# 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

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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 non-nuclear 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 Naʻalehu, 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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