas, Mother's Day) all provide opportunities for acknowledgment of the ceremonial role of grandparents in both semipublic and private contexts. Interaction with grandchildren may not be frequent but it is regular and mutually valued, and often entails overcoming significant obstacles such as cost and distance, as well as joint and long-term planning required to make it happen.

The Distanced Grandparent

This style is described by Weibel-Orlando as relatively rare among the American Indians she studied, but as involving geographical, psychological, and cultural distance (1997, 144). My earlier paper titled "Relative Distance" (Keeling 2001) has addressed variations in the way "closeness" is defined by participants in the Mosgiel study, and also explores the geographical spread of family members within the neighborhood and region, and across a wider national and international scale.

Mrs. Fletcher used the expression "close beside" to refer to the particular bond she has with a grandchild who lives near her, indicating that physical and emotional closeness reinforce each other in this instance. Mrs. Wood was a migrant from the United Kingdom when her own children were teenagers and young adults, and two of her own children elected at that time not to migrate to New Zealand. She therefore has half of her grandchildren living in Britain and the other half in southern New Zealand. Through occasional

visits to Britain, at perhaps five-year intervals, she maintains her relationships with her grandchildren in accordingly very different ways.

Mr. Burt gave several instances of ways in which he perceived a kind of "distance in time" between his own youth and that of his granddaughter. She had just turned twenty and had recently acquired her first car, and he noted that he had been over forty years of age when he bought his first car. In talking about the marital difficulties her grandson was experiencing at the time of her interview, Mrs. Macdonald observed, "I didn't expect to live this long"; in a similar vein, Mrs. Bremner compared very directly the way she herself had grown up, and the generally formal kind of relationship she had with her own grandparents, with the relative freedom and casual nature of her current contacts with grandchildren.

The Fictive Grandparent

This style is considered to be "an alternative to the lack or absence of biological grandchildren" (Weibel-Orlando 1997, 147), although in Mosgiel, it should also include an addition to biological links (Armstrong 2007). A fictive kinship or grandparenting link carries a connotation of being neither "real" nor founded on biological links. The use of quasi-kin labels was evident in the ways in which older people in Mosgiel talk about their definitions of both friends and family. Specific reference in this context to fictive or adoptive grandparental relationships was not uncommon. Mrs. Burgess, mentioned earlier as blurring her own roles as mother and grandmother in the way she continued to have her teenaged grandson living with her, also related to the children of her next-door neighbor as fictive grandchildren. They freely came across to play in her yard, particularly when her own grandchildren were visiting, and she referred to this combined grouping as "the kids."

Several interviews recorded blurred distinctions between descendants at the grandchild level, in a way that entails one of the principles of inheritance, substitution, or proxy, as discussed in Keeling (2001). While there was a pre-existing genealogical link, by extending the use of classificatory kinship terminology, a grandniece for example might regularly be referred to as a granddaughter, particularly if the linking relative had died or was not locally resident.

The Care-Needing Grandparent

Weibel-Orlando describes this sixth style of grandparenting as an "emerging" American Indian style, one not readily apparent in her first period of

fieldwork, but increasing ten years later (1997, 155). In the Mosgiel context, working with New Zealand Anglo-Eurpoeans who were commonly great-grandparents, and aged eighty to ninety years, this style needs to be treated as having fully emerged, but not necessarily predominant. Care-needing grandparents balance the notions of independence and dependency on others, and acknowledge that they may need more care. While a full discussion of the specific styles and principles through which the provision of support between older people and other family members is negotiated is beyond the scope of this discussion, grandchildren are key participants in the composition of the support networks of older people.

Within the social networks of the older people taking part in the Mosgiel study, it was clear that supportive relationships are not all unidirectional. These grandparents described relationships of reciprocity with their grandchildren: they received practical help, such as gardening and help with shopping, hairdressing, and housework, from teenage and young adult grandchildren on a regular or occasional basis. For example, when asked to identify the family members from whom she had received the most support in the previous year, Mrs. Howell unhesitatingly nominated her two grandsons who live locally.

Receiving help from grandchildren was commonly reciprocated if not in cash, then in kind. This took the form of providing meals and short-term accommodation when grandchildren first left their parents' home and came back to the Mosgiel region for study, or were first holidaying away from home in their teens. Cash payment for assistance from grandchildren was referred to as common when the alternative was to pay a stranger for this service. For example, a granddaughter was training as a hairdresser, and Mrs. Murray preferred to pay her rather than visit a local hair salon; Mrs. Thorn paid the granddaughter of a niece to do heavy cleaning for her, since she saw it as a way she could assist with payment for the teenager's education.

In the reverse direction, help was also given by grandparents to grandchildren. Emotional support and practical or financial help were all mentioned in the interviews. Mr. Clark spoke with pride about helping his grandson acquire his first boat: "The boy is a yachtsman, and I helped him buy his first yacht. I am extremely interested in where they are at."

Discussion

Changing demographics and family formation patterns, as well as mobility, will continue to open up interesting new grandparent research questions in New Zealand. For example, the rising age of first-time mothers may have an effect on a later age for first-time grandparenthood (see Statistics New

Zealand 1995) and later great-grandparenthood. The Mosgiel grandparents featured here would typically have first become grandparents in their mid-fifties and great-grandparents in their midseventies. What effects will adding perhaps five to eight years to these familial transitions have on the ways grandparents play out their roles in the future?

Add to this the significant changes in divorce and remarriage rates, as well as household mobility across all age ranges, and the picture becomes even more complex. While the Mosgiel study does not include examples of later-life couples who do not have grandchildren in common, this is likely to become an increasingly common pattern in New Zealand's future. These trends may also compound gender differences in the grandparenting experience, as older men may themselves have two-generation families; younger women who are still themselves at a childbearing stage may become step or adoptive grandparents following family recomposition.

One primary difference between the two settings in which grandparenting styles have been compared here (American Indian/New Zealand European) relates to the age and life stage of those interviewed. In the New Zealand case, the interviewees were all older in years and in later life-stages. All but one were biological grandparents, and most were also great-grandparents. Thus their grandchildren tended to be young adults, and their great-grandchildren ranged from babies to children of primary school age. Nevertheless, Weibel-Orlando's typology adapts well to the analysis of Mosgiel styles of grandparenting and great-grandparenting as well. The Mosgiel data confirm and inform the care-needing style, which Weibel-Orlando (1997) included as emerging.

Furthermore, grandchildren, and more particularly, the birth and lives of great-grandchildren, are the primary source of the relative definition of the Mosgiel older people as seniors. Their self-definition of "old age" is more than slightly based on these relative and familial transitions. Observing one's own daughter becoming a grandmother for the first time reminds an eighty-five-year-old woman of her own progression through the life course. Assessing how her adult son manages his role as grandparent incurred comment from Mrs. Edwards. Mrs. Burgess explained that her own childbearing had been late and thus rationalized why she had so far no great-grandchildren.

An awareness of the natural sequencing of intergenerational links was poignantly expressed by those older people who were experiencing familial losses that they described as "out of order." In the previous year, Mrs. Simpson's son had died in his fifties, and her interview resonated with distress as she spoke of hearing her grandson and granddaughter speak at their father's funeral. A relatively predictable progression through the life course and experiencing timely life events frame the cultural construction of aging in this as in many cultural settings. Disruptions and events that interrupt

or breach these cultural expectations accentuate the centrality of shared life-course transitions.

New meaning is added to the notion of life expectancy when those in later life look back to their own parents and grandparents. Mrs. Allen said quite frankly, "I didn't think I'd live this long. No one on my father's or my mother's side got out of their seventies. But here I am, I've had my eighty-ninth."

Conclusion

Qualitative interviewing of twenty people aged between eighty and ninety years of age in the context of the Mosgiel Longitudinal Study of Ageing has opened up rich talk of New Zealand European grandparenthood in the 1990s. Length of life and survivorship, depth and variety of experience, the generational structure of personal and familial experience, and specific involvement in periods of family and social history tell multiple stories. Concepts of generations and the ways that intergenerational relationships are lived out impinge on the underlying experience of continuity and interdependence.

Becoming and being a grandparent, and living to see one's own children in turn becoming grandparents, are thus central cultural symbols of advanced age stages. However, these expectations are shown here to be various and negotiable, according to locally discernible styles of grandparenting. Mosgiel styles of grandparenting illustrate the variations on this theme, reinforcing the notion that grandparenting is both central to and contingent on the ways in which these older people negotiate and sustain their independence and autonomy in the context of their social and family networks.

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GRANDPARENTING AMONG THE CHAMORROS OF GUAM

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For the Chamorros of Guam, contemporary grandparenting reflects the cultural tension between the forces struggling for continuity with cherished traditions and values centered on caring and sharing, and those requiring adaptation, cultural change, and expanding lifestyle choices. Descriptions and analyses draw on data collected in 60 life-history interviews and participant observation research. The paper focuses on an emerging duality in grandparenting styles and contrasts the gendered perspectives on grandparenting roles and attitudes. The diversity of styles is embedded in personalities, gender, educational level, and lifestyle choices, and reflects different responses to dramatic change in sociocultural and economic conditions.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY produced dramatic changes in the lifestyles and political economy of the Chamorros of Guam. These changes have created a cultural friction between Chamorro traditions and the imported American version of life on Guam. Grandparenting styles reflect the cultural friction between the forces struggling for continuity with cherished traditions and values, and the societal forces requiring adaptation and cultural change. This paper focuses on patterns of grandparenting styles. The objectives are *i)* to present the styles that maintain continuity with cherished traditions; *ii)* to present the accommodations to new social and economic realities; and *iii)* to identify gender differences embedded in these continuities and changes. Case studies are used to illustrate the evolving patterns of grandparenting the Chamorro Way (Diaz 1994).

Although a great deal of research has focused on aging, culture, and gender in American society, and studies in Pacific societies are accumulating,

Pacific Studies, Vol. 30, Nos. 3/4—Sept./Dec. 2007

there has been a paucity of published research on these issues among Chamorros, the indigenous peoples of the American territory of the island of Guam. The majority of recent research on Chamorro society and culture has been historical, demographic, social, educational, and/or bioarchaeological in nature. This paper draws on ethnographic research of social aging to examine the influences of culture and gender on grandparenting roles.

Grandparenting, Culture, and Gender

Grandparent research has documented that differences exist in the roles of grandmothers and grandfathers in different cultural groups, accentuating the importance of including gender variations in any attempt to understand grandparenting in its cultural context. A review by Spitze and Ward (1998) indicates that grandparents' choices tend to be shaped by factors that mold other dimensions of life, so it is reasonable to expect gender-based experiences and roles to be reflected in differences between grandfathers and grandmothers. Eisenberg (1988) has shown that white American grandmothers and grandfathers tend to interact differently with grandchildren, with grandmothers being more likely to interact as caregivers and grandfathers being more likely to interact as mentors. Schweitzer (1999) found that American Indian grandmothers tend to be the primary socializers of grandchildren, teaching them the cultural traditions and skills of their people.

Early studies of grandparents focused on grandmothers (Hagestad and Burton 1986; Szinovacz 1998), and stereotypes about gender variations reflect the focus. For example, white American stereotypes perceive grandfathers as less involved in the lives of grandchildren and less expressive about their grandparent role (Brubaker 1990). However, new American studies question the stereotypes. In her studies of gender and perspectives on grandparenting, Thomas (1994, 1995) found that in many ways men and women view their relationships with grandchildren similarly. However, she identified differences between grandfathers' and grandmothers' experiences of the relationships. Grandmothers reported greater satisfaction with these relationships than did grandfathers; grandfathers placed greater emphasis on generational extension of the family and on indulging grandchildren than did grandmothers.

The focus on grandmothers may also reflect the demographic pattern of longer lives for women (Hagestad and Burton 1986; Spitze and Ward 1998). On Guam, consistent with the mainstream American pattern, Chamorro females have longer life spans than males. According to the 1990 U.S. census, the most recent to report life expectancy by ethnic groups, life expectancy at

birth was 72.2 years for Chamorro females, 65.5 years for males. Among the 375 Chamorros aged seventy-five and older, 64 percent were women, while only 36 percent were men. As a result, there tends to be more intergenerational contact with grandmothers than with grandfathers, and grandmothers tend to have more influence on grandchildren.

Considerable variability in the general American experience of old age is known to exist between men and women. Gender differences in health, socioeconomic status, and social resources in earlier life stages persist into old age and result in variations in later life trajectories and responses to life events, such as grandparenthood (Barer 1994). The gender patterns interact with and are influenced by ethnic/cultural differences in aging and grandparenting experiences (e.g., Hunter and Taylor 1998; Williams and Torrez 1998), and by broader cultural differences such as the Western cultural ideal of individualism and the nonwestern ideal of kinship corporacy and their expression in the construction of generational ties (Albert and Cattell 1994; Simic 1990). In some respects, such as living arrangements, ethnic minority groups have in recent decades increasingly adhered to the white majority's norm of "mutuality at a distance" (Tobin and Kulys 1981), and patterns of intergenerational solidarity have been affected by increasing urbanization and modernization.

The Chamorros of Guam are experiencing the effects of modernization through the change to wage labor from a subsistence household economy, change to automobile transportation from the use of caribou carts, development of a tourism industry, and the building of modern structures, such as supermarkets, shopping malls, highways, and fast food chains. In the process, the cultural roles, attitudes, and values of generational ties for both men and women are also changing.

In her essay on grandparenthood in cross-cultural perspective, Charlotte Ikels (1998) focuses on the kinship context in which grandparenthood is embedded and the overall status of old people in society as basic to understanding variation. Among the precolonial Chamorros a matrilineal descent system was followed, associated with an avunculocal residence pattern, and elders experienced high status and respect. Their descent system may have been similar to that described by Flinn (2007) among the Micronesian people of Pollap; however, the impact of European colonization was earlier and more extensive on Guam because of its strategic importance to the Spanish colonizers. Therefore, modern Chamorro culture, kinship, and age structure reflect the combination of precolonial Chamorro and Spanish colonial systems of household organization, residence patterns, and descent systems as well as the post-Spanish influences of an extended American "colonization."

During 200 years of Spanish colonization (1668–1898), remnants of the indigenous matrilineal descent system continued, as evidenced by children taking the names of their mother's family, women and elders continuing to have high status and responsibility in the family and community, and land being owned communally by the family. These practices continued until the American administration in the early twentieth century required the Chamorros to follow the U.S. legal system, using the father's surname and individual land ownership. Subsequently, during more than a century of American presence and influence, the Chamorros have experienced changes throughout their social, political, and economic structures. The changes continue to affect intergenerational relationships generally and grandparent/grandchild relationships in particular as they shift between their Chamorro way and Americanization.

A diversity of grandparenting styles within ethnic/cultural groups has been documented by Weibel-Orlando (1997), who identified five divergent perceptions and expressions of grandparenthood in a North American Indian population: distanced, fictive, custodial, ceremonial, and cultural conservator. Inclusiveness, or what the Chamorros term caring and sharing, is a cultural value among the Chamorros, so the grandparenting styles of fictive, custodial, ceremonial, and cultural conservator are acceptable to them. While the distanced style of noninterfering, affectionate grandparents who live independently in their own homes at some distance from the nuclear parental family is the Anglo-American cultural ideal, it is considered by Chamorros as an aberration. The ideal among Chamorros is the multigenerational, extended family living in the family compound, sharing a common kitchen and social area in mostly modern, American-style homes.

Other studies of American Indian grandmothers (Schweitzer 1999) describe a situation similar to that of the Chamorros, namely anguish at the "great loss of traditions" and the continuing changes occurring in their own lives in response to the economic and social realities in the wider American society. The American Indian approach to grandmothers has its roots in a way of life that values continuity with the past; as such, it emphasizes living in close proximity to and maintaining supportive relationships with one's kin. Schweitzer concludes that the keys to understanding American Indian grandparenting today lie in exploring the forms of family and community organization that are ordinarily the most resistant to change: the social organization, ideology, values, and worldview that are typical of each group. These keys to understanding also seem to apply to grandparenthood among the Chamorros.

Continuity is viewed by social aging scholars as an adaptive response to pressures that result from a basic need for stable viewpoints of ourselves and

our worlds, which can be used to anticipate and guide responses to life events (Atchley 1989). Continuity theory proposes that as individuals progress through their adult lives, they attempt to maintain stability in their spatial, sociocultural, and psychological domains. This stability contributes to their sense of well-being over the years. For Chamorros, continuity is a collective and individual process embedded in life experiences, which ties events and ideas of one period to those of the next. It is pivotal to Chamorro culture, occurring in such internal aspects as personality and in such external aspects as living arrangements, relationships, community, location, and lifestyles, as well as other cultural, social, spatial, and spiritual dimensions.

Traditionally in Chamorro culture, priority was attached to a guiding worldview called *inafamaolek* that involved the interdependence of family, community, church, and nature (Mokua'u 1996). Social life centered on the family, church, and farm, and in values of sharing and caring for both the family and community. The family was the cornerstone of a Chamorro's personal life, and identity was embedded in the roles and responsibilities of the family (Untalan Munoz 1990). Integral to this value system was respect for elders. In the twentieth century the Chamorros have experienced pressure to adhere to mainstream American cultural norms, which has led to a sense of cultural friction between maintaining the continuity of their traditional culture and adapting to a new American value system.

Study Setting and Methods

The island of Guam lies 10 degrees north of the equator in the western Pacific. It is the southernmost island in the Mariana Islands, which are culturally part of Micronesia. As an unincorporated territory of the United States, it is also the country's easternmost section, since to travel there from the continental United States, one must cross the international dateline in the mid-Pacific. Guam's motto is "Where America's Day Begins." As one approaches Guam on the large jets that fly into the international airport, one can see the island's entire 212 square miles from on high. And after seeing only blue ocean for the 3,000-mile flight from Hawai'i, one feels a sense of the isolation and vulnerability experienced by living on such a relatively small piece of land in the midst of such a powerful ocean. The sense of vulnerability increases when one realizes that Guam is subject to frequent typhoons and earthquakes, so that people seem to be constantly rebuilding their damaged homes and businesses and replanting destroyed crops and trees. This sense of vulnerability may be a factor in the Chamorro traditions of caring and sharing with extended family and neighbors, meeting reciprocal obligations, and accenting the importance of community.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, the composition of the population on Guam experienced dramatic growth, from 9,676 in 1901 to 160,796 in 2002. The Chamorros, who still represented 94 percent of the island's population in 1930, made up only 46.2 percent in 1999, though they continued to be the largest group, with a population of 62,292. The increase in population after World War II resulted from a massive influx of U.S. military personnel; since the 1970s, however, it has been due to immigration from the Philippines, Asia, and other Micronesian islands.

My experience among the Chamorros began while living and working as a nurse on Guam from 1975 to 1978. I returned from July 1994 to July 1995 to carry out ethnographic research on the Chamorro experiences of aging: their perspectives, concerns, and strategies for health and old age (Torsch 1996). The manner in which I attempted to understand grandparenting among the Chamorros was through examination of population trends and characteristics, and consideration of individual biographies and attitudes obtained through sixty individual life-history interviews as well as through participant observation. The in-depth interviews followed a modified life-history format that allowed each person to describe her or his perceptions of generational issues and grandparenting, as well as the attitudinal, behavioral, and socioeconomic dimensions of their lives. The sampling technique was primarily convenience sampling based on the accessibility of individuals to the researcher. A total of sixty Chamorros were interviewed, ranging in age from fifty-two to ninety-four years, and consisting of fifty females and ten males. Access was opened by meeting seniors through the senior citizens' centers, through recommendations by family members and friends, and by meeting individuals at community functions, such as fiestas and novenas. The term senior is used because of its usage by mainstream Americans for those age sixty-five years and over, though the Chamorros used the term elder and included individuals as young as fifty years in this group. An attempt was made to obtain interviews from a diverse cross-section of the Chamorro senior population. Variables used as bases for sample quotas included age, gender, education, labor-force participation, and social class.

Participant observation was used to develop rapport and to increase understanding of the Chamorros' complex social setting, relationships, health environment, and cultural milieu in order to facilitate both demographic and qualitative data collection. Participant observation took place in several senior centers, community fiestas, novenas, and general Chamorro family gatherings. It was conducted in both the more heavily populated northern and central areas of the island and in the less populated, more rural southern part.

Demographic Changes

As Panapasa (2007) notes in her study of grandparenting in Fiji, demographic change is important in the wider context of the changing dynamics of grandparenthood in the Pacific. Significant demographic characteristics among the Chamorros that are associated with changes in grandparenting include increased labor-force participation, longer life expectancy, and extended family living arrangements. With the Americanization of Guam, there has been an increase in labor-force participation by Chamorro men and women, including seniors, which represents a significant change in Chamorro society. In 1930 the labor-force participation rates were 49.6% (4,035 out of a total 8,128) among men and 11% (909 out of a total 8,274) among women age ten and over. As of 1990, the overall labor-force participation increased to 46.3% (11,384 out of a total 24,609) among Chamorro men and 35% (8,870 out of a total of 25,326) among Chamorro women age sixteen and over (U.S. Bureau of Census 1930, 1990). This reflects the shift from a household subsistence economy to a wage-labor economy. It also reflects a change in traditional gender roles with increased female participation in the labor force.

The shift in labor-force participation rates has also included older Chamorros. Among seniors in 1990, 49 percent of men and 17 percent of women aged sixty-five to sixty-nine years were in the labor force. Among those in the seventy- to seventy-four-year-old age group, 30 percent of Chamorro men and 9 percent of Chamorro women were active in the labor force. The rates indicate that at the end of the twentieth century many Chamorro seniors were employed in the labor force rather than functioning full-time in the traditional household economy. The change in labor-force participation has affected the style of grandparenting as well as the role of the extended family among the Chamorros.

Increasing labor-force participation has also changed the class system. In the early twentieth century, Guam was divided into wealthy, land-owning, upper-class families and landless, poor, lower-class families. With the American administration came increasing opportunities for wage jobs, public education, and an improved standard of living for many as a middle class evolved. This has allowed many Chamorros to buy land and establish family compounds, where they have been able to maintain the traditional extended family system in which grandparents are an integral part of the household.

Life expectancy at birth increased among the Chamorros from 34.5 years in 1902 to sixty-nine years in 1993 for both sexes. Longer life expectancies are changing the dynamics of intergenerational relations, as some Chamorro families now have five generations living and interacting, whereas two or

three generations was the norm early in the twentieth century. An aging population also increases opportunities for contact between generations, which magnifies and otherwise impacts the grandparenting role (Crosnoe and Elder 2002; Uhlenberg and Kirby 1998).

The coresidence of grandparents and adult children and grandchildren is viewed as an essential aspect of a quality life and the continuation of valued traditions, much as Panapasa (2007) found in her Fijian study and Flinn (2007) found on Pollap. The 1990 U.S. census data on living arrangements show that only 4.9 percent of Chamorro females and 3.4 percent of males age sixty-five and over lived alone as compared with 31 percent of U.S. females and 9 percent of U.S. males age sixty-five and over. These data reflect the Chamorro pattern of extended families living in family compounds and the tradition of family care for older members. These patterns may be changing, though, as economic and social pressures lead younger adults to desire an American-style nuclear family living arrangement and as federally funded, low-income housing that only accommodates single-family units continues to be built. These trends are likely to increasingly affect changes in styles of grandparenting.

Chamorro Grandparenting: Vignettes

During my year of ethnographic research among the Chamorros, the most frequently mentioned positive aspect of being a senior by both men and women was having grown children and grandchildren. This reflected the significance placed on kinship ties and the sense of continuity in intergenerational relations among the seniors. It also indicated how being old and being grandparents are interconnected in Chamorro culture. It was not unusual for elders to comment that: "The best part of being old is watching your grandchildren and great-grandchildren grow. That's my life. We follow our parents' footsteps, raising children and grandchildren." As several other papers in this issue report, grandparenting was considered to be an integral part of the social definition of old age. The Chamorro words for grandmother (*biha*) and grandfather (*bihu*) are defined similarly to the American terms, the parents of one's parents, and since English is becoming the more standard language among youth, one hears the English words as frequently as one hears the Chamorro words.

The seniors identified a variety of experiences with grandparenting from their own childhood years. Recalling the family histories and life course of the grandparent generation, many seniors described having been raised by their grandparents as a result of the early deaths of their mothers and fathers. Others had not known their grandparents because of their early deaths. The

remembered pattern of grandparenting in each case, however, was similar, with grandparents fulfilling productive roles in the traditional household economy.

In the midst of demographic, societal, and economic changes, styles of grandparenting are changing and becoming more diverse in modern-day Guam as they are throughout the Pacific region. One underlying force among the Chamorros is change in the function of the extended family. Where once the family was the center of the household economy of fishing and farming, now family members tend to work in wage-labor jobs away from the household. No longer is the family unit the center of production; no longer is the household the base for economic activity.

There is emerging diversity in grandparenting styles among the Chamorros of Guam as they experience social, economic, and demographic shifts in their lives. Two major themes in this diversity are: *i)* the cultural friction between traditional practices as grandparents *versus* "American" patterns; and *ii)* contrasts in the perspectives and roles of grandfathers and grandmothers. The emerging styles of Chamorro grandparenting range from styles that maintain the Chamorro traditional ideal to ones that are considered by many a shameful style, essentially an adoption of mainstream American patterns of spatial and social distance from the family.

Grandparenting Styles

The Ideal

Tan Maria sits in her living room on a Sunday afternoon as her own children and grandchildren walk through, dutifully doing the traditional *nginge* of kissing the hand of the elder as a sign of respect before sitting down for the rosary and songs. Tan Maria responds with *"Dios ti ayudi hao,"* meaning "May God bless you." She has nine children, twenty grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren, all of whom live on Guam. Her youngest son and his family live in the house next door in the family compound. She and her husband have been married for forty-four years and have a special, close understanding of each other that she says comes with time and shared experiences. Tan Maria and her husband are considered the heads of the family and are approached for their wisdom in making family decisions. Tan Maria's extended family is continuing the Chamorro cultural traditions, which have historically centered on the family and Catholic Church, including the elders as respected leaders in the social system.

Images of the ideal in grandparenting among the Chamorros are often portrayed in Chamorro art. In a batik painting by Guam artist Judy Flores,

a Chamorro grandmother is shown sitting on the front porch surrounded by her grandchildren, who are playing and vying for her attention. In a woodcarving by Guam artist S. Blas entitled *Suruhana*, the traditional healer, also a grandmother, receives the nginge from her grandchild. Both artists depict the Chamorro ideal of grandparenthood being rooted in family connections.

The Shameful

Lourdes is a seventy-eight-year-old Chamorro who lives alone in her cottage apartment at one of Guam's government-sponsored residences for older adults. When her stiffness and pains from arthritis permit, she spends her days at the American-style senior center, which is located at the residence complex. Though she is the mother of eight and the grandmother of forty-two, there is no room for her in any of their homes and little in their lives. Those living on Guam are too busy working to care for her. Three of her children live in the mainland United States, but she seldom sees them and never receives any assistance from them. She gave her property and house to her daughter when she could no longer do the housework so she now has no place of her "own." She has been married twice; widowed by her first husband, she divorced her second because, according to her, she became tired of his running around with other women. This created considerable stress because she is Catholic. She cries when she describes her living arrangement. She is happy when her family visits her on weekends but becomes irritable with all the noise and wants them to leave. Then when they are gone, she cries because she is alone. She does not understand her feelings and is confused about her situation. She cared for her parents in her home when they became unable to care for themselves. She is ashamed that she is not cared for by her family.

Lourdes is one of the aged Chamorros whose life has been affected by the introduction of modern American social and political economic structures and attitudes toward older individuals. Her family has been divided by the out-migration of some of her children to find jobs in the mainland United States, and her family is not continuing the Chamorro traditions of special respect for elders and intergenerational extended family households—hence, the "shame" that she feels.

Traditional Versus American Patterns of Grandparenting

Of the older Chamorros I interviewed, some were adamant about the need to maintain traditional roles and status, that the elders be *saina* and

not *manamko*. In the Chamorro language there are two key words that depict those in their later years. Saina is the Chamorro term for elder. It encompasses the positive connotations of wisdom, having respect, having valuable knowledge and experiences to share, being active, and being a power in family and community. This is the opposite of the concept of being old and worn out, subsumed in the term manamko (plural) or *amko* (singular). Manamko carries the negative connotations of having no one to care for one in later life, being without respect from others and, often, being landless and thus lacking the access to power and status that land ownership can support. According to these definitions, Tan Maria would be referred to as saina, Lourdes as manamko.

These terms, in use today, reflect the complex nature of the contemporary grandparenting experience. Those who follow the traditional roles of grandparenting are considered saina, those who do not are considered manamko. The popular name for the agency that runs the American-style senior centers, SPIMA, is an acronym for *Servicio Para I Manamko,* and those who attend the senior centers are called manamko. Though it would not be appropriate to describe those who attend as worn out since many continue to participate in community and church activities, participation in the senior centers is not a traditional Chamorro style for grandparents. The relatively recent introduction of senior centers has been part of the Americanization of Guam. Since its inception in 1978, the government's Division of Senior Citizens has been charged with planning, implementing, and evaluating programs to promote the well-being of senior citizens (Guam Division of Senior Citizens 1987). Some older Chamorros welcome these programs; some do not. The division in attitudes about the centers reflects the cultural friction between traditional behaviors and the newly introduced choices.

It is likely that the most powerful force for the maintenance and continuity of the Chamorro ideal of grandparenthood has been the passion for cherished cultural values. When asked in a focus group what they would change and what they would preserve in their lives, the participating Chamorros' first priority was the preservation of their most cherished cultural values, namely maintaining close extended kinship ties and continuing an ethic of "caring and sharing" (Torsch 1996).

To the Chamorros, being a grandparent is not a continuation of being a parent, such as Flinn (2007) reports for Micronesians on Pollap; rather, grandparents are perceived to have different roles and responsibilities from parents. Many of the seniors I interviewed shared concerns that their grandchildren were not learning the Chamorro traditions and language and were not learning moral lessons of right from wrong or respect for elders. However, they did not believe it was appropriate for them to interfere with their own

adult children's child-rearing decisions. From the behaviors described as objectionable, it seems that many have their roots in adoption of American styles of behavior, learned from American media representations. Whether the grandparents' attitude of noninterference reflected adoption of American patterns requires further study.

Though the passion for maintaining the traditional cultural values forms a framework in intergenerational relations, the choices as to exactly how this is acted out vary. Some elders maintain traditional grandparenting roles in the extended family household context and provide child care for grandchildren, leading a life that is productive and centered in the family, community, and church. Others take advantage of new opportunities available to today's older Chamorros, such as attending the senior center programs and/or participating in the work force. Though not the traditional style, these individuals continue to be productive and involved. What is considered shameful is when the grandparent's life is no longer focused on the extended family system; this seems too alien to traditional values and therefore disgraceful. One Chamorro woman related the variety of experiences even within one family.

> I retired when I was sixty and entered the traditional practice of staying home to care for my grandchildren while my daughter went to school and later worked. My sister had retired at sixty. She wanted to stay home, watch grandchildren, and cook. So she was happy doing these things, but it made me physically ill and unhappy. I guess every person is different. I love my grandchildren, but I became very irritable. I seemed to be sick all the time and felt tired. I had always worked before and had been very active in the community. I had been fortunate to have a college education, which is not the usual among the elderly Chamorros. I was used to dressing up, going to meetings, using my mind. I wanted to return to work, but I knew my daughter needed my help with the children. She and her husband would have trouble making ends meet unless she worked. So I told her I would help her with the money; she could stay home with the children. But she did not want to give up her job since there might not be such a good job when she tried to return to the work force after the children were able to go to school. So I told her I would help her with money for child care. So I returned to work when I was sixty-one. I love my work. I like to dress up, go to meetings, and be active in the community.

This account described one sister who wished to maintain the traditional style of grandparenting by staying home and caring for her grandchildren,

and a second sister who chose to participate in the labor force. Both sisters were productive in their own ways and both led lives centered in family well-being, true to Chamorro values.

Some seniors desire to maintain the traditional role of grandparenting but cannot because their children have had to leave the island to obtain jobs and raise their own children in the mainland United States. One interviewed woman, who was very oriented to maintaining the traditional grandparent role, was very depressed because while it is the tradition for a son and his family to move into the family compound, her son and his wife and their children live stateside in the United States. They do not plan to return to Guam because of lack of job opportunities on the island. So she lives alone, does not drive due to her poor eyesight, cares for a daughter's children during the day, but is alone and frightened at night. Even though she is maintaining the tradition of caring for her daughter's grandchildren, she is depressed and unhappy in her life because her notion of what "should be" is not being met. She worries about what will happen to her when she becomes frail with no family living with her.

In this instance, the out-migration of children and grandchildren prevents an older woman from assuming the traditional role as grandparent in an extended family household and has forced her to adopt a distanced style of grandparenting with regard to her son's children. This distanced style may become more common among the Chamorros as out-migration continues, adult children leave Guam for education and jobs on the U.S. mainland, and visits between the generations become infrequent due to the expense as well as the miles. Armstrong (2007) discusses how social generativity through grandparenting can be impaired by geographic separation for European and Maori women in New Zealand. The Chamorro cases exemplify the style of distanced grandparent identified by Weibel-Orlando (1997) in her American Indian study. The style involves distance that can be geographical, psychological, and cultural. Significantly, as presented by Weibel-Orlando, it was not a traditional style; it emerged with migration of American Indians to cities. Among Chamorros, the trend is another example of the cultural friction that occurs between seeking the ideal of maintaining Chamorro traditions and adapting to the new, Americanized social and economic reality of life on Guam.

Perspectives of Grandmothers and Grandfathers

Also embedded within the cultural friction between traditional and modern styles of grandparenting is the contrast between men's and women's perspectives on the roles they choose as grandparents. In the subsistence agricultural

economy, everyone in the household contributed to the welfare and survival of the family. Traditionally, male Chamorros farmed, fished, and ranched. Females had responsibility for caregiving to the children and older family members, for domestic production such as making sleeping mats, for preparing food, and for the health and religious activities of the family. Everyone worked very hard all of their lives. The older family members provided necessary contributions: gardening, tending to domestic duties, and taking care of children. There was no retirement, and until the late twentieth century there were no senior centers organized for the seniors to congregate and socialize. Instead, socializing centered on the family and church activities, which are still a significant part of the lives of most Chamorro seniors.

In modern Guam there are many opportunities for seniors to adopt the current American model and continue to be productive while at the same time seeking more leisure activities. Many Chamorros now attend the senior citizens' centers, which are located at the community center in most villages. This is a new, leisure-time activity that was not available to previous generations of older people. The choice of whether or not to participate is allowed by the financial cushion provided by the Social Security benefits for which most older Americans are eligible. Prior to the financial security offered by this American program, seniors, both men and women, were tied along with their extended families to the household economy and continued to work all their lives.

Chamorro grandparenting does not follow American stereotypes of uninvolved grandparents; rather, we find that both grandmothers and grandfathers are involved in the socialization of grandchildren, teaching the language and traditions. Both tend to view their relationships with grandchildren similarly, much as Thomas (1995) found in her studies of gender patterns in American grandparenting. Both are very expressive of their concerns and involved in the lives of their family. However, just as Thomas found for older white Americans, older Chamorro men and women also put emphasis on different aspects of grandparenting. In my interviews it was the grandfathers who voiced greater concern about the trend of losses of traditional knowledge and skills among youth. The grandmothers focused on the benefits that Americanization had brought in a lessened workload, and thereby, in more opportunities for leisure time to enjoy the company of friends and family.

According to many of the older Chamorro women who participated in my study, one of the positive themes characterizing old age today is the lessened workload and freedom from past household obligations that have accompanied Americanization. An older Chamorro woman from the southern part of the island addressed this positive theme.

> The fun about being old is you can just go out and talk with friends, or go in the house and . . . joke with the kids and everybody. Before when my parents were elders and even before, they had to work all their lives. There was no break for them. Now with Social Security an elder may retire and relax in financial security. This is a good thing I wish my parents could have experienced.

Many women who had spent most of their lives in traditional Chamorro fashion were working part-time at the senior centers. They expressed their "double" enjoyment of being with people their own age during the day and then spending the evenings with their children and grandchildren, living with their extended family. They were quite happy to turn over the major portion of the household work to their daughters and to have more time to focus on their own fulfillment.

In contrast to the women's emphasis on a lessened workload and freedom from past obligations as a benefit of old age, the older Chamorro men that I interviewed were very oriented to their role of transmitting traditional skills, language, and values to their children and grandchildren. A sixty-one-year-old Chamorro grandfather described the role of Chamorro men.

> The male's function was as provider for the family—also to teach the children the skills they need to provide for the family. The elder was the showcase for the younger generation, showing them how things should be done. They taught us the importance of family, of sharing with each other, and of helping each other.

> As a father, I taught my children the ways of the land, how to raise fruit trees, how to hunt wild boar, how to build structures and roof. The skills and knowledge that my father shared with me, I have passed on to my children so they can teach their children. And since I still have my health, I teach my grandsons how to do these skills. I also attend many of the activities of my grandchildren, their sports and school activities.

Most of the grandfathers in my study talked about teaching their grandsons the necessary skills of survival: how to fish, cast a fishing net, catch shrimp, and hunt deer. They often expressed concern that the young generation today could not survive if the occurrences of World War II were repeated. During World War II Guam had been captured by the Japanese military; Chamorros were forced into labor camps and required to provide food, supplies, and labor for the Japanese soldiers. It was a difficult time in

which many Chamorros died of disease or lack of food, or were killed by the Japanese, and it left an indelible mark on the psyche of today's older Chamorros. The grandfathers were also concerned that many youth do not view knowledge of Chamorro traditions as important in their Americanized lives and are losing connection with their history and identity as Chamorros. One of them related:

> My family worked hard, and we were very prosperous before the War. We shared with each other and helped each other. Many of the sharing ways are dissipating among the younger generation. They are kept alive by some, but there are fewer and fewer practicing the Chamorro cultural traditions of sharing and caring with each other.

Conclusion

The roles of grandparents in Chamorro society are in the midst of dramatic change as Guam becomes an increasingly Americanized society with a wage-based economy. Grandparenting styles are becoming increasingly diverse, and this diversity is embedded in individual personalities, gender, lifestyle choices, and educational level as well as sociocultural and economic situations.

In his book *Choice Points*, Glidewell (1970) described how people come to "choice points" in their lives when they must make life-alternating decisions such as between fight or flight or between independence or dependence. These decisions affect their emotional lives and interactions with the significant others in their families and communities. The Chamorros of Guam seem to be at such a choice point when choosing their roles as grandparents—between continuing the traditional roles as saina, which connotes wisdom, respect, being active, and having a position of power in family and community, or adapting to new, American-style roles as manamko, that is uncared for, without respect, and lacking access to power or status. As Schweitzer (1999) concludes for the American Indian societies, it may be that new, nontraditional roles serve to bridge the gap between the old and new ways of grandparenting. In the process, the meanings of Chamorro labels may change. In the meantime, a sense of cultural friction prevails.

Within this cultural friction the emerging styles of grandparenting range from those maintaining the traditional ideal to what is considered by many as a shameful style, essentially an adoption of American patterns distanced from the family. The central value differentiating this duality is the maintenance of significant family connections, roles, and responsibilities. A key traditional

value has been productivity in the family, in the church, and in the community. At the heart of the choice point for today's grandparents is the decision whether to maintain a traditional productive role or adopt a "nonproductive" (or nontraditionally productive) role. There are many new ways of being productive available; both grandfathers and grandmothers may be employed, retired, and/or participating in the senior centers.

Today's Chamorro elders also present diversity in their perspectives on the importance of continuing to be productive *versus* the blessing of having more leisure time and fewer household responsibilities. Gender-based differences are significant aspects of this diversity, with more women focusing on the benefits of having new opportunities for leisure and opportunities for participating in nonhousehold work activities. It is more often the men who express concern about loss of Chamorro heritage and traditions. Because of their experiences of privation during the Japanese occupation in World War II and because Guam is subject to frequent natural disasters in the form of typhoons and earthquakes, there is concern on the part of the grandfathers that their grandchildren will not have the survival skills necessary in such crises. Since they perceive these skills to be part of their cultural heritage and part of their identity as Chamorros, they are concerned about this break in cultural continuity.

Many older people beyond Guam's shores are experiencing the choice point of deciding between productive and nonproductive roles. A study by Merrill Lynch and Harris Research (2004) indicates that this choice point is associated with gender differences between what older American men and women wish to do with their later years. The men accented wanting to spend more time with spouse and family; the women accented the desire to do meaningful volunteer work, reinvent themselves, and enhance their spiritual side. The choice point is perhaps becoming a global experience as older people strive to maintain a sense of relevance in their families, communities, and society in the face of the overwhelming impact of social forces such as ageism and organizational structures such as forced retirement.

As on Guam, the choice is not always the grandparents'; it may be imposed by new political and economic realities. Among the Chamorros the out-migration of children and grandchildren may determine the style of grandparenting, or being landless and poor they may not have the economic resources to continue traditional roles and practices. Situated within the cultural friction between traditional practices and American patterns of grandparenting is the economic status of Chamorro families. There seems to be a class-like difference between grandparenting styles of "landed" and "landless" Chamorros. Landed Chamorros, who tend to be middle and upper class, have the resources to maintain continuity with their traditional values

and the extended family living arrangement. Landless, and often low-income, Chamorros are more likely to find themselves having to adopt American-style living arrangements outside the extended family and being unable to continue their cherished traditional values of caring and sharing.

Also, the change in labor patterns from household subsistence toward wage labor outside the family compound has meant that many of the economic survival skills of the grandparents' generation and knowledge of the land and sea are less relevant to the grandchildren. The discontinuity brought by the Americanization of Guam creates breaks with past history and the traditions by which previous generations organized their lives. These discontinuities can cause great anxiety and a feeling of loss of interconnectedness in the group (Keen 1993). They will require adjustments at the individual and community levels in order to regain a sense of cultural continuity and personal interconnectedness in Chamorro society.

There are many unknowns in the future of Chamorro culture, in the new Chamorro Way. Will the valued traditions, anchored in the extended family and in values of caring and sharing, remain relevant in the twenty-first century? Or will the Chamorros increasingly adopt the mainstream American style of grandparenting with infrequent visits and separate living arrangements? Will their influence in child rearing and in transmitting values and traditions as well as the Chamorro language continue to be increasingly relegated to day-care institutions and schools? The paths taken when Chamorro grandparents come to their choice points will be part of the answer to these questions.

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CONTINUING TO BE A MOTHER: GRANDMOTHERING ON POLLAP

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Perspectives from human evolution and life cycle development frame this paper on grandmothering in a Micronesian setting. On Pollap Atoll in the Central Caroline Islands, being a grandmother is part of a developmental process that involves aging and a changing parental role. Being an older woman is interwoven with being a grandmother in much the same way as being an adult woman is interwoven with being a mother. Much of the work of a grandmother toward grandchildren involves continuing responsibilities to one's adult child. Today's grandmothers continue to carry out these responsibilities in the context of adaptation to migration. The result is a degree of contact with and awareness of the wider world Pollapese have become part of. Grandmothers are not isolated, out of touch, or seen as irrelevant.

MUCH OF THE LITERATURE on grandparenting has focused on the role of grandparent as distinct and separable from the role of parent (e.g., Drew and Smith 2002; Mueller, Wilhelm, and Elder 2002; Neugarten and Weinstein 1964) without regard for the extent to which grandparenting roles may at least in part be altered parenting roles, as one's adult children bear children of their own, rather than new roles created with the birth of grandchildren. Evolutionary perspectives, especially on grandmothering, even suggest that helping to provision one's adult children—daughters especially—and assisting in the care of grandchildren serve to enhance reproductive fitness (Hawkes et al. 1998; O'Connell, Hawkes, and Jones 1999; Smith 1991; Turke 1988); "elderly parents should be strongly predisposed to invest in their offspring throughout life" (Turke 1988, 185). In other words, continuing to

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parent one's adult children, shifting the nature of that parenting through the developmental cycle, has adaptive value. These perspectives suggest that rather than viewing the role of the grandparent as discrete from the role of parent and almost exclusively focused on grandchildren, we need to examine the circumstances under which and the extent to which the role of the grandparent is a developmentally transformed parental role and focused at least as much on the adult child as on the grandchild.

On Pollap Atoll in the Central Caroline Islands of Micronesia, being a grandmother is part of a developmental process that involves aging and a changing parental role. Being an older woman is interwoven with being a grandmother in much the same way as being an adult woman is interwoven with being a mother. This is not to say that all grandmothers on Pollap are defined culturally as being "old"; some younger women are technically grandmothers but clearly not in the category of older woman. In 1998, for example, nine of the twenty-nine grandmothers (not including those who were also great- or great-great-grandmothers) were in their forties and considered mature women but not old.

On the other hand, an older woman on Pollap is always simultaneously a grandmother, just as being an adult woman encompasses being a mother. This is because all adult women are mothers, whether biological or adoptive (the lone exception at the time of the study was a woman who had chosen to become a Catholic nun). Since all women have children, all older women in effect become grandmothers as their children in turn all become parents. Thus, much of what is associated with being an older woman—such as being a repository of history and specialized knowledge—is also in effect associated with being a grandmother, and it can be difficult to isolate just the "grandparenting" piece. Attempting to do so may also be inappropriately superimposing Western categories of kinship onto Pollapese conceptions.

Furthermore, in many respects, being a grandmother is simply the continuation of being a mother and part of the normal progression of moving through the life cycle and aging. The specific responsibilities shift over time as part of a developmental process, but the overall responsibility to care for one's children and to contribute to the sustenance and well-being of the household persist. With aging and decline in physical abilities, women tend to shift their activities away from the heavier work of gardening to lighter work such as keeping an eye on children in the household, which often means grandmothers in effect tending to their grandchildren. Moreover, even old and somewhat feeble women are likely to be household managers, and there is almost invariably some sort of contribution, such as softening pandanus strips for making mats, that even the oldest can make. Perhaps most important, the older members of society are valued for their knowledge and expertise, which they may pass on to relatives such as grandchildren.

In today's context of increasing migration, grandmothers continue to carry out their responsibilities to care for their children. This is the case not just for Pollapese children and grandparents resident on the atoll but also for those residing elsewhere in Micronesia. As young people move to the port town in Chuuk and to Guam and Saipan for school and work, and as they start having children, grandmothers move to join them at least for periods of time. By doing so, these grandmothers enable mothers and fathers—their adult children—to continue in school and work by caring for grandchildren in much the same way as they enable mothers and fathers to continue with subsistence activities on Pollap. The result is a degree of contact with and awareness of the wider world Pollapese have become a part of. Grandmothers are not isolated, out of touch, or seen as irrelevant.

Setting

The islet of Pollap is the northernmost of two inhabited islets of Pollap Atoll in the western part of Chuuk State in the Federated States of Micronesia. A sizeable Pollap community also lives and works in the port town of Weno in Chuuk Lagoon, and a number of other islanders live on Guam, Saipan, and even in the United States, where they are involved in a money economy. This paper draws on long-term ethnographic field research conducted during a series of visits between 1980 and 1999, and much of the information relevant to grandmothering was collected during fieldwork conducted in 1998–1999. At that time, about half of all Pollapese resided on the atoll during the American academic year, with the rest scattered; secondary school students were off the island from September through May, and other Pollapese were living, working, or attending college elsewhere in Micronesia and the United States. Among the 228 adult Pollapese living both on and off the atoll, there were twenty-nine grandmothers, six great-grandmothers, and one great-great-grandmother. Nine of the grandmothers, almost a third, were under fifty years old and not considered socially "old." It is possible only to estimate the age in years of those older than fifty due to lack of good birth-date records for Pollap before the advent of the U.S. administration in the late 1940s.

Although many Pollapese off the island are pursuing paid work, the atoll economy is still largely based on subsistence horticulture and fishing. Imported rice is becoming a staple, but most food consumed on the island still comes from the local gardens or the sea. In the subsistence economy, women are responsible for gardening and men for fishing, although women also collect reef creatures, especially octopus. In a survey I conducted of how women defined their roles, I was not surprised to find that working in the taro gardens was the most salient. Although caring for children was less salient,

Pollapese woman conceived of growing food as fundamental to everything else and a part of caring for others, including children. Local notions of being an adult woman center on cultivating and providing food, the major point of which is to be able to feed, nurture, and care for children. Strong, healthy women continue to garden even when they become grandmothers, and they continue to participate in related subsistence activities to the extent possible even when they weaken with age. Furthermore, caring for children, including adult children, is a lifelong commitment. No one sees grandparenting as a cessation of parenting responsibilities: aging adults continue to care for their adult children, nieces, and nephews, and they expect to be involved in caring for the children born to those adults.

As descent is matrilineal and residence typically uxorilocal, women are usually working and living with sisters, mother, maternal aunts, and maternal grandmother. These household members reside together on the same plot of land, sometimes together in one building, sometimes in two or three smaller buildings adjacent to each other. Some houses are made of thatch and not subdivided with walls, while others are constructed of imported materials and may have separate rooms for sections of the extended family and/or the adolescent males.

Pelina is an example of a contemporary grandmother on Pollap. In 1998 she was a widow in her early fifties and lived in a single-dwelling household with her younger sister, two of her younger sister's daughters, three married daughters of her own, two unmarried daughters, one son in elementary school, husbands of two of the married daughters, and ten grandchildren. Another daughter was away attending secondary school elsewhere in Chuuk State, a son was in the United States, and a daughter was working on Guam, married, with a child. The younger sister had four children living off-island—two working on Guam and two attending secondary schools in Chuuk. Although some grandmothers continue to work in the taro gardens, Pelina's physical condition prevented her from such heavy work; her sister and daughters were the active cultivators in the household. Thirteen of the twenty-two people residing in the household were under fourteen years of age. Pelina, as senior woman, was household manager.

All of the women in a household collectively are responsible for the well-being of the household, which includes the care of children. The most senior woman (who is also still mentally competent) is the manager of the household and likely to be a grandmother, and work is shared among the members. This work includes parenting. Women have parental responsibilities toward the children of their brothers and sisters, as well as the children of their own adult children, many of whom live in the same residence. All would be referred to as *neyiy* (my child).

Studies of adoption in the Pacific have already indicated that latent parental rights may be shared among a number of relatives (e.g., Flinn 1985; Goodenough, R. G. 1970; Goodenough, W. H. 1970; Marshall 1976). A biological mother is not expected to be the exclusive caregiver of her children; she can count on assistance from a number of female kin, including her own sisters and the child's grandmothers. Grandmothers do not normally expect to be free of child-care responsibilities when their children are grown and begin having families of their own, unlike many grandparents in the United States (Kornhaber 1996).

In fact, it is even misleading to think of "grandparent" as a distinctive cognitive category on Pollap. Certainly in the Pollapese language, there is no specific term for grandmother as opposed to the word for mother (or aunt or great-aunt, for that matter). The same term, *in*, is used for both mother and grandmother and also applies to aunt and great-aunt, although *inelap* can distinguish lineal mother/grandmother from collateral aunt/great-aunt. The only way grandmother in the Western sense of parent's mother can be distinguished is by context or by specifying "mother's mother" or "father's mother." Sometimes inelap is used to designate the senior woman responsible for household decisions, sometimes a child's mother, sometimes a person's grandmother, with context the only way to distinguish which one. In the same vein, there is no distinctive word for grandchild as opposed to child.

The Pollap term *Mama Chi* is the closest to a term for grandmother, although a better translation of the term is probably "Old Mother." *Chi* comes from the word *chillap,* which applies in general to an old person. When I asked what defines women as chillap, I was told that "they just stay in the house and they watch children." In other words, a key part of the definition of being an older woman is someone who takes care of children, and these will primarily be grandchildren, with grandnieces and grandnephews as well, and in some cases great-grandchildren. Pollapese mentioned that some chillap may perform other work in the house, such as making sleeping mats or preparing pandanus for other women to use. Yet in reality, many grandmothers are still quite strong, healthy, relatively young in years, and still actively working in the taro gardens; in other words, the category of chillap includes only some grandmothers.

Another category of women that includes grandmothers is *finimmóng* (or *finilikkep*). The first term translates as "hardened, strong, mature woman," the second as "senior woman." Some Pollapese women said that this category could be translated as "grandmother." Women in this group are still active and strong, carrying out the work of adult women, particularly cultivating taro. All of the Pollapese women said to be in this category when I asked for a list were indeed grandmothers. A key characteristic of this category of

woman is that they are *repiy* (wise, experienced); they lead younger, more junior women, and they are said to be the most knowledgeable, along with older and more frail women who are still mentally active. These characteristics apply because of age and experience, however, not because of having grandchildren.

The Grandmother's Role

Whether healthy or frail, grandmothers usually reside with their daughters and their daughters' children, and they assist in caring for children in the household, some of whom are likely to have been adopted. Furthermore, residence is quite fluid and flexible, so that other children—such as a brother's children—are also likely to be around, at times for a few hours, at times for weeks or months or more.

In 1998, all grandmothers on Pollap lived as members of extended families. All but one grandmother had at least one adult daughter resident as well; the one exception had only an adult son resident, and relatives were generally critical of the woman's other adult children for not returning home to assist with household work and for leaving the grandmother without a resident adult daughter. A few households technically lacked a resident grandmother. Of the thirty-four households at the time, three had recently experienced the death of a grandmother and were at a point in their developmental cycle in which they temporarily lacked one. They nonetheless had competent senior women in their forties to manage the households, and these women were likely soon to become grandmothers themselves once an adult child had a baby. Two other households consisted of nuclear families who had recently set up residence nearby the very large extended family they had previously been a part of; one was headed by a woman of thirty-eight, the other by a woman of forty-four. Two more households had women under thirty as the most senior, but each of these cooperated very closely and on a daily basis with the households of their sisters and mothers. No young woman would be expected to manage on her own.

Much of the care of grandchildren, however, is a continuation of caring for one's children as they become adults and parents. In fact, it is often made quite explicit that caring for grandchildren benefits the child's parent. For example, taking care of an infant allows the mother to tend to personal needs such as bathing, and caring for an older child allows the mother to garden and carry out other work responsibilities. Pollapese expressly say that grandmothers take care of children so that "the mother can go work—like in the taro gardens or on making a mat." Women's work—such as gardening, cooking, making mats, caring for children—is vital to the survival of the household, viewed as caregiving behavior, and generally shared among the

women of the household, with the most senior having most responsibility for ensuring the welfare of everyone.

Caring for grandchildren is more than just a way of ensuring that essential work gets done, however. Pollapese contend, for example, that part of the job of a grandmother is to hold a baby because the mother can get tired of doing so. In fact, the biological mother is not expected to have to care for a baby by herself; grandmothers are expected to assist as part of their ongoing responsibilities towards nurturing their children, even when those children are adults. Furthermore, if a young woman becomes pregnant and for some reason does not want to care for her child, then her parents would do so. This might happen, for instance, if a child is born to an unmarried woman who is still quite young or planning on attending school. Pollapese have no understanding of why an American woman would choose an abortion, because they can't conceive of how or why one of the grandmothers, or other female kin, wouldn't care for an unwanted child. In reality, there is a continuum of care, such that in some cases a grandmother takes on essentially all the mothering responsibilities and in others the role is shared in varying degrees, and these change over time with particular circumstances.

Another dimension of a grandmother's responsibilities dovetails with the role of what I call "managing" the household. The more senior a woman becomes in a household, the more managerial a position she holds. With people living in extended matrilocal households, the typical pattern is indeed for a grandmother to be the active, senior woman in the household, so that a key part of a grandmother's responsibilities involves managing the household. A wide array of work activities needs to be coordinated, including gardening, gathering pandanus, preparing food, making roofing panels, working on mats, bathing children, tending to illness, sending food to relatives, and taking children to school. In making decisions, younger sisters defer to older sisters, and sisters to mothers. In many respects, a better translation than "grandmother" or "old mother" for "Mama Chi" is actually "manager." One woman of only about thirty was nicknamed "Mama Chi" precisely because she took on such grandmotherly managerial responsibilities on Guam and Saipan when living with fellow Pollapese, taking care of them as well as taking care of their children. Pollapese explained that this young woman *téttemumuw* (cared for) the other adults and their children, and she took charge of ensuring that people were fed and cared for; it was these actions that earned her the nickname of "Mama Chi." Since she was the woman in charge, managing affairs, and attending to household needs, she was "Mama Chi," the grandmother.

Just as being a mother and caring for children involve subsistence activities, so does being a grandmother, with the specifics of the work varying with physical ability. Depending on chronological age and health, grandmothers

are likely to still be involved in cultivating taro and performing other heavy work, rotating and coordinating responsibilities with other women in the household. Even as they become frail and housebound, however, grandmothers can remain involved in household work, and they are highly valued as caregivers of children as other women bear the heavier work. Certainly, they direct activities. In a visit to a household one morning, for example, I noticed the grandmother admonish an elementary school child to finish an assignment before going off to school, urge the other grandchildren to eat, feed the youngest, charge a daughter to clean up after another one, take two grandchildren to their Head Start class, and then start organizing food in preparation for the main meal.

Aside from managing the work of others and keeping an eye on children—their jobs *par excellence*—grandmothers regularly help with preparing food as they also supervise the work of their daughters and grandchildren. In addition, even if they no longer work in the taro gardens, they can prepare pandanus for making mats, construct mats themselves, gather scraps for feeding to pigs, wash young children, and direct a host of other chores.

Taking care of daughters and the children of daughters is part and parcel of managing the household, yet a grandmother also cares for sons and the children of sons. In one way or another, older women are grandmothers, caring for children of both sons and daughters, and managing households with resident children. Furthermore, this residence is fluid, with children eating and sleeping in a variety of relatives' households. At times, then, the household also includes children of the men who have married into other households, so that grandmothers have access to a wide array of grandchildren, grandnieces, and grandnephews.

The maternal grandmother typically lives in the same household and will be of the same matrilineal descent group as her daughters and their children, unlike the paternal grandmother, who because of clan exogamy will be of a different descent group, and is also likely to be living in a different household from her son's children. Although in some matrilineal societies, this may mean structured differences in roles between the two grandmothers (Schlegel 1999), on Pollap there is ideally not supposed to be a difference. In terms of caring for grandchildren, "It shouldn't make a difference if it's a child of a daughter or the child of a son," in the words of one grandmother voicing the conventional wisdom. Both grandmothers should be involved with their grandchildren, participate in making important decisions about them, and share responsibility for their well-being. In reality, the maternal grandmother is in effect almost automatically involved in her grandchildren's lives when they are resident in the same household, whereas the paternal grandmother usually has to more consciously make an effort to establish and sustain the tie.

A paternal grandmother is expected to find ways to spend time at the household of her daughter-in-law, particularly with a newborn and especially if the daughter-in-law's own mother is away. In practical terms, however, Pollapese say that with an adult son and child of a son, the grandmother might not visit or spend as much time in her son's household if there are otherwise plenty of women in residence to help. Pollapese do believe, however, that it is hard for a mother of young children, especially newborns, if her own mother is not around, and that is an occasion for the paternal grandmother to make a point of spending as much time as possible helping a baby's mother and father. As one grandmother in that situation said of her daughter-in-law, "What if she wants to go shower? And what about food?"

Grandparents and their adult children both make efforts to ensure that a son's child visits the paternal grandmother's household on a regular basis. A son or daughter-in-law should regularly bring a grandchild to a paternal grandmother, sometimes leaving the child to be tended, but sometimes just to visit in order to maintain and even strengthen the relationship. All of this is consistent with the more general pattern of working to explicitly maintain patrilateral ties, which should be as strong as matrilateral ones but can't be taken for granted as readily (Flinn 1992, 61–64). A son or daughter-in-law bringing a grandchild to visit and a woman tending her son's children are behaviors that nurture the relationship between a child and its father's matrilineal kin, a relationship that is valued on Pollap but more fragile and tenuous than the matrilineal ones. These patrilateral relationships must be more consciously and explicitly maintained through specific behavior demonstrating the commitment. Adoption is another and more formal mechanism, since the preferred and most common form is to adopt a "brother's child," or in effect, a child of a man of one's matrilineal group. Younger adult women following this pattern are likely to adopt the child of a brother; grandmothers are more likely to choose the child of a son. Women maintain it doesn't make as much sense to adopt a sister's child, since that child is likely already to be living in the household and cared for like a child, unlike the child of a brother, who resides elsewhere; in the same vein, they say that it makes more sense to adopt the child of a son, living elsewhere, than the child of a daughter, who is already in the household. Some even contend that a father's adoptive mother has priority in adopting the father's child as a replacement for the father.

Grandmothers, as older women, are more knowledgeable and experienced and therefore more responsible for managing junior women, and as a whole are more outspoken and assertive than their quieter daughters. For example, at a holiday feast, a group of grandmothers led some spontaneous taunting, teasing songs and dances directed at the men. In addition, they

have responsibilities to *ffén* (advise, scold) their juniors, including their grandchildren. And both maternal and paternal grandmothers are expected to do so. A grandmother's views and opinions may be even more important than a mother's, especially considering the older woman's knowledge and experience compared with those of the parents. In almost all matters, in fact, parents are expected to defer to the wisdom and seniority of the grandparents. This is part of a broader kinship pattern of junior kin deferring to senior kin (Flinn 1990, 45–71).

A specific example I was given concerned decisions about schooling. Leaving the atoll to attend college is a major decision, and one not left to a child. A number of relatives participate in such decisions, including senior siblings, parents, grandparents, and probably at least some of the siblings of the parents and grandparents—in other words, senior kin in general. When comparing the role of a mother and a grandmother in particular, a child's mother should defer to her own mother. If, for example, the mother wants her child to leave for college but the grandmother dissents, the mother may attempt to make her case but in the end is expected to acquiesce to the decision that the child stay if the grandmother remains adamant.

Otherwise, people assert that the roles of mother and of grandmother are very much the same regarding responsibilities towards a child, both in terms of physical care and ffén (advising). The grandmother's advice, however, is expected to have a little more weight because of the additional years of knowledge an older woman has accrued. Although in mainstream U.S. society, the role of grandparent is not usually seen as being a reservoir of family wisdom (Neugarten and Weinstein 1964), it is nonetheless highly valued among the Pollapese, as also seems to be the case with Native Americans (Weibel-Orlando 1997). It is by virtue of their age in years, however, that Pollapese grandparents have acquired this wisdom, and there is not otherwise a distinction made between the role of parent and the role of grandparent, such as that described by Metge for the Polynesian Maori, where "parents lay the ground-work, developing basic character and practical skills in their children; senior relatives complete the process by nurturing the children's self-image, linguistic competence and special talents" (1995: 175–76). Pollapese grandparents by virtue of their years of experience have more wisdom, but they care for, guide, and advise a child along with a child's other "parents." Even though a grandmother today is not expected to be able to aid a child with arithmetic homework or prepare a teenager for the perils of high school, college, or work, she is nonetheless still expected to play a role, along with other caregivers, in nurturing behavioral traits congruent with Pollapese norms and values, which in turn are expected to stand young people in good stead in the outside world as well.

Neither maternal nor paternal grandmother appears to have priority over the other. In fact, the idea of discord between the grandmothers over a decision concerning the child is abhorrent to the Pollapese. The grandmothers ideally should not disagree; discord between grandmothers—between any relatives, in fact—is likely to cause illness in the child. In general, it is considered shameful for there to be *hoongféngan* (anger among) relatives. This was routinely the answer given when I asked if one grandmother's view was supposed to have priority over another's. Individual grandmothers maintained that they would defer to the other grandmother, but I never detected a specific pattern of paternal or maternal grandmother routinely deferring to the other. It seems that the point is to avoid discord. Whenever possible people speak of deferring to others and showing humility rather than exerting authority over others. A maternal grandmother will almost always spend more time with grandchildren because of the residence pattern, but culturally she is not presumed to have more authority than a paternal grandmother.

Despite all this emphasis on grandmothers caring for children and managing the household and the work of other women, these aging women are not expected to fend for themselves or to be left alone very long. Young men and women can expect help, advice, and guidance from grandmothers in caring for young children, but these young men and women also have obligations towards those grandmothers. At the very least, they should carry out work expected of them and acquiesce to the wishes of their parents. They are expected to help in the care of their parents and to shoulder much of the burden of the heavier work. In addition, grandchildren and children both are expected to attend to grandparents who have become sick, weak, or disabled. As Donner (1987) describes for a Polynesian community on Sikaiana in the Solomon Islands, it is not one particular type of relative who bears responsibility for old people, but rather a range of kin. A frail older woman might be able to watch small grandchildren or great-grandchildren for a period of time during the day but should otherwise not be left to garden, hunt octopus, or cook. Her job may be to direct and manage, even work at nonstrenuous tasks, but the harder work of caring for the household and grandchildren should be in the hands of the able-bodied, especially the mothers and the fathers. Unlike the Fijian case (Panapasa 2007), it would be inconceivable that grandparents would be abandoned and left uncared for, regardless of any inability to participate in the work of the household.

Education, Migration, and Jobs

In recent years with increasing migration and more and more young people looking for work off-island, some grandparents are having to shoulder more

responsibilities. Certainly, older Pollapese are quite critical of the young people who remain on Guam and Saipan even when asked to return to the atoll and help with the household. Many grandparents have explicitly asked for adult children to return; in the words of one local critic, the grandparents have "called their children to come back and help them with work at home, but the children refuse." Such behavior in recent years has left grandparents to fend for themselves, often with grandchildren to attend to who are typically too young to be of much help. This is still not common, but it could become so. Decisions about young people going off-island to school, which often results in the students then looking for work off-island, are usually made at the family level and not by the individual student, and most families try to arrange for only some of the young people to leave while others remain, especially one of the young women. In this way, continuity of the descent group is secure, and aging parents can be assured of care when they are no longer strong and healthy.

At the same time, the migration of young adults to Chuuk, Guam, and Saipan has resulted in grandmothers having opportunities to spend time off-island and participate in the wider world Pollapese are a part of. Movement of Pollapese is not new, but the volume and destinations have been affected by political changes, education, and job possibilities. Young people are pursuing postsecondary education in a variety of places, including Weno (the capital of Chuuk), Guam, and Saipan. Many are also working or looking for jobs. Grandmothers today very commonly spend time in these places as well, in a pattern of circular migration, carrying out their responsibilities to children and grandchildren. Similar to the cases of the Micronesian Marshallese (Carucci 2007) and Polynesian Raivavaens (Dickerson-Putman 2007), grandparenting serves as a strategy for coping with migration. In 1998 twelve of Pollap's twenty-nine grandmothers, a little over 40 percent, spent all or part of the year residing off Pollap because of their ongoing responsibilities to adult children. Regardless of whether a child's mother continues to attend school or work, she is seen as in need of help, just as she would be on Pollap, and she is not expected to have to care for her child by herself. Even if she is living with other female kin in town, her own mother is likely to migrate for extended periods of time, even moving back and forth between atoll and town. In many cases, the help of grandmothers allows young parents, especially mothers, to continue in school or on the job in a pattern not much different from the situation on the atoll in which the work of grandmothers allows mothers to return to the taro gardens. The difference on Pollap is that in many cases grandmothers are also working in the gardens themselves; at least as of 1999, none had joined the workforce off-island.

Thus, in both the traditional context and the modern one, and both on the atoll and among migrants in town, older women move almost seamlessly from mothering into grandmothering, as they continue caring for their grown children. These responsibilities keep them in touch with daily life on the atoll and allow them to travel to other areas of Micronesia where their adult children pursue schooling and work. Like the women of New Zealand described by Armstrong (2007), Pollapese grandmothers remain socially integrated. Though not active in the workplace themselves, they learn enough of Chuuk, Guam, and Saipan to make informed decisions—or participate in making such decisions—about their children and grandchildren, especially about their education and future prospects. Like the grandmothers in Kenya described by Cattell (1994), the life course of many of today's Pollapese grandmothers contrasts sharply with that of their granddaughters. Since most grew up before the era in which high numbers left for secondary education and began pursuing jobs, they are not likely to have practical advice for how to deal with problems at school or on the job. They can and do participate in household decisions, however, about the impact on a household of allowing the young people to leave for school and to pursue particular vocations.

In addition, American research indicates that maintaining contact with grandchildren contributes to the psychological well-being of the grandparents and that loss of contact results in grief (Drew and Smith 2002). Continuing to pursue one's responsibilities to grown children in the context of migration presumably also helps maintain a degree of mental health and sense of connectedness for older women.

The Future?

It is unclear how long today's patterns will continue. The future may bring some of the cultural frictions Torsch (2007) describes for Chamorro grandparents on Guam with the rise of education, migration, and labor-force participation. The youngest of today's Pollap grandmothers was among the first of the young women to begin leaving the island for postelementary education set up by the American administration in Micronesia. With only one exception, these women did not finish high school or enter the work force but returned to Pollap to marry and participate in the traditional subsistence economy. This is not the case with many of the younger women—some only a few years younger and close to becoming grandmothers themselves. Many of them finished high school, took at least some college courses, and found jobs. Even when they married and had children, some continued to work at paid jobs. They have been able to do so, in fact, because of the assistance of

their own mothers, who came to help take care of the house and the children. As these employed parents become grandparents themselves, will they leave the labor force to play the traditional grandparental role? If so, will the role become primarily that of housecleaning and taking care of children, with managerial decisions in the hands of the parents who are bringing in the money? Will the circular migration pattern continue, with grandparents moving between town and atoll? Will grandparents remain available as sources of knowledge and specialized lore? It may be only a momentary phenomenon that the traditional grandmothering role has adapted reasonably well to the changed circumstances, as grandmothers enable their children to take advantage of schooling and work opportunities and as these activities help keep the older women from being isolated and perceived as useless.

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CHANGING CONTEXTS FOR GRANDPARENT ADOPTION ON RAIVAVAE, FRENCH POLYNESIA

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This paper examines change in grandparent adoption and care of grandchildren on the Austral island of Raivavae in French Polynesia. The focus is on how Raivavaens have utilized the flexible, negotiable, and contingent institution of grandparent adoption as a strategy for coping with changing global/local linkages, out-migration for employment, and introduction of nonindigenous institutions and processes. The inherent flexibility of the adoptive relationship is apparently enabling Raivavaens to mold it in ways that serve a new set of needs and circumstances, most of which reside with the grandchild's parents rather than the grandparents. Grandparents appear to have extended and otherwise altered their adoption roles and responsibilities in large part to meet the needs and aspirations of the grandchild's parents, their adult children. This represents a significant shift in Raivavaen attitudes and values.

IN RECENT YEARS the caregiving roles that grandparents play in the lives of their grandchildren have been a focus of research in a wide variety of cultural contexts (Bahr 1994; Burton, Dilworth-Anderson, and Merriwether-deVries 1995; Cattell 1989, 1994; Hirshorn 1998; Ikels 1998; Jendrek 1993; Shomaker 1989; Weibel-Orlando 1997). Diana Shomaker (1989), for example, explores changing patterns in the adoption or fosterage of Navajo grandchildren by their grandparents. In the past, grandchildren would be "given" to grandparents to show respect and to provide the grandparents with a source of help. Grandchildren would be expected to live with their grandparents until they reached adulthood. More recently, it is the changed life circumstances of the adult children (biological parents), not the needs of the parents

Pacific Studies, Vol. 30, Nos. 3/4—Sept./Dec. 2007

(adopting parents), that have triggered the fosterage or adoption of grandchildren by grandparents. A similar shift in context also impacts the care that grandparents give to grandchildren on the French Polynesian island of Raivavae.

Although the grandparent/grandchild relationship has not been extensively explored by Polynesian researchers, grandparents in all Polynesian societies provide a continuum of both temporary and long-term care to grandchildren in a variety of contexts and relationships (see e.g., Brooks 1976; Hooper 1970). One particularly well-documented type of extended caregiving is created when grandparents adopt the children of their biological and/or adopted children. Grandparent adoption is part of a geographically specific social process in which the adoptive relationship is flexible, contingent, and informal (Baddeley 1982; Donner 1987; Elliston 1997; Firth 1957; Howard and Kirkpatrick 1989; Huntsman 1971; Modell 1995; Shore 1976).

It has been suggested that the flexible and contingent nature of Polynesian adoption has offered these Pacific islanders some advantage in dealing with changing global/local linkages, high levels of out-migration for employment (Brooks 1976; Hooper 1970; Ottino 1970), and the introduction of nonindigenous institutions and processes (Baddeley 1982; Modell 1995). In this paper, I review the existing ethnography of grandparent adoption in diverse French Polynesian groups as a way to contextualize and provide a comparative framework for my analysis of how people living on the Austral island of Raivavae have utilized the fluid and contingent social institution of grandparent adoption as a strategy for adapting to changing patterns of out-migration.

Grandparent Adoption in French Polynesia

Residents of all five archipelagoes (Society, Tuamotus, Marquesas, Gambier, and Austral) in French Polynesia learn and understand the contemporary Tahitian language. Most Tahitian dictionaries include two words for adoption: *tavai,* which means to adopt in a formal and legal way, and *fa'a'amu,* which means to informally (nonlegally) adopt a "feeding child." Throughout this paper, I use the term adoption to refer to the informal relationship that is created through the feeding of and caring for a child. It is generally agreed that adoption is one type of caregiving relationship that exists between relatives, including grandchildren and grandparents (Brooks 1976; Hooper 1970; Levy 1970).

Today, as in the past, adoption is a highly significant process in the formation of social relationships in French Polynesia (Brooks 1976; Elliston

1997; Levy 1973). In fact, in some communities, adopted children can be found in over 40 percent of island households. Most regional ethnographers agree on the key characteristics of the adoptive relationship. First, adoption is a situational, negotiable, and contingent social process that defies precise definition. Elliston (1997), Levy (1970), and Oliver (1974, 1981) document a continuum of situations and contexts involving adoptive children in households. The biological parents, the adoptive parents, and the child negotiate and define the residential and inheritance options of the child, the nature of the interaction between the child and his/her adoptive and biological parents, the transfer of jural responsibility from the biological to the adoptive parents, and the duration of the relationship.

Second, the adoption of children should be initiated by close family members such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles because these members share in the ownership of such resources as land, personal names, and children (Hooper 1970). It is also expected that close family members would not harm a child of the family (Elliston 1997). In fact, it is a child's filial obligation to "give" their offspring to their parents (Brooks 1976; Elliston 1997; Finney 1973; Hanson 1970; Hooper 1970; Kay 1963; Kirkpatrick 1983; Langevin 1990; Levy 1970, 1973; Lockwood 1993; Oliver 1981; Ottino 1970).

Third, it is culturally accepted that grandparents have a special affection for grandchildren, and that special bonds exist between grandparents and grandchildren. In fact, higher status is given to children who are adopted by their grandparents (Hooper 1970). In the future grandchildren should care for the grandparents to repay them for their selfless love, care, and *arofa* (charity).

Researchers have suggested various reasons for why grandparents adopt grandchildren. Grandparents are often motivated to adopt a grandchild if they believe that the child's parents are not able or willing to nurture the infant. Quality-of-life issues are especially compelling when adult children have migrated and are trying to support their families in urban areas (Brooks 1976). Adoption can also ensure that one will have a caregiver in old age (Danielsson 1955; Elliston 1997).

And finally, the adoption of grandchildren by grandparents provides a mechanism to replace the lost household labor of children who have migrated elsewhere. Grandparents and grandchildren, as resident members, maintain family connections and control over both land and other resources (Hooper 1970; Ottino 1970).

The above discussion provides a context for understanding how the character of grandparent adoption on the Austral island of Raivavae in French Polynesia has been shaped by both shifting patterns of local/global linkages

and the motivations of parents to help their children and grandchildren maximize their opportunities.

Raivavae: The Setting

I conducted research on Raivavae in 1994, 2002, and 2004 as part of a longitudinal study of the impact on island residents of an airport constructed between 1999 and 2003. Data collection in 1994 focused on a sample of 152 out of a total of 182 households. Ninety-two of these households were revisited in 2002. In 2004, one area of my research effort focused on interviews with residents who were involved in grandparent adoption.

Raivavae is one of the five Austral Islands included in the French Overseas Territory of French Polynesia. It is a six-square-mile volcanic island that is almost completely encircled by a series of twenty-five coral atolls. The 1,049 residents of Raivavae in 2004 lived in a total of 206 households.

The Evangelical Church of French Polynesia remains the only social institution on the island, and 95 percent of adults spend all day Sunday and two or three evenings a week involved in church-related activities. Islanders receive education in both French and Tahitian and speak Tahitian at home. In some older adults households Raivavaen is also spoken. A cargo ship that visits about once a month has been serving the island since the 1960s. Social welfare benefits such as free medical care, educational allocations, and retirement benefits were also extended to residents of French Polynesia in the 1960s.

Because of Raivavae's limited educational and employment opportunities, the out-migration of young people and young couples in their late teens and twenties is a routine but temporary part of the life-course of most residents, as it is throughout the island Pacific (e.g., Flinn 1992; Graves and Graves 1974; Lockwood 1993). The circulatory migration of residents (especially between Raivavae and the capital of Papeete) is also motivated by medical needs, the need to attend church meetings, and the desire to visit friends and relatives. Although circulatory migration is a routine part of life, most Raivavaens feel that Papeete is not a good place and that life there is far inferior to life on Raivavae.

Changing Contexts for Grandparent Caregiving

During the 1990s, a series of environmental events brought a great deal of change to island life. A very damaging cyclone hit the island in 1994 and led to the poisoning and subsequent banning of the fish in the lagoon (until 2009) as a source of food. Later, a fruit fly infestation made its way to Raivavae on

a New Zealand yacht, and there were no local tree crops available for local consumption or export.

Men's subsistence production of taro and fish has always been the mainstay of most households. The importance of men's fishing has declined since the fish contamination. Although the local marine life should be free from contamination by 2009, frozen fish and chicken, carried to the island by the cargo ship, continue to replace fresh fish in the local diet.

The opportunity to gain work on the construction of the airport brought more part-time jobs to resident households and also drew a small number of skilled workers who had migrated back to the island. The availability of these jobs resulted in a decline in the subsistence production of taro. For the first time, households were selling taro to each other. In many households, rice was more common than taro. New stores, stocked with Western processed foods, were created to serve the tastes of the workers brought in to work on the airstrip. The lack of potable water also became a problem. Those households that could afford it either bought bottled water or installed filtration systems in their homes. In a short period of time, the local diet had changed from one based on taro, fish, and fruit to one based on frozen fish or chicken and rice. Fresh water was now replaced by bottled water.

In the minds of older village residents, the effects of these changes on the local quality of life led to the increased emigration of their children and grandchildren. An examination of Census figures for 1996 and 2002 (Iles Australes Ministère des Archipels 1998, 2002) supports this impression. Although the out-migration of young people in their late teens and twenties is an established demographic pattern, during the period 1988–2002, Raivavae lost about 20 percent of its population. Much of this change can be attributed to the combined impact of a declining birth rate and the emigration of persons in the fifteen- to thirty-year-old age group.

When I asked residents in 2002 about the impact of the 1990s changes outlined above, a common response was that the poisoning and contamination of food resources on Raivavae had driven more young people away. Many residents feared that their relocation would be permanent. Some couples with good income-earning opportunities and family support in Papeete took their children with them. The majority of couples, however, left one or more children behind with their parents. How have Raivavaens utilized the flexible nature of grandparent adoption as a means to adapt to a unique wave of out-migration stimulated by environmental change?

Being a Grandparent on Raivavae

As Flinn (2007) and Torsch (2007) describe for Pollapese and Chamorros in Micronesia, on Raivavae, the aging process is closely interconnected with

being a grandparent. Although most Raivavaens become grandparents in their forties, they are placed in two life-course categories depending on their social engagement and physical health (see also Levy 1973; Oliver 1974, 1981). Younger grandparents, those in their forties and fifties, would be considered adults or *ta'ata pa'ari*. Islanders told me that people in this life-course category are considered wise and mature human beings who have settled down with one partner to raise a family and perform their culturally appropriate gender roles. They receive respect and have authority and influence both within and outside their households because of their skillful role performance, maturity, and experience. In 1996, about 28 percent of Raivavaens were at least forty years of age and so could potentially be members of this life-course category.

The secondary category, *ta'ata ru'au* (old person), applies to older grandparents. Raivavaens told me that people who are at least sixty years of age, stay at home a lot, and withdraw from work are considered to be in this category. This can be a positive experience; some older grandparents now look forward to spending their newly acquired leisure time in the company of their grandchildren. As in many societies (Ikels 1998), contemporary elders on Raivavae control a number of valuable resources, and older people continue to maintain control of the most important household resource on a small volcanic island—land. After the age of fifty-five, all older adults are also eligible to receive monthly retirement benefits, which on an island with few income-earning opportunities can be an important contribution to their households. Knowledge of the past is not really a contemporary resource of consequence because most young people have little interest in these memories. Today, older people may not have much voice and impact on community affairs because of their physical and mental decline. Some, however, who have been active and respected in the Evangelical Church, can maintain their social importance for a longer period of time. In 1996, about 9 percent of Raivavaens were at least sixty years of age and so potentially would be considered members of this life-course category.

Although people on Raivavae did not mention a third life-course category of "decrepit," a distinction between decrepit and intact old people is widespread throughout Polynesia. Both Levy (1973) and Oliver (1981) noted that old Tahitians who become chronically weak, feeble, senile, and helpless are called *'aru'aru* (decrepit) and both authors describe other Tahitians as contemptuous of those considered decrepit. Barker (1997) documents the same practice on the western Polynesian island of Niue.

Observation of daily life on Raivavae confirms that both older and younger grandparents experience great joy when they are in the company of their grandchildren. On Raivavae, as on the island of Rapa (Hanson 1970),

grandmothers are very often given more affection and authority than grandfathers. During my conversations with local women, many grandmothers referred to their grandchildren as their pearls.

Raivavaen children can and do receive care from a wide variety of relatives including grandparents. It is common for grandmothers to help their children by looking after grandchildren while parents work or attend school or church meetings. Grandparents can also step in to assist their children when they experience an illness or life crisis. Since most Raivavaen grandparents live in independent households in either a family compound or in close proximity to their children, grandchildren either move in with grandparents, or grandmothers help with childcare and food preparation, and return to their own homes to sleep at night.

Flinn (2007) suggests that on Pollap in Micronesia the grandparent role is seen as an extension of the parental role and focuses equally on both adult children and grandchildren. The care grandparents give to grandchildren is motivated by their desire to help their adult children as well as the grandchildren themselves. While caregiving to grandchildren by grandparents on Raivavae can also be seen as an extension of the care given to adult children, Raivavaens seem to recognize that there is a qualitative difference between the care given to children and grandchildren because there are special and unique bonds of affection that link grandparents and grandchildren.

Grandparent Adoption on Raivavae, 1994–2004

Although Raivavaens do not use the Tahitian word tavai (to adopt in a formal and legal way) to refer to Western forms of legal adoption, they are aware that there is a difference between tavai adoption and fa'a'amu, the informal feeding form of adoption. Like other Polynesians, people on Raivavae recognize grandparent adoption as part of a social process in which the adoptive relationship is flexible, negotiated, contingent, and informal.

The initiation of adoptive relationships has increased since I have been working on the island. In 1994, 56 percent of the sampled households had at least one adopted child; by 2002, 65 percent of households included at least one adopted child. My conversations with residents involved in grandparent adoptions helped me to identify patterns in the structure of and motivations for these relationships. In what follows I will describe these patterns and highlight variations that I have observed in the patterns during my ten years of work on the island.

First, the adoption of grandchildren by grandparents is the most common form of adoptive relationship on Raivavae. Residents prefer grandparent

adoption because they feel that the special bonds of love and affection that connect the two generations ensure that the child will receive quality care. Grandparent adoption also ensures that valuable resources will remain under the control of closely related kin. The adoption of grandchildren by grandparents has increased through time. In 1994, grandparent adoptions accounted for 74 percent of all adoptions; by 2002, 78 percent of all adoptions involved grandparents.

A second pattern is that most adoptions created before 1994 were initiated by paternal grandparents before or shortly after the birth of the child. In fact, it is a child's filial obligation to give an offspring to their parents if they request one. Although children are obligated to meet the demands of their parents, many couples have difficulty parting with a newborn. Peni, a thirty-five-year-old woman, had such an experience. Peni's mother-in-law had permanently relocated to Papeete in the 1980s because of chronic medical problems. Shortly after this move, Peni gave birth to her first-born son. Her mother-in-law immediately claimed the child based on her belief that caring for a newborn would bring her the energy and motivation to regain her health. Peni and her husband wanted to keep the child but they did not feel able to say no to Peni's mother-in-law. Now, Peni feels that it was a good decision because her son has a close family member to care for him while he attends school in Papeete.

In 2002 and 2004, a number of grandparents told me they think that more grandchildren are being adopted now, and that more of these adoptions are being initiated by children than before. Sometimes in the past, parents of a child would ask one of the grandmothers (usually the husband's mother) if an adoptive relationship could be created with their child when they migrated to Papeete or elsewhere in search of greater opportunities. In the past, migration was seen as more of a temporary stage in the life course and most couples did return to Raivavae after they had earned enough money to build their own home. The story of Gerard and Tahukaarei provides a good example of this new pattern in the initiation of adoptive relationships.

Gerard (age fifty-seven) and his wife Tahukaarei (age sixty-three) adopted two of their grandchildren. Unlike other households, both grandparents were very involved in the caregiving relationship. All of the couple's children were grown. One of their couple's daughters had married a man from the Austral island of Rapa, and they moved to Rapa to establish their own household because the man had a job there. When the couple's children came of school age, they asked the wife's parents to look after and care for these grandchildren on Raivavae because the primary school on Raivavae was far superior to the school on Rapa. The grandparents were expected to look after these grandchildren until they were ready to attend secondary school

off-island. Although the children returned to live with their parents on Rapa during school vacations, daily responsibility and expenses for the grandchildren fell to their grandparents. When I talked with the grandparents in 2004, they told me that they were happy to help their daughter provide the best for their grandchildren, and that they wanted to take the burden off of the parents so that the parents could take advantage of their opportunities. The pattern illustrated in this case is an important change from the past when grandparent adoptions were initiated by and meant to benefit the adopting grandparent couple.

While many grandparents want to help their children and insure the welfare of the grandchildren, they may not feel that this greater provision of care is the best thing for the grandchildren. This was certainly the sentiment portrayed to me by one grandmother. Tehina, aged sixty-six in 1994, lived in a family compound surrounded by the homes of her three married sons and their families. Her youngest son, Emile, had migrated to Papeete to find work in 1991, and in the process had met a woman and fathered a child. When the relationship fell apart shortly thereafter, Emile returned to Raivavae with his young daughter and moved in with his parents. Emile spent most of his time on Raivavae fishing and producing taro for the family. While he worked, his daughter, Heina, was left in the care of her grandmother Tehina. This was not easy for Tehina. Heina was an extremely active child so that her grandmother spent most of the day chasing after her. At least in the evening, Emile did take care of his daughter after he returned from the taro farm. One day in 1994, however, Emile got word that a long-term construction job awaited him in Papeete, so he left on the next cargo ship, asking his mother to take Heina as her adopted child. Although she was not thrilled at her age to be the primary caregiver to a young and very active child, she felt that she could not say no to her son's requests. Tehina told me she would not have minded taking the child as a fa'a'amu if the child had been old enough to help her around the house. She agreed to the request, however, because she knew how difficult it was to find employment and she didn't want to stand in the way of her son's opportunity. In 2002, Emile returned to Raivavae to build a house for himself and his daughter, and to help his mother, but Heina is still considered a fa'a'amu of Tehina.

A third pattern from the past was that parents had the right to ask to adopt a first-born grandchild. Although always difficult, older Raivavaens told me that children rarely turned down this request. Today, the fact that more adoptions are now being initiated by children does not mean that grandparents no longer demand grandchildren for adoption. Changing social and environmental contexts including the monetization of the economy also seem to empower some young couples to refuse the request for grandparent

adoption. According to Peni, the giving of first-born children especially to the paternal grandmothers has declined since 1994 because contemporary mothers want to be close to their children. Peni herself had refused the demands of her father for her last-born child. When Peni became pregnant with her last child in 1996, her father asked to adopt the child. After talking it over with her husband, Peni decided not to allow the adoption largely because her father's new wife showed little kindness to his five children. Nor had she allowed Peni's father to send Peni money for school supplies when she was at secondary school on another island, so that Peni had to "borrow" money to buy them. Peni told me in 2004 that if her father had been on his own, she would have allowed him to adopt his grandchild. She also told me that none of her siblings had allowed their father to adopt any of their children. In short, she was not alone in her rejection of a parent's request for adoption.

A fourth pattern from the past was that the timing of the actual adoption was influenced by the age, physical state, and needs of the grandparents. Younger and healthier grandparents usually adopted grandchildren shortly after birth so that the child would bond with the adoptive parents as soon as possible. Older, less healthy grandparents often adopted an older grandchild (seven or older) who would be able to help them. Most of the new fa'a'amu relationships initiated between 1994 and 2004 involved the adoption of children of at least five years of age by both younger and older grandparents. Thus, today it is more likely that the timing of an adoption will be influenced by the needs of the children and not the needs and capabilities of the grandparents.

Fifth, various motivating factors lead grandparents to initiate the adoption of grandchildren. Some grandmothers (and especially paternal grandmothers) exercised their right to adopt a grandchild and especially the first-born grandchild of each child (see also Danielsson 1955; Levy 1970). Many Raivavaen women told me that mothers become lonely when their adult children leave home, and this motivates them to ask their children for a grandchild who will bring life and joy back into the household (see also Brooks 1976; Hanson 1970; Oliver 1981).

This certainly was the motivation of a grandmother named Ina. In 1994, Ina and her husband were in their sixties. Although they had five biological children, they had also adopted numerous children throughout their married lives. Ina adored babies, so when her biological and adopted children (which included grandchildren, nieces, and nephews) became older, she sought to adopt a first-born grandchild to make her home complete. I was living in Ina's compound in 1994 when she demanded and received the first-born child of her youngest son. Today this fa'a'amu is especially important to Ina.

She lost the baby's father (her son) in a fishing accident only a few years later. Since the baby's mother is absent as well and living with another man on her home island elsewhere in the Australs, the grandson will remain with his grandmother for the rest of her life.

Grandmothers may also want to adopt their grandchildren if they feel that the parents lack either the resources or skills for caregiving. This is particularly true when the parents are adolescents since this is a period of the life course where young Raivavaens are not expected to act responsibly. My assistant Ronda is a case example. Her mother-in-law demanded her first-born child (a son) when he was born in 1984 because the marriage was unstable and Ronda was very young. The mother-in-law asked for the child because she was worried about the welfare of her grandson. Ronda, her husband, and her mother-in-law agreed that the boy would be returned to his biological parents after he finished his education. As it happened, however, the mother-in-law died in 2003 while the boy was still in school. Ronda had hoped that on her death bed her mother-in-law would release the boy so he could come back and live with Ronda and her family. Instead the mother-in-law asked the boy to care for his aunt, her daughter, who would be lonely after the death of her mother.

As others have reported for Manihi in the Tuamotus (Brooks 1976) and Raroia (Danielsson 1955), it is possible that on Raivavae the adoption of the grandchildren prior to 1994 was motivated by the need to replace the lost labor of children or a desire to maintain the strength and continuity of the localized descent group, and as a form of social security for the future. On the Austral island of Rapa, Hanson (1970) found that adopting grandchildren had a special economic value because it ensured that grandparents would be cared for in the event that that grandparents outlived their children.

Different motivations create a new pattern whereby children ask parents to adopt one or more of their children. Young couples I talked with in 2002 were concerned that recent changes affecting the quality of life on Raivavae had further reduced the number of economic opportunities on Raivavae, and many of these couples anticipated that living away from Raivavae would be a more permanent stage in the life course. It seems that the perception of migration as a permanent rather than temporary condition intensifies the motivation of parents to initiate an adoptive relationship between their children and a grandparent. Some young couples explained to me that they wanted their children to learn about their local language and culture; once they were established in Papeete they may ask one of the grandmothers to come to the city and claim an infant to be raised as an adoptive child in the grandparent household on Raivavae.

Other young couples had asked one of the grandmothers to adopt a young child before they left for Papeete because of concern that it would be too expensive to feed and educate a child in the city. These accounts suggest that the increase in the number of grandparent adoptions of the offspring of nonresident children could be the outcome of the motivations and initiatives of children.

Grandparent adoption as practiced on Raivavae in the 2000s provides an interesting contrast to the style of grandparent caregiving described by Flinn (2007) on Pollap in Micronesia. In both contexts circulatory migration is a fact of life. On Pollap, grandmothers follow their migrating adult children to help these children by raising their grandchildren. On Raivavae, however, adult migrating children are leaving their children on the island to be raised by grandparents.

Sixth, as in the past, the nature and duration of the adoptive relationship continues to be negotiated and contingent upon the desires of the parents, grandparents, and child. These aspects of the adoptive relationship can be renegotiated as the circumstances of all parties change. Peni, and her husband, for example, plan to renegotiate for an early return of their first-born son. At the time of the adoption in the 1980s, all parties (Peni, her husband, and Peni's mother-in-law) agreed that the child would stay with the mother-in-law until she died. Peni and her husband now want to renegotiate the relationship so that their son will be returned to them when he finishes his formal education in Papeete. They want to "call him home" sooner because they feel that the mother-in-law is not teaching their son to respect his biological parents.

Recent events in the life of a forty-year-old Raivavaen woman named Eleanore provided me with another good example of the contingent nature of the fa'a'amu relationship. Eleanore's youngest child was adopted by her parents when he was about one year old. One day, seven years later, he woke up, left his grandparents house and told his mother that he now wanted to live with her. No questions were asked and no explanation was ever given.

Seventh, the nature and intensity of care given in the context of grandparent adoption was importantly affected by whether or not the parents of the child were living on the island. In 1994, 93 percent of the parents of adopted grandchildren were living on Raivavae. Most of these adopted children maintained relations with both their parents and grandparents. In a small number of families, grandparents had full responsibility for the care and discipline of their adopted grandchild because their adult children lived off-island.

The intensity of grandparent caregiving on Raivavae is increasing through time. By 2002, 78 percent of the parents of adopted children were living on

Raivavae. When parents of the adopted child are off-island, all of the care and responsibility of the grandchildren falls to the grandparents and especially the grandmother. The increased emigration of children also means that some parents have lost the security and support of having their adult children living close by.

A final pattern in adoptive relationships evident in 1994 was that the care that children received from biological and/or adoptive parents should be reciprocated in the future. While some grandparents still believe this, many others do not. Gerard and Tahukaarei, for example, told me in 2004 that they are caring for their grandchildren out of love and they do not expect any reciprocal care from their grandchildren in the future.

Conclusion

On Raivavae, the institution of adoption and particularly grandparent adoption is flexible, contingent, and negotiated. It appears that the flexibility of this process has enabled residents to mold the adoptive relationship in ways that serve their current needs, as previous studies have reported for Rarotonga (Baddeley 1982) and Hawai'i (Modell 1995). In the past, the practice of grandparent adoption was closely tied to the motivations and needs of parents. Grandparents demanded grandchildren for a variety of reasons including the need for household help and a desire to have a special relationship with a grandchild.

Needs shifted in the 1990s. Various dramatic social and environmental changes saw an increased emigration of younger people and created a new context for the practice of grandparent adoption. New patterns have not replaced the old but reflect the efforts of Raivavaens to adapt the institution to a different set of needs. In contrast to the earlier pattern, many of the grandparent adoptions negotiated since the mid-1990s were requested by the adult child. Parents agreed to extend their grandchild caregiving to adoption in part because they wanted to help their adult children.

More recent changes also seem to have led some adult children to question the role that familial obligation plays in their decision making. In 1994, Raivavaens told me that individuals were expected to reciprocate the care that they received as a child. One way adult children could do this was by meeting the demands of their parents to adopt a grandchild. By 2002, some adult children were questioning and even refusing the demands of their parents to adopt grandchildren.

As noted earlier, some of the Raivavaen patterns of grandparent adoption recur throughout Polynesia and elsewhere in the Pacific. Interestingly, some of the same patterns in grandparent adoption have been identified by Shomaker (1989) among the Navajo people of Arizona. Although she uses

the term fosterage and I use the term adoption, the motivations behind the creation of these flexible relationships are very similar. In the past, children responded to the authority of parents and especially mothers by agreeing to their demands to foster a grandchild. More recently, it is often the needs and life circumstances of children that trigger the creation of foster relationships between the grandmother and grandchildren.

Figures from the most recent 2002 census on Raivavae reveal a continued decline in population, and this could increase the number of older people involved in this new pattern of grandchild adoption. It is hoped that research concerning the changing contexts and motivations for grandparent adoption can positively contribute to the development of social, economic, and other support services for the growing number of grandmothers throughout the Pacific and around the world who are being asked to become the primary caregivers to grandchildren.

NOTES

I gratefully acknowledge the support of various Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis internal grants that made this research possible. On Raivavae, I am eternally grateful for the support of Eliane Teataoterani, Tehei Moeterauri, Eleanor and Dennis White, Elisa Varuatua, and Geroges Teehu Mahaa and family.

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CONTINUITIES AND CHANGES IN MARSHALLESE GRANDPARENTING

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For Marshallese, grandparents do not exist as independent types of kin. A grandparent is a partner in a reciprocal grandparent/grandchild relationship. The relationship is not grounded in either biology or unchanging social status; rather, it is constructed out of practical activities as members of a shared community. Grandparents who actively earn respect in their relationships with others are recognized collectively as senior grandparents of the community or communal grandparents. This paper examines continuities and changes in the activities and social significance of grandparents of the community across three decades and four different social settings. The paper focuses on how shifting social conditions enable certain forms of grandparent/grandchild relationships and communal grandparent activity and hinder the realization of other forms.

IN *THE GENEALOGICAL METHOD* (1910), W. H. R. Rivers laid out a distinct methodology for collecting pedigrees and kinship information that shaped the field of anthropology for much of the twentieth century. Those who follow Rivers' method, or one of the many kinship methodologies that rely on Rivers for inspiration, presume that kin terms are sets of designata that refer to certain object categories, statuses, or persons. In the Marshall Islands, as in many other parts of the Pacific, this is far from the case. On Ujelang and Enewetak Atolls in the Republic of the Marshall Islands, *jibw-* is a reciprocal and multireferential term of relationship that might best be translated as "the relationship path that interconnects me (the speaker) with you, a person in a relationship typified by lightheartedness and indulgence; always involving endeared persons, often two generations apart." All too often, Europeans

Pacific Studies, Vol. 30, Nos. 3/4—Sept./Dec. 2007

and Americans have taken jibw- to refer to grandchild or grandparent, but such simplifications transform relationships (in Marshallese) into objectified statuses (in English), with a substantial alteration of meaning (Erdland 1914; Krämer and Nevermann 1938; Mason 1947).[1]

Rather than presupposing universal referents for a critical kinship category, in this paper I begin with activities and move to categories in an attempt to replicate the way Marshallese come to share understandings about grandparenting/grandchilding. This approach requires that I break with many of the conventions of research on grandparenthood that assume that the category of the grandparent is universal and nonproblematic. Ikels (1998) contends that much of the comparative research on grandparenting is limited by a narrow perspective, and I suggest that this narrowness extends to the entire presupposition that grandparents are everywhere the same and it is only the customs that surround grandparenting that vary.[2]

Jibw- is a reciprocal term of relationship heard many times in the routines of day-to-day Marshall Islands life. The same term ostensibly serves as the reference and address term for grandchildren and also as the reference term for grandparents, particularly grandmothers. Discerning listeners, however, soon learn that jibw- refers not to relationships grounded in biology, nor even to social statuses, but is a designata for relationships constituted out of practical activities. My point is to stress that Marshallese grandparents only exist because they are continuously involved in viable grandparenting relationships, not because they are cross-generation relatives who occupy a status of grandparent/grandchild. In this society of so-called "classificatory kinship," there are hundreds of people who are cross-generation relatives, but they are not jibw- until they engage in ongoing grandparenting/grandchilding relationships of indulgence. Grandparenting/grandchilding is an embodied social relational practice or style of action that cannot be separated out from the broad set of practical relationships of which it is a part (Bourdieu 1977).

At the same time, because the network of social relationships includes the entire community, many young people, even the just born, are upper-generation members of a jibw- relationship since a person's generational status in one family bears little relationship to that person's age ranking in another. Relationships of this sort are often highlighted in jokes that elicit hilarious laughter from youth and adults mature enough to enjoy their humor. Endeared pleas for protection and care by sixty-year-old grandchildren addressing their four-year-old grandparents are perpetually entertaining (see Carucci 1989 for other relationship play).

What makes tinkering with jibw- relationships humorous? In all cases, shifting the register of relationship to an unsuspected plane is humorous because it invokes more provocative potential paths of relationship. When

biological grandparents of newborns (by Western reckoning) jokingly suggest that they are, in fact, the junior of the jibw- pair, the role reversal plays upon the easygoing nature of jibw- relationships. Juniors should always respect seniors, but this expectation is already convoluted and inverted by actual practices that allow grandchildren to climb all over grandparents, place their head above that of the grandparent, place their buttocks on sanctified parts of the grandparent's body and, in other respects, contradict many overt markers of respect that go along with being an elder. Merely bringing a pathway that contradicts the norm into awareness is amusing to other residents, but far more scandalous and exaggerated humor derives from the suggestion that the older, more highly ranked member would gladly become the junior member of a posited connubial couple.[3] Certainly, the age and rank reversals make this proposition humorous. Even more mind boggling, a senior spouse would bring real benefits to the infant's family because of the power and social position of the elder. By further proposing that the infant would become the "elder" high-ranked member in relation to the already highly ranked humorist, the relationship proposal becomes irresistibly attractive to the infant's family at the same moment it seems undeniably ludicrous.

The multivalent characteristics of jibw- relationships make all of these humorous encounters come alive. The examples I outline reinforce the fact that jibw- relationships for Ujelang-Enewetak people are constituted out of social practices, not out of biology. Not only are the operative interaction parameters specified discursively, they are inherently relational, and extremely pliable from one context to another. While jibw- ties are commonly posited soon after birth, they continue to have real interactional effects for a long time, often until the physically older member of the jibw- relationship dies. I have dealt with the multipropositional possibilities of terms of relationship elsewhere (Carucci 1989); grandparent/grandchild relations are an integral part of this larger web of multisocial relational possibilities.

Members of the community also recognize sets of prototypical *jibwid* (grandparents/grandchildren of ours) who occupy a space in the collective consciousness. The elder group of such people come close to European/American notions of prototypical grandparents, and might well be called "communal grandparents" or "grandparents of the community." Similarly, a young group of jibwid are conceptual grandchildren of the community. The elder jibwid will always be named when a group of children are asked by a member of an upper generation: "Where are our collective grandparents?" ("our," though not lexically marked, includes speaker and listeners). Even though many people in the setting might suitably be called grandparent by particular individuals, those who are consistently identified in these collective grandparent queries occupy this status of grandparent for the

entire community. In Euro-American genealogical terms they may be grandparents, great-grandparents, or great-great grandparents, for all these potentially distinctive relationships are part of the same relational categories. For some, however, and often for the speakers, the "collective grandparent" will be genealogical siblings or parents. Nevertheless, in a variety of contexts of reference and address, they are called "our collective grandparents," and they are treated with utmost respect.

Given the practice of referring to newborns as the senior members of jibw- relationships, even if the intent is humorous, Enewetak and Ujelang people clearly separate "grandparents" from "elders." Marshall Islanders, as well as Enewetak/Ujelang people, also have separate terms to refer to respected elders—mature adults who are family heads (and, in the Marshall Islands, land heads as well). These persons may be referred to as *rutto eo*, "elder one" or "the elder," (*rutto ro* in the plural), but with equal frequency (particularly when discussing or addressing males), they are called *alab*, "respected elder, family head, speaker for the land." The respected elder attributes of collective grandparents are taken for granted and become part of the package of respect that goes along with being a grandparent of the community. Such respect typifies relationships between any younger sibling in interactions with an elder sibling and any younger generation member in relation with an older generation member. Respect is most marked with those who are collective grandparents for the entire community,[4] and particularly high regard is reserved for the aged grandmothers who head matriclans.

In sum, for Enewetak/Ujelang Marshallese, three points must be understood. First, grandparents do not exist as independent types of kin. Jibw- are relationships that engender humor, indulgence, and special intimacy. Second, jibw- relationships are reciprocal and involve a senior and a junior partner; yet, like the relationship itself, the seniority emerges from practice and may itself be reversed as part of the humor and indulgence that interrelates the pairs. Third, jibw- relationships involve extreme indulgence, but embedded in this cumulative practice is the highest form of respect, derived from having indulged others for one's entire lifetime, that accords recognition as a member of what I translate as "grandparents of the community."

Collective Grandparents and Conditions of Change

Since the collective, aged jibwid have a symbolic position most similar to what Europeans and Americans take to be grandparents, and since they differ from young grandparents, they are the ones to whom I shall refer in rest of this paper unless otherwise noted. My focus is on how shifting social

conditions enable certain types of extended family arrangements, and hinder the realization of other types. Grandparenting relationships offer a particularly salient example of these spatial and temporal shifts across nearly thirty years and from various social perspectives in four different social settings: Ujelang, the "New Enewetak," Majuro, and on the island of Hawai'i, or the Big Island as it is commonly called.

I hope that by considering these four settings, the meaningful correlations between grandparent/grandchild relationships, the pragmatic conditions of daily life, and the larger social relational landscape will be apparent. If life on Ujelang was filled with far greater hardship than prewar times on Enewetak, local people consider its basic contours contiguous. In contrast, the return to Enewetak, the mode of life in Majuro and, certainly, life in Hawai'i each provide very different types of experience. As Marshall Sahlins has noted, each historical moment represents a dynamic process in which taken-for-granted cultural forms must be realigned with new conditions (1981, 35).[5] It is my hope that by depicting a range of cases and situating those cases in particular cultural and historical contexts readers will be able to comprehend the shifting contours of jibw- relationships for Enewetak/Ujelang people.

I have observed, documented, and experienced most of the changing geographical and social contexts of Enewetak/Ujelang Marshallese communal grandparenting firsthand during periods of ethnographic fieldwork on Ujelang from 1976 to 1978, and on Enewetak in 1982–1983, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1995, and 1997. In Majuro, I resided with Ujelang/Enewetak people for brief periods of time in 1977, 1978, 1982, 1983, 1992, and 1995, and for an extended period in 1990 and 1991. I have worked with Enewetak/Ujelang residents on the Big Island of Hawai'i for brief periods in 1995 and 2005 and for an extended time in 2002–2003. While I entered the field with the intent of researching kinship, social organization, and social and cultural change, the community's own interests directed me to a very different focus on the local celebration of Christmas. In my ongoing work with the community, I have continued to be led to topics of local concern by a methodological commitment to intensive "experience-near" research in which events of significance to my host families, groups in the community, or the community as a whole largely determine my research agenda. Indeed, if Sahlins is right and historical consciousness arises as a dynamic process in which local interests and daily practices are inflected by taken-for-granted forms in constant realignment with new conditions, such a method is the only way to experience the world in a way that gives another human any type of understanding of what it means to live in a particular way. (See Carucci 2004a for a more in-depth exploration of these ideas.)

The Settings

In 1947, Enewetak people were forced to abandon their home atoll for Ujelang to allow the United States to experiment with nuclear devices at a distance from its own shores.[6] There they lived a life in exile for thirty-three years, suffering considerably as a result of isolation and famine. At the same time, however, interdependence created by their shared suffering made the community extremely cohesive since joint endeavors and sharing contributed to people's ability to survive.

After many years of negotiation, the exiles were allowed to return to Enewetak in 1980. Unfortunately, they returned to an atoll radically different from the one they had left behind and discovered a land strewn with wartime rubble and detritus from the extended era of nuclear testing. The atoll also lacked topsoil and vegetation, all of which had been removed from the major islets to clear them of nuclear waste and make Enewetak "habitable." Without access to local foods and products of the land, without a supply of wood and coconut sennit for canoes, daily life shifted radically as the community became highly dependent on outside goods. These shifts in daily routines had long-term effects on social relations (Carucci 2004b), including the way that grandparenting fits into everyday life.

In spite of disappointments with life on "the New Enewetak," the atoll offered its residents easy access to the government center of Majuro and to other locations. At least two or three planes arrived and departed each month, which enabled children to travel to Majuro for schooling and older people for medical care and supplies. These changes led to altered family forms, both in Majuro and on Enewetak, forms that required a recontouring of the social fabric, and a renegotiation of the social relationships that typified daily life.

While the Enewetak community was repatriated in 1980, within a decade the Big Island in the state of Hawai'i became another major destination for Enewetak migrants. Since only five of forty-eight Enewetak islets were cleaned up adequately to be inhabited on a full-time basis, the home atoll became more confining in many ways than Ujelang. Resources were more limited, and many people still lived in exile from their own land. By 1989, the community began to consider using the small trust fund set aside to rehabilitate Enjebi islet to purchase a community land parcel in Hawai'i where part of the group might reside. Even though the community decided not to purchase the community land, the trip to inspect the area inspired two young families to move to the Big Island in 1991. By 2002, the group of Enewetak/Big Island people numbered between three and four hundred, nearly one-quarter of the Enewetak population. As in Majuro, students and older adults are particularly attracted to the Big Island in search of schooling and medical

care. Yet the distances involved and different social dynamics on the Big Island have resulted in a different, innovative set of extended family relationships.

From Infant Mortality to Nutritional Immorality

Through the periods of exile on Ujelang, repatriation on Enewetak, and the development of communities on Majuro and in Hawai'i, Enewetak people experienced demographic and nutritional changes that engendered a shift from a shortage of newborns to a shortage of communal grandparents. The Enewetak community emerged from World War II with a fear of extinction. The population had been reduced to 138 people and only three clans as a result of low reproductive rates prior to the war and high mortality during the Battle of Enewetak in 1944. However, these fears were actively confronted in the sleeping houses so that by 1982, back on Enewetak, the community expanded to well over 600 members, most of whom were children and youth. People were confident that a steady stream of elders would mature from young adulthood to replace the respected seniors such as Jimeon, Eliji, Kerolain, Line, and Tamar, who had recently moved into the world of the dead with Ioanej, Bila, Luta, and others close on their heels. Aluwo drifted away at sea in a motor boat instead of a repairable sailing canoe, and Binton, chief of Enjebi, died from smoking cigarettes.

At the same time, a much less-visible cause of mortality, imported goods, began snatching younger grandparents and elders-in-waiting before they could join the ranks of communal grandparents and true elders. Since the New Enewetak lacked nutrient-rich local foods, people were consuming ample quantities of rice, white flour, and tinned meats provided by the United States. Tira, a middle-aged respected elder, voiced a common sentiment when, in 1982, he noted positively, "Well, we will never again encounter hunger. It is not like Ujelang where there is famine, and you could just become weak and die." Tira was remembering periods of famine on Ujelang so severe that elders like Tebij did die. Yet, while the new American foods, high in fat and simple carbohydrates, filled their bellies, they created rampant levels of heart disease, hypertension, and diabetes. Fried foods in the diet had also increased dramatically as the possibility of cooking in earth ovens or over open coals and coral rock disappeared for lack of local firewood. Subsistence gathering and fishing had kept people active on Ujelang, but on Enewetak people became more sedentary because they lacked local land foods and fuel supplies limited local fishing. The effects of nutrition-related transformations did not become apparent until 1989 when Balik, a soon-to-be elder in his early sixties, was diagnosed with diabetes. By 2000,

virtually an entire generation of elder grandparents had been eradicated as a result of nutrition-related disease, leaving four token senior grandparents: Jojeb, Metalina, Ken, and Elejina.

Ironically, from an overriding concern with the inability to produce enough children to keep the community physically viable, it was now grandparents who were under siege, at least the grandparent/elders of the community. The life of the community was again threatened since these communal grandparents were entrusted with the transmission of knowledge of the past. As senior members of jibw- relationships, they would share this knowledge with their juniors, a critical educational function that would maintain cultural vitality. Given the shift from a shortage of newborns to a shortage of communal grandparents, what are the social relational changes that have become apparent as people have moved from Ujelang to Enewetak, then some of them to Majuro or Hawai'i? To answer this question, we must remember that it is specific historical conditions that are of greatest import and that such forces are multiple and diverse.

Ujelang Grandparenting

On Ujelang in the 1970s, communal grandparents were an integral part of day-to-day life, commanding respect and serving as repositories of knowledge that stretched back into the nineteenth century.[7] The ongoing activities of daily life in this early colonial, pre-Christian period were largely dependent on local people's abilities to survive on their own with an impressive array of subsistence strategies suited to even the worst-case scenarios of the natural disasters that occur frequently on Pacific atolls. This generation of communal grandparents, however, also had personally experienced radical transformations of their way of life through the empire-building activities, encouragements, and abuses of the Japanese. Seemingly close friendships were contradicted by the attempt of one Japanese entrepreneur to appropriate all Enewetak lands. Enewetak people also became pawns in the rapid buildup to World War II, lost nearly 20 percent of their small population during the war and then, as control of the islands shifted to the Americans, watched from a distance as the subterranean roots of their homeland were fractured and surface soils were vaporized during the nuclear-testing era. They sat in confusion and depression amid the residues of fallout from these nuclear tests, and suffered periods of neglect and famine as nuclear and nonnuclear testing stretched from years to decades. The experiential transformations of this historical era were vast, lending a larger-than-life character to this generation of elders and the recollections they could share with children and grandchildren. Their experiences were fabricated from lived encounters

that enshrined the group with extraordinary respect from grandchildren whose lands and lives were much less at risk.

The manifest side of hardship that often typified life on Ujelang from the 1950s until the 1970s was a day-to-day dependence on local foods that required every able-bodied person to work in order to subsist. The fact that Ujelang was a tiny, resource-poor atoll, one-fourteenth the size of Enewetak, made the search for food a constant worry. In people's recollections of this era, grandparents played an integral part in the life of the community. They worked side by side with young jibw- grandchildren, their pace slower and more indulgent than that of mature and middle-aged adults. In these contexts, elder jibw- were close allies and educators of the young, sharing their extensive knowledge of how to survive through common subsistence activities. For female jibw-, gathering land foods and the materials to make mats and handicrafts were everyday concerns. While today's middle-aged women do not always remember the details of mat making, each of them has fond recollections of their elder female jibw- and the many skills that were learned from them. In the early 1990s Kenniei recalled longingly:

> Oh, *Io'we* [loving recollection of the past]. I remember our collective grandparent [Taina] on Ujelang when she used to go down to Jabonbok and live. And we young girls would go and sleep with her. And she would teach us how to weave . . . weave mats. Iokwe. It was difficult for her to go for pandanus fronds, so we would go and collect pandanus fronds. And out and back [collecting fronds], and then she would rid them of spines, and bake them, and then pound them, and make rolls out of them. She would teach us. And even though we would work and make something and it was worse yet than bad, she would not become mad. Just laugh and then say "make it again."

Equally, the grandmothers transmitted their knowledge about activities that took place in town and in the domestic space, spheres that women controlled.

In times of hardship on Ujelang, men's daily subsistence strategies included ventures into distant bush lands for gathering, particularly the gathering of coconuts (cf. Carucci 1987), fishing and sailing expeditions, house building, and the repair and construction of canoes. While these activities might well take place in groups that included fathers and offspring, or uncles and the offspring of their sisters, very commonly grandchildren found their relationships with their grandfathers the most memorable due to the slow-paced, indulgent demeanor that forms the core of the jibw- relationship. Amid a canoe revival in 1995, Tieko reminisced about earlier days:

> Remember when we were working with our collective grandfather on the canoe on Ujelang. Well, there were four large sailing canoes then, and that fellow . . . [Apinar] was rebuilding his so it would be the fastest. . . . Well, those fellows, our collective grandparents, they really knew how to build canoes. And they would take it from first light until midday and only work, just a little at a time. Then they would say, "OK, midday meal time," and we would rest. And then, after lunch, they would go back and work. Work a little, a little, and then check [the shape of the piece]. Then they would say, "It is crooked, continue chopping." And we would shape it a little more, and then plane it. And then grandfather [*jimma*] placed it on the canoe and checked it, and then took it off and really looked at it [closely]. Well that is how we worked, just a little at a time. Sometimes, that fellow, Apinar, would be out there and it was really night, and he would still be chopping. And I would say, "Ooh, *jibwō* [my grandparents] you are going to be [attacked by] demons."[8] But he would just laugh and continue cutting the canoe. Well, those grandparents, they really knew how to build canoes. And that is why we are able to "lie a bit, now, and lie about building these [substandard] canoes." Because those males, our collective grandparents, taught us.

In these stories, grandchildren fondly recall an essential component of grandparenting in their recollections of the senior grandparents as indulgent educators.[9] At the same time, grandparenting relationships on Ujelang often placed older jibw-, particularly communal grandparents, in positions of control especially because of their superior knowledge, which gave them influence and power over young grandchildren. With the shift in geographical and social contexts outlined below, however, the apparent unassailability of the grandparent's superior rank comes to be questioned, or even reversed. Perhaps this is not surprising since the grandparent/grandchild relationship has long engendered ambivalence, reflecting the shifting physical abilities and power relations between the older and younger jibw-. While Kenniea and Tieko fondly recall moments when their grandparents had great knowledge, part of the nostalgia in these stories comes from a comparison with the current moment, when the mental faculties of Taina and Apinar are in decline.

Other equally important components of power for communal grandparents were vested in their embeddedness in and "control over" land, another complementary part comes with being an active part of a certain family, and a final part derives from daily conduct. In this latter respect, Enewetak and Ujelang grandparents had more land-based potency than

young grandparents because they had lived long lives. Often, this meant that they spent a great deal of time embedding their very person in extended family and clan lands through labor on the land, through transforming bush lands into living space or food-producing land (Carucci 2004; Carucci and Maifeld 1999). Land-related labor was a primary method of investing identity in perduring features of the landscape, and through such work members of the Ujelang community created empowered selves within their own extended families and clans, and within the larger group of Ujelang people. At one level, grandparenting by community elders left the withered physical bodies of those who were most visibly successful at these tasks. Nevertheless, young grandparents, particularly those born into senior positions within particular families or clans, already had substantial power since they were the living representatives of groups with numerous ancestors already embedded in the land.[10] No sort of land settlement issue could be negotiated without at least consulting the most senior members of a clan or extended family. Even if this person was a young child, s/he spoke for the land. Regardless of age, the person on Ujelang who spoke for the land uttered words with substantial power.

Historical shifts in jibw- relationships are grounded in many types of changes including an alteration in people's attitudes toward land. This concern is particularly important since grandparents gain so much power from their inextricable connections with land. On Ujelang, each half of the community decided to divide the land "equally," with each living person receiving the same number of lines of coconuts (see Tobin 1967), rather than import historically embedded Enewetak land division categories. Initial continuity with former practices on Enewetak seemed to emerge from the fact that the elder grandparents of each extended family came to oversee the family's lands. In many cases, the land parcels were described as "belonging to" the elder representative(s) of the land, the respected elder, or the grandparent couple who represented the land in behalf of that extended family. At the same time, however, dividing lands on a person-by-person basis formulated the notion that each person somehow "owned" his/her small share of the atoll space. This introduced an element of individuality that contradicted numerous notions of group tenure in stories of previous Enewetak land-holding practices. Equality was maintained briefly in the Ujelang land division, but inequalities became apparent as subsequent children were born. If the effects of the new land division were not significant at first, it was not because the contradictions were not visible. Rather, since Ujelang grandparents oversaw a family's land in behalf of their many offspring, the effects of the change were slow to emerge. With population growth, however, it was obvious that some offspring actually had lines of coconuts while others—those birthed

after the land division—had no lines. Small population effects emphasized the disparities between fast-growth and slow-growth families. By 1980, the unequal distribution of land and population could not be easily glossed over by astute grandparent/elders who were responsible for overseeing a family's lands. Repatriation on Enewetak muted the urgency of land ownership issues on Ujelang, but both young grandparents and old were still faced with ambivalences and contradictions that shifted the dynamics of grandparent/grandchild relationships.

Youthful grandparents who had substantial power because of their relationships with the land were not common, but those who existed often led conflicted lives. In all likelihood, they became seniors prematurely as the result of some tragedy that struck their extended family, and the scars of such tragedy were often as deep as the potency they derived from being the head of an extended family or clan. One well-known young man on Ujelang, Lemoen (a pseudonym) suffered thrice. First, he lost virtually his entire family during the Battle of Enewetak in 1944. Second, he was subsequently separated from his considerable lands on Enewetak, where the substance of his ancestors was embedded, a loss that strangled much of the power he would have derived from those landholdings. Third, on Ujelang, Lemoen received the standard number of lines allotted to any community member rather than a large parcel comparable to what he had lost. As the sole living speaker for the extensive lands of his family on Enewetak, Lemoen's voice would have resonated loudly. Instead, lacking both extensive land as well as the support of a large extended family, Lemoen grew up as a marginal persona, hardly recognized as a person of power until after the community's repatriation on Enewetak in 1980.

Under slightly different circumstances, another youthful grandparent on Ujelang, Jejtila (a pseudonym), came to have considerably more power for a time than Lemoen. The potency of her position as a grandparent, like Lemoen's, rested in her senior status within an extended family, but unlike Lemoen's, it relied more on charisma than on power vested in land. Like Lemoen, this woman's own elders died at a younger-than-expected age, inducing a set of social reformulations within her family. Since her one living elder in her extended family was not considered to be mentally competent by community members, Jejtila, as the oldest sibling, became the decision maker for the larger family. Though in her early twenties in 1976, she held decision-making power that was more typical of people twice her age. If anyone wanted to move the location of their house on the family's land parcel, they had to consult with Jejtila. At any feasting event, of which there were approximately two each week, someone would come to Jejtila's cookhouse to check on food preparation plans. While her siblings referred to Jejtila among

themselves as *jeyīd* (our endeared older sibling), they would often reinforce her grandmothering role vis-à-vis their own children by saying *"Kajitok ippen būbū"* (go ask grandma) or *"Kajitok mōk ippen jibwim"* (go ask your indulgent, upper generation grandparent). In many senses, elevating Jejtila one generation made no difference in their own relationships with her since they were already her younger siblings, but it made significant differences in their children's relationships since, in a grandparent/grandchild relationship, Jejtila could be more indulgent with the children than she might as their mother. The children looked to her as the oldest representative of their extended family. As the grandmother, Jejtila placed her younger sisters in the role of mothers. Rather than disciplining her grandchildren directly, she would say, "And those mothers of yours, what is it they have said?" Jejtila's jibw- relationships grew out of extant social relations. Her social interactions certainly follow a culture-specific model of jibw- relationships but were brought into being by culturally contoured patterns and pragmatic conditions, not by relations of birth (cf. Schneider 1986 for Yap). Indeed, Jejtila moved off of Ujelang and traveled to Majuro prior to the community's return to Enewetak in 1980. In that setting, her strategic and identity-empowering position of grandmother of the family was renegotiated once again, taking on a new form in line with a new set of social constraints.

These career sketches give some idea about a variety of grandparent/grandchild relationships on Ujelang in the 1970s. An appreciation for how shifting social conditions transformed the position of grandparents can be gained by following Ujelang people back to Enewetak in 1980.

Grandparenting on the New Enewetak

The repatriation to Enewetak after thirty-three years in exile on Ujelang represented a dream fulfillment for many who had come to feel that they would never again see their homeland, though for most of the young people it was an entirely new atoll.[11] The move also represented a major transformation of identity and presented a new set of social dilemmas and contradictions (Carucci 2002). Not long after their return, people became disheartened because of the radical changes in the land and sea that limited their lifestyle and promoted discord over residential practices and land boundaries and ownership (Carucci 2004b).

Concomitant and ironic changes in grandparenting relationships resulted from greater empowerment of youth at the expense of elders that accompanied the repatriation to Enewetak. In the first phase of repatriation, *Tempedede* (Temporary), Jeptan, a residence islet for communal grandparents returning to their homeland prior to their deaths (Carucci 1992),

soon became a mecca for rowdy youth interested in excitement, talk, alcohol, and sexual favors exchanged with American trading partners. A shift in control over resources gave younger men and women who found work associated with the rebuilding greater empowerment than they had experienced on Ujelang, where local production took place on land spaces or on sea craft controlled by elders. Discussions among community leaders placed the blame on jibw- relationships. As one respected elder, the father of a youth on Enewetak, observed:

> Well, he will never hear [obey] the words of the elders, because he is in a grandchild relationship with them. If I was there I would hit him in the face and rip his skull apart. Then he would cast off his drinking and seek out a straight path. But those collective grandparents of ours, they will never be complete [realize success in this endeavor].

When the entire community followed the communal elders and workers to Enewetak in 1980, the U.S. army store and most of the American trading partners left. The ethos of youth who had been in charge of their own affairs continued to a degree that began to alarm the elders. Indeed, at an atoll-wide council meeting in 1982, one of the community's most respected elders, Jojeb, stood to speak in response to a series of incidents involving card games, bingo, drinking and carousing, and fighting in which elders felt that their voices were not being heeded. He said that it was now time for the youth to take over the affairs of running the atoll since they now had "knowledge"; there was no value in the elders' words in these days. Jojeb was the perfect person to voice the elders' concerns since he was a grandfather of the community and a classificatory grandfather to most of the young men and women who were involved in the youthful revolts. Unlike the fathers and uncles of the youth, Jojeb spoke as an alternate-generation ally of the youth, rather than as their senior/adversary. At the same time, he was held in high regard by the entire community and, no matter how much the youth now felt they did not need to follow the prescriptions of others, they, too, respected him. It was with great strategic finesse that Jojeb chastised the youth by turning over the elders' power to them.

Indeed, the dynamic relationship between the youth and elder community members had shifted on Enewetak from a taken-for-granted respect for elders to a situation in which youth felt that they should control their own affairs. According to long-standing arrangements mature and young adults might provide for aged communal grandparents, but they also worked under the supervision and control of mature adults who were often one generation

above them. After repatriation to Enewetak, however, most daily subsistence tasks were nonexistent and other than a small amount of fishing, there were no local foods to be gathered. Employment dropped after rebuilding efforts were completed, so that fewer youth were bringing in incomes and even those workers earned more modest wages than previously. Thus, they felt a loss of power in relation to the immediate past and did not hesitate to voice their complaints. At the same time, while elders no longer managed subsistence tasks, with few exceptions they were still the senior representatives of the land, which remained a very important source of power within the community. Nothing could transpire in relation to land without the blessing of the old communal grandparents who spoke on behalf of the land.

Mature adults were trapped in the middle. They held positions of power within the community and most leadership positions in the church as well as positions of mayor, councilman, and policeman. But younger men, typically their offspring, had access to jobs and money, and older men, typically their parents, held the final say in relation to land. In other words, mature adults no longer controlled the "providing for" domain as they had on Ujelang and on prewar Enewetak. I believe that Jojeb understood these changed circumstances as he stood in front of the young members of the community and charged them to take on decision-making authority. While he spoke for all elders who were frustrated with the young people's desire for power *without* responsibility, he was also able to speak as a grandparent since the latter status gave him respect at the same time that it allied him with the young workers who were his grandchildren. Few other elders were properly positioned to frame such a mediational speech.

Another aspect of the shift in interpersonal relationships centered on changes in practices of delayed reciprocity. Mixed in with people's idealized, golden-age recollections of Enewetak at the time of their return to the atoll, Enewetak grandparents also held idealized recollections of their own younger years, a time when children still listened to Japanese administrators, as well as to their mothers, fathers, uncles, and grandparents. In sharp contrast to these recollections, elder residents on Enewetak in 1982 expressed frustration at the disobedient attitude of young people of that time. These youth, they said, would never work and did not know how to listen to messages. Indeed, the elders felt as though they had been shortchanged. Having worked diligently under a set of seniors when they were young, it was now time for them, as parents and grandparents, to benefit from the labor and respect of their offspring and grandchildren. The alteration of this entire system of delayed reciprocity was part of Jojeb's proclamation that the young men and women would now be in control. If the youth wished to be power brokers they would have to take on the full responsibility of leadership. They

would now become fully empowered leaders—gift givers rather than gift receivers—taking on both provisioning and decision-making tasks for the entire community.

Jojeb's speech represented a critical moment when the frustrations of elder Enewetak community members were played out in public, but contestations of power between communal grandparent/elders, mature adults, and younger community members were long-standing. Indeed, the structural dynamic in which grandparent/grandchild potency is aligned against the potential abuses of parental authority is delineated in the story of Lijbake, an early version of which is recorded by Erdland (1914). In a 1970s Ujelang version the granddaughter, Lijbake, is rescued by her grandfather *Ak* (Frigate Bird) and her grandmother *Wōn* (Turtle), both sacred, chiefly figures for all Marshall Islanders, who transport her from Kiribati to the northernmost segment of the Ratak chain to escape the abuses of her parents. Lijbake becomes the founding chiefess of one Ratak clan, representing the moment of its segmentation from a Kiribati matriclan.[12]

In Lijbake, an abuse of power and authority in parent/child relations is reconfigured through an alliance of grandparent/grandchild. On Ujelang, the land division schema also created significant alterations in power and authority. Designed with egalitarianism in mind, the unintended consequences of the land division were to create power inequalities among families, to overly empower children in relation to their elders, and to introduce ideas of individual "ownership" of land as opposed to extended family tenure.[13] The move back to Enewetak once again brought issues of power and authority to the forefront. In spite of the uncertainties about land parcel boundaries (Carucci and Maifeld 1999), grandparents of the community on Enewetak spoke for all ancestors whose very substance was embedded in the soil. Their voices were more empowered precisely because they were of an age to have embedded their own labor and waste products in the soil. With their deaths, the elders' bodies would also become part of that land. In contrast, young extended family members had little invested in land/person relationships on Enewetak.

Even though grandparent/grandchild relations stressed principles of alliance, different understandings between junior and senior jibw- of how land/human connections were established and enriched proved to be a source of conflict on Enewetak. The unsettled relationships with land on Ujelang and the thirty-three year interruption of residence on Enewetak helped to problematize the long-interwoven threads that created a manifest source of symbolic power out of relationships between senior jibw- and the lands they represented, and of which they were becoming a part.

For elders, the scenario of being one with the land was much more culturally potent than the "one person, one share" principle of ownership on Ujelang. But, viewed through the historical disjunction of thirty years, understandings of what Enewetak lands really represented were no longer shared in common by Enewetak seniors and younger people, who had spent the entirety of their lives on Ujelang. Youth often presumed they had some sort of elemental connection with Enewetak lands simply by being born or adopted into a particular Enewetak family. Due to disruptions in daily practices created by the nuclear testing program, young people did not recognize that family membership only opened up various possibilities of working with a particular land parcel, transforming it, consuming its foods, and becoming part of the land at death, thereby establishing an irrefutable connection between one's own person and the land.

The settlement of nuclear claims added further complications to the identity formulations that linked junior and senior jibw-, both living and dead, through the shared substantiality of the soil. Partial land settlements reached in the 1970s and 1980s included the rehabilitation of certain parts of the land, provided for people's sustenance until local crops became productive, and modestly compensated people for damages to land and for personal suffering.[14] Like the land on Ujelang, U.S. dollars, even those designed to compensate for damage to land, were divided on a head-by-head basis rather than into segments that reflected differential damage to Enewetak land spaces and loss of use for different periods of time. Lands "evaporated" during nuclear tests that would never again be usable by the families that held rights to those spaces were treated no differently than productive plots. Much like land on Ujelang, this mode of compensation has realigned social relationships. By setting up the equation between land and dollars, the links between land and identity have been largely severed, and the idea that rights to land are inherent and given at birth and even exchangeable as a type of commodity has been introduced. In the process, the lifelong links that lend communal grandparents value-added status have been brought into question since by receiving equal land compensation, everyone who is a member of the group, be they two months or eighty-two years old, has an equal right and receives an equal payment. As with land on Ujelang, senior family members retain residual control over a child's compensation payments until bartered to a relative when a youth goes off to school or for some other purpose. But such control is residual. In the process, communal grandparents have become less wholesome symbols of the land for which they speak, and in which their very souls are embedded, for their attachment to land, in one important way, is now given a common value that is shared with newborns at the moment of their birth.

Jibw- Relationships on Majuro

On Majuro, the Enewetak/Ujelang ghetto known as "Ujelang Town" came into being in the 1950s when a generous high chief gave Ujelang people a tiny parcel of residential land. Ujelang Town long maintained its existence as an enclave where people would send their children to stay with relatives when attending school, and where people would come to visit while shopping for supplies. In the 1970s and 1980s, Ujelang Town became increasingly overcrowded as the frequency of these trips increased and, by the 1990s, Ujelang/Enewetak people were spilling out into other sections of Majuro to find more desirable residence opportunities. Many elder grandparents came to visit relatives in Majuro, commonly for medical care, but typically, they very much disliked city life. Only those who had settled Ujelang Town with their young families, and later matured into collective grandparents and elders there, found life in the town more desirable. For visitors, detachment from the land and the different sort of knowledge needed in the urban environment, the lack of access to familiar foods and familiar routines of daily life, and their dependence on working-aged adults all made Majuro a place that was good to visit for a few short days but an undesirable place to live. Even to a greater degree than senior grandparents on the new Enewetak, visiting grandparents on Majuro were stripped of access to power they held on the outer islands. Perhaps for this reason, after the initial attraction of the city had worn off, most said that they "really hate" Majuro and long to return home.

Grandparenting on the Big Island of Hawai'i

A small segment of the Ujelang/Enewetak community took up residence in Ka'u on the Kona Coast of the Big Island late in 1990 and by the mid-1990s had grown to a considerable size. I first visited members of this community in 1995 during a time when an Enewetak church group was engaged in a "mission" to the Big Island, and worked extensively with the new community in 2002–2003. While three young couples and their families had been the first to come to the Big Island, twelve years later the community was quite diverse and included a large number of grandparents. Given the close association between grandparents and the homeland, it is hardly surprising that jibw- relationships on the Big Island have necessarily reconfigured themselves to new sets of social circumstances.

As with Majuro, most communal grandparents say they do not much like life on the Big Island. Nevertheless, the two most discussed reasons for coming to the Big Island are for schooling and doctors. While these are but two of several underlying motivations, most of the elder residents of the Big

Island are there, in part at least, for medical reasons. Many suffer from complications of heart disease or diabetes brought on by the shift to American foods following the repatriation to Enewetak. Since these communal elders were raised with the idea that a close connection interlinks land and identity, each faces the contradiction between living and dying on the Big Island and returning to Enewetak where a more comfortable alignment between land, community, and person can be experienced at the time of one's death. Stella made this decision in the recent past, disconnecting herself from biweekly dialysis in order to face her final weeks of life in the Marshall Islands. Two other grandparents are also on dialysis, but Enooji has made the opposite decision. He says, "Well, now I will never see Enewetak again, because if I go, even if just for a little, perhaps I will die." Enooji will not be the first senior to die on the Big Island. Three others are buried in nearby Na'alehu, along with several children and one young adult. All of this points to the way in which the relationships between elders, grandparents, and land have had to be renegotiated on the Big Island. Many other elements of grandparent/grandchild relationships have also, of necessity, come to be recontoured in this new setting.

Druie's situation provides a good example. Druie is the senior-most member of the *bwij in Ebream* (Abraham's bilateral extended family, the chiefly family of Enjebi, the northern half of Enewetak inhabited by many residents prior to World War II). One of her sons, Tobin, was a founding member of the Big Island Enewetak community, and well over half of her offspring reside there. Each day she sits with various grandchildren, advising them how to act and commenting more directly on the actions of her offspring when she feels they are out of line. In these respects, her demeanor is typical of senior jibw- on Ujelang or Enewetak. Yet, she often bemoans her separation from Enewetak, saying, "this place is not the same. Enewetak is my endeared homeland [*kapijukunō*], and Enjebi is where I belong." For much of her life she has dreamed of returning to Enjebi and she is now tired of waiting. Therefore, she continues:

> If only the people of America would give us some tin and plywood we could go and build on Enjebi and live there. It is not of concern if it is poisoned. It is better that we live there than try to crowd one another out on Enewetak, or float around out in the ocean for a while [without attachment to land] here [on the Big Island].

In spite of her dreams, her universe would be only partially realigned on Enjebi, for the Marshallese lifestyle expressed in her nostalgic reminiscences is now only slightly more realizable on Enjebi than on the Big Island.

Nevertheless, in Ka'u, her activities are radically different than those she wishes she could transport with her. While she dreams of Enjebi, like many others she actually uses the life she remembers from her years on Ujelang as a measure of the type of lifestyle for which she yearns.

Continuities in Druie's life include her advisory role in child care and labors around the cookhouse along with trips to church and to the doctor though, in Hawai'i, medical trips are a far different phenomenon than on Ujelang, where she would consult with a health aide who is also her relative. Other continuities exist as well, including commonalities of language and similar assumptions about community identity, but the differences are particularly notable. On Ujelang, elder jibw- were much more involved in enculturation activities and basic education in Marshallese ways of life than on the Big Island. Women were active food gatherers, and while mature adult women did most of the actual gathering, grandmothers and the grandchildren who frequently accompanied them, engaged in the same activities at a slower pace. A whole collection of stories about gathering—tales about the ancient ones, humorous stories of the recent past, and accounts of struggle and survival—were shared in the context of that activity. Marshallese moved to Hawai'i to get access to education, yet that education is one that extracts children from family settings, institutionalizes them, and in Ka'u at any rate, teaches them in a very formalized and regimented way that separates the details to be learned from the contexts in which that knowledge can be applied. At the same time, some of the most innovative educational programs in the United States are concerned with "experiential education," where students learn about science, art, and various genres of writing in a context where the educational practices are intertwined with the material to be explored.[15] This precisely explains the sort of practical teaching model that typified jibw- relationships on Ujelang.

On the Big Island, there are no pandanus for grandmothers and their grandchildren to gather, no pandanus paste to teach youth how to prepare *peru* (an arrowroot/pandanus concoction) or *jāānkūūn* (dried pandanus pemmican). Instead, most foods are purchased at the grocery store. On occasion, trips are planned to gather coconuts, breadfruit, or mangoes, but space for passengers is often limited on such trips since a pickup truck will frequently be filled with fruit on the return home. Neither Druie nor any other senior grandmothers accompanied the gatherers on any of these trips in the seven-month period I was on the Big Island, though a few mature adult women did provide assistance. Because gathering activities now require transportation, men have inserted themselves with much increased frequency into gathering.[16] Druie did travel with her extended family twice during my residence in Hawai'i to help collect coffee. Her son said:

> Yes, it is good for them [Druie and her husband] to come along. They are able to walk around a little and gather coffee for a while. They are moving their bodies—exercising, right? And when she gets tired, she can cool herself in the breeze a bit under the trees. It is better than remaining at home and sitting for a while or just lying down.

Even though such moving about is viewed as good by Druie's son, it marks a considerable restriction in the activities of grandparents who, on Ujelang, would move around freely until constrained by their own physical decline. Living a contemporary American capitalist lifestyle, grandparents become dependent upon younger mature adults far sooner. They rely on the young adults' ability to drive, they rely upon them to interact in English in their behalf, and they rely upon them for a far greater proportion of their subsistence needs. Each of these dependencies represents a subtle shift in daily routine, yet each has long-term consequences in the ongoing negotiation of power between grandparents, their younger offspring, and their grandchildren.

The fact that senior jibw- feel dissatisfied and marginalized on the Big Island is evident in their discourse. One conceptual strategy Marshallese use to gain sympathy—enacting the part of the victim—comes to be overelaborated by Big Island grandparents. In the tightly knit setting of outer island life that people idealize in their references to life on Ujelang, strategies of victimization are used to make others in the community feel guilty about not paying appropriate attention to a person's perspectives, needs, or dearest desires. While use of the victimization strategy is not uncommon among elders on Ujelang or Enewetak, often as a way to gain access to desirable foods by those no longer fit to forage for themselves, it is employed with far greater frequency by grandparents on the Big Island. This is directly related to the sorts of changes in daily routines that help to disempower Marshallese grandparents in Hawai'i. Observed one: "Ugh! Here we just wait around for a time, because there are no vehicles. If we were on Ujelang, we would be consuming pandanus [a high ranked sweet fruit]." Another reminisced, "*Io'we* [loving recollection of the past], in those islands [the Marshalls] we would be eating fish every day, but here we are living in [a state of] suffering. The young men don't fish and we have to purchase [fish]."

The proximate causes underlying such statements are varied. Many grandparents, referring to their children's demeanor in their absence, blame the children for not knowing or following custom. Acceptable custom is to hold upper generation seniors in high regard. Others see the problem to be an overreliance on money. The value of relationships should never be weighed

in "green," yet through the stories of Big Island elders, relationships are often said to be compromised for financial reasons. Yet others, like Druie, trace these proximate causes back to what they see as a more tangible source of their diasporic lives, believing that it is U.S. nuclear testing that has brought about such alterations in daily life. In many ways, these are simply different ways of focusing the lens on a whole series of alterations in lifeways and beliefs that lies along a path that leads from pre-World War II Enewetak to Ujelang to the Big Island. Being a victim due to changed social practices within the family, because of the move to a way of life more dependent on capital, or at the hands of U.S. disruptions of the life one recalls from one's childhood are different glimpses of the same piece of cloth. In all cases, however, these elders are expressing their disillusionment at changes in the way life should be. Most are discussions of powerlessness and of disenfranchisement. All reflect changes in the way these senior grandparents come to conceive of themselves and their changed circumstances within reconfigured communities of the current day. Rationalizing in terms of a cultural past, looking toward a millenarian future, Big Island seniors inscribe their own identities "in the narrative uncertainty of culture's in-between" (Bhabha 1994, 127). This strategy differs not in form from seniors in the 1970s on Ujelang, arguing for the potency of their own social positionality in a contested sequence of life cyclical passages; it differs only in application, adding a more manifest level of colonial/postcolonial contradictions to the symbolic positioning of grandparenthood in the schemata of daily life.

NOTES

This paper is based on five years of research with Ujelang/Enewetak people conducted between 1976 and 2005 on Ujelang, Enewetak, and Majuro Atolls, and in Hawai'i. Funding was provided by the National Academy of Sciences, the National Endowment for the Humanities, Montana State University, and the Ujelang/Enewetak Local Government Council. I am very grateful to these organizations for their support. I also would like to thank Juliana Flinn and Jocelyn Armstrong for their extensive editorial comments on earlier drafts. Nevertheless, I am solely responsible for the interpretations herein.

1. Krämer and Nevermann (1938) follow Erdland (1914) in translating jibw- as "grandmother, grandmother's sister and female cousin, grandson, sibling's grandson." For Krämer and Nevermann, these designations are labels for objectified positions in a grid that maps biologically related kin. Krämer and Nevermann point to the importance of a more complex view, however, in their introduction to the section "Kinship" by noting "Kinship terms . . . *frequently are inseparable from* the possessive pronoun,. . . they are usually given in combination with *aö*, "my," and are applicable from the standpoint of a man of the family" [emphasis added]. Indeed, Marshallese "kinship terms" are inseparable from bound "possessive pronouns" of all sorts (not only aö); as I am arguing, they are designations for relationships and integral to local people's astute abilities to negotiate the social milieu. (See Murphy and Runeborg translation, chap. IV.)

Leonard Mason's first accounting of Marshallese kinship (1947) perpetuates the biases of Erdland and Krämer and Nevermann. Third person forms are inscribed in Mason's text but, again, objective statuses are taken for granted. *Jibuin*, Mason notes, means: his mother's mother, his father's mother, his female relative of the preceding generation (his great aunt), and his grandchild (*jibuin emman*, "grandson"; *jibuin kōrā*, "granddaughter"), and his male or female relative of the succeeding generation (1947, 19). Mason incorrectly translates the bound "pronoun" as "his"; nevertheless, as in Krämer and Nevermann, "his" demonstrates that Marshallese relationship terms always operate in a social milieu that is minimally triadic. That relationship includes the speaker, the listener, and their respective relationships to another person being discussed (male or female). Jibwin, in fact, refers to a relationship that is minimally quadratic. It designates a relationship of indulgence between two people who include neither the speaker nor the listener, but whose relationship is known, at least by the speaker. The two being discussed may be male or female and they may be two generations apart but, *even if they are not*, they will be in a mutually indulgent relationship not constrained by tabu (at least as depicted in the described scenario).

2. Armstrong (2003) nicely demonstrates how being a grandmother contributes to a woman's perception of social old age among ethnic groups in New Zealand; nevertheless, by adopting a comparative perspective, she eliminates the possibility of coming to understand how Maori or other New Zealanders conceive of grandparental relationships per se. Instead, the comparative frame forces her to assume that grandmotherhood is a condition that comes into being when a person occupies a certain social status: "As a biological role, the role of grandmother is ascribed. When a woman's child has a child she becomes a biological grandmother. Alternatively, the role can be achieved, as when a woman takes on or is given the position of adoptive, step, or other fictive grandmother (2003, 190)." While I do not know how Maori ideas relate to those of their distant Marshallese cousins, I am certain that Marshallese do not share our white American understandings of a biological domain, rooted in shared biogenetic substance (Schneider 1984). Nor do they separate the domain of shared substance from a social domain of fictive/adoptive relationships. Rather, those who engender jibw- relationships in daily practice are jibw-, not because they are fulfilling an objectified status, but because the practical outcomes of the relationship are deserving of being denoted by the jibw- relationship term.

3. Many married Marshallese pairs are *relikindoon* (cross-cousins to one another) but jibw- marriages are not unknown in the Marshall Islands. Whereas specific tabus prevent siblings and adjacent generation members from marrying, jibw- relationships are free from such tabus.

4. Only other collective jimma- and būbū- are unlikely to use these terms. All other socially conscious community members use them. For example, a mature but not yet aged grandparent may say to younger community members, "Take it to *jimmam* (your grandfather)," but, equally, s/he may say, "Take it to *jimmad* (our collective grandfather[s])," even though the only biological grandfathers being spoken of are the speaker's older siblings or parents. Equally, in public meetings, sixty-year-old respected elders will say, "What is it our jibwid will say?" placing themselves as speakers for the community. This common form of speaking lends further weight to the fact that grandparents are parts of relationships fashioned out of practices and demeanors, not out of pedigrees and genealogical positions.

5. Following Braudel (1980), Sahlins (1981) refers to the outcomes of historical transformations of this sort as the "structure of the conjuncture." Yet, to even designate an ordinate structure, a beginning set of cultural contours, requires the overdetermination of certain forms at the expense of others. Such overdeterminations are, perhaps, inherent in the very process of entextualization (Bourdieu 1991), but their effects can be minimized, if not eradicated, by attention to the details of particular cultural performances and the way they are inscribed as text.

6. As I have discussed in detail elsewhere, Enewetak was one of four Marshall Islands radically affected by U.S. nuclear testing after World War II (Carucci 1997a, 2004). Like the residents of Bikini (Kiste 1974), Enewetak people were "relocated" following World War II and continue to suffer from the effects of the nuclear testing era until the current day.

7. Many of the valued characteristics identified by Vo-Thanh-Xuan and Liamputtong Rice (2000) for Vietnamese grandparents are similar to the valued outcomes of viable jibw-relationships for Enewetak/Ujelang Marshallese: they are the grandparent as role model for the grandchildren, the grandparent as a family historian, the grandparent as a teacher/mentor, the grandparent as a nurturer, the grandparent as a giver of unconditional love, and the grandparent as a close friend and mediator with parents. Equally, the authors list the grandparent as a student of the grandchild as a role that has emerged for Vietnamese in Australia. While Marshallese grandparents in Hawai'i do depend on their grandchildren's skills as intermediaries with non–community members (see below), they have not yet begun to talk of this as an element of the shifting relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.

8. Chopping wood after dark, like many kinds of noisy activity, is said to attract spirit beings.

9. In the Marshallese story of Lijbake (first recorded by Erdland in 1914), the indulgent relationship between grandparent/grandchild stands in opposition to the hierarchical punishments that cause the granddaughter to flee the home of her parents (see below and note 12 for more information).

10. Elders often spoke on behalf of young grandparents until they reached an age of accountability. This age, when a young leader could make decisions for the family or clan, was highly variable, depending upon a wide array of culturally shaped criteria and highly negotiated judgments of maturity.

11. In point of fact, many youth first came to Enewetak during the era known as Tempedede, when a small group (supposedly of elders and laborers, though the group often included others) was allowed to return to the atoll and reside on Jeptan. This time period lasted from 1977 to 1980, during the time when the cleanup of part of the atoll and construction of houses took place.

12. While the structural dynamic is not much different, a version recorded by Tobin (2002) with a Mājro consultant, Titōj, in 1956 is cast differently. In Titōj's version, Lijbake is the grandmother, and the granddaughter, Nemejowe, is rescued solely by her. The frigate bird only appears late in the tale as Nemejowe's heartsick brother, not as Lijbake's husband. A version by Leñe Langbol recorded by Klein (2003) is cast with the grandmother, Lijbake, already a resident of Ratak, rescuing her granddaughter, Wōt Kileplep

(Deluge). While the frigate bird does not appear in Leñe's version, it hovers above Deluge's head in Nashton Nashon's illustration of Leñe's tale.

13. The latter two "inequities" reflect the ideas of mature adults and seniors. A few young people saw no harm or risk in individual tenure, and most felt that equalizing power relations with their elders was desirable.

14. Today, well over US$300 million of Enewetak's nuclear claim remains unsettled, awaiting funding by the U.S. Congress.

15. In Montana, where I live and work when not in the Pacific, the Teton Science School is a model for this approach, and this brief overview is based on one of their recent brochures.

16. Compare Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) for the way Tswana men in Botswana became part of the female domain once plow agriculture was introduced.

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EPILOGUE: A NEW LOOK AT GRANDPARENTING

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The papers in this special issue of *Pacific Studies* signal a growing interest in grandparents and the roles that they play in times of profound social, cultural, and demographic change. In this Epilogue we attempt to distill from the preceding seven essays' themes that reflect the various ways in which grandparenthood is adapting to these conditions in selected Pacific Islands. The challenge, as we see it, is to establish how senior citizens, including grandparents and great-grandparents, are embedded in a set of social relationships, and then to determine which variables—lineage and household structures, economic contributions, proximity, activities participated in, conceptions of rights and obligations, etc. —account for their circumstances.

THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY will be the century of grandparents: that is the observation made by two French social scientists, Claudine Attias-Donfût and Martine Segalen, in the introduction to their book *Le Siècle des Grands-parents: Une Génération Phare, Ici et Ailleurs* (2001). That grandparents have been a forgotten subject during the last century, in public life as well as in social science research, is a fact with which the majority of the authors in this issue would agree.

Although the study of grandparents has been neglected until recently, it has lately undergone a major expansion, as testified by the multiplication of sociological and psychological studies on the subject. It is only recently that anthropology in general (and Pacific anthropology is no different in this

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regard) has taken into account the place and the role of grandparents in social life (Burton, Dilworth-Anderson, and Merriwether-deVries 1995; Douaire-Marsaudon 2008; Hirshorn 1998; Ikels 1998; Rensel and Howard 1997; Shomaker 1989). As Sela Panapasa (2007) accurately observes in her contribution to this issue, "population and societal aging and more specifically the practice of grandparenting is a widely understudied area in contemporary Pacific societies." This issue represents an effort to fill that scientific gap and to illuminate a relationship that dates to the beginning of human time, but which has remained until now largely underestimated and understudied.

There are multiple reasons for this new infatuation with grandparenthood, with two of the most important being the demographic expansion of the group known as senior citizens or seniors and the increasing attention given to the care and education of children. As underlined by Sally Keeling (2007), because of this new demographic situation, the role of grandparents has changed in terms of duration, complexity, and variety. Indeed, the period known as the senior years, or simply old age, has become longer and hence more heterogeneous than ever. Old age is today increasingly subdivided into two phases, the first corresponding to the first generation of grandparents, generally in good health, still active and engaged in social life, and the second to great-grandparents, whose dependence augments with age. These two categories are defined as the young-old and old-old and discussed by Jocelyn Armstrong (2007) for New Zealand. This emergence of two generations of grandparents (instead of just one), a phenomenon without a doubt unprecedented in human history, blurs the traditional view of the life cycle.

The new heterogeneity of the senior years also signifies a transformation of intergenerational ties. One of the characteristics of contemporary grandparental ties is that they link old people not only to young children but also to adolescents and even adults. Their young grandchildren are considered a subject of pride and source of joy today as in the past, but there also exists another side of this ongoing grandparental responsibility, marked by anxiety and concern for the success of their grandchildren as they enter their twenties and thirties (Keeling 2007). A number of the studies in this issue have shown that beyond emotional support, Pacific grandparents also give practical or financial help to their grandchildren just entering adulthood.

Sociological studies of contemporary grandparenting in developed societies have shown that when men and women become grandparents, they are often still in the prime of life, working and living like parents, and serving as "second parents" to their grandchildren (Attias-Donfût and Segalen 1998), rather than acting as grandparents in the classic sense of the term. In regards to aging great-grandparents, even with their increasing dependency on the succeeding generation of "young" grandparents, the great-grandparents still

offer their descendants a strong symbolic resource; their presence, beyond the grandparents, places a protective screen that holds death at a distance and concentrates the energy of grandparents in their relationship with their grandchildren (Attias-Donfût and Segalen 2001; see also Hogan, Eggebeen, and Snaith 1996).

Variability in Grandparenting

In both developed and developing societies, both western and nonwestern, there is more diversity in grandparent/grandchild relationships today than in the past. Rather than conforming to an agreed-on ideal model, today's relationships typically result from negotiation among all parties involved. Sally Keeling's analysis of Anglo-European relationships in New Zealand's developed society (2007), and Jeanette Dickerson-Putman's Raivavaen case material (2007) from a developing society setting in French Polynesia (2007) provide a pair of Pacific examples.

The value of a cross-cultural approach to grandparenting as exemplified by the papers in this issue is to demonstrate, beyond the sociological aspects of intergenerational ties, the variability of these forms from one culture or society to another. Nevertheless, the authors stay faithful to their announced objective: not so much to focus on the idiosyncratic character of grandparental ties and practices in this or that Pacific society, as to demonstrate how contemporary grandparenting in these societies results from a series of transformations induced by the history of each society and by foreign, notably western, parental models or ideals.

Reactions to the pressures of modernization have varied in accordance both with the pragmatics of living in a rapidly changing environment and with the nature and viability of prior cultural systems. All of the societal settings dealt with in this issue can be described as being in a process of complexification, with more options, more contingencies, more coping strategies, and a wider range of cultural models available than in the past. Changes in the physical environment (including availability of different types of housing), in opportunities for mobility and wage labor, in the relative value of various commodities and resources (including land), and in other practical considerations go a long way toward shaping the context within which grandparents act. At the same time the cultural models provided by traditional legacies and modern importations allow for alternative means of evaluating actions and relationships. The challenge, therefore, is to establish how senior citizens, including grandparents and great-grandparents, are embedded in a set of social relationships, and then to determine which variables—lineage and household structures, economic contributions, proximity, activities

participated in, conceptions of rights and obligations, etc. —account for their circumstances. The contributors to this issue have made significant strides toward meeting this challenge.

In Micronesian societies such as Guam, Pollap, and the Marshalls, the traditional matrilineal descent system, which accords an important role to women and old people in the conduct of household affairs, grandmothers remain preeminent family figures. Among the Chamorro of Guam, who experienced the most drastic changes under colonization, Spanish colonization nonetheless had little effect on the descent system. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the U.S. administration has prompted Chamorros to adopt the U.S. legal system, which has affected relations between grandparents and grandchildren in pace with the growing Americanization of the Chamorro lifestyle. Still, as Vicki Torsch tells us, the Anglo-American ideal of "the distanced style of noninterfering, affectionate grandparents who live independently in their own homes at some distance from the nuclear parental family" is considered an aberration by Chamorros. Rather, she says, "The ideal among Chamorros is the multigenerational, extended family living in the family compound, sharing a common kitchen and social area in mostly modern, American-style homes" (Torsch 2007).

The existence of the extended family and the coresidence of grandparents with parents and grandchildren is conceived in Micronesian societies—as well as in Fiji (Panapasa 2007)—as an essential aspect of a quality lifestyle. The question is whether or not the extended family will remain viable in these societies as they are being rapidly transformed. The extended family seems to be in good health on Pollap (Flinn 2007) but clearly menaced in Guam, where the development of salaried employment has engulfed the traditional domestic economy. Whether or not the extended family has a future in Pacific societies cannot yet be determined because there are so many contingencies that account for household composition, but it is clearly premature to announce its imminent disappearance and replacement by the nuclear family, along with American or other imported styles of grandparenting.

As anthropologists have shown, extended families cannot be reduced simply to domestic units composed of parents, children, and others (including grandparents). The kinship system organizes social interactions well beyond the interpersonal relations within the domestic unit and the production of material necessities, the distribution of resources, support networks, and perhaps even political alliances. Within the extended family, shared residence and the visibility of the generational order render the respective roles of parents and grandparents more clear-cut than in societies where the nuclear family prevails as it does in most western societies. In societies where

the extended family has continued to be the base of social structure, parents and grandparents each contribute daily to the life of the group. Grandparents, although they are usually excluded from the most arduous tasks, are considered to be guardians of the hearth, of family lands, and of family history.

An anthropological perspective also allows us to focus on another crucial facet of grandparenthood: the subjective manner in which individuals live and express themselves in grandparental roles. Thus, Juliana Flinn (2007) properly warns us against the tendency to consider the role of grandparents as sharply distinct from that of parents and as standardized in the grandparents' relationships with grandchildren. On Pollap, to be a grandfather, and even more so, to become a grandmother, is to continue to be a parent, but in another mode, since the children have become adults. In other words, grandmothers on Pollap live their grandparenthood as a kind of logical continuation and culmination of parenthood. This reminds us that the relationship of grandparent/grandchild necessarily operates through the parent/child relationship; these social interactions bring into play not just two but three or even four generations—the entire extended family. As Laurence Carucci observes for the Marshall Islanders he has studied, referencing Bourdieu (1977), "Grandparenting/grandchilding is an embodied social relational practice or style of action that cannot be separated out from the broad set of practical relationships of which it is a part" (Carucci 2007). Indeed, the relevance of practice can apply on numerous levels, including economic ones. Increasingly today, the family support system must be able to stand up to the challenge of integrating both the benefits and costs of two degrees of grandparenthood—able/active and frail/dependent (see Panapasa 2007).

Today, although the status of grandparenthood remains one of the primary markers of social old age for the majority of people interviewed by the authors of this issue, it is not an assured transition, nor does everyone necessarily have a choice. Late marriage, delayed maternity, childless unions, divorce, and so on have all made becoming a grandparent more uncertain than in the past. On the other hand, in many of today's societies, as Jocelyn Armstrong (2007) documents for both Maori and European grandmothers in New Zealand, the status of grandparent may be either ascribed or achieved: ascribed in biological terms when a woman's child gives birth but achieved in social terms when a woman takes on or is given the role of fictive or adoptive grandmother.

Inclusive Grandparenting

An interesting aspect of the studies included in this issue is that many of the grandparents who were interviewed, no matter what their culture of origin,

conceive of their role in an inclusive manner, extending beyond strict genealogical descent relationships (see e.g., Armstrong 2007; Keeling 2007). Among Maori, as elsewhere in Polynesia, this inclusiveness is inscribed in the kinship terminology: men or women call not only their own grandchildren but also the grandchildren of their siblings and cousins by the same term (*mokopuna* in Maori). As noted by the contributors to this issue, this inclusiveness is widespread even among grandparents of European origin, although the terminology is different, and may sometimes be extended to the grandchildren of friends and neighbors. This flexibility of kinship terminology underscores the relative significance in Pacific societies of action over "blood" ties in signifying relationships (Linnekin and Poyer 1990). Thus, individuals who take on grandparental responsibilities vis-à-vis others become de facto "grandparents" and are referred to or addressed by the appropriate term, whether or not genealogical ties exist. Likewise, a biological grandparent who does not act appropriately in the role may be referred to or addressed without using any concept of grandparenthood.

The significance of behavior over blood for determining the nature of relationships is nicely illustrated by Carucci's analysis of Marshallese grandparenting. On Ujelang and Enewetak Atolls, in the Republic of the Marshall Islands, grandparental ties are conceived as one of the facets of a more encompassing relationship designated by the reciprocal and multireferential term *jibw-*. The relationship is "typified by lightheartedness and indulgence; always involving endeared persons, often two generations apart," but not necessarily in a biological grandparent/grandchild relationship. Carucci further explains that this encompassing relationship has another, more surprising characteristic. While seniors are accorded the greatest of respect in these societies, the jibw- relation between two people can reverse this, and the generationally older member of the pair may become "junior" to the younger, even to a newborn (Carucci 2007).

Jeanette Dickerson-Putman's study of *fa'a'amu* (adoption) on Raivavae in French Polynesia sheds light on one mutation of the grandparental link. As is well known, adoption is a common practice throughout the Polynesian world and principally consists of the transfer of a child from one person (or couple) to another within the same descent group, for example between brother and sister (Shore 1976), or between parents and grandparents. This transference of children creates on Raivavae "networks of exchange and obligation among the biological parents, the adoptive parents, and the adopted child" (Dickerson-Putman 2007; see also Lallemand 1993). Under the pressure of modernization, in particular with the transformation of out-migration from a temporary relocation to a long-standing or permanent phenomenon, the adoption of grandchildren by their grandparents has become more and more common, but less for the purpose of providing

support for the grandparents than for helping the migrating adult children and insuring the welfare of the grandchildren.

The high frequency of adoption of grandchildren throughout Polynesia is suggestive of what may be an important social-psychological phenomenon in these cultures. Howard (1970) has argued that among Hawaiian Americans, adopting grandchildren is a means of extending the stage of parenthood beyond the child-bearing period. His analysis is based on the observation that there are strong reinforcements in childhood for girls to play nurturing roles, resulting in a need for babies as both a source of personal gratification and as a means of validating their adulthood. The dynamics motivate women to replace maturing children with infants, by adoption if the women are no longer fecund. Although men are not so directly socialized toward nurturing behavior, caring for infants and young children is an integral aspect of their adult role that they appear to relish (Howard 1970).

Styles and Roles

Several contributors to this collection of papers have referred to Joan Weibel-Orlando's study of grandparenthood among North American Indians (1997) to classify the great variability of grandparent/grandchild ties. Weibel-Orlando identified six "styles" of grandparents: cultural conservator, custodian, ceremonial, distanced, fictive, and care-needing. Although this allows one to categorize the heterogeneity of contemporary grandparenting, one must nevertheless question whether such a model is adequate to account for the remarkable dynamism of grandparenthood, a characteristic present in each of the papers presented here. Today, "to be a grandparent" cannot be thought of as a clearly limited and defined state, while "becoming a grandparent" must be seen as a long-term process open to many possibilities: grandparenthood takes on more and more the sense of an adventure, or at least a life experiment.

It seems that almost all the grandparents described in this issue are facing modernization and the loss of guideposts and cultural values. Many if not most of them feel they are vested with a mission to remind the young of the rules and constraints as well as the attraction and pleasures of social life that seem to be disappearing (see Schweitzer 1999). The pressure on grandparents who belong to ethnic minorities to act as cultural conservators is especially great in most instances.

However, while received wisdom suggests that grandparents, and older people in general, are the main keepers and transmitters of cultural tradition, such is not always the case. In Hawai'i, and among New Zealand Maori, indigenous language and many aspects of custom were all but lost to several generations. It has been largely the youths who have resurrected tradition in

these societies, and who are in a position to re-educate their parents and grandparents. Nevertheless, even under these conditions, the sense of identification between grandparents and grandchildren remains strong. For the young, grandparents represent a link to a re-valued past; for the old, the young represent affirmation of the worth of a nearly forgotten cultural heritage.

The different lifestyles of grandparents presented in this issue suggest that it is easier to be a grandparent in some societies than in others. Despite dramatic changes in Chamorro lifestyle, the general availability of U.S. Social Security benefits has liberated older people from domestic tasks, allowing them to frequent senior citizen centers, to take some leisure time, and to participate in activities that were not available to previous generations. Under such conditions, where choices are abundant, it is possible for older people to foreground other roles (occupational, political, etc.) and to relegate the grandparent role to the background of their lives.

In contrast, in Fiji, unemployment, poverty, urbanization, and increasing labor force participation by women have destabilized parental ties and increased the need and pressure for grandparents to become caregivers of their grandchildren, or even to become "second time parents" (Panapasa 2007; see also Dickerson-Putman 2007). In other instances, where changes have been the most dramatic, as among Marshallese who were evacuated from their home islands as a result of nuclear testing, grandparents appear to be among the first affected by severe changes in traditional family and community structure. According to Carucci (2007), they express "their disillusionment at changes in the way life should be" and their sense "of powerless and of disenfranchisement."

Nevertheless, in Guam, on Pollap and the Marshall Islands, in Fiji, New Zealand, and French Polynesia, despite the uncertain destiny of the extended family, no matter what form these grandparent/grandchild links take today, wherever they exist, they play a fundamentally cohesive role, nurturing family and social stability in a world marked by discontinuity and change (cf. Robertson 1995; Smith 1995). Within these changing Pacific societies, grandparents give support and serve as incomparable guides to understanding the transformation of the contemporary world.

NOTES

1. This relationship is fairly close overall to the link between Polynesian elders and those they call *mokopuna* in Maori, *mo'opuna* in Hawaiian, etc.

2. This renaissance has been in part the result of political activism and in part the development of language "immersion" programs that educate children in their native language.

3. The identification of grandparents with grandchildren may be a nearly universal phenomenon. It is suggested in many Pacific cultures where the terms for grandparent and grandchild are the same; that is, they are reciprocal.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLAND PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, DECEMBER 2003–MAY 2004

THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian Studies Resource Center, University of California San Diego, Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's Center for the Pacific Development Training. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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RECENT PACIFIC ISLAND PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 2005–JUNE 2005

THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian Studies Resource Center, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen, University of California–San Diego, Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library, Center for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's Center for the Pacific Development Training. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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