Introduction to Inter-Generational Relationships: Grandparenting

Karina Weichold
University of Jena, Germany
E-mail: karina.weichold@uni-jena.de

As a global trend, we are confronted with an aging society. The proportion of older people (60 years of age and above) will double by 2050; consequently, because there will be more older people in society, younger and older generations will tend to have even longer and more intense contact than they do now. In addition, issues like the full realization of all individuals' potentials, and productivity in later years will gain more importance. Within intergenerational relationships, grandparenting can provide a sense of productivity, acknowledgement, and emotional wellbeing for older individuals. Currently in Europe, 20% of adults between 40 and 85 years of age (in Asia and Africa, approximately 40%) regularly take care of their grandchildren. Thus grandparents not only support and influence the development of their grandchildren, but also help their own children (e.g., by saving costs for childcare) who later may provide care for them. An in-depth investigation of the give and take between younger and older generations in the context of grandparenting is the aim of this special section of the ISSBD Bulletin.

Five of the papers introduce new scientific work on grandparenting from a range of cultural backgrounds and theoretical and methodological traditions. One study from Japan focuses on the description of female three-generational relationships over time (i.e., daughters, mothers, and grandmothers; Nishiyama & Yamada), thereby highlighting the issue of mutual support and role reversal between generations. Support and caregiving (sometimes to a burdensome degree) provided by grandmothers of African orphaned children is explored in the paper by Oburu. Because the majority of research on grandparenting focuses on grandmothers within intergenerational relationships, special attention is drawn in one paper to grandfathers and their roles in supporting and rearing their grandchildren (Bullock). Two more papers within the special section deal, first, with the issue of grandchildren as caregivers who provide support and help to their grandparents (Fruhauf & Orel), and, second, the behaviors of grandparents that may reinforce a more negative developmental pathway for grandchildren (here focusing on obesity in Chinese children; Jinxiong). This selection of articles is discussed by Merril Silverstein, a sociologist and gerontologist, and an expert in research on grandparenting within the context of family and intergenerational relationships. Furthermore, Sunil Saini from India, who is interested in interpersonal relationships across the life span, has written a commen-

tary. The three lab reports in this Bulletin represent teams from Brazil, the UK, and the Philippines, who are also engaged in research on grandparenting from a sociological perspective (Kosminski), embedded within a large research network (Smith), or focusing on grandparents from a micro-psychological point of view (Antonio). This compilation of excellent reports within the special section demonstrates that in the realm of grandparenting, albeit approached here from different theoretical backgrounds and various nations around the globe, support and help between generations are common themes.

Similarly, support and generativity are important topics of ISSBD, reflected, for instance, in the case of ISSBD-funded workshops. In this Bulletin, the findings of the ISSBD Regional Workshop Study (Cooper & Verma) are presented along with reports on recent workshops in China and Australia. In addition, this Bulletin contains the notes from our president, Anne Petersen, the minutes of the last EC meeting, and other news of the society.

We would like to thank all the authors of this Bulletin for their engagement and efforts. In addition, we would like to draw your attention to the e-newsletter where, among other news, the upcoming topics of the ISSBD Bulletin are announced. We warmly invite the members of the society to indicate their interest in publishing their work according to the announced topics in the Bulletin.

Visual Narratives of Grandparent–Parent–Child Relationships from the Perspective of Young Adult Granddaughters

Naoko Nishiyama
Kyoto University, Japan
E-mail: nishiyama.n@at8.ecs.kyoto-u.ac.jp

and

Yoko Yamada
Kyoto University, Japan
E-mail: yo-yay@nifty.com

Although a great deal has been written about parents and their relationships with their children, relatively little has been written about grandparents and their relationships with their grandchildren (Smith, 2005). Recent research has suggested that intergenerational relationships have become increasingly important to people in aging societies characterized by longer life spans (Hagestad, 2000; Swartz, 2009). In this article, we would like to offer three comments about the current status of intergenerational studies.

First, most of the studies related to this issue, for example, typical research using the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI), emphasize early childhood experiences, particularly those during the first years of life (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Fonagy, Steele, & Steele, 1991; van IJzendoorn, 1995). Studies using AAI have found evidence for the intergenerational transmission of attachment patterns. They paid special attention to negative factors, such as maltreatment, depression, aggression, disorganized caregiving behaviors, and so on (e.g., Gjerde, 1995; Lyons-Ruth, Yellink, Melnick, & Atwood, 2003; Solomon & George, 2006). These analyses focused on the differences among individuals and the classification of attachment types, but the qualitative patterns of the life stories and narratives collected in these interviews have often been undervalued. As a result, important elements of these stories have been overlooked. In contrast, our study aimed not at categorizing or stereotyping the data, but rather, at discovering new and representative stories through careful qualitative analysis of these life narratives.

Second, although three generations are involved in grandparent–parent–child relationships, most studies have used interviews or questionnaires to treat the relationships between two generations separately, i.e., grandparent–parent, parent–child, or grandparent–child relationships. Because the relationships among three generations are not merely the sum of their separate pairs, we focused on the three-generational relationship as a unit and on total patterns characterizing the grandparent–parent–child relational configuration. For this purpose, visual narratives are thought to be more useful than verbal ones. Yamada (1988, 1991) and Yamada & Kato (2004) developed the visual narrative approach with the Image Drawing Method (IDM), which relies on freehand drawings followed by simple explanations of the drawings. This use of images facilitates rapid understanding of the patterns underlying relationships in their totality.

Third, the time spans studied in previous research have been too brief to address longitudinal intergenerational relationships. Indeed, it is necessary to consider a time period that exceeds the life span of an individual, which is the model used by life span developmental psychology. Yamada (2004) and Yamada & Kato (2006a) developed the Generative Life Cycle Model (GLCM) based on the concept of generativity (Erikson, 1950). This model enabled us to examine human development over the life span of more than one person. The core concept of this model is neither the individual nor the self, but rather the relationships themselves. According to this perspective, an individual's life is fundamentally connected to the lives of others, including those in previous and subsequent generations; it is in this context that the notion of a generative life cycle becomes meaningful.

A narrative approach is effective for understanding a generative life cycle or, in other words, for understanding the history of intergenerational relationships. Narrated life stories and family images depicting caring for the next and future generations have played key roles in illustrating a generative society (Josselson et al., 1993; McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1998; Kotre, 1999; McAdams & Logan, 2004). The basic definition of narrative is "the organization of experiences" in terms of three time periods: past, present, and future (Ricœur, 1985; Bruner, 1990). According to this fundamental definition, the task in our study was to collect and interpret images depicting relationships among three generations during these three periods of time. We referred to this approach as yielding a "visual narrative." Indeed, a narrative approach encompasses stories communicated not only with language in a narrow sense, but also with language in a broad sense, one that includes signs such as gestures, images, pictures, and so on. Therefore, we considered drawing images as equivalent to telling stories or narratives.

In this study, we focused on the maternal side of women's kinship relations: maternal grandmother–mother–daughter relationships. Just as mothers are frequently closer to children than are fathers, many studies have found that grandmothers are more involved with their grandchildren than are grandfathers (Smith, 2005). In addition, maternal grandparents are typically more involved with grandchildren than are paternal grandparents (Hodgson, 1992; Dench & Ogg, 2002). In Japan, in particular, cultural norms have supported the maintenance of strong bonds between elderly mothers and their daughters after the daughters have married. In this context, the mother supports her daughter during pregnancy and child-rearing. This tendency has also been documented in East Asian countries (Trommsdorff & Schwarz, 2007), in which it has been meaningful to consider narratives focusing on the life stories of more than three generations of women connected by maternal kinship bonds.

Methods

The participants were 245 Japanese female university students with a mean age of 19.57 years, and they were all granddaughters. The participants provided information about their families, especially with regard to maternal kinship relationships. We used the Image Drawing Method (IDM) (Yamada, 1988), which uses freehand drawings followed by simple explanations of the drawings, to qualitatively examine visual life stories. The instructions for the

IDM are simple, and participants were asked to draw three images of their relationships with their mothers and maternal grandmothers. Specific instructions were as follows: "Please draw a picture representing an image of the relationship between you, your mother, and your grandmother during your early childhood (at present/in the future). And please briefly explain the picture."

The analysis of the IDM gave priority to the meanings portrayed in the drawings, and the verbal descriptions were treated as secondary explanatory factors. We did not categorize the drawings according to factors such as the distances between and relative sizes of the three people. As a first step, we paid special attention to the representative patterns of relationships as a whole. In the next step, we focused on the life stories and interpreted the series of three pictures (past, present, and future) as a visual narrative of intergenerational relationships.

Findings

First, four fundamental patterns in the images of early childhood emerged from the analysis focused on the compositional aspects of drawings. We named these patterns "dyad-plus-one," "triangle," "side-by-side," and "wrapped" relationships. Second, we explored the transitions in the images over the three life stages (past/present/future). Analyzing the compositional features of the drawings suggested that most three-generational relationships conformed to the "dyad-plus-one" pattern throughout the three periods. The word "dyad" refers to a pair, something that consists of two elements or parts. In the present study, dyads occurred in three combinations in these three-generational family constellations: the mother–daughter pair, the mother–grandmother (mother's elderly mother) pair, and the grandmother–granddaughter pair. In this "dyad-plus-one" framework, a series of three pictures formed a coherent visual narrative of intergenerational relationships. The pattern characterizing the relationship in early childhood tended to continue throughout the three life stages, although the positions or combinations of parties tended to change as the daughters developed. Stories 1 and 2 are typical examples of this "dyad-plus-one" pattern and show the contrasting changes in combinations that emerge as daughters look to the future. In Story 1, the daughter, who formed a dyad with her grandmother, grew up and established an independent life apart from the family bond. In contrast, in Story 2, the daughter remained closely connected to her family and strengthened the ties with her grandmother. In the context of this strong family bond, mutual support and caregiving have emerged as points of discussion. The last example, Story 3, shows the apparent rotation of caregiving among three generations.

In example 1, the dyad consisted of the grandmother and the daughter during the early childhood of the young adult daughter. The picture of the present relationship reflects the continuation of this dyad. However, membership in the dyad was expected to change in the near future to include the participant's grandmother and mother. The picture, depicting the future, shows the daughter as independent and living separately from her parents.

During her early childhood, the daughter frequently accompanied her grandmother on shopping trips while her mother took a break from child care. The grandmother was a good provider of child care and tended to her granddaughter very well. In Japan, it is common for the maternal grandmother to help with child rearing while the parents
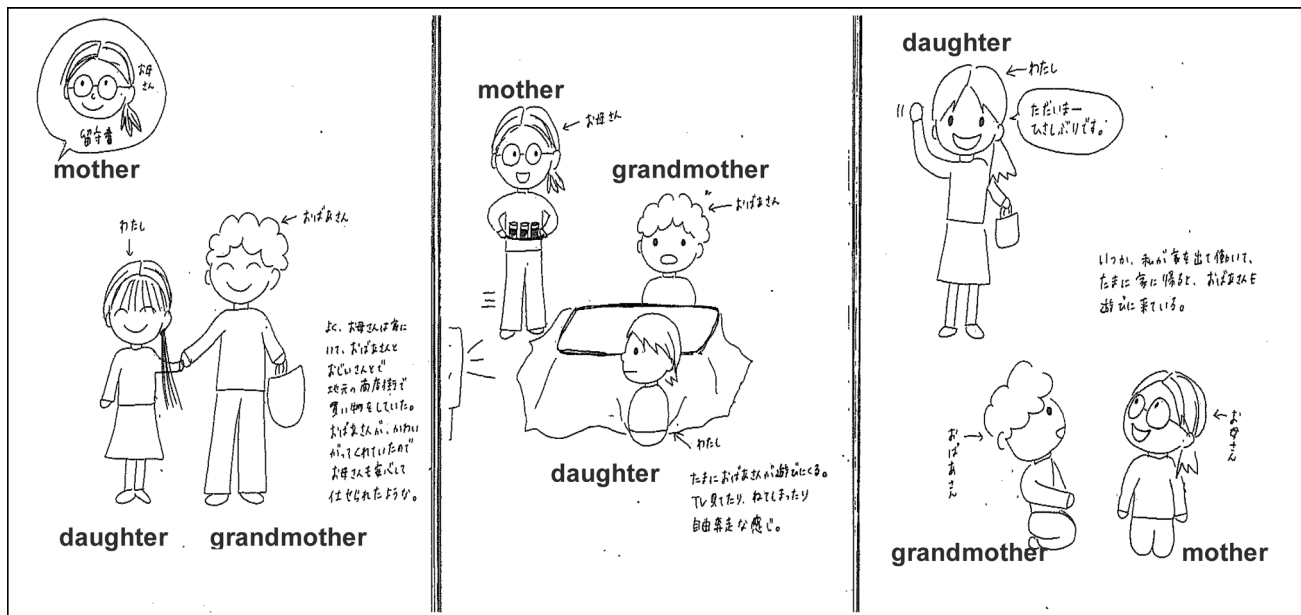
Story 1. Brought up by the previous generations and independent in the future

[In the past] "I often went shopping in the neighborhood with my grandparents, while my mother stayed at home. My mother trusted my grandmother to take good care of me and left me in her charge. My grandmother loved me very much."

[At present] "My family and grandparents live separately now, but my grandmother often comes to visit us. She feels relaxed at our house and watches television, takes a nap, and so on." In this picture, the mother makes tea for the family.

[In the future] "Someday, I will go to work and live away from my parents' home. Once in a while, when I return home for the holidays, my grandmother will probably also come to visit. And we will all spend a happy time together."

work or engage in other activities. Indeed, grandparents offer strong support in matters of child care.

The picture of the present relationship depicts a family scene. The grandmother and the daughter are sitting at the table facing each other, and the mother is making tea. The composition of this image resembles that of the one depicting the past relationship. The grandmother and the young adult daughter constitute a dyad and share an activity; the mother stands apart from them.

The picture illustrating the future suggests that the membership of the dyad was expected to change. The one standing apart, leaving home, is the daughter. This suggests that in the near future, she will get a job and leave home, thereby becoming independent from the family. This story exemplifies an "independence story" or a "growing-up story." The daughter, who has been cared for by previous generations during childhood, will grow up and stand on her own two feet in the future. At the same time, the elderly grandmother and middle-aged mother will strengthen their connection with each other.

The next example, Story 2, depicts the same pattern of a "dyad-plus-one" relationship, but with a different narrative revealed in the future image.

Analysis of the compositions in this series suggested that the past relationship followed the "dyad-plus-one" pattern in which the dyad consisted of a mother and daughter. The picture of the present relationship depicts the dyad as the grandmother and daughter. The picture depicting the future relationship presents two dyadic relationships, both of which include grandmother–granddaughter pairs. This example shows the changing composition of the dyads through the three life stages, but the position of the daughter does not reflect movement or distance from the family.

During the daughter's early childhood, she and her mother lived far from her grandparents' home and sometimes visited them. Nowadays, in Japan, many families consist of parents (couples) and their children (i.e., nuclear families), as is the case in Western countries. Few families live with grandparents. This example typifies the lifestyle of the current Japanese family. According to this participant's explanation, the relationship between grandchildren and grandparents involved physical distance but psychological closeness.

At present, the young adult daughter is a university student in the prime of her youth. She enjoys direct interchanges with her grandmother, not mediated by her mother. By providing financial assistance, the grandmother shows her concern for both the middle-aged mother and the young adult daughter.

In the picture depicting the future, the daughter grows up and becomes the mother of a small child. Furthermore, the participant noted that she would like to repay a debt to previous generations. It is interesting that two grandparent–grandchild bonds are depicted in this last picture. In addition, the subject expected her mother to become a doting grandmother, just as her grandmother now dotes on her.

As part of the generational cycle, our participants, similar to other young adult daughters, dreamed about becoming mothers as their own mothers mature and become, in turn, grandmothers. The intergenerational life-cycle perspective enables us to expand our focus to include not only three but many successive generations. From Story 2, we might point out the theme of mutual support and role reversal between generations, including the time lag. Related to this theme, Story 3 clearly depicts the rotation of the caregiving role among the three generations.
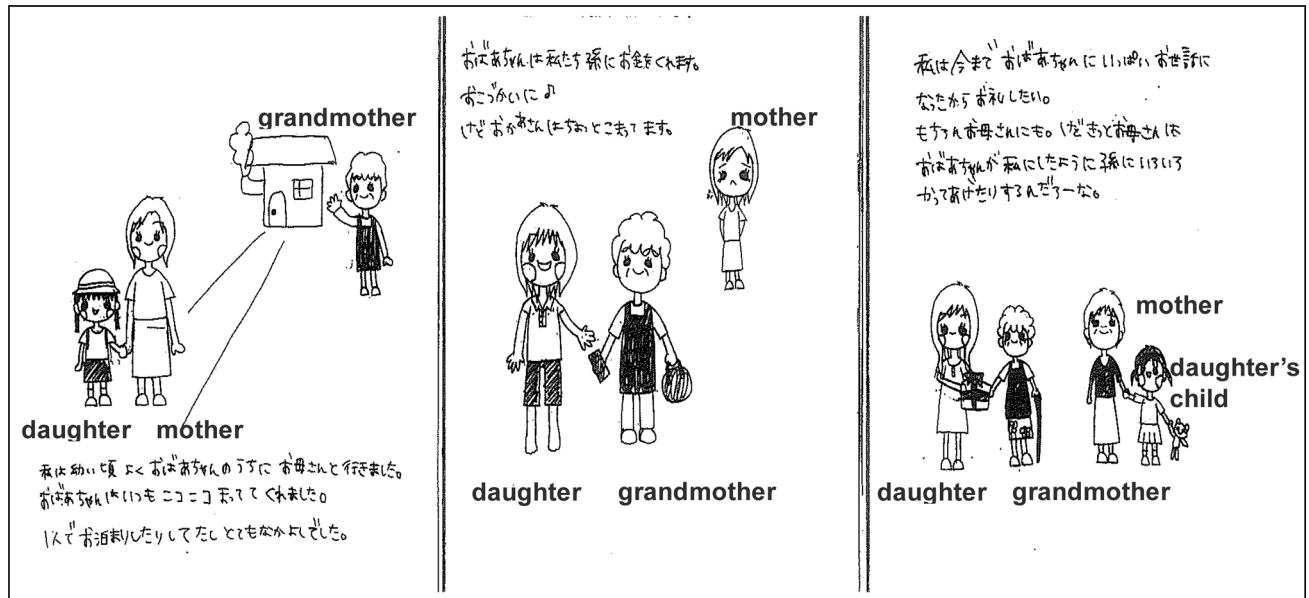

Story 2. Two pairs of grandparent–grandchild relationships remain in the future
[In the past] "I used to visit my maternal grandmother with my mother. My grandma looked forward to our arrival and she always treated us kindly and warmly. We all got along very well with each other."
[At present] "My grandmother often gives me pocket money. I'm pleased, but my mother takes a dim view of such behavior. She thinks that too much allowance spoils daughters."
[In the future] "I truly appreciate what grandma has done for me. So, I would like to pay her back with a present for her kindness. And I thank my mother too. In the future, my mother will probably give my children many gifts, just as my grandmother gave me things."
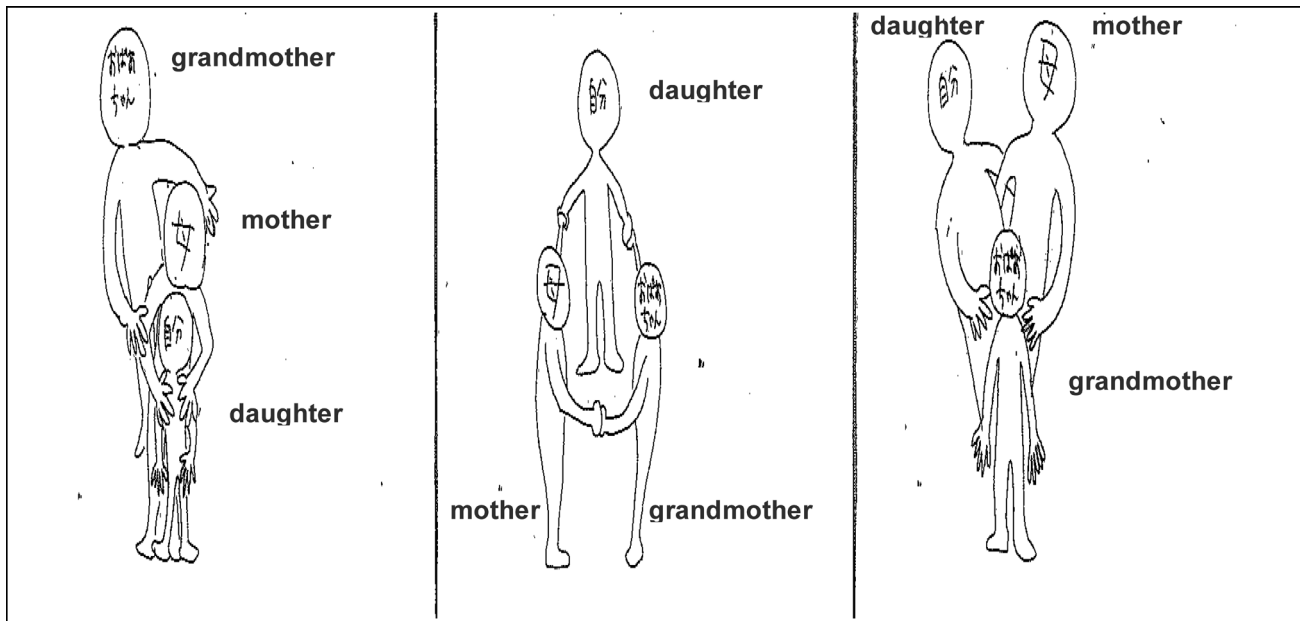
Story 3. Rotation of the caregiving role among three generations
[In the past] The grandmother supported the mother, and the mother held the daughter in her arms.
[At present] Three people are standing hand in hand.
[In the future] The mother and the daughter support each other, and they together hold the grandmother.

One of the fundamental patterns of a "wrapped" relationship is that participants in the relationship envelop each other. In the drawing depicting childhood, this pattern's basic model was represented as the grandmother wrapping her arms around the others, while the mother simultaneously enveloped the daughter. In this example, the young girl was depicted as entirely enclosed and guarded by the grandmother and mother during her childhood. And now, in the picture illustrating the present, the three people are standing hand in hand. How will this relationship change in the future? Story 3 shows the typical life story in "wrapped" relationships: a daughter who was wrapped in love and cared for by previous generations when she was young grows up to envelop and care for others.

Discussion

As the aforementioned examples suggest, the patterns depicted in the images of intergenerational relationships continue over the life cycle, even though the roles and positions of individual members change.

In this discussion, we would especially like to emphasize the importance of a wider time perspective that not only can encompass past experiences but can also expand to include images of the hypothetical future. From the perspective of a narrative approach, the supposed future is the most important stage, as it may reconstruct and revise peoples' lives.

The narratives discussed above showed major changes between the present and the future images. In Story 1, membership in the dyad changed, and the daughter became an independent adult. The image of the future contained in Story 2 included the next generation and two grandmother–granddaughter dyads. Story 3 illustrates the convergence of images of the past and the future, even though the caregiving role rotated across time. The patterns of these stories were organized differently, but they all included important narrative developments in their images of the future.

By collecting visual narratives, we were able to observe the factors that influenced current perceptions of reality. It might also be possible to identify additional perceptions by asking participants to view the present from the perspective of the future. Although we cannot change past reality, we can change our understanding of the past and open new vistas for the future. With a perspective that encompasses the future, we are able to reconstruct and restart intergenerational relationships over and over again.

Many of the visual narratives provided by participants in this study depicted relationships characterized by the important role of the grandmother and by the flexibility of mutual support and assistance among the three generations. The results of our study suggested that young adult daughters, cared for by previous generations, grow into parents who care for both subsequent and preceding generations. Similarly, Manheimer (2004) discussed the younger adult's active role in the process of intergenerational relationships in terms of the mutual giving and receiving of care between young and old. Mutual support and reciprocity constitute important aspects of intergenerational relationships.

Yamada and Kato (2006b) claimed that multiple versions of the GLCM model are required to include the multidimensional facets of a phenomenon embedded in different cultural contexts. In Western industrialized societies, the combination of an extended life span and the existence of fewer family members has resulted in shifts away from more narrow/vertical family structures (Hagestad, 2000). In East Asian countries, including Japan,

grandparents have traditionally played an important role in supporting other family members, and they have been respected by family members as anchors for the family. This vertical family system, which is based on close intergenerational relationships, should be seen in a new light. Further work on intercultural variations in caregiving and receiving (see also Schwarz, Trommsdorf, Kim, & Park, 2006; Trommsdorff & Schwarz, 2007) may provide a broader perspective on intergenerational relationships.

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HIV/AIDS Generated Caregiving Burdens and the Emergent two Generation Family Structure in Sub-Saharan Africa

Paul Odhiambo Oburu
Maseno University, Kenya
E-mail: poburu@yahoo.com

Across many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the concentration of HIV/AIDS-related deaths among young adults between 15 and 49 years of age in resource-deficient areas has left a large number of children younger than 18 without one or both parents (Nyambedha, Wandibba, & Aagaard-Hansen, 2003; Oleke, Blystad, & Rekdal, 2005). The UNAIDS report on the global AIDS epidemic estimated that between 1990 and 2007, about 12 million children under 18 were orphaned by AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS, 2008). Some of these orphaned children live in child-headed households but without direct support from significant adults. Others are taken in by distant relatives or non-kin adopters, or venture onto the streets in major urban areas when close relatives are unavailable or unwilling to take them in (Nyambedha et al., 2003).

The majority of these orphans are raised by single, elderly, impoverished and marginalized female caregivers (Nyambedha et al., 2003; UNAIDS, 2008). These elderly caregivers are expected to provide labor at a period in their lives when they lack the energy to get actively involved in low-paying but demanding subsistence economies. They also have to share limited or non-existent resources when they themselves are grieving the loss of their 'life investments' with the deaths of their supportive children, have failing health and consequently have needs themselves (Nyambedha et al., 2003). In these new living arrangements, children who are sometimes too young to make meaningful contributions are expected to take up age inappropriate caregiving responsibilities for their terminally ailing parents, orphaned siblings and elderly care providers (Oleke et al., 2005).

The main aim of this paper will be to explore the morbidity effects of bereavements, and perceived disruptions in life expectancies on mental health outcomes amongst elderly caregivers raising their orphaned grandchildren. Specifically, the paper will assess whether HIV/AIDS-bereaved children raised by grandparents are at greater risks of maladjustment given their difficult early life experiences and widespread deprivations. A second aim will be to assess whether the strenuous, restrictive and non-normative roles now required of custodial grandmothers raising their orphaned grandchildren predisposes them to consider their new caregiving roles as burdensome and stressful.

Family Life in Traditional Contexts

In most traditional African societies, child rearing was perceived as a lifelong investment and a collective responsibility for parents, grandparents and other extended family members (Nyambedha et al., 2003; Oleke et al., 2005). Life courses in these traditional contexts followed predictable scripts where adult children were the main anchors of family based welfare support systems for their elderly parents (Makoni & Ferreira, 2002). The existence of a large pool of close relatives and well established welfare structures meant that the basic needs of the elderly and those of orphaned children were satisfactorily taken care of within clan-based three-generation families (Nyambedha et al., 2003). Old age was also perceived as a reaping time for the elderly whose rewards for successful child rearing were expected to be unconditional support from adult children, non-restrictive lifestyles and unlimited freedom to indulge their grandchildren (Catell, 1993).

Impact of the Orphan Crisis

Despite the numerous risks to maladjustment and potential psychological costs to elderly caregivers undertaking child rearing duties within impoverished contexts, literature on the orphan situation in heavily HIV/AIDS-affected sub-Saharan Africa are still limited, generalized and often contradictory (Oburu, 2005; Oleke et al., 2006; Abebe & Aase, 2007). Most researchers focusing on adjustment of orphaned children and the mental health of their caregiving grandmothers portray orphans as burdens to family-based social welfare systems (e.g., Nyambedha et al., 2003; Ankrah, 1993. Adoptive grandmothers are also presented as involuntary care providers who are being overwhelmed and depressed by heavy and diversified time-disordered caregiving roles (e.g., Oburu & Palmerus, 2003). Stress related to the strenuous child rearing activities now required of caregiving grandmothers, role-related restrictions, and the inability to generate meaningful economic livelihoods were reported to be cumulative and consequently overwhelming to elderly caregivers due to perceived interferences with life stage appropriate roles and expectancies (e.g., Nyambedha et al., 2003).

The most affected were elderly and less energetic caregivers who had exclusively relied on their deceased adult children for daily support or upkeep. These distressed grandmothers operating within difficult or problematic contextual circumstances at a time when traditional support structures are being overwhelmed by widespread HIV/AIDS mortalities were reportedly more punitive and neglectful of their grandchildren (Nyambedha et al., 2003). They also resorted to easily instituted punitive and coercive disciplinary methods (Oburu & Palmerus, 2003). The shift from the characteristic indulgent traditional repertoires to neglectful, punitive and coercive disciplinary methods amongst distressed grandmothers was linked to stress related to advanced age, limited instrumental support from relatives, perceived child behavioral difficulty, and the burden of the extensive and restrictive child-rearing duties now required of elderly caregivers (Bowers & Myers, 1999; Oburu & Palmerus, 2003).

As a consequence of age inappropriate role expectancies and discontinuation of family-based support systems, HIV/AIDS-bereaved children raised by grandparents were reportedly at risk of maladjustments due their intellectual or cognitive immaturity and inability to undergo healthy grieving or contextualize death and dying amongst family members (see Li et al., 2008 for a review). These children are likely to lose out on love, care and attention at a time when they are cognitively immature and emotionally attached to dead or ailing parents. Their plight is reportedly

complicated by the repeated traumas of witnessing prolonged ailments amongst family members, in addition to the deaths of their own parents (Li et al., 2008; Nyambedha et al., 2003). Parental deaths may also entail physical dislocation of orphaned children from familiar to sometimes unwelcoming surroundings, changed lifestyles, school leaving and exploitation by fraudulent relatives intent on taking advantage of their infantile stage to defraud them out of their inheritance.

There is a possibility that the alarmist construction of the orphan situation in areas heavily infected with HIV/AIDS underrates the capacity of orphans and caregiving grandmothers to overcome adversities (Abebe & Aase, 2007). The majority of the relevant literature comprises qualitative anthropological surveys (e.g., Nyambedha et al., 2003), cross-sectional studies that rely heavily on self-reports, and scales developed for Euro-American biological samples and conceptualizations of adjustments (e.g., Oburu, 2005; Li et al., 2008). Another limitation of the growing body of literature on the orphan crisis is that they are almost all based on inaccurate data projections developed from underdeveloped registration systems. Consequently the reported prevalence rates or projections may either be underestimates or overgeneralized scenarios of the orphan crisis in the most affected areas (Bicego, Rutstein & Johnson, 2003; Oleke et al., 2006).

The blanket categorizations of orphans as vulnerable children requiring adult care and support and their portrayal as a 'ticking time bombs' that are overstretching the extended family support systems also generalizes varying orphan needs and vulnerability (Abebe & Aase, 2007; Oleke et al., 2006). Complex but recognizable differences between orphans, based on powerful cultural, structural and economic factors, have been identified (see Oleke et al., 2006 for a comprehensive review).

The majority of the studies have also been based on the assumption that role constraints and breaches in life expectancies generate negative valence amongst care providers and their orphaned grandchildren (see Li et al., 2008 for a review). According to the traditional perspectives on adjustment and attachment theory, this line of thought is justified given the predictability of elderly people's life courses and the widespread state involvement in welfare structures in developed economies. In these economically developed societies, the numerous and extensive caregiving responsibilities and disruptive life patterns are bound to increase children's vulnerability towards maladjustment and elderly people's perceptions of caregiving as stressful and burdensome (e.g., Bowers & Myers, 1999). These insights may not be transferable to the context of sub-Saharan African.

To date, longitudinal research on grandmother caregiver-experienced stress and the adjustment of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS-related mortalities in sub-Saharan Africa is still lacking. A review of the related literature indicated an overreliance on self-reports and cross-sectional data, and overdependence on scales developed for Euro-American biological samples (e.g., Oburu & Palmerus, 2004; Oburu, 2005). These authors used control groups of 113 partially responsible grandmothers and 115 biological parents and their children living within three-generational families in Western parts of Kenya to compare the caregiving stress and socio-emotional adjustment of an experimental group of 262 grandmothers who had adopted their orphaned grandchildren on a full-time basis. Contextual factors related to caregiver employment of coercive discipline strategies and the links between experienced stress, child adjustment, perceived child difficulty and the availability of emotional and instrumental support were also examined. Their results indicated that while the diversified nature of responsibilities and complicated life adjustments now required of full-time grandmother caregivers predisposes them to employing power-assertive discipline strategies and also to experiencing elevated levels of stress, there was no evidence to suggest that orphaned children raised by grandmothers were less adjusted when compared to non-orphans.

The anticipation of positive correlations between caregiver-experienced stress and child adjustment problems was also not realized. Amongst the partially responsible grandmothers living within the traditional three-generation families, experienced stress was negatively related to instrumental support and positively to emotional support. The researchers' explanation was that either these distressed grandmother caregivers did not rate their orphaned grandchildren as maladjusted or the numerous adversities that these at-risk children are currently exposed to made them resilient. It was also probable that distressed caregivers required and sometimes received elevated levels of emotional support. These Kenyan studies, while focusing on an understudied population, were limited in that they did not specifically assess the links between elapsed time since parental deaths and inferred resiliency amongst orphans and their caregiving grandmothers.

Other studies that have assessed the current orphan crisis in sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Oleke et al., 2005; Nyambedha et al., 2003) also noted that due to perceived discriminatory experiences related to the exponential rise in the number of orphans, competition for meager resources, and the widespread deaths of prospective kin adopters, these vulnerable children have developed very effective survival and coping skills characterized by hard work, lower expectations for external support and a capacity to overcome adversities.

Non-sub-Saharan African studies of family caregiving under duress (e.g., Renhard & Horwitz, 1995; Silverman & Worden, 1992; Winston, 2003) also noted differential conceptualization and effects of burdens amongst Whites and African Americans. These authors argued that while grandparenting under duress could be considered a normative element within African Americans' culture but not amongst Whites, African American grandmothers who had accepted the perceived alterations in their life courses and assumed surrogate parenting for their grandchildren as an obligatory task or family responsibility were more likely to have positive attitudes towards their new roles. The acceptability of life-altering roles, resourcefulness and resilience to overcome adversities, and psychological satisfaction of filling in vacuums left by the deaths of their own children generated positive dispositions in these grandmother caregivers that they are responsible members of the society. These grandmothers are likely to provide a secure material base as well as physical and emotional care for their orphaned grandchildren (Oburu, 2005; Abebe & Aase, 2007; Gatz et al., 1990).

Conclusions and Future Implications

It is worth noting that while HIV/AIDS is compounding an already difficult situation in sub-Saharan Africa, innovative and resilient structures are steadily rising from the ashes of HIV-related deaths and morbidity (Abebe & Aase, 2007). For example, since the majority of the elderly life course depends on unstructured family-based social welfare systems and household economies, it is likely that the unpredictable nature of events could help develop in the affected sub-Saharan African households an inherent capacity to overcome seemingly insurmountable challenges (Abebe & Aase, 2007).

In pre-industrial societies where state involvement in welfare structures is either absent or not guaranteed for all the populace, the orphan crisis may not be an altogether deterministic phenomenon that is completely devastating intergenerational relationships, increasing children's path towards the development of psychopathology and completely overwhelming the social traditional structures (e.g., Nyambedha et al., 2003). While a considerable number of elderly caregivers are currently raising children with a 'robbed childhood' under very difficult circumstances, the prospect of grandparents providing care to orphans is also not a new phenomenon in many sub-Saharan societies (Abebe & Aase, 2007). Grandmothers have always been caregivers to vulnerable children, especially during calamities (e.g., Nyambedha et al., 2003). This suggests that children under the custody of impoverished caregivers or exposed to early life deprivations are not always disadvantaged for life. Grandmothers have been reported to be relatively 'more caring, compassionate and less discriminative towards orphans than were other categories of care providers' due to their child-rearing experiences and unsurpassed determination to provide the best for their grandchildren (Oleke et al., 2006). What these time-disordered caregivers require are necessary support and respite care to enable them to cope with their demanding roles. Different categories of orphans should also be empowered by initiating enabling strategies that could help them cope effectively with early life deprivations.

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Expanding the Intergenerational Relationship: Grandfathers Raising Grandchildren

Karen Bullock
University of Connecticut, USA
E-mail: Karen.Bullock@uconn.edu

An important aspect of intergenerational relationships is the increasing number of older adults who find themselves assuming the role of primary caregivers for their grandchil-

dren. In the past decade there has been a trend towards more grandparents becoming full-time caregivers for a grandchild or grandchildren in the absence of the children's parents.

Recent reports from the U.S. Census Bureau (2002) confirm that grandparents have the primary responsibility for the care of more than 1.3 million children in our country. The health and protection of these children are paramount. The highest percentage of children living in grandparent-maintained homes is within African American families (Bryson, 2001). Growth in African American grandparent-maintained households has been calculated to be as high as 20–50% in some poor communities. Moreover, a National Health Interview Survey found African American grandparent-headed households to include an over-representation of poor, unemployed, and poorly educated individuals (Marx & Solomon, 1993).

Since the 1990s, the literature has focused on the tremendous sacrifices that grandmothers make in order to raise grandchildren. Of particular concern are the health and mental health issues raised by these intergenerational relationships (O'Reilly & Morrison, 1993), which oftentimes are stressful (Musil, 1998). For the past decade, researchers have found it particularly important to emphasize that some grandmothers take on the grandparent role because of drug problems among their adult children due to the crack cocaine epidemic (Minkler & Roe, 1993) while others assume the care of grandchildren in the face of an incurable illness such as HIV/AIDS (Poindexter, 1997). Previous research has also focused on the health and school adjustments of children who were raised solely by a grandmother and how these grandmothers were able to reorganize their lives to meet the demands of their parenting roles (Solomon & Marx, 1995).

What about Grandfathers?

Although it is important to focus on the intergenerational relationships of grandmothers and grandchildren, as the vast majority of the available research literature has done, an obvious gap in the literature is that few studies have sought to understand parenting among grandfathers who raise children along with grandmothers. What we have been able to learn is that grandfathers offer wisdom and life experiences to their grandchildren as they are able to serve as mentors to the children. In a primarily qualitative study, researchers explored the role of grandfathers through the use of surveys and individual interviews in order to understand grandfathers' feelings and attitudes toward their parenting role (Waldrop et al., 1999). Data from twenty-one interviews revealed the life lessons that grandfathers teach their grandchildren. These grandfathers expressed strong desires for purposeful involvement in the lives of their grandchildren and indicated their wishes to transfer values to the grandchildren while teaching them interpersonal skills. The research concluded that these older men were engaged in mentoring through life experiences and that in their roles, grandfathers made a positive contribution to the lives of grandchildren and to their own identities of grandfathers.

Other research on grandfathers has documented the need to pay particular attention to older men who become primary caregivers for a grandchild or grandchildren. Kolomoer and McCallion (2005) argue that grandfathers who take on the full responsibility of caring for a grandchild are often unnoticed and underserved. They recruited two groups of grandfathers to participate in focus group interviews to explore their experiences as parents for their grandchildren. The data showed common themes for the grandfathers, including the feeling that they missed out on having their freedom, experiencing the child rearing differently as a grandparent than they had as a parent of their own children, and the fear of what would happen to the children should their own health fail. In this research a subgroup of the sole-carer grandfathers (n=33) answered questions specifically about themselves and their grandchild in addition to answering questions about their need for, use of, and satisfaction with formal services. A depression screening and caregiving mastery questionnaire were administered. In order to compare these grandfathers' experiences to those of sole-carer grandmothers, a sample of 33 grandmothers selected from a previous study was matched to the grandfathers in age, race, and marital status. The research found the higher rate of depressive symptoms among the grandfathers and than among grandmothers was statistically significant. However, there was no statistically significant difference between the grandparent caregivers on caregiving mastery. The researchers concluded that there may be emotional differences in the impact of care-giving on grandmothers and grandfathers. Differences in the parenting experience for sole-carer grandfathers as compared to sole-carer grandmothers warrant further investigation.

A Pilot Study

To provide a better understanding of grandfathers' experiences raising grandchildren, a recent empirical study was undertaken. This study sought to qualitatively examine the perceptions, attitudes, and cultural experiences of fifty-two White, Latino and African American grandparent dyads. The community-dwelling older adults (ages 65+) in this study were caring for at least one grandchild, age 18 or younger. To assess perceptions of both grandfathers and grandmothers in parenting roles, dyads were recruited and interviewed concurrently but separately.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted by trained interviewers and lasted about one hour each. Interviews were audio taped. Data were transcribed and evaluated for content and relevant themes. Coded transcripts were reviewed by the author and a research assistant. To ensure validity of findings, we organized emergent themes by domains, mapped according to research questions, and checked across groups for frequency of occurrence.

The findings of this pilot study show that for more than three-quarters of the grandparents, taking on the parenting role was associated with negative events that occurred in the family. Therefore, the new role was perceived as not being a positive experience. Grandfathers and grandmothers were similar in that they had become less likely to give attention to their own health and mental health issues since taking on the grandparenting role. Additionally, they perceived their roles to be important, but not necessarily rewarding. Grandfathers (81%), more so than grandmothers (35%), felt disempowered in their role as parent.

Their perceptions of disempowerment tended to influence their attitudes toward parenting responsibilities and the majority complained that the children were "a handfull" and needed more discipline than they tended to receive from the grandparents. Challenges with the parenting role seemed to cause more distress among the grandfathers (19%) than grandmothers, who overwhelmingly demonstrated positive attitudes toward their parenting roles. In this sample of grandparents, the findings suggest that grandfathers' attitudes toward parenting behaviors/responsibilities are influenced by culturally based perceptions as well as contexts. Most Latino and African American grandfathers reported that they rarely attend doctors' appointments, go to school meetings, go shopping, read and/or do homework with the grandchildren.

Further Directions

Although these grandfathers identified a need for parenting skills and techniques which may help them to be more involved in activities of daily living with their grandchildren, two particular areas raised by these grandfathers were (1) the potential risk for abuse and neglect of grandfathers as explained below and (2) the racial and ethnic differences across groups of grandfathers. For child-rearing grandparents in general, the time for relaxation and rest is often compromised as is time to socialize with their adult peers (Bullock, 2004). Grandfathers have a different outlook on what their role should consist of and how they should perform certain duties as a parent (Kaye, 2005); they and have been invisible in the gerontology literature for far too long (Kosberg & Mangum, 2002). Because most of what we do know about grandparents raising grandchildren has come from studies that focused on grandmothers, it is not clear whether grandfathers have different stressor and/or mental health needs than grandmothers. Given the documented impact of stress and sacrifice on grandmothers raising grandchildren, clearly, there is a need to expand our knowledge about the experiences of grandfathers who take on the role of conjunct caregiver for a grandchild (Kramer & Thompson, 2005). It is important to document whether grandfathers are as likely as grandmothers to overlook their own social and health needs (Bullock, 2004) when parenting a grandchild so that program developers, policy makers and frontline service providers can tailor services to meet the needs of these older men and their grandchildren.

Vulnerability to elder abuse and neglect was explored among a sample of Black, Latino and White grandfathers (Bullock, 2005a; Bullock & Thomas, 2007) to offer practitioners, educators and researchers insight about commonly expressed warning signs such as isolation, missed medical appointments, poor hygiene, and excessive use of alcohol or drugs. These grandfathers provided data which helped to frame a further research agenda for examining physical abuse, emotional abuse, financial exploitation and neglect of this population by other adults. The findings of this qualitative study suggest that elder abuse and neglect may be difficult to determine, due to the nature of categorizing and identifying mistreatment among older men who have assumed custodial grandparent roles.

Another area of vulnerability for these grandfathers is mental health and empowerment in their roles. For many

of the current-day grandfathers, especially those age 65 and older, their own childhoods didn't include of many of the instrumental activities of daily living such as cooking, bathing, and dressing siblings, and other household chores that they find themselves helping with in their grandparent caregiver roles. They are not sure how helpful they can be in their parenting roles. Because women continue to do the bulk of the housework and childcare as they age, grandfathers feel uncertain about how beneficial they are to the family and they doubt whether they are "making a difference" in the lives of the grandchildren (Bullock, 2005b). Women have traditionally taken responsibility for the day-to-day care of family members, and grandfathers feel that their new role as parent to a grandchild is overlooked. Because these older men experience powerlessness that has not been reported in the research literature on grandmothers raising grandchildren (Bullock, 2007), it behooves us as behavioral science researchers to explore this area further so that the special needs of grandfathers raising grandchildren can be adequately addressed.

Latino and African American grandfathers' experiences may be culturally bound as expressed in previous literature (Bullock, 2005a; Bullock, 2006) and they have a unique history in that many of them were not allowed equal access to and opportunities in the labor force as young men and may have worked in quite oppressive environments, which resulted in disempowerment of the men of this age cohort. As retired older men, in a parenting role, these men may feel that they "can't do enough to support the family." As these men face multiple new challenges and needs in their grandparenting role, new approaches to intervening and providing services to these grandfathers are required. The trend toward increased grandparent parenting justifies the need to focus specifically on these vulnerable men. The extent to which Latino and African American grandfathers are able make the necessary adjustments to provide adequate care to their grandchildren is contingent upon the social capital, psychological well-being and economic resources available to them after a long history of restricted access to the labor force and formal educational systems, as well as denial of health and medical services.

Implications

Intergenerational relationships between grandfathers and the grandchildren whom they are parenting warrant attention. The findings from this review of the research literature on grandfathers raising grandchildren have implications for social and behavioral scientists and practitioners interested in improving the quality of intergenerational relationships. There continues to be a dearth of information on grandfathers which stems from a lack of systematic exploration of their experiences. More grandfathers need to be included in studies of grandparenting roles and functioning. Little has been done over the past decade to develop interventions and services to respond to the needs of grandfathers who move into the role of parent in late life. More research is needed to identify factors that facilitate and inhibit the success of these family relationships. The degree to which we can better understand the experiences of grandfathers and the adjustments they make in order to parent a grandchild will determine the likelihood that information will become available to help strengthen

intergenerational relationships, enhance grandfathers' parenting skills, and increase knowledge and self-efficacy in their roles. Furthermore, targeting vulnerable subgroups of grandfathers and fostering mutual aid and social support networks among them may prove to add a dimension to the intergenerational nature of the relationships. Racial and ethnic minority families, in particular, may have distinct histories and past experiences that complicate the dynamics of their intergenerational relationships. It is important to look for the strengths and resiliency that have enabled these relationships to be maintained and draw upon the specific cultural components to sustain the newly developed family system when a grandfather takes on the responsibility of parenting a grandchild.

When working with grandfathers who have the responsibility of raising a grandchild, it is important to assess these men to determine if they are abused or neglected by other adults. It is important not to assume that because the basic needs of the child(ren) are met, the men in the family systems are getting their needs met. Grandfathers in the pilot study reported here were more likely than the grandmothers to voice their concerns about their own health and about the need for help. It is important to identify assessment tools that have been validated for men so that the specific needs of grandfathers can be adequately and appropriately assessed and addressed.

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Grandchildren Caregivers: Individual and Family Development

Christine A. Fruhauf
Colorado State University, USA
E-mail: cfruhauf@cahs.colostate.edu

and

Nancy A. Orel
Bowling Green State University, USA
E-mail: norel@bgsu.edu

Family caregiving demographics suggest that providing care to an aging parent during an individual's 40s and 50s, or to a partner during an individual's 60s and 70s is a normative life task and family responsibility. Providing care to a grandparent during childhood, adolescence, or an individual's early adult years, however, may be considered a *non-normative life task*. Although there is an extensive body of work on family caregiving in later life, relatively little systematic research exists about the experiences of grandchildren caregivers between the ages of 7 and 40 (Fruhauf & Orel, 2008).

There are three primary reasons why greater attention is needed to better understand grandchildren caregivers' experiences. First, changes in family dynamics/demographics increase the likelihood that grandchildren will assume caregiving responsibilities. Changes in family dynamics include increases in life expectancy, rates of

divorce, number of women working outside of the home, and families living farther apart. All of these changes can potentially result in fewer individuals available within families to provide care, coupled with an ever increasing number of older adults needing assistance. Second, given the developmental tasks that are on-time or normative for grandchildren between the age period of 7 to 40 years (e.g., school success, peer relations, establishing a career, committing to a long-term partner and family formation), family caregiving during this time period may impose restrictions on individuals' lives and may test the adaptive resources of grandchildren. As a consequence, caregiving-related challenges may affect grandchildren's development in profound ways. Therefore, it is crucial to examine the risks and rewards of non-normative caregiving. Third, in order to provide services for grandchildren caregivers it is important to know the contextual conditions in which they provide care and to understand what is unique about being a grandchild caregiver. Using the framework of the life course perspective we will address important concepts related to the individual (i.e., grandchild caregiver) and the familial/cultural context in which care is provided.

Background of Problem

The concept of informal familial care for an older adult has been well researched in the family gerontological literature (Allen, Blieszner, & Roberto, 2000). Most recently, young caregivers (including children and grandchildren under the age of 18) have been represented in empirical international literature (Aldridge & Becker, 2003; Becker, 2007; Celdrán, Triadó, & Villar, 2009; Dellmann-Jenkins & Brittain, 2003; Earley, Cushway, & Cassidy, 2007; Levine et al., 2005; Pakenham, Bursnall, Chiu, Cannon, & Okochi, 2006; Shiffren, 2008) and have been the focus of one representative study in the United States by the National Alliance for Caregiving in association with United Hospital Fund (2005). National surveys of households have estimated that 22 to 28% of unpaid caregivers to family and friends in the United States are between the ages of 18 and 40 (Center on Elderly People Living Alone, 1995) and an estimated 5 to 15% of children and adolescents are likely to have a parent with a physical and/or mental illness (Worsham, Compas, & Sydney, 1997). In Australia, there are an estimated 347,666 young caregivers under age 25, or 5.2% of individuals in that age group (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2003) and 17% of caregivers in the UK ages 16 to 35 had assumed a caregiving role before the age of 16 (Parker, 1992, 1994).

It has been noted, however, that these numbers may be an underestimation given that grandchildren caregivers (and young caregivers for other family members) are often "hidden" and that these individuals may not readily identify themselves as "caregivers" (Aldridge & Becker, 1993; Becker, 2007; Fruhauf & Orel, 2008; Pakenham et al., 2006). Furthermore, researchers have not established uniformity in defining grandchildren caregivers or the ages of grandchildren studied (Aldridge & Becker, 2003) within this caregiving phenomenon. What is clear, however, is that providing care as a grandchild is not a life situation limited to people in the United States. Most recently, literature has addressed positive experiences of grandchildren caregivers in Spain (Celdrán et al., 2009) and Aldridge and Becker

(2003) have done extensive work in the UK on young caregivers (i.e., under the age of 18) who care for a parent or older relative (usually a grandparent or a sibling).

This family caregiving situation affects individuals in the western world and the number of such caregivers will likely continue to rise given the increase in medical technology, the increase in the age at which mothers give birth, the steady divorce rate resulting in single parent homes and/or mixed families, and the concomitant likelihood that individuals will be a part of a bean-pole family formation given lower fertility rates and higher mortality rates (Aldridge & Becker, 1993; Bengtson, Giarrusso, Silverstein, & Wang, 2000; Pakenham et al., 2006; Shifren & Kachorek, 2003). Not only is it important to understand the demographic and societal implications of this increasing phenomenon, but describing and understanding the experiences of non-normative caregivers will assist in understanding the complexity of human development when grandchildren complete tasks that are considered developmentally "off-time" (Fruhauf, Jarrott, & Allen, 2006; Fruhauf & Orel, 2008).

Implications for Young Grandchildren who Provide Care

It has been reported that grandchildren caregivers may have fewer opportunities for social networking and for developing friendships with peers and may also find that their friends do not understand their caregiving situation (Aldridge & Becker, 1993; Dearden & Becker, 1995, 1998; Orel & Dupuy, 2002). Young caregivers further experience physical and emotional health problems (Becker, Aldridge, & Dearden, 1998), educational problems (Elliott, 1992; Dearden & Becker, 1998), limited opportunities and lower aspirations for the future (Aldridge & Becker, 1993, 1994), and have difficulty making a successful transition from childhood to adulthood (Frank, Tatum, & Tucker, 1999; Dearden & Becker, 2000).

On the other hand, positive outcomes have also been reported by grandchildren caregivers. Beach (1997) found that when frail older family members with Alzheimer's Disease lived in the family home of children under the age of 18 (82% of whom were providing care to the older family member), children tended to have more opportunities for productive sibling interactions, showed signs of being more empathic to older adults in the community, sought out verbal support from peers, and possibly most noteworthy, were establishing closer relationships with their mothers as a result of their mothers providing care. This was supported by more recent research that discovered it is not uncommon for grandchildren caregivers under the age of 18 to believe their connections with the entire family (including the grandparent care recipient) are stronger (Celdrán et al., 2009). Further, grandchildren caregivers regardless of age have reported the development of practical skills and better coping skills (Celdrán et al., 2009; Earley et al., 2007; Fruhauf et al., 2006; Fruhauf & Orel, 2008; Orel & Dupuy, 2002). Other possible positive outcomes may include ego development and self maturity (Fruhauf & Orel, 2008), and salutary health benefits (e.g., improved immune functions) (Brown, Nesse, Vinokur, & Smith, 2003), even more for the caregiver than for the care recipient as it increases a sense of self-efficacy (Steffen,

McKibbin, Zeiss, Gallagher-Thompson, & Bandura, 2002), meaning, and purpose in life (Fruhauf et al., 2006).

Research has been contradictory in its findings about the psychological health of young caregivers. Researchers have found evidence to support the preponderant view of caregiving literature that young caregivers tend to develop mental health problems as adults (Frank et al., 1999) and experience elevated somatization and lower life satisfaction than non-caregivers (Pakenham et al., 2006). Young caregivers, however, do not report higher levels of depression or anxiety than non-caregivers (Pakenham et al., 2006). This is consistent with Shifren and Kachorek's (2003) research when they discovered that among former young caregivers (i.e., under the age of 18), as adults between the ages of 18 and 58 they had more positive mental health than negative mental health during their adult years. As a result, early caregiving was not associated with poor mental health in adulthood among many caregivers (Shifren & Kachorek, 2003).

Implications for Adult Grandchildren who Provide Care

The previously reported information provides evidence, albeit slim, about grandchildren caregivers when grandchildren are under the age of 18. There is little information, however, about the caregiving experiences of grandchildren caregivers between 18 and 40 years of age (i.e., the young adult years). Limited work has examined how providing care between the ages of 18 and 40 delays or enhances development. Researchers have not systematically investigated young-adult grandchildren caregivers' physical health or their relationships with peers and/or romantic partners. Further, information on young-adult grandchildren caregivers' future aspirations including education, work, and relationships with peers have been marginally examined (Fruhauf & Orel, 2008). Building on earlier work, however, Fruhauf and colleagues (2006) found that grandchildren caregivers (who were in their 20s) experienced both rewards and stressors in the grandparent-care role. Grandchildren reported that caregiving provided personal meaning and supported their relationships with their grandparents. On the other hand, grandchildren were found to experience stress in not being able to date, secure regular employment, or finish school without interruptions placed on them from assuming the caregiving role. Taken together, grandchildren caregivers are likely to be experiencing both rewards and costs when providing care.

Theoretical Perspectives Focusing on the Developmental Tasks of Grandchildren Caregivers

Life course perspective, like the life-span development perspective, examines individuals and families in regard to timing of events. Similar to Baltes' (1979, 1987) normative and non-normative influences, the life course perspective focuses on two forms of timing of events: off-time and on-time. When an individual and/or family experiences something that is supposed to happen at a particular point in life (i.e., marriage during early adulthood, launching children in middle adulthood), it is considered an on-time event. On-time events allow individuals to believe they are accomplishing their own development as planned. Events

that happen too soon in life or too late in life are considered to be off-time events. Off-time events often produce stress because of individuals' lack of preparation that challenges their coping strategies (Neugarten & Hagestad, 1976). When an individual experiences an untimely event, positive or negative, the person's ability to adapt to the situation may alter his or her life path. For example, a 30-something grandchild may not be prepared to provide care to his or her terminally ill grandmother at a time when no one else can, and in doing so, may undergo a setback in his/her own development. However, if a young adult is prepared to provide care, and successfully does so, he/she may then experience benefits due to the family caregiving situation. Regardless, non-normative caregiving is an off-time event.

Life events or life crises, according to Dunham and Bengtson (1986), often occur due to family events that revolve around intergenerational relations. The life event itself and the timing and sequence of the events may affect individual change (Hultsch & Plemons, 1979). Grandchildren caregivers may assume care as the result of one particular family event or crisis. The timing of such events, how the individual and the other family members interact, and the available social support during this time may also influence whether grandchildren are able to assume the caregiving role. As a result, the reasons for providing care must be examined and the perceived support from other family members needs to be assessed.

In addition to family events or crises, individuals who are in certain birth cohorts share life experiences, values, and morals that influence their everyday lives; this subsequently influences how they would cope with providing care to an aged relative. A cohort effect is an explanation for why an individual, or a group of individuals, acts or reacts to situations that cannot be solely explained by chronological age (Hareven, 1996). Additionally, grandchildren's lives are impacted by a variety of social institutions outside the family (i.e., schools, religious organizations, social pressures) but it is the intergenerational relationships within a family structure that play the primary role in the social and behavioral development of grandchildren. Recognizing the importance of understanding life experiences based on cohort effects will help us to understand of how individuals experience family caregiving and intergenerational relationships in general.

Based on a combined study sample (N = 34) of grandchildren caregivers ages 7 to 29, Fruhauf and Orel (2008) qualitatively examined the developmental issues of grandchildren who provide care to grandparents. Using the life course perspective (Bengston & Allen, 1993), this study showed that grandchildren caregivers may be experiencing advanced individual development given the responsibilities associated with care provision, while at the same time other tasks are delayed (e.g., educational achievements, romantic partnerships, child rearing). Further, grandchildren exhibit the ability to successfully cope with the caregiving situation.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although grandchildren caregivers make up 8% of the 22.4 million informal caregivers in the US (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2003) and have embraced caregiving

responsibilities for their grandparents (Fruhauf et al., 2006; Fruhauf & Orel, 2008; National Alliance for Caregiving in association with the United Hospital Fund, 2005; Orel & Dupuy, 2002), grandchildren caregivers have been only marginally explored in the literature. What is known, however, is that the vast majority of grandchildren report providing care to their grandparents because a) they are responding to a family expectation (Orel & Dupuy, 2002); b) they want to return the love and nurturance to their grandparents that they received as grandchildren (Dellmann-Jenkins, Blankemeyer, & Pinkard, 2001); and c) their parents are unavailable (i.e., work demands, detachment from a sense of filial responsibility) or provide poor care to the older adult (Fruhauf et al., 2006). However, it is important to note that there is great diversity in grandchildren caregivers, and grandchildren provide care for a variety of reasons and assist with various activities.

Grandchildren report assisting grandparents with instrumental activities of daily living (IADL, e.g., preparing meals, cleaning the house, grocery shopping) and activities of daily living (ADL, e.g., bathing, grooming, dressing) (Fruhauf et al., 2006; Orel & Dupuy, 2002). Grandchildren caregivers have also been reported to be as young as seven years of age (Orel & Dupuy, 2002) and as old as 40 years of age (Dellmann-Jenkins & Brittain, 2003). Based on chronological age alone, the experiences of grandchildren caregivers will likely differ. However, knowing that these individuals share the same generational lineage, similarities are also likely to occur among grandchildren caregivers. What is needed, however, are larger data sets of grandchildren caregivers from diverse backgrounds to answer researchers' questions and generate more knowledge of such caregiving situations. The caregiving environment for grandchildren who provide care is not static, but ever changing as a reflection of the progression of each care recipient's illness and/or the acquired coping abilities and developmental maturity of the grandchildren caregivers. Longitudinal research is needed that would take into consideration these changes over time.

Taken together, there is evidence that some non-normative caregivers may develop a stronger sense of identity and may develop greater confidence in their own abilities as a result of having provided care. Thus, the research on the rewards of caregiving may show that some non-normative caregivers experience developmental growth and earlier psychosocial maturation (Becker, 2007). This anticipated "wisdom beyond one's years" may be a long-term benefit of non-normative caregiving. Further research is needed in order to know the extent and likelihood of such an outcome.

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The Role of Grandparents in Three-Generation Families in Urban China

Jiang Jingxiong
National Center for Women's and Children's Health, Beijing, China
E-mail: jiangjingxiong@chinawch.org.cn

The Chinese family planning policy implemented since the 1980s results in nearly all urban parent couples having only one child. This single child tends to be over-cared for and often overfed by adult caregivers, especially in three-generation families. In these families children share a household with both their parents and grandparents; the latter are the main caregivers for many preschool children. Therefore, a specific set of culture-bound factors influencing children's eating behaviors in China would be the attitudes, feeding practices, and dietary styles of grandparents.

For young children the most influential aspect of the immediate social context is the family. The family eating environment includes parents' actual child feeding practices, their own dietary habits, and the beliefs and attitudes they verbally convey concerning healthy nutrition and eating behaviour. Parental influences can therefore be transmitted to children directly (through the food served) and indirectly (through conveying behavioural models and social norms) (Cook et al., 2004). The food environment that parents provide during early childhood undoubtedly helps shape children's food preferences and subsequent selection patterns and eating styles (Birch & Fisher, 1998). A highly influential component of the home food environment is obviously what is served at and between meals, i.e. parents' child feeding practices. Children eat more of what is available: preschoolers whose families served more fruits and vegetables were shown to have higher consumption of these foods (Hannon, Bowen, Moinpour, & McLerran, 2003).

Most research on risk factors for childhood obesity originates from a Western cultural context where sedentary lifestyle, soft drinks and fatty foods have been implicated as major contributing factors. Given that the social structure in China is quite different, it is plausible that additional, or other, culture-bound risk factors play a role. There is certainly a lack of research with such specific focus; given the magnitude of the problem of childhood obesity in China, there is a need for effective, culturally sensitive

prevention strategies. To tailor such strategies, genuine knowledge is needed about factors influencing children's lifestyles in China.

In our study, we have observed the influence of grandparents on several aspects of children's eating behavior. Grandparents were the primary caretakers, did most of the food purchasing and preparation, and provided the immediate family food environment for their grandchildren. Their views and ideals regarding child nutrition were colored by their own experiences of poverty and hunger, the conception that obesity is a sign of health, and their feelings that their fostering duty comprised providing the family's only child with ample foods of a kind that the child likes and that are thought to be nutritious.

We suggest that a key component in the current childhood obesity epidemic in China is the major role of grandparents in children's food intake and in fostering inappropriate eating habits. Our study showed that the family environment in many three-generation families did not provide an opportunity to engage children in healthy eating, even when parents tried to make changes. The high levels of parental knowledge about healthy foods did not generally translate into healthy child-feeding practices. Clearly grandparents play a crucial role in forming the family dietary environment.

Grandparents Promoted Overeating in Children

Because of their own experience of poverty and hunger, their belief that caring for and loving children means feeding them well, and their belief that a fat child is a healthy child, grandparents tended to provide young children with excessive food. Pressuring a child to eat in the absence of hunger increases their energy intake (Birch & Davison, 2001) and may have detrimental effects on their ability to regulate energy intake. Providing children with free access to palatable snacks immediately following a meal eaten to satiety led them to consume approximately 12% more than the total recommended daily number of calories for children of this age on a single occasion (Fisher & Birch, 1999). Eating that is not associated with hunger may interfere with children's ability to perceive their normal hunger and satiety cues. It is therefore quite plausible that the grandparents' pattern of feeding their grandchildren may contribute to the emergence of obesity, especially in children who are genetically predisposed to become overweight.

We also found that grandparents offered highly energy-dense foods as rewards to promote better conduct in children. Using food as a reward tends to increase preference for the reward foods (Birch, 1992), leading to less healthy food preferences in children. Whereas several parents considered their child's overweight to be a problem, grandparents believed, quite to the contrary, that overweight children were happy, strong, and healthy. Very few grandparents agreed with parents when it came to restricting obese children's overeating.

Implications for Prevention

Because grandparents seem to have the role of primary caregivers in most three-generation families, traditional ways of conveying information to parents through the maternal and child health care system will not be useful in influencing grandparents' parenting practices. Given that grandparents' ideas of healthy nutrition in childhood are diametrically different from what is thought to be a healthy diet for children today, a key issue in prevention is how grandparents' attitudes might be altered. One possible strategy is to offer them parenting education along with the parents where appropriate. To pursue such education, a home-based approach might be useful, taking into account the venues where children, parents and grandparents congregate. The use of food as reward and as an expression of love towards their grandchildren might be another possible opening in planning a public health campaign directed at grandparents. Obviously, practices deeply rooted in tradition, a collective history of famine, and children's attraction to fatty and sweet foods makes a change in attitudes and behaviour especially difficult. One important lesson is, however, that the specific cultural context in China requires special attention to grandparents as stakeholders in any efforts addressing children's nutrition.

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COMMENTARY: *Intergenerational Relationships: Grandparenting*

Merril Silverstein
Davis School of Gerontology and Department of Sociology
University of Southern California, USA
E-mail: merrils@usc.edu

The role of grandparents in both developed and developing societies has received increased scrutiny over the last several decades. In part, this trend reflects the aging of societies, the greater availability of grandparents in the family, the emergence of alternative family forms, and government policies that have compelled families to adapt to sometimes dire contingencies by increasing their reliance on internal resources such as grandparents. Why are grandparents such prolific providers of

support to grandchildren, especially under conditions of family stress? It has been suggested that the significance of grandparents to the well-being of the family is so fundamental as to have an evolutionary basis. Theories from the field of evolutionary biology posit that long-lived and supportive grandparents enhance the survival chances of their grandchildren by serving as surrogate parents in the event of maternal death or environmental threats to the grandchild (Hawkes, 2003). By this line of reasoning some scholars contend that the often heroic self-sacrificing behavior of grandparents has its basis in a genetic predisposition toward family altruism.

Although the bio-evolutionary model has heuristic relevance today, it leaves unexplained the conditions under which grandparents are more or less involved with their grandchildren, and ignores important social-cultural contexts that structure the appropriate response of grandparents to family contingencies. The temptation to rely on universal laws of grandparenting has given way to an appreciation of diversity in the ways that grandparents enact their roles based on family life-stage, gender, culture, and social circumstances. The five papers that comprise this special section delve into these and other issues surrounding the often undervalued role of grandparents and their contribution to the well-being of their families, and all point to the importance of considering grandparent-grandchild relationships as evolving over the life course within social contexts that are evolving as well.

The paper by Nishiyama and Yamada uses a novel graphic method by which Japanese university students employ free-hand drawing to represent grandparent-parent-child triads over the family life-cycle. The illustrations trace the cognitive map of three generations as represented in the past (recollections), in the present (perceptions), and in the future (projections). This research noted several patterns in the drawings. One pattern illustrates growing independence of granddaughters from their grandmothers, ending with warm but intermittent relations with them; another pattern shows increasing granddaughter-grandmother solidarity concluding with generational succession as the great-grandmother reproduces the original grandmother's role with respect to her granddaughter's children; the final pattern illustrates a rotation of caregiving among the three generations with the grandmother eventually becoming the main beneficiary of care from the other two generations. All three patterns suggest an evolution in grandmothers' family roles based on the developmental needs of all three generations. The methodological innovation of using drawings to complement narratives provides a glimpse into the dynamism of the grandparent role (as conceived by granddaughters) and emphasizes the importance of taking a life-span approach to studying relationships in three-generation families.

The paper by Bullock examines the under-investigated topic of grandfathers who are raising their grandchildren. The author comments on the invisibility of caregiving grandfathers in the literature despite their presence in many skipped-generation households and the high probability that they experience the role differently than do grandmothers. In a pilot study of 52 grandmother-grandfather dyads with responsibility for their grandchildren, striking gender differences are found; more than twice as many grandfathers as grandmothers feel disempowered in their role as a surrogate parent, and more than four times as many feel distressed by the challenges of caregiving. Gender also interacted with race/ethnicity with minority grandfathers rarely engaging in instrumental activities related to the daily needs of their grandchildren. Grandfathers tend to feel

challenged by caregiving for grandchildren. Insecurity in their sense of competence as second-time parents is complemented by feelings of inadequacy in their ability to economically support their newly constituted family. These self-perceived inadequacies may compromise the well-being of grandfathers, grandmothers, and grandchildren in skipped generation families. By focusing on caregiving grandfathers, this paper not only highlights their potential needs, but also provides an informative perspective on the systemic nature of family care (also seen in the paper on Japanese families). In families where grandfathers are the weak link in the family system of care, grandmothers (who generally provide the bulk of care) may lack a reliable back-up or experience heightened marital conflict–home-life stressors that will not serve grandchildren well in their emotional development.

The paper by Fruhauf turns the tables in the caregiving equation by discussing the role of grandchildren as caregivers to their grandparents. The author cites demographic changes that have elevated the importance of grandchildren in the support portfolio of older individuals–namely, increased life expectancy (expanding the pool of elderly needing care), reduced fertility, and increased marital disruption (shrinking the number of potential caregivers). However, it is difficult to estimate the number of grandchildren caring for grandparents or helping their parents in this activity, and even less understood are the impacts of caregiving on the emotional and intellectual development grandchildren.

The literature documents a mix of positive and negative effects on grandchildren that mirrors the impact of caregiving on grandparent providers. The off-time nature of the role may curtail opportunities for grandchildren to cultivate peer relations when young, or romantic relations when older. Such grandchildren may develop emotional, physical, or educational problems as result of the stressful demands of their caregiving activities. On the other hand, grandchild caregivers may develop maturity beyond their years by building a sense of competence and gaining the rewards of fulfilling a valued family role. Of course, much depends on the developmental stage at which the caregiving begins and ends, whether grandchildren are serving in primary or secondary capacities, and how the role intertwines with other family relationships, specifically with the "bridge" parent. Linking grandchild caregivers to their earlier experiences with grandparents may also shed light on the extent to which reciprocity is a motivating force in their caregiving. Finally, the age range of caregiving grandchildren–reported from seven to forty–makes a life course approach all the more important, as the positive and negative impacts of caregiving may not become apparent till years later as "sleeper effects."

The paper by Oburu reviews the phenomenon of grandmothers raising children whose parents have succumbed to HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. Clearly these are families at-risk due to economic deprivation, a weak social service system, and the need to meet the challenge of care while grieving for the deceased parent. Due to family disruption, HIV/AIDS-bereaved grandchildren experience elevated risk of emotional maladjustment and developmental stunting. However, focusing only on stress and morbidity experienced by grandmothers and the grandchildren in their charge ignores several potent cultural and adaptive resources.

Collectivistic values in many African societies can infuse the caregiving role with emotional rewards as the fulfillment of strong cultural traditions and expectations. In addition,

interventions by grandmothers have long been a survival strategy for African-American families that have historically experienced discrimination, poverty, dislocation, and, more recently, high rates of marital disruption and single parenting. The elevated role of grandmothers is cited as a reason why African-American custodial grandmothers have better mental health than their white counterparts (Goodman & Silverstein, 2002). Research suggests that the rewards of grandparent caregiving (e.g., improved self-efficacy and the satisfaction of fulfilling role expectations) are overlooked coping resources for caregivers under stress (Giarrusso, Feng, Silverstein, & Marenco, 2000).

Although the impact of caregiving can best be assessed over time, there are few longitudinal studies of skipped-generation families capable of tracing the adaptive process following the loss of parents and the transition into a skipped-generation family form (and beyond). The scarcity of (longitudinal) data limits the ability to make reliable inferences about the well-being of its constituent members. Most importantly, this paper warns against over-generalizing about the dire state of this vulnerable family form without first considering its competencies and challenges. Variation in outcomes is likely to be based on child-rearing strategies used by grandparents, the extent of behavioral difficulties presented by grandchildren, and the internal and external coping resources available to, and developed by, both generations.

The paper by Jinxiong drives home the importance of considering cultural, political and historical context when assessing the impact of grandparents on the well-being of grandchildren in China. The one-child policy has created a unique and historically unprecedented "4–2–1" family structure with grandparents outnumbering grandchildren in many families. In a society where grandparents are intimately woven into the fabric of nuclear family life, this generational imbalance has predisposed grandparents to dote on and indulge their (relatively few) grandchildren. According to the paper such a situation has become dysfunctional with respect to the household food environment of grandchildren. Interestingly, this paper lays out the intriguing possibility that grandparents, despite their obvious concern for and commitment to their grandchildren, may also impede the healthy development of their grandchildren–a point of view rarely entertained in the literature. Driven in part by their own experience of deprivation and hunger (that fosters an image of obesity as healthy), and in part by the lack of knowledge of what constitutes a nutritious diet, these over-indulgent grandparents contribute to less-than-healthy food intake by their grandchildren. This issue lies at the intersection of historical, cultural, and political forces that have uniquely shaped the actions of this contemporary cohort of grandparents in China, while at the same time it contains clues for remediation of the obesity epidemic among children by educating grandparents in the principles of good nutrition.

In conclusion, the five papers presented in this issue provide valuable insights into an increasingly important family relationship that is partly "hidden" (e.g., grandfathers, grandchild caregivers) and imperfectly understood, but nonetheless characterized by strong attachments and imbued with significant cultural meanings. If any overall conclusion can be reached it is that grandparent-grandchild relationships are highly heterogeneous and the gap in knowledge is fairly large. Relatively little is known about the consequences of normative vs. non-normative types of involvement, on-time vs. off-time adoption of caregiving roles, and the stress-to-reward balance between care providers and receivers. Further, considering relationships among all three generations simultaneously should be an important element in any research on this topic; parents play an important mediating role linking grandparents and grandchildren in instrumental and affective ways (Silverstein & Marenco, 2001).

Gauging long-term patterns of caregiving and care-receiving in grandparent-grandchild relations requires the use of longitudinal data, as these relationships ebb and flow with changing life conditions and the aging of both parties (Silverstein & Long, 1998). Longitudinal models have the added advantage of being able to more confidently attribute the well-being of each generation to their mutual relationship. Few studies have investigated how grandparents directly or indirectly (through parents) enhance the emotional states, adaptive capacities, and achievements of grandchildren over the course of their lives. Grandparents–who have sometimes been described as the "first line of support" when grandchildren experience family traumas–are thought to offset the otherwise detrimental effects of growing up in disrupted or dysfunctional home environments (Ruiz & Silverstein, 2007). However, approaches relying on cross-sectional data are unable to conclusively establish whether observed impacts are in fact causal, and whether the benefits (or harm) of dependency on grand-relations are short-term or persistent.

Several of the articles in this edition made reference to the big demographic picture. Indeed, population aging and increases in healthy life expectancy have dramatically increased the availability of grandparents in the lives of their grandchildren. Where only 24% of children born in 1900 had all four of their grandparents alive at birth, today that figure stands at 68% (Uhlenberg, 2005). Increased years of co-survival between generations should alert social and behavioral scientists to the fact that grandparents and grandchildren are mutually engaged across most of the life course, presenting a new frontier in the study of family relations.

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COMMENTARY: *Grandparenting and Young Caregiving*

Sunil Saini and *Neelam Goyal*
Department of Applied Psychology, GJUS7T, Hisar,
Haryana, India
E-mail: ssaini.psy@gmail.com

Caregiver concerns and roles have attracted the attention of social scientists, and a growing body of research indicates the vital nature of issues such as grandparent caregivers, care-giving for HIV/AIDS children, grandchildren caregivers and the like. Fruhauf & Orel have rightly pointed out that providing care to an aging parent/partner during the caregiver's sixties and seventies is a normative life task. However, providing care to a grandparent during childhood, adolescence, or early adulthood and conversely, the care of grandchildren by an extremely aged grandparent (who can barely look after himself/herself) due to parents' death from disease (such as HIV/AIDS), terrorism, or other calamities, is a matter of concern.

Recent research highlights the issues of multiple roles, economic support, environmental support, and instrumental support in such caregiving relationships, which have been addressed effectively by Fruhauf & Orel, and Nishiyama & Yamada. Grandparent caregiving concerns include the availability of economic and social resources in the caregivers' respective nations, as well as issues related to physical and mental wellbeing.

Grandchildren caregiver concerns have also been well-documented by authors such as Nishiyama & Yamada, whose research focuses such on issues of young children caregivers as their own developmental outcomes, their sense of mastery and inter-relatedness, and other academic and non-academic outcomes. Such caregivers have to overlook their own needs for the sake of their grandchildren/grandparents, and face negative circumstances such as stress and a deficiency of physical/economic/social resources. Yet, the often positive outcomes of caregiving have been rightly highlighted in these papers. The ways in which caregivers handle their stresses are of great importance, as the outcome of apparently negative life events can depend on factors such as caregivers' coping (problem-focused coping approach verses avoidance coping) and the like. Moreover, the personality dispositions and traits of the caregivers themselves are significant determiners of caregivers' own developmental outcomes, and have a vital effect on the target population to whom care-giving is being rendered. For instance, research indicates that those who are hopeful and optimistic tend to perceive obstacles as challenges, and often overcome negative life events with courage and resilience.

Moreover, caregivers' own values and religious orientation are important as these can determine how readily they assume their responsibilities and roles, and the quality of family environment that they provide to their target population (grandparents/grandchildren). Such factors in caregiving relationships as hope and spirituality may promote resilience and such desirable outcomes as self-confidence.

That such caregiving may promote positive outcomes in caregivers themselves has been highlighted by Fruhauf & Orel. These positive outcomes include positive affect, sense of adequacy, control of wrathfulness, empathy, and a sense of meaning in life. Caregiving by young children is associated with both positive and negative outcomes. Fruhauf & Orel have addressed these issues both theoretically and empirically. According to them, grandchildren caregivers, although experiencing advanced individual development, better coping skills, self maturity, and self-efficacy, also experience stress in caring for grandparents due to the delay in dating, educational achievements, romantic partnering and childrearing. Grandparents also experience physical and emotional problems in accepting grandchildren's caregiving. This point is noteworthy because older people are increasingly neglected in families, and more and more old age facilities are opening. Some grandchildren consider caregiving to a grandparent as an extra burden and want to spend their leisure time in dating, sports, etc. In the Fruhauf paper, the positive outcomes of the grandchild-to-grandparent caregiving are highlighted. The authors suggest that future research into a diverse data set of grandchildren caregivers from different backgrounds is needed so that we can understand the barriers and create positive outcomes in grandchildrens' caregiving.

The positive aspects of caregiving have been adequately highlighted in these papers. Yet, some thorny issues have also been raised which are discussed below. Jingxiong in his paper focuses on the influence of family environment, especially the role of grandparents in promoting unhealthy food habits and obesity in grandchildren. He argues that eating that is not associated with hunger may influence the child's ability to perceive normal hunger and satiety cues and that grandparents' pattern of feeding (e.g., food as a reward or expression of love and grandparents' view that overweight children are happy, strong and healthy) may contribute to the emergence of obesity. Therefore, Jingxiong's suggestion that the childrearing education of grandparents alongside parents might be an important topic for research on controlling obesity in China and other cultures needs further exploration

In her paper entitled "Expanding the Intergenerational Relationship: Grandfathers Raising Grandchildren," Bullock especially emphasizes physical and mental health issues faced (stress, depression, abuse, neglect, etc.) and sacrifices made (e.g., their own social and health needs) by grandparents in raising grandchildren. Bullock highlights the sense of powerfulness or powerlessness and aged caregivers' perceived sense of helplessness, which, in turn, could alter their own outcomes. For grandfather caregivers, factors such as family dynamics and family structure come into the picture. The issues (emotional and physical abuse) raised by Bullock in intergenerational relationships, which often have been overlooked in previous research on grandparenting, are very timely and need further exploration. These issues are very relevant when in today's changing scenario, dual-earner families are emerging and parents do not have time for their children, thus placing a greater burden on grandparents. Moreover, cross-cultural differences were also highlighted to better understand these relationships.

The most gruesome issue was raised by Oburu in his paper on HIV/AIDS. The situation is worst when there are only children and grandparents in the family. The elderly are expected to provide labor at a period in their lives when they lack the energy to earn money and provide caregiving. Thus, caregiving becomes a burden on the grandparents (especially the grandmothers), as well as placing stress on the grandchildren. The author has clearly documented the relation between caregiving stress and child adjustment problems, which in turn, highlights the need for support of grandparents, especially grandmothers (who are often more caring, compassionate, and accepting towards orphans) and the need to empower

orphans by initiating enabling strategies to help them cope effectively with early life deprivations.

Critical evaluation reveals the underlying factors for positive and negative outcomes of any practices, in this case grandparent and grandchild caregiving, which have been raised in this bulletin. This special section of the bulletin highlights the various issues relating to grandparent and grandchild caregiving with a view to sensitizing policymakers and other social thinkers regarding the problems faced by elders and young caregivers across cultures. The topic is very timely and it is hoped that these investigations will increase awareness of the positive and negative outcomes of grandparent and grandchild caregiving.

Reports from the Lab

Grandmothers and Grandchildren in Transnational Families

Ethel Kosminsky
UNESP-Marilia, Brazil and Queens College/CUNY, USA
E-mail: ethelkos@hotmail.com

Growing up with my parents and siblings in Salvador, Northeastern Brazil, I always missed living near my extensive family, especially my grandmother from my mother's side. My parents were Brazilian, both of them children of Jewish Eastern European immigrants, who left the former Russian Empire in the early 1900s. My father was born in an agricultural colony in South Brazil, and later on his family moved to Recife, a city in Northeastern Brazil. My mother's parents settled in Recife, where my mother and her siblings were born, and when my mother was ten years old they moved to the city of Natal in Northeastern Brazil. As I compared my family life with that of my schoolmates, I could feel the difference. Most of them had lived for generations in Salvador, or had migrated from small towns and farms in the countryside to what they referred to as the "big city", as Salvador was the capital of Bahia State.

We used to travel from Salvador to Recife every year to visit my father's family, and then go to Natal to stay at my grandparents' home. Sometimes my grandparents from my mother's side visited us in Salvador. They got so adjusted to Natal's life that they follow its customs, bringing special products that we could find only there, such as a special cheese, a kind of salted meat and fruits. They spoke Portuguese to my parents and to us grandchildren. My grandfather only spoke Yiddish to an old friend that he used to visit. I suppose that such differences in language/culture and location affect the relationships between grandparents and grandchildren. If grandparents and grandchildren speak the same language and share the same habits and customs, they are more likely to get along well than those who speak different languages and have other customs. Location is also a problem if they live far from each other, but I think that it affects their relationship less than does speaking a different language, and if they can visit one another at least once a year they can keep a close relationship.

Back then, after the World War II, there were very few immigrants in Northeastern Brazil. European and Asian immigrants preferred to go to São Paulo, which was the national center of industry and business. Compared to São Paulo, Salvador of Bahia, as people used to call it, was a very quiet city, where the familial relationships were very close, and the neighbors were very friendly to each other. I could feel the difference when I moved to São Paulo to attend college. Neighbors barely said hello to each other. However, São Paulo as a dynamic center, and also Rio de Janeiro, at that time the capital of the country, attracted many migrants from Northeastern Brazil, among them most of my mother's siblings and their families. Even so the family remained close, and used to get together in Recife and Natal every year at my grandparents' home.

My mother always says that to be a grandmother is the same as being a mother twice. That's usually what people say in Brazil. I gave birth to my four children at a hospital in São Paulo, and my mother traveled four times from Northeastern Brazil to help me with the newborn child, although this prevented her from working for a while. Whenever I needed her to take care of the children, she was present. She helped to pay for clothes for my family, and also paid for the flight tickets so that the kids and I could visit her and my father. Back then there were few flights between São Paulo and Salvador, and people who could not afford to pay for the airline ticket had to go by bus, which takes two days and one night (if the bus doesn't break down on the road).

Being a mother twice is a young mother's expectation of a grandmother in Brazil and also in all of Latin America, where the family relationships are closer than they are in the US. (Kuznesof, 1988/1989). During the period of mass migration, between 1880 and the 1920s, more than two million Eastern European Jews settled in the United States, while only few thousand of these Jewish immigrants established themselves in Brazil (Lesser, 1995). The Jewish migration flow to Brazil was classified as a chain migration. First the husband/father arrived, and after finding a job and saving some money, sent for his family. Less often, the family sent the oldest son or the oldest daughter ahead of the family, or the whole family arrived together. The Jewish immigration to the US comprised the highest proportion intact families migrating together (Rischin, 1977) during that era. However, Jewish familial relationships changed a lot when people settled in New York City and in other big American cities and started working in factories. "A Bintel Brief" (Metzker & Golden, 1971) shows husbands/fathers who, unable to support their families despite long hours of daily work, and because of seasonal jobs and low wages, abandoned them. Jewish philanthropists built Jewish

Familia Kosminsky.

orphanages and women institutionalized their children, so that they could work and hope to bring their children home again (see also Friedman, 1994; Bogen, 1992; Zmora, 1994).

The immigration laws of the receiving countries determined whether members of the family could be accepted or not. My maternal grandmother's family is an example. Because of variations in the receiving countries' approval processes, her five siblings and her own mother were able to settle in the US whereas my grandmother and one of her brothers were accepted for immigration to Recife, Northeastern Brazil. So the mass migration process led various family members to become established in different countries apart from each other. The immigrants' generation kept in touch with each other by regular mail (Kosminsky, 2002). Eastern European Jews settled in Brazil later than they did in the US, and they occupied an almost empty stratum in the Brazilian social structure. They worked as middlemen, running furniture stores, and as peddlers, selling fabrics and clothes in installments on the streets. Others worked as tailors or opened small sweatshops (Kosminsky, 1999). Getting established in Brazilian cities impacted their familial relationships less than did settlement in the US because Brazilian immigrants were more likely to be their own bosses and to keep their families together.

My Family as a Sociological Case-Study

I got a leave of absence for one month from the Brazilian university where I had been working in São Paulo, and traveled to a suburb of Cleveland, in the United States, in May 2005. I was on a mission, behaving the same way as my mother had when I gave birth to my children: taking care of Nicolas, aged 2 1/2, while his mother, my oldest daughter Claudia, went to a hospital to give birth to a baby girl. There was a difference: My mother communicated easily with her grandchildren. Although Nicolas and I got along very well, we faced some language difficulties. Portuguese is my native language and English is my second one, which I speak with a Brazilian accent. Although Nicolas's parents speak Portuguese at home, he went to the day care center every day, his friends were American, he watched TV cartoons in English, and his parents read books written in English to him. He was immersed in an American English-speaking world.

Gradually we understood each other, although some language difficulties persisted. We had our own game every morning when he woke up. He smiled at me and asked his usual question, "Who am I?" I said "Edward", the name of one of the trains from a British cartoon. "No", he said, "I'm Ferguson." "Ferguison", I repeated with my Brazilian-English accent. "Oh no", he corrected, acting very upset, "it's not 'Ferguison', it's Ferguson" (See picture 1, Nicolas at two and a half years old, his sister Stella at less than one week old, and myself, in Ohio, USA, 2005).

On a Sunday morning I asked Nicolas: "What are you eating?" He answered: "Waffles." I repeated the question: "Is it 'waifflees'?" "Oh, no!!! It's waffles," he screamed, annoyed and correcting my accent. Then I understood that for a two-and-a-half-year-old boy I probably seemed to be speaking about another food very different from waffles.

Currently Nicolas is almost 7 years old. He reads everything he can get his hands on. But he still likes his father, mother, grandma or grandpa to read him a story before sleeping. When it's my turn I know what to do whenever I have a doubt: "Nicolas, how do you read this word?"

This could be a funny story except that we are dealing with family members who live apart from each other in different countries, with different cultures. Because I moved to New York City three years ago, I'm closer to Nicolas but still several hundred miles distant geographically, and linguistically distant because I don't share his vocabulary regarding dinosaurs' favorite food, "Star Wars" games, and so on. Maybe this is a generation gap increased by differences in language/culture.

Moving to the US resulted in living very far away from my granddaughter Mariana (or Marita, as we call her). She is almost 5 and is the oldest daughter of my child Ana, who is the youngest of my four children. Marita lives in São Paulo, Brazil, with her parents. In December 2007 we were blessed by the three-week visit to New York and Ohio of Marita and her parents. I used to call Ana almost every day and Marita answered the phone first: "Who is it?" And then she brought the phone to her mother (see picture 2: my daughters Claudia and Ana, with their children Nicolas, Marita and Stella, and myself, in Ohio, 2007).

As a Grandma I can't follow my grandchildren growing up in the US as well as I did that little girl in Brazil. I'm just a visitor from New York to Ohio, who takes care of them once in a while, plays, kisses and hugs them. I wish I could sing those old folk songs from my childhood for them, tell them stories that I heard from my parents, talk to them about how life was so different even in the toys and games we played 50 years ago in Salvador, back then a poor city. As Nicolas and Stella play together in English and most of their vocabulary is in this language, they prefer to play with their Grandpa, my husband, who is an American. In addition to the language, he shares the same culture. He talks to Nicolas about the War of Independence, which Nicolas is very interested in. He also talks about baseball and other sports. And the most important thing is that Grandpa and Nicolas are proud because they were born in New York City. And he reads to Stella with the right accent. Stella and I play with Barbie dolls, changing the dolls' clothes. I can't teach Brazilian folk songs to Stella because she is not interested. She prefers to sing her own songs and dance at the same time.

Nicolas, Stella, and Ethel (2005).

Grandmothers and Grandchildren: Those Left Behind

Many contemporary migrants belong to transnational families, according to Menjívar & Abrego, 2009, p. 183:

> Families across borders (or transnational families) include a host of possible combinations of migrants and non-migrants. In highly skilled migration streams where families seek to further increase their cultural and economic capital, children may migrate while parents stay behind, or only one parent may stay behind to work while the other parent migrates with the children. In our work [about Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants] we focus on poor families in which parents pursue migration and family separation as a last resort in the face of serious woes resulting from a host of structural dislocations.

At present almost all transnational migrant families face a very hard situation due to the economic crisis and its consequent unemployment, which has diminished the remittances sent to family members who were not able to emigrate. Increased "criminalization" and deportation of undocumented immigrants has also caused increased hardship among undocumented immigrants to the US.

The Experience of Japanese-Brazilian Grandmothers and Grandchildren

In this section, we are going to focus on the grandmother and grandchildren relationships in families of Japanese-Brazilians from Bastos who went to work in Japan and left their families behind, and on those who returned from Japan to Bastos, a small city in São Paulo State. What is the role played by grandmothers currently? Do they still help in taking care of their grandchildren?

Unfortunately, as a symbol of our time, the idea of family became distinct from that of the household, as Nancy Foner noticed (2009, p. 3). "The household is a residential unit made up of kin and sometimes non-kin, whereas the family is a kinship grouping, including people related by blood and marriage, that may not be tied to a residential unit." This is true of Japanese-Brazilians who started leaving Bastos in the 1980s to work in Japan. The relationship between Japan and Brazil began one century ago when, through official agreements, Japanese immigrants arrived to work as laborers for the coffee plantations, principally in São Paulo State (Saito, 1961). Japanese colonization companies related to the Japanese government bought plots of land in São Paulo in order to sell them to immigrants. That's how Bastos was established in the 1920s as an agricultural colony (Mita, 1999).

In the 1980s Brazil faced an economic crisis including severe unemployment. As Japan became a world power and exporter of consumer goods and its need for cheap labor increased, Brazil became a labor exporter. In 2000 there were more than 254,000 Brazilians in Japan, of whom 97% were laborer immigrants. Since the beginning of the 1990s Brazilians comprise the third largest foreigner group, after the 635,000 Koreans and the 335,500 Chinese (Sasaki, 2005, p. 104).

At the beginning of the 1980s, the flow of immigrants from Brazil to Japan was principally male, as Nancy, a Japanese-Brazilian who runs a travel agency (which is a synonym for an employment agency in Bastos) said in a 2006 interview with me:

> In general, the male head of the family went to Japan and left his wife and small children behind. In the beginning, families went through financial problems because the husband was not able to send enough money to support his family. I observed in 1991 and 1992 that those men who had gone forgot the problems that they had left in Brazil. Many families complained about the lack of contacts. Then the mother had to go to Japan and to leave her children with some family member. Others who didn't have anybody to take care of their children had to pay someone to take care of the children. The results are children without education, far from their parents and with not enough remittances. At present the situation is different: children are going to Japan with their families. Those who arrived in Japan with their families had other difficulties: many parents wanted their children to attend Brazilian school, which was very expensive, so they decided to place the children in Japanese schools where the older children faced more problems. However, the biggest problem was the adolescents. Those who stayed by themselves in an apartment all day long while the parents worked started to form groups or gangs and to do things that shamed us. This has happened principally in the regions of Japan where many Brazilians live.

Recently the flow of Japanese-Brazilians to Japan became more familial than individual, leading to an increased presence of non-Japanese descendants in Japan who are married to Japanese-Brazilians, and an enlargement of the period of time spend in Japan (Sasaki, 2005: 107). There are even Japanese-Brazilian immigrants who have decided to settle there for good, and have bought a house there.

During a discussion that we had about migration at the *kaikan*, the office of the Japanese-Brazilian association in Bastos, Brazil, in 2006, Yamanaka (see also 1996 article) said that there are about 5,000 *Nikkei* (descendants of Japanese) living in Bastos; among them around 35% are working as *dekasseki* (which means working outside the home) in Japan. This number is just an estimate, and does not include the unknown number of people who returned at least temporarily to Japan.

Currently all Japanese-Brazilian families in Bastos have at least one member working in Japan. Some of my students and I collected interviews, in 2005 and 2006, with old Japanese immigrants to Brazil and Japanese-Brazilians laborers who had returned from Japan. We interviewed Mrs. Massako Shimizu who owns with her husband the only hotel in Bastos. She was born in Bastos, a daughter of immigrants.

Mrs. Massako has seven grown children, three men and four women. Two of her daughters are in Japan; they work in a factory in Shizuoka. "They have been living there for more than ten years. The husband of the youngest daughter is Brazilian from non-Japanese origin. The other one, who is the mother of this young grandson, is alone, but his father who was Brazilian is already dead. He has been with me since he was a baby and is now sixteen years old. She left him with me and went to Japan, and has come to visit only

once. He can't go there because she would have to take care of him and she couldn't work. He is always talking to her on the internet. He is in the first year of high school. He is affectionate; we have no complaint against him. But he doesn't like to study; we talk to him a lot about it. He is not nervous; when we ask him for help, he does it. He keeps us company, which is good because all the other children left home and only he stayed with us."

Her grandson is a boy of mixed origin; his deceased father was Brazilian. He is shy and very affectionate to his grandmother. He is always hugging and kissing her, according to the Brazilian way. Brazilians use a body language different from that of the Japanese (Tsuda, 2003). Brazilian people hug and kiss each other within the family and among friends. Japanese people consider that it's not polite to show one's emotions. He helps do the dishes every morning. Mr. Shimizu likes to watch Japanese movies with his grandson. Mrs. Massako Shimizu worries because her grandson doesn't like to study. His mother doesn't send any money to him, but his grandmother doesn't complain. He can't go to Japan because he is fourth generation and Japanese law only gives a visa until the third generation.

The other daughter, who lives in Japan with her Brazilian husband, has two children, a girl and a boy. "When they left Brazil the girl was one year old. The mother left her with a woman who took care of her, and when she was three years old, her mother came to take her to Japan. The boy was born in Japan". In this case Mrs. Massako no longer had the opportunity to take care of this second grandchild.

Mrs. Massako really loves her grandson. However, her husband is in poor health, and she is not young anymore. Maybe, she doesn't know how to deal with the adolescent concerning his school performance. On the other hand, it's hard to blame the youth because the public school system in Brazil is very bad and not interesting at all. Mrs. Massako said several times that she "is poor". She couldn't afford to send her grandson to a private school. For her, the grandmother role has restrictions imposed by her social status, the lack of remittances, and also the restrictions imposed by the Japanese immigration law.

Another case is that of a granddaughter who doesn't show any connection to her grandmother: Yasue, 18 or 19, is a skinny girl with long and straight hair; she is shy and well behaved. Her body language is similar to that of Japanese girls from small towns in Japan. She speaks fluent Japanese and Portuguese. Her father is Japanese-Brazilian and her mother is non Japanese-Brazilian. She is the oldest child in her family, with three brothers. Her father has been working in Japan for sixteen years. She went to Japan with her mother when she was 4 1/2 years old, and her brother one year old. Her father had already been in Japan for one year when her mother decided to go there and take her children along. Her father worked in a factory that manufactures car components, and her mother was a housewife. Yasue explained the reason for the family's return to Bastos:

I returned because my mother wanted to see her parents, my grandparents. I wanted to visit Bastos, but I didn't want to stay here. I want to go back. . .because there [it] is good [with emotion], at least for me. I've been living here for six years. My father brought us

back and then he returned to Japan. He used to come once a year and stayed for two, three weeks, but one year has already passed and he hasn't come yet. I attended a Japanese school and my brother did too.

Yasue finished high school and intended to attend college in Japan. She didn't like living in Bastos; she was shocked when she arrived:

I had another idea. Japan is a very developed society. It reminds me of São Paulo, so that I thought that Bastos would be similar. When I arrived I only saw land, which is rare in Japan. I really liked living in Japan. I felt free there. I didn't feel any prejudice directed against me.

Yasue compares her former school in Japan with the Brazilian one that she attended:

The teachers are well respected in Japan. Here the students are aggressive toward the teachers. There, if one had this behavior, he would go to jail. Here the students curse the teachers. In classes in Japan there was absolute silence. Here it's a mess: the teacher speaks, the students scream. I got used to Japan—it's so calm there.

She misses her father very much: "My father turns on his computer camera and starts talking to my mother. We speak to each other every day. There is not enough time. We miss him very much. . .we miss him physically. We miss him at home." Talking to a psychologist who has worked with several children and adolescents with a father or parents in Japan, it was possible to visualize some problems that grandmothers and grandchildren face as a result of living apart from the kids' parents. According to an interview conducted in Bastos in 2006 with Ms. Celia Fuji, a Japanese-Brazilian:

When a husband/father goes alone to Japan he feels very lonely. Then some of them break up with the wives in Brazil and marry Japanese women but most of them marry Japanese-Brazilian women in Japan. In this situation the father sends only a fraction of his salary to the former wife, who stays with the children. Sometimes, the father stops sending any amount of money. In general, the relatives help or the mother also decides to go to Japan. She leaves her children with her own parents and moves to Japan in order to send money to her parents. If there is no grandmother or no relative who can take care of the children, then they stay with a housemaid. There was a case in which the grandmother was very frail, so the children stayed with the housemaid, who earned a good salary for taking care of the house and the children. Sometimes housemaids live at the children's home, but if housemaids already have a home, they take the children to sleep with them.

I worked in an office, which belonged to a private health insurance company. Sometimes the mothers worked in São Paulo, and the grandmothers took the children there with all documents, but they were unable to get some services done because the grandmothers don't know so much. At the private school where I also worked, we don't have father's day or mother's day, we have family's day because we observed that children started saying: 'I don't have a

father then I don't go, I don't want to take part; I don't want to do this or that because my father doesn't come to see me.' That's why we have family's day.

When children reach adolescence, sometimes the grandparents ask the parents to come back from Japan because they don't know what to do with teenagers' rebellion. Many children stay in touch with their parents via the internet. When older children stay with their grandmothers in Brazil, I see how difficult it is for them to take care of the kids. And when the mother arrives, she is a stranger because they had been having no personal contact. In one a case the father left for Japan and the mother stayed in Brazil. Then she said: 'My marriage is going to end if I leave my husband alone for a long time.' When she left her child in Brazil and went to join her husband, the child was nine months old; and when she returned the child was seven or eight years old. For a child it is extra hard because in Brazil he/she is seen as having a Japanese face and when the child goes to Japan with the parents she/he is seen as *gaijin* (foreign, Brazilian), not Japanese. Sometimes such children return to Brazil for good, or they go back and forth many times, which is very sad. Many times the parents give every material thing to the child, toys, and the best school. But if the parent is working abroad, the child feels the absence of his/her parent(s).

According to Ms. Celia, the children show the same problems, such as depression, as the children whose parents go to work in Portugal. The children's grandmothers are probably second generation, so that they are able to speak Portuguese, even if they prefer to speak Japanese at home. As dedicated as a grandmother can be, she can't replace the child's mother. The problem is not only language; it's related to the gap among generations, which is worse in this case because it's related to two different cultures. As a second generation resident the grandmother lived most of her life in the cocoon that Bastos was until the 1950s. The child is fourth generation, sometimes from mixed origin, which can lead to communication problems between the child and grandmother. Among the first generation, and also among the second one, there was no mixed marriage, as Mrs. Tanaka explained:

If my grandson or granddaughter wants to date a foreigner (non-Japanese Brazilian), he or she can, I don't say anything. If they want to marry a Brazilian, I don't say anything. But sons and my daughters are all married to Japanese; if this were not so, I would suffer. But a grandson or great-grandson, I don't need to speak, they can marry anyone. My daughter's youngest daughter is going to marry; I don't need to say anything. I give a gift and that's it [she laughs]. The grandparents and parents were all Japanese; they don't understand Portuguese and they thought that if the children married Brazilians it would not work out. Therefore, they were against mixed marriage.

Sharing the same language/culture is very important for most immigrants, as Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway observed (2008, p. 249) among Chinese immigrants: "If the first generation parents cannot speak English, they are effectively cut off from their grandchildren. Many young people did not want to separate the family by having grandchildren who could not speak with their grandparents or by marrying someone who could not speak to or understand their in-laws. They further state (p. 273): "Language retention and loss have a clear emotional significance."

Conclusion

As C. Wright Mills says (2000), in order to understand the relations between history and biography within society, one needs to have a sociological imagination, which can mediate the links between "the personal troubles of the milieu and the public issues of social structure" (pp. 6, 8). The cases discussed here are case studies of the globalization era. They are connected to the Brazilian social and class structure, the political and economic relations among countries, and each country's law regarding international migration.

I observed that in the Brazilian society as in other countries of Latin America such as Salvador, Guatemala (Menjívar & Abrego, 2009) and Mexico (Dreby, 2009) there is an expectation among the children of having both a mother and grandmother as primary caregivers. It was possible for mother and grandmother perform this role during the period of mass migration (1890 through the early 1920s) because few of them worked outside the home or else they performed agricultural work, taking the children with them; or they took the child(ren) along while selling cooked food in the market. And in most of the cases the first immigrant was the male, the head of the household who left the family behind to seek work.

However, during the contemporary transnational family migration (for example between Brazil and Japan or Brazil and the US), although the children's expectations persist, and the grandmothers play an important role in taking care of them, the mothers also have to immigrate as wage-earners. Under US immigration policy it takes years for the parents to gain US resident visas for themselves and then their children. "Mothers often feel guiltier than fathers about having left their children behind" (Dreby, 2009, p. 194). "Children in El Salvador and Guatemala express great sorrow about their family separation, but their narratives reveal greater suffering and more emotional language if it is the mother, as opposed to the father, who has migrated." Alondra's eighteen-year-old son in El Salvador is hostile toward her. "Although both parents migrated, her son directs his anger and resentment only toward his mother, with the gendered justification that 'the man can do as he pleases'" (Menjívar & Abrego, 1999, pp. 173–174). In Brazil this gender-specific resentment is milder because we have a tendency toward a more egalitarian gendered relationship within the family than in México and Central America (Romanelli, 2002).

Regarding the Brazilian-Japanese children who have stayed with their grandmothers, "the parents send money to the child, who sees that the room contains everything except the parents, so the child only plays a little. The toys do not fill the emotional void; the parents try, try from afar. . .but it is difficult" (Ms. Celia). At first it's hard for a grandmother to replace a mother as a caregiver, because they have to deal with feelings of abandonment and generational difference. However, if they share the same language and culture it's possible. The situation is worse when they speak different languages and have adopted different customs.

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Grandparenting and Inter-Generational Relationships: Work from Goldsmiths, University of London, UK

Peter K. Smith, Lia Bouna, Antonia Svensson-Dianellou, Tatiana Quadrello, and Carolina Sciplino
University of London, UK
E-mail: p.smith@gold.ac.uk

Work in this area has been supported by a Research Training Network (RTN) on Grandparenthood and Intergenerational Relationships in Aging European Populations, that lasted for 4 years (www.gold.ac.uk/rtn), funded by the EC under its FP5 program. RTNs last 3 to 4 years and have both scientific and training objectives to fulfill. An important part of Networks such as these is the training of early career researchers, from EC member or associated states. These researchers can be pre-doctoral or post-doctoral, and work with a team in a different European country from their native country for periods from 3 months to 3 years. The main funding is for paying such researchers, which can include fees for doctoral study; in addition there is funding for mobility–travel for meetings and conference presentations of the work of the Network.

The Grandparenthood RTN brought together 7 teams: Goldsmiths College, London, England (co-ordinating team); Fondation Nationale de Gerontologie, Paris, France; Aabo Akademi University, Vaasa, Finland; Institute of Aging, Oxford University, England; Agder University

College, Kristiansand, Norway; Universidad Carlos III, Madrid, Spain; and the National School of Public Health, Athens, Greece. The RTN was multidisciplinary, covering Psychology, Sociology, Political Science, Health, Law, Micro-Economics, Demographic Studies and Health Care.

Here we summarize work at Goldsmiths, as part of this RTN project, by four researchers: Lia Bouna as a post-doctoral researcher; and Antonia Svensson-Dianellou and Tatiana Quadrello as doctoral students; and Carolina Sciplino, who was also the Network Secretary. The last three obtained their doctorates through the RTN program.

Dr Evangelia Bouna: Research on Legal Issues Affecting Grandparents

Some attempts are being made to harmonize family law in the European Union, but the rights of grandparents have received relatively little discussion. Nevertheless, grandparents have important roles in their grandchildren's development, and pressure groups are campaigning for greater rights. Lia Bouna surveyed the range of legal rights of contact for grandparents across the then 25 EU countries. She focused on two main areas. One was rights of grandparents for contact with grandchildren in cases of parental separation, divorce or family dispute. The other was the range of family obligations in law and policy affecting rights of guardianship for grandparents. To do this she drew on expertise within the Network and other contacts, and a review of varied sources including websites, policy documents, and a questionnaire sent to key informants.

Regarding rights of grandparents for contact, she found a spectrum of rights across the EU countries; a few specifically acknowledge the contact rights of grandparents; many group grandparents into a broader category such as "relatives" or "those close to the grandchild" that have such rights; and some do not make any special provision for grandparents (or other relatives). We compared this with the legal situation in the US, and discussed the implications of these findings in relation to possibilities of harmonizing family law in the EU, human rights issues, and the psychological importance of the grandparent-grandchild relationship (Bouna & Smith, in submission a).

Grandparents are often the primary source of supplementary or alternative care for young children. However, special rights of grandparents for guardianship of grandchildren in cases of parental abandonment, neglect, abuse, imprisonment, mental illness, death, etc. may not generally be acknowledged in statutory legislation. We again found a spectrum of rights across the EU countries, with guardianship rights of grandparents seldom mentioned specifically, although often (but not always) included in a broader category of relatives. The implications of these findings were discussed in relation to the roles of grandparents, their expectations, and the psychological importance of the grandparent-grandchild relationship (Bouna & Smith, in submission b).

Dr Antonia Svensson-Dianellou: The Role of Grandparents in the Care of Grandchildren in Greece

Many Greek grandparents provide regular childcare for their grandchildren, as well as assisting the parental generation in other ways, but very limited research has been carried out on this. Antonia Svensson-Dianellou carried out an in-depth exploration of the role of grandparents in Greece. Firstly, quantitative data were collected from 190 grandparents around Greece regarding the types of help they gave in the care of their grandchildren, how often help was given, and the grandparents' reasons for helping. Secondly, a small qualitative study was conducted with English grandparents living in Athens. Lastly, semi-structured interviews were carried out with 22 Greek grandparents using a Grounded Theory framework.

The quantitative data showed that over a third of grandparents provided daily childcare. Around half of the grandparents were also babysitting, providing household help and picking up/dropping off a grandchild at least once a week, and providing emotional support on a daily basis; and a quarter gave financial support at least once a week. The vast majority reported "I enjoy it" as one reason for providing assistance. Over a third said they provided assistance to help the parental generation financially. Grandmothers were significantly more involved in childcare, and provided more household help, than grandfathers. Interestingly, no statistically significant differences were found according to area of residence (rural/urban), level of education or employment status of the grandparent.

The qualitative data showed that grandparents often enjoyed having regular responsibility for childcare, since it provided them with a useful and valued role and led to close grandparent-grandchild relationships. However, sometimes grandparents felt pressured to be more involved than they would have liked. Grandparents with financial resources experienced greater choice and felt less obligated to provide practical help in the care of their grandchildren, although they financed alternative childcare arrangements when necessary. Furthermore, grandparents provided the most help when they felt needed, either for financial reasons or due to family breakdown. Provision of help and grandparent-grandchild relationships were influenced by the grandparent's relationship with the parental generation, particularly with the mother. The findings are discussed in the context of recent social change in Greece (Svensson-Dianellou, 2008; Svensson-Dianellou, Smith, & Mestheneous, in press).

Dr Tatiana Quadrello: The Use of New Technologies in Grandparent-Grandchild Communication

The advent of the Information Age has dramatically changed the features of human communication. Mobile phones and Internet-based technologies have increased our possibilities to be in contact with each other. However, uneven patterns of adoption and use of ICTs (*Information and Communication Technologies*) have been detected among different populations and different sub-groups of the same population.

Tatiana Quadrello's research stream within the RTN project aimed at exploring the patterns of use of mobile phones, SMS, email, ecard and IM (*Instant Messaging*) by younger and older users. It also focused on the extent to which these technologies might have become a way to communicate between grandparents and grandchildren. Empirical work consisted of three individual studies, two in the UK and one in Italy; the Italian study also used the Technology Acceptance Model (*TAM*) to predict adoption and actual use of SMS (*Short Message Service*) by the grand-mother-grandchild dyad. Questionnaires made up of both quantitative and qualitative items were collected from both grandparents and grandchildren in both countries. European research co-operation available through the RTN made it possible to compare data from British grandparents to data collected by joint teams from Spanish, Finnish and Estonian grandparents. Furthermore, within the theoretical framework of the Theory of Gratification Niches, this joint dataset was used to develop two models (an accumulation and a compensatory model) to explain how grandparents use traditional and new forms of contact to get in touch with their grandchildren.

Findings showed that mobile phones were more wide-spread than computers among participants in all countries; computer usage varied greatly according to the country of study. Younger and better educated grandparents were more likely to use emails (in the UK) and SMS (in Italy), and in general, email was the most commonly used, enjoy-able and easiest-to-use communication feature. Adoption of ICTs among children, on the other hand, seemed to happen at a very early stage (at least a year before the child's tenth birthday); SMS were the most used ICT among children of both sexes. Contact between grandparents and grandchildren remained mainly face-to-face or via the landline phone. When the relationship between old and new forms of contact was studied, traditional and new forms of contact associated positively to each other within the group, but did not compensate each other between groups. However, when geographical proximity between the grandparent-grandchild dyad decreased, a compensa-tory pattern between old and new media was found for face-to-face and email contact. When looking at adoption of SMS by the grandmother-grandchild dyad, while perceived ease of use directly affected adoption by grand-mothers, perceived usefulness affected adoption by grand-children (Quadrello, 2006; Quadrello et al., 2005; Hurme, Quadrello, & Westerback, in revision).

Dr Carolina Sciplino: representations of grandparents in the mass media

Children's involvement with the media starts early in life, often occupying many hours a day. Children learn and develop attitudes towards grandparents in part through media representations. But grandparenthood is changing rapidly in different societies, and assumptions about the roles and potential of grandparents may not be keeping pace. Carolina Sciplino carried out three studies, exploring representations of grandparents in children's books, and on children's television.

Her first two studies explored how grandparents are depicted in children's books. In the first study, 149 images were obtained from children's picture books in Britain, Italy and Greece (87 of grandmothers, 62 of grandfathers). A content analysis suggested a rather homogeneous image of grandparents. The majority of grandfathers and grand-mothers had grey/white hair. More than half of grand-parents were in sedentary physical activities: sitting, standing, lying in bed, and reading. The second study investigated whether the apparent age of grandparents in children's books differed by gender, nationality, and year of book publication in Britain, Italy, Greece, Finland and Poland. Twelve adults in Britain and Italy, and ten adults in Finland estimated the age of each grandparent figure (from 40–44 to 90+). In every country grandfathers were rated as significantly older than grandmothers. Grandparents were significantly older in Greek books than in British books and were significantly older in Polish books than in Finnish books. In Britain, Italy and Greece, grandparents in children's books were older than the estimated average age of grandparents with young grandchildren.

A third study examined depictions of grandparents in children's television in the UK A total of 115 hours of children's television programs were analyzed. Forty-four grandparents were observed (29 grandmothers and 15 grandfathers). Most grandparents appeared in soaps/sitcoms and in animation programs and had minor roles. Content analysis again suggested a rather homogeneous image of grandparents. Nearly all were white, with the majority having grey/white hair. Grandparents, however, were shown as moderately to highly active, and involved in a variety of activities such as cooking, playing games and dancing. The representation of grandparents differed according to the type of program in which they appeared. Significantly more grandparents had white/grey hair and were shown with their grandchildren in animation programs, than in soaps and sitcoms. Grandparents in animation programs were older and more stereotyped but actively involved with their grandchildren; whereas in soaps and sitcoms grandparents looked younger but were less involved with their grandchildren. The implications of these media representations are discussed in Sciplino (2007) and Sciplino, Smith, Hurme, Rusek, and Bäckvik (in press).

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Grandparenting in the Phillippines: A Microstudy on Strengths and Needs

Angelito Z. Antonio
University of Asia and the Pacific, Philippines
E-mail: aantonio@uap.edu.ph

Grandparents across cultures have emerged as potentially significant figures in the lives of many individuals at all life stages. This is particularly true in the wake of current trends and changes in family dynamics and family patterns. More and more, grandparents are recognized as a valuable source of help in most families. In times of crisis in the family–such as teenage childbearing, single parenting, separation, spouse working abroad, financial difficulty, economic recession and company downsizing and illness–grandparents serve as a source of stability to the distressed family (Thomas, 1990). According to Robertson (1995), some of these changes have thrust growing numbers of grandparents into active caregiver roles. In the Philippines, couples have less need to look for assistance outside the family when they can place their reliance and trust on grandparents to bear some of the responsibilities for providing care and support to the grandchildren.

My interest in doing research on grandparenting started way back in 1999 when as a doctoral student I was engrossed with the writing of Luciano L'Abate on developmental family psychology. In my country, the Philippines, very few were then doing active research on this topic. At the time, attention was primarily centered on the

Angelito Antonio together with the junior faculty member Lexie Astacio in front of the university lobby.

behavior, medical conditions, and situations of the elderly in general, with some attempts to delve into the attitudes and perceptions of the public, bringing to light their expectations and beliefs about the elderly. Exactly a year later in 2000, I discovered the Grandparent Strengths and Needs Inventory (GSNI) published by Scholastic Testing Services based in Bensenville, Illinois (Strom & Strom, 1993). This rekindled my passion to conduct a study of our Filipino grandparents. Recently, the graduate school where I took my PhD has started offering coursework in Gerontology.

Little is known about the strengths and needs of the many men and women who are now assuming the role of grandparent caregivers. Specifically in the Philippines, research dealing with the life experiences, current relationships and circumstances of grandparents are scarce. In view of this state of affairs, research that documents the positive qualities and identifies challenging aspects of the Filipino grandparents' family relationships is in order. The dearth of local materials on grandparenthood and a genuine personal interest in the life experiences and behaviors of Filipino grandparents prompted the current study. Designed as exploratory, this study hopes to contribute to a fuller understanding of the strengths, needs and difficulties of these individuals–who may be forgotten, neglected or treated casually by society.

Focus of the Research Journey

This study attempted to explore and identify the strengths and needs of a selected group of Filipino grandparents. Using a framework for grandparent development (Strom & Strom, 1992), this study examined six fundamental dimensions of being a grandparent, namely: grandparent satisfaction (aspects of grandparenthood that are satisfying); grandparent success (ways in which grandparents successfully perform their roles); grandparent teaching (kinds of lessons grandparents are expected to provide); grandparent difficulty (difficulties grandparents encounter as they fulfill their family obligation); grandparent frustration (behaviors of grandchildren that upset grandparents); and grandparent information needs (things grandparents need to know about grandchildren).

The respondents of this research consisted of 78 grandparents whose ages ranged from 45 to 75 years. They came from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. All of them met the following conditions and criteria to be eligible as respondents: (a) born, grew up and studied in the Philippines and of Filipino descent; (b) have reached or completed at least high school (secondary) education; and (c) have at least one grandchild whom they still see, take care of or supervise and whose age should not be lower than six years.

The Grandparent Strengths and Needs Inventory (GSNI)–Grandparent Version, a self-report measure developed by Robert Strom and Shirley Strom (1993), was administered to the 78 respondents through the assistance of four research volunteers. The GSNI–Grandparent Version contains 60 Likert-type items divided equally into six subscales (described earlier as the six fundamental dimensions of being a grandparent) that emphasize separate aspects of grandparent development. The GSNI has gone through tests of reliability (Strom & Strom, 1990;

Huish, 1991 cited in GSNI Manual, 1993: 6) and validity (Collinsworth, Strom, Strom, & Young, 1991 cited in GSNI Manual, 1993: 6).

All copies of the GSNI were preceded by a General Information sheet which covers questions pertinent to respondents' age, gender, marital status, employment status, educational attainment, health status, and number of grandchildren. To identify the uniqueness of the group participating in the study, other significant data were asked such as sex of the grandchild, age of the grandchild, marital status of grandchild's parents, proximity (whether or not the respondent lives with the grandchild), and amount of time they spend together.

Encountering the Grandparents through the Survey

Several options were explored in recruiting prospective participants. These included seeking referrals from university colleagues or students, visits to senior citizen associations and clubs, consultation with community parishes for possible recruitment of respondents, and solicitation of other referrals in the neighborhood community. Locally, grandparents are popularly addressed as *lolo* and *lola*, the vernacular terms for grandfather and grandmother, respectively. Sometimes, those of us on the team spent a great deal of time conversing with people in a community just to establish rapport and get their trust. On other occasions, we had to go back several times to a particular grandparent in order to complete the survey forms.

The survey instrument was administered by the team leader of the research project and four research volunteers. In some cases, respondents answered the questionnaire in a group setting; others completed it in their respective residences. In answering the GSNI, respondents were reminded to select a particular grandchild to think about while completing the survey. Also in cases where the respondents failed to complete answering the inventory, follow-up was done.

Grandparents' Background

The grandparents under investigation came from Metro Manila (National Capital Region) and nearby provinces in the Luzon area such as Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga and Rizal. About 42% (33 of the grandparents) were residing in Metro Manila and 58% (45 of them) were from the different provinces mentioned. Among these respondents, sixty-two were female and sixteen were male. Fifty-eight of these grandparents were married (spouse still living), two were separated and eighteen were already widowed.

Thirty-four of the grandparents were already retired, thirty were unemployed (all of whom were full time homemakers), eight had part-time jobs and six engaged in a full-time career. Among the retirees, fifteen had been engaged in a school-related career, serving as supervisors/coordinators in the Department of Education, school counselors, school principals and registrars; eleven were former government employees; four were in professional service careers such as accounting, medicine, architecture and the air force; and four were actively engaged as private entrepreneurs or business owners. About 46% of the respon-

dents had finished college and close to 18% had reached high school (up to second year). The majority of these grandparents (about 67% of them) reported that their health was very good. Most of them (about 73%) had at least four to ten grandchildren.

Forty-eight of the respondents (62%) still lived with their grandchildren, and thirty respondents (about 38% of them) did not. Forty-nine of the grandchildren (63% of them) identified by the respondents were female and twenty-nine (37% of them) were male. At the time the research was done, the majority of the grandchildren were still in grade school. About 14% were in college and 32% were in high school. Most of them (53%) were aged six to twelve years (forty-two of them) and about 32% (twenty-five of them) were thirteen to seventeen years old. Most of these grandchildren's parents were still living together. Only 14% of the parents were separated. Forty-five grandchildren (58% of them) selected by the grandparents were related to them through their daughters and thirty-three (42% of them) were related through their sons.

With regards to the amount of time they spent each month with the identified grandchild, the majority of the grandparents (63% of them) spent more than ten hours with their grandchildren. When asked about how often they took care of these grandchildren they identified, thirty-one of the grandparents provided care on a daily basis; thirty-three of them said "often" and fourteen said "seldom."

Grandparents' Potentials and Concerns

When respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they found satisfaction in the different aspects of grandparenting, three aspects of the grandchild's behavior received a highly favorable rating from the grandparents (i.e., the grandchild sharing his or her feelings, the way the grandchild stays in touch and how well the grandchild performs in school). With regard to their own strengths, most of the grandparents rated themselves good at listening to their grandchildren and staying in touch with them. Grandparents were asked to indicate the frequency of their efforts to teach their grandchildren about certain things. Four items on this subscale which the grandparents taught - regularly included religion through good examples, good manners, a sense of right and wrong, and the need for learning throughout life.

When asked to indicate the frequency by which they find certain aspects of grandparenting difficult, the majority of the grandparents said "never" or "seldom" to all items covered by this subscale. More than two-thirds of the grandparents claimed it has "never" been difficult for them to get along with their grandchildren. Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently they saw themselves frustrated by certain behaviors of their grandchildren. Close to 60% of the grandparents felt frustrated about their grandchildren's television habits. More than 30% of the grandparents rated themselves slightly unfavorably when it came to accepting the discipline their grandchildren received in their parents' home, how they were being brought up and how they treated their parents. The majority of the grandparents expressed their need for more information in areas that concerned their grandchildren's school experience, the children's fears and worries, the stress the children had to manage, their self-esteem, the

Table 1. Grandparent potentials and concerns index scores on the grandparent strengths and needs inventory (grandparent version)

Variables/subscales	Total mean scores
Satisfaction	33.99
Success	33.27
Teaching	33.24
Potentials	100.50
Difficulty	32.35
Frustration	29.69
Information	22.05
Concerns	84.09

attitudes of their peers, the choices the children had to make at their age and how these children were being raised at home.

Table 1 summarizes the total mean scores obtained by the grandparents in each of the six subscales of the GSNI. Three of the subscales (satisfaction, success and teaching) are combined to produce an index of grandparent potentials. The remaining three subscales (difficulties, frustrations and information needs) provide an index of grandparent concern. A minimal score of 75 for either index is considered favorable. The highest score possible for a potentials or concerns index is 120 (GSNI Manual, 1993: 08).

For the grandparents in this study, both the potentials and concerns indices yield very high scores. Their perceptions are favorable when it concerns their strengths and needs. Most of them tend to express a favorable self-impression on measures of satisfaction, success, teaching and ability to deal with difficulties and frustrations. The only subscale on which most of the grandparents assessed themselves unfavorably was on information needs.

What Conclusions Can Be Drawn From The Responses of These Grandparents?

Overall the results of this preliminary report indicate that most of the grandparents who participated in this research are in their late adulthood, highly educated, of good health, and living with their grandchildren. It also appears that most of the participants are women, who may be more willing than men to serve as respondents.

The majority of the grandchildren identified by the grandparents are female, in their childhood-adolescence transition period and related to their grandparents through their mothers. Close to ninety percent of the parents of these grandchildren are still living together. More than one third of them live near or maintain contact with their grandparents.

The majority of the grandparents indicated that they "always" like the grandchildren to share their feelings with them, enjoy the way these grandchildren stay in touch with them, and approve of how well their grandchildren perform in school. Most of them are likely to find satisfaction when their grandchildren ask them for advice.

Over fifty percent of these grandparents appreciate how much time their sons and daughters spend with their grandchildren. Most of these grandparents also like their grandchildren's general outlook on life. With these

findings, certain impressions can be drawn. Most of the grandchildren identified tend to elicit a high level of satisfaction with the grandparent-grandchild relationship. As posited by Kivnick (1982), a close relationship between grandchildren and grandparents can be beneficial to the grandparents' mental health. In the case of our respondents, the depth of intergenerational disclosure appears to contribute to grandparent-grandchild intimacy.

Most of the grandparents in this study enjoy keeping in touch with their grandchildren. In an earlier publication, Kennedy (1991) provides some of the significant reasons for this feeling of closeness to grandparents: perception of similarity to the grandparents and enjoyment of their company; perception of a special expression of interest toward oneself by the grandparent; and admiration of the child by the grandparent.

In terms of grandparent success, it appears that the majority of the grandparents judge themselves to be capable and competent in providing a nurturing and stimulating environment for their sons and daughters as well as their grandchildren. Most of them are aware of things they can do well, including the kind of help and support their grandchildren need at a particular stage of development. Overall, the grandparents in our study try their best to teach their grandchildren in several areas of growth and development.

Most of the grandparents are able to cope and adjust when it comes to getting along with their grandchildren. However, findings also indicate that a significant number of the respondents feel frustrated about the television habits of their grandchildren as well as the way these children are raised and disciplined by their parents. To a great extent, these grandparents recognize their need to be informed about the abilities, feelings, values, choices and problems of their grandchildren. Support in these areas will help them to function more effectively.

What Do We Have in Prospect?

Research of the same tenor can be made more extensive by investigating the uniqueness of different groups of grandparents. The strengths and needs reported by the respondents in this study may be confirmed when participants are drawn from a larger and mixed group. It will also be significant to compare the strengths and needs of grandmothers with those of the grandfathers. Grandfathers as seemingly "forgotten men" in the family relationship literature remain unexplored.

Similar research on grandparents can be pursued using an intergenerational approach which involves comparing and differentiating the views of grandparents, their sons and daughters, and the grandchildren. Such an approach will be appropriate for generating a broader perspective on family interaction and a more accurate picture of grandparent strengths and needs (see Strom & Strom, 2000a; Strom, Heeder, & Strom, 2005; Strom, Lee, Strom, Nakagawa, & Beckert, 2008). The current study does not describe the common problems that grandparents have in understanding what growing up is like now. One reason for this oversight that should be mentioned as a limitation is that the study only sought responses from the grandparents. Younger people would have pointed out that their grandparents live in yesterday's world. Revelations from the field

may likely be instrumental in acquainting grandparents with innovative ways of dealing with grandchildren today and finding the middle ground in making shifts in the grandparent role. Findings from similar studies in the future will likely pave the way to a more robust evidence-based approach to grandparent education and its implications for intergenerational and lifelong learning (see Strom & Strom, in press) and improving the quality of family life.

Finally, an area which this study could have investigated is the extent to which grandparents encourage autonomy in their adult children and refrain from meddling with childrearing. Contemporary grandparents may find themselves in a double bind. This is in line with the observation that grandparents in Philippine society are not considered to be excess family members. Future research can focus on determining which behaviors of Filipino grandparents are viewed by their children as supportive and nurturing and those that may be interpreted as interfering (see work by Strom & Strom, 2000b; Strom, 2000, 2002).

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Acknowledgement

Notes from The President

Times of Great Change: Seizing Opportunity While Preserving Legacy

These unstable economic times have given most of us major headaches or worse. While there are signs in the US that the investment economy is improving, indicators such as unemployment and housing foreclosures have not yet shown improvement but they appear to be becoming less bad. (What straws we grasp!) Similarly, while there are large variations globally, most economies are not stable. Economic instability often leads to social instability. But I hear many celebrating simpler lives, with more focus on what's important.

We in ISSBD are also affected by all this change–for many of us, the nature of or funding for our research is affected. While many organizations are seeing decreased payment of membership dues, we have not yet seen this; so far we have seen familiar patterns of membership renewal. And many organizations have seen decreased participation in annual meeting attendance; we hope that our meeting in Zambia–our first in Africa–will not be so affected. We have much to celebrate!

ISSBD is a very special organization. We began as an international research organization and from the beginning established structures and practices to support a lively, globally-engaged organization. Few organizations begin with this focus; a more common pattern is to expand internationally after success as a national (or continental) organization. The recent survey of members confirms our international nature as the primary value, reflected in having members now from more than 60 countries. At the same time, members value the high quality of our publications and biennial meetings representing our scientific legacy. Among the structures supporting internationality are our membership fee structure, provision of funding for regional meetings, and some travel support for young scholars to attend biennial meetings.

We also aim in ISSBD to focus on human development over the life course; a continuing effort has been made to include research beyond the first two decades of life (on which the majority of members, programs, and publications focus) and to achieve multidisciplinarity (though 74% of members identify with psychology). Many of the recent scientific breakthroughs affecting our field have capitalized on the systemic nature of human development. Both nature and nurture are important and recent research is beginning to demonstrate how. For example, recent research by several groups shows how social relationships and behavior influence genes and brain development. It is not too great a leap to extend social relationships and behavior to culture and other human structures thought to be more distal from biological processes. Such research means that a scientific society like ISSBD is ideally positioned to stimulate and globally disseminate integrated, systemic research projects.

Increasingly, major funders such as the Gates Foundation are supporting multinational collaborative research groups. The technology exists for sharing research tools and data across global partners. At this point, significant research infrastructure investment is still necessary for enabling such collaborative work. But the building blocks exist for web-based collaborations (e.g., Google's "cloud computing"). And the continued march of Moore's law (originally focused on the exponential increase over time seen in the number of transistors on an integrated circuit, but now generalized to most information technology devices becoming exponentially smaller and therefore more powerful) has led to mobile devices now playing the roles that used to require room-sized computers. These improvements in information technology give us hope globally for our communications and collaborations. Among the future-oriented recommendations of the Regional Workshop Committee (see story in this issue of the *ISSBD Bulletin*) is one proposing collaborative research platforms. We are working to make these recommendations a reality, and welcome any of you to partner in these efforts. The technology exists; all (and believe me, I know that this is not a trivial requirement–I would not know where to start!) we need is someone who knows how to create such a platform for ISSBD. Such efforts would make ISSBD a truly international research organization!

Anne C. Petersen, President
Stanford University, USA
E-mail: apetersen@casbs.stanford.ed

Minutes of the ISSBD Executive Committee (EC) Meeting: Denver, US, 2009

Time: April 1st, 2009, 9.00–17.00

Members of the EC present: Marcel van Aken (EC Member, Editor IJBD), Toni Antonucci (EC Member), Kerry Barner (SAGE), Xinyin Chen (Membership Secretary), Zena Mello (Appointed Member, Young Scholar Representative), Anne C. Petersen (President) , Katariina Salmela-Aro (Secretary), Arnold Sameroff (EC Member), Ann Sanson (EC Member), Wolfgang Schneider (President-elect), Ingrid Schoon (Treasurer), Liqi Zhu (Appointed Member, China).

In attendance for particular items were: Bonnie Barber (Publications), Robert Serpell (ISSBD 2010), Elisabeth Susman (Chair, Finance Committee), and Jeffrey Bisanz (ISSBD 2012).

Apologies for absence were received from: Margarita Azmitia, W. Andrew Collins, Serdar Degirmencioglu, Silvia Koller (Appointed Member), Ulman Lindenberger, Joan Miller, Bame Nsamenang (Appointed Member), and Suman Verma (Appointed Member).

1. Opening

The President, Anne C. Petersen, welcomed the EC members and committee chairs, and other invited participants.

2. Minutes of the EC meeting in 2008

The Minutes of the EC Meeting in 2008 in Wuerzburg, Germany were approved. The only note was that the dates of the China workshop have been changed to June 15–17, 2009.

3. President's Report

The President, Anne C. Petersen, summarized her written report for the Society. ISSBD has a very special niche among scientific societies: It is fundamentally international in design, structure (decentralized), and practice. From our recent survey among the ISSBD membership, we learned that the foremost value is ISSBD's international nature (with members from more than 60 countries). ISSBD's elected officers are of diverse national origin (though dominated by Europe & North America); appointed EC members represent membership more broadly. ISSBD is run by volunteers; there is no paid staff (but SAGE Publications provides membership support).

The scientific focus of the ISSBD is human development over the life course. However, the emphasis of publications and meetings has been on the youngest two decades of the life course. Consequently, what are the scientific opportunities on which ISSBD could capitalize? First, the opportunity to advance the scientific frontiers of human development research (e.g., lifespan processes such as gene modification, or the developmental implications of international mobility, among many other areas). Second, the opportunity to extend our focus to the entire lifespan. Third, the opportunity to more systematically draw in members or at least speakers/authors from related disciplines (e.g., demography or public health). Fourth, to have a policy focus. Fifth, to facilitate regional collaborations. The President concluded the report by thanking everyone present. The ISSBD is an organization of volunteers. The effort expended on behalf of the organization is important to its success!

The President's report was approved unanimously by the EC. More details are given in this same issue of the ISSBD Bulletin.

4. Secretary's Report

The Secretary's office has been involved in many aspects of running the Society, such as preparing agendas for and minutes of the Executive Committee meetings, answering a variety of questions from the members of the Society, being involved in the development of the Society's system for on-line voting, disseminating information about the Society to other societies and international publications, providing the organizers of the Biennial Meetings with information about the Society, and furnishing the President and other officers with information concerning the Society's by-laws, previous decisions and other organizational matters.

Besides these activities, the Secretary has arranged for the nominations of three new Executive Committee members and the Young Scholar Representative 2010–2016. The Call for Nominations was carried out by a new system of online voting. In response to the Call for Nominations, a total of 72 nominations were received for 35 different positions (37 including young scholars). The EC discussed possible candidates on the basis of the nominations. The EC also discussed the definition of a Young Scholar. The elections will take place from October 1st to December 1st, 2009.

All this work would not have been possible without support from the University of Jyväskylä and its Department of Psychology, plus the hard work done by Anja Niininen, the Secretary of the Centre of Excellence.

The EC unanimously approved the Secretary's report.

5. Report from the Membership Secretary

SAGE has been taking care of most of the ordinary duties such as the renewal and retention of members. A particular action on the part of Xinyin Chen, the Membership Secretary, was to send a letter to all participants, and after the 2008 meeting to send an email to all the delegates encouraging non-members to join the Society by offering a free membership for one year and other benefits. SAGE is currently working on the renewal campaign for 2009. We will have more information about membership soon.

The Membership secretary will not recommend any changes in the current fee structure to the EC at this time. He will continue to investigate the situation and, if necessary, recommend an adjustment in the future. Decisions about changes in membership fees need to be made by the EC and voted on by the entire membership at the biennial meeting.

ISSBD has Regional Coordinators: China: Huichang Chen; India: Suman Verma; Lithuania: Rita Zukauskiene; Russia: Tatiana Ryabova; and Latin America: Silvia Koller. The Membership Secretary has been in contact with all regional coordinators, except the Russian office. Several months ago, the regional coordinator in China, Huichang Chen, expressed his intention to retire in a couple of years owing to health problems. Because of the importance of China in the Society, it was decided to invite Professor Liqi Zhu from the Institute of Psychology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, to serve on the Executive Committee and to take over the responsibilities of the regional coordinator in China from Huichang gradually. Liqi Zhu has accepted the invitation and has started preparation for the transition.

The Membership Committee is working on recommendations for the regional coordinators.

The number of members increased from 882 in 2007 to 1048 in 2008. This increase is normal during a conference year. The most noticeable increases are from China (136 to 184), the US (192 to 218), Portugal (1 to 15), Zambia (2 to 15), Germany (36 to 49), Australia (26 to 41), and South Korea (8 to 19). No country showed a major decline.

The EC unanimously approved the Membership Secretary's report and welcomed Zhu.

6. Report from the Treasurer

The Treasurer, Ingrid Schoon, reported to the EC as follows:

Due to the changing financial climate following certain political events (e.g., 9/11/2001), financial transactions, particularly those involving foreign individuals and entities, are facing tougher controls and regulations. Banking activities in the US now require US residency, making it impossible for the Treasurer, based in London, to access the accounts. The existing account in the US has been kept alive, to guarantee continuity in the financing of ISSBD activities. Most transactions now have to be made by our President, Anne Petersen, placing an extra burden on her time. Ingrid Schoon thanked her warmly for carrying out this additional task. A new society account has been opened in the UK. Due to the developments in the currency market,

Schoon transferred only a small sum of money from the US to the UK, as otherwise the ISSBD would have suffered a major loss due to variations in the exchange rates. Issues to be considered in any transfer of funds from the US to the UK are tax status, legal status, variable exchange rates and potential transfer fees. Her recommendation for the future would be to install a permanent office in one country, preferably in the EU currency zone or the US, to avoid or reduce any future calamities due to a volatile economic situation.

No changes were made in the investment portfolios, except that a large amount of money was moved from the ISSBD current account into a Certificate of Deposit. The Deposit account proved to give ISSBD a good return, despite the low interest rate. Other ISSBD investments with T. Rowe Price and the Bank of America, on the other hand, suffered significant losses as a consequence of the current financial crisis. An emergency consultation with the Finance Committee was initiated. The advice was not to sell our current shares. One option to be explored further is whether to buy new shares, as the market is currently offering opportunities for buyers as share prices are so low. We could set aside a budget for investment.

Despite losses in our investments, due to the global banking turmoil, the Society's finances are still in good shape. Member dues and royalty payments are expected to decline slightly owing to the current economic climate. Nonetheless, the Society's finances are solid. We should monitor our income, expenditure, and investments more closely during times of economic instability. A financial review and audit would be helpful to gain a better understanding of our financial dealings and options. One crucial step in facilitating proper management of our accounts is to establish a central and permanent office for handling the Society's finances.

The report of the Treasurer and the accounts were approved unanimously by the EC.

7. Report from the Young Scholar Representative

Zena Mello reported that a Young Scholars' Corner, devoted to matters concerning young scholars, has been formed as a section in the ISSBD Bulletin. She has also recruited additional Young Scholar Representatives for ISSBD committees: Publications Committee: Jonathan Santo (Canada); Regional Workshop Committee: Bin-Bin Chen (China); and for the ISSBD Bulletin: Jochebed G. Gayles (USA).

The report of the Young Scholar Representative was approved unanimously by the EC.

8. Publications

8.1. Report from the Publisher, Kerry Barner, SAGE

Kerry Barner from SAGE presented a very detailed Publisher's report on the IJBD, including topics such as the Journal's editorial, production, promotion, marketing,

subscription and circulation services. The extensive report stimulated discussion on a variety of topics among the Members of the EC. From January 2009 to February 2009 SAGE conducted an ISSBD member survey, the results of which were discussed at various meetings at SRCD. A total of 262 members took part in the survey, answering a range of questions on publications, Biennial Meetings and regional workshops, the website and elections, young scholars and ISSBD member services. The survey responses included a large number of positive responses as well as constructive feedback.

The EC applauded Kerry Barner's and SAGE's outstanding report and contribution to the ISSBD.

8.2. Report from the Editor, Marcel van Aken IJBD

International Journal of Behavioral Development
2008 was an excellent year for the *International Journal of Behavioral Development*. The 2007 impact factor rose to 1.171. It has been a full first year for Marcel van Aken as Editor, and his team of Associate Editors, including Bill Bukowski as Editor for the Review Section (van Aken mentioned that this section might change in the future), Brett Laursen as Editor for the Method & Measures Section, and Associate Editors Jaap Denissen, Nathan Fox, Susie Lamborn, Olivier Pascalis and Silvia Sorensen. All issues of the Journal were published on time in 2008. SAGETRACK (Manuscript Central) received 187 original manuscripts in 2008 (an increase of 4% from the previous year) with an average of just over 2 months from submission to final decision (in the previous year this was over 5 months). The acceptance rate was 14%. *IJBD* moved to OnlineFirst in December 2008. The total number of full-text PDF article downloads was 232,839 in 2008 compared to 174,689 in 2007, a very encouraging increase of 33%. *IJBD* is in the top 20 most downloaded journals at SAGE.

In the discussions that followed, Marcel van Aken was gratefully acknowledged.

8.3. Newsletter (now Bulletin) Editors' report from Bonnie Barber

During the EC meetings in summer 2008, it was agreed that Karina Weichold would become the main editor of the ISSBD newsletter (now Bulletin), and Bonnie Barber the consulting editor. Lucy Hahn is responsible for copy editing. The transition towards these new roles went smoothly. The change of name of the ISSBD Newsletter to ISSBD Bulletin was approved by the President and the EC for the May 2009 issue. The Editors hope that the change of the name will help to make this organ of the society even more valued by authors, readers, and ISSBD members. SAGE conducted a membership survey (mentioned above), including questions on the reception of the newsletter, and these suggestions will be taken into account in the future ISSBD Bulletin.

The report of the Bulletin Editors given by Bonnie Barber was unanimously approved.

9. Biennial meetings

9.1. XXth Biennial Meeting in Wuerzburg 2008

Wolfgang Schneider reported on the final outcome of the Wuerzburg Meeting. Besides being successful scientifically, the Meeting attracted 1231 participants from 53 counties.. Eighty young scholars were funded. Of the participants, 788 were non-members, and 453 were members. Delegates who were not already ISSBD members were offered a 'membership package' in which they received one year's membership of ISSBD at no extra cost. A total of 152 delegates took advantage of this offer. In addition, two excellent preconferences took place before the Meeting. By all indicators, the Meeting was a great success.

The EC applauded Wolfgang Schneider and his team for their splendid efforts in organizing the XXth Biennial meeting.

9.2. XXIst Biennial meeting in Lusaka, 2010

Robert Serpell introduced the current situation of the Lusaka meeting to take place in Zambia in 2010. It will be the first conference in Africa, thus creating a big opportunity and challenge. Serpell and his team have progressed well in the organizing of the meeting.

They will also arrange tourism packages. Zambia boasts some of the continent's most impressively stocked game parks (Luangwa, Kafue, etc.) which can be reached by road or by air and offer a range of accommodation from luxury lodges to camping sites. Post-conference tourism packages will be advertised on the conference website and organized by a sub-contracted events organizing firm. The Committee is already in touch with several Lusaka-based candidate firms, which have wide experience in organizing conferences and tourism. The conference has a webpage: www.unza.zm. In addition to ordinary tourism packages they are planning to organize tours to kindergartens, schools, etc. The EC discussed the report and advised Serpell on how to best organize the scientific program, the software for the review process, and the timetable.

The EC applauded Serpell's efforts in organizing the XXIst Biennial meeting.

President Petersen reminded the EC that three proposals had been received for 2010; the proposal from Zambia was recommended by the EC subcommittee, and approved by the EC. ISSBD offered 2009 workshops to the other two proposers (China accepted).

Following a discussion on the preconference workshops by the EC, the President appointed a subcommittee to plan these events. The subcommittee members are Marcel van Aken, Toni Antonucci, and Zena Mello.

9.3. XXIInd Biennial meeting, 2012

President Petersen again contacted the leads for China and Canada for 2012 to determine interest. Both were interested but wanted us to accept one of them on the basis of their prior proposals. The EC discussed the relative merits of the two locations (as well as other possibilities.) The discussion concluded with the understanding that the Steering Committee (Officers) would make the decision soon.

9.3.1. Canada, Edmonton

Jeffrey Bisanz introduced the EC to the region of Edmonton and the University of Alberta as a possible place for the ISSBD Biennial meeting 2012.

9.4. Biennial Meeting Guidelines

In addition, there was a discussion of problems with the Biennial Meeting guidelines. The President asked Ann Sanson and Wolfgang Schneider to make recommendations to the EC on changes needed in the Biennial Meeting guidelines, including the financial arrangements.

10. Committees

10.1. Awards

Toni Antonucci was nominated as Chair of the Awards Committee for the Lusaka 2010 meeting. She agreed to serve.

10.2. Finance

Chair Liz Susman gave a report on the Finance Committee to the EC. This committee works with the Treasurer to review investments and develop investment policy, and will provide advice on D&O insurance, US non-profit filings (form 990), and financial transactions and institutions. It will also review the budget, as proposed, and recommend actions to the EC. The Finance Committee has been involved primarily in assisting the President and Treasurer in gaining access to the various ISSBD accounts and, recently, discussing investment policy. Given the post-911 changes in banking rules, access to US financial institutions has become exceedingly difficult. Specifically, only citizens or permanent residents can write checks on the Citizens Bank account (located in State College, PA, USA). The President and Chair of the Finance Committee currently have access to the Citizens Bank account. The Committee suggests that a short-term investment plan be implemented immediately. It is crucial to implement a plan given that there are now "bargains" in the equities markets. The committee acknowledges the risks involved in investing in this uncertain economic climate. Nonetheless, the recommendation is to act now under the assumption that over the long run the ISSBD will reap long-term gains. A short-term investment plan might consist of something like the following: an amount to be maintained in cash; an amount to be invested in stocks and fixed income opportunities; and the funds to be managed by a reputable entity.

The EC applauded Susman's efforts on ISSBD finance issues.

10.3. Membership

Ann Sanson, Chair of the Membership Committee, reported on membership issues to the EC. The Committee works with the Membership Secretary (Xinyin Chen) on membership recruitment strategies, including obtaining better coverage of the lifespan, greater diversity of fields, improved recruitment of human development scholars from outside the US, Canada, and Europe, and receiving more young scholars. The Committee also works with the Membership Secretary to formulate policy recommendations about membership fees for regional members.

The following broad issues of concern were noted: an aging membership in Europe and the US; low membership in many developing countries; unstable membership (members joining for 1–2 years and then lapsing); a fee structure based on out-of-date World Bank data; the existence of regional/country representatives in some places but not others (and they operate in diverse ways, with no clear roles and responsibilities); the lack of knowledge about what members want, need and expect from their ISSBD membership; the low attendance at the Biennial Meeting; and the fact that membership is not made attractive enough to entice scholars to join the Society when attending the conference.

After discussion, the Committee agreed to recommend to the Executive Committee that the titles for the three categories of fees should be changed so that Category I = low income, Category II = lower-middle income, and Category III = upper-middle income. Eligible countries not currently on the ISSBD list should be added to it. The dues for Reduced Regional Membership should be re-adjusted in line with the changes in the 2007 World Bank lists (while recognizing that the Executive Committee would need to discuss this further).

The importance of recruiting and engaging young scholars was strongly endorsed. There was discussion about whether early career researchers (e.g., within 3 to 5 years of completing their PhDs) should be categorized along with students in terms of the fees payable. It was noted that some early career researchers have not yet secured employment and are financially hard-pressed, whereas others are in well-paid positions and may feel slightly insulted by being categorized as students. It was suggested that a clause which would allow young scholars in a situation of financial hardship to make a case for fee reduction to the Membership Secretary could be developed, but this was not favored by all.

It was noted that reductions in conference registration fees may be more important than reductions in membership fees.

Further ideas suggested for increasing membership were: to encourage older members to explicitly and personally encourage their students to become members, and to work with national organizations to arrange joint subscriptions, combined membership and shared activities.

10.4. Regional/Country Coordinators

It was noted that there are representatives for 7 countries/regions, who have varying amounts of contact with the ISSBD and varying ways of operating. It was agreed that some definition of their roles and regularization of their activities was needed, and that guidelines should be developed and discussed by the Committee, then forwarded to the Executive Committee for consideration.

This proposal was approved. The EC applauded Sanson's efforts on ISSBD Membership issues.

10.5. Regional Workshops

Suman Verma and Catherine Cooper submitted a written report on regional workshops. There are currently 7 ISSBD Regional Coordinators, in India, China, Belarus, Lithuania, Russia, Indonesia, and East/Central/West Africa. In general terms, they are expected to act as a bridge between the ISSBD and the regional membership.

There is no established process for the selection of Regional Coordinators, nor is there a specified term of office. There are also no reporting requirements.

The level and nature of the activity amongst Regional Coordinators varies. In relation to dues, some have little or no contact with SAGE (which is responsible for the collection of dues). Some organize the collection of dues and send them directly to SAGE; one organizes the collection of dues and takes a percentage of the dues (20%) to cover their costs of administration; one organizes the collection of dues and retains the dues to cover regional activities; and some are not directly involved in the collection of dues at all. In relation to other activities, there seems to be considerable variation but the lack of any formal reporting requirements means that knowledge of these is patchy. Coverage of regions is obviously incomplete.

Verma and Cooper suggested guidelines that clarify the roles and expectations of Regional Coordinators. It is recognized that roles may differ to some extent across regions.

Dues: Responsibilities regarding the collection of membership dues will vary from region to region. In countries/regions where currency issues make it difficult for individuals to pay dues directly to SAGE, it should be the responsibility of the Regional Coordinator to collect the dues and forward them to SAGE at the start of each year. In regions without currency restrictions, the Regional Coordinator's role would be simply to encourage the payment of dues by members.

Recruitment: Regional Coordinators are expected to promote the ISSBD and to encourage new members to join. The strategies for doing this will vary across regions but might include working with national professional organizations to arrange joint subscriptions, combined memberships, and/or joint activities, and urging existing members to encourage their students to become members, via personal invitations.

Services to members: Regional Coordinators are expected to help members in the region to reap the benefits of ISSBD membership. This might be done by organizing local networking meetings, seminars, or professional development events, by providing scholarships to support attendance at ISSBD conferences and workshops, and by encouraging the submission of applications to host ISSBD workshops.

When activities will incur a cost, Regional Coordinators should submit a proposal to the ISSBD. A specified budget allocation will be put aside to support such activities.

Regional Coordinators must submit a report to the Membership Secretary on an annual basis, prior to the Business Meeting at the Biennial Meeting. This should include, where relevant, a financial statement of income and expenditure. The work of the Regional Coordinators will be regularly acknowledged, e.g., at the ISSBD Business Meeting and in publications such as the Bulletin. Regional Coordinators will receive a formal letter of acknowledge-ment from the President. In regions where the Regional Coordinator is involved in the collection and forwarding of dues, they would be paid 10% of the total dues collected to cover their administrative costs. A call for nominations (including self-nominations) for the position of Regional Coordinator will be made in the Bulletin. It is the responsibility of the President and Membership Secretary to make the final decisions about successful candidates. Regional Coordinators should normally be appointed for a period of 2 years, with the option of being invited by the President to continue for up to 3 sequential terms (6 years).

The coverage of low-income regions by Regional Coordinators should be expanded. A goal might be to have Regional Coordinators in place in all Category 3 (and perhaps Category 2)[1] countries with 10+ members, and/or in regions made up of predominantly Category 3 and 2 countries with 20+ members, by the end of 2010. The value of having regional and/or country coordinators in developed countries should be further explored. Some of their responsibilities would clearly differ.

10.6. Fellowship Awards

The Chair of the Awards Committee, Peter Smith, was not able to be present but President Petersen shared the final version, now on the ISSBD website, soliciting applications for the three Developing Country Fellowships (DCFs) (approved last year by the EC). The purpose of the DCFs is to encourage sustainable development of activities congruent with the aims of the ISSBD in developing countries and assist the professional development of early career scholars in such countries. These will be announced/presented at the ISSBD 2010 meeting in Lusaka.

11. Workshops

11.1. 2009 workshops: Kenya Workshop

The 8th African regional workshop hosted by Maseno University, Kisumu, Kenya, will be held from 30 November to 2 December, 2009. The venue will be the Kisumu Hotel and Maseno University Conference Centre. Dr. Paul Odhiambo Oburu is the Chair. The Workshop Theme is *Building African graduate students' capacity in human development research*.

11.2. 2009 workshops: China Workshop

Theme: *Social and emotional development in societies undergoing change*, 22–24 July, 2009. Hosted by the Research centre for Learning science, Southeast University, Nanjing, P.R. China.

Organizers: Prof Zuhong Lu, Co-Chairs: Huichang Chen, Beijing Normal University and Xinyin Chen, University of Western Ontario, Canada.

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[1] Category 3 countries are classified as 'Low income' by the World Bank and Category 2 are classified as 'Low middle income'. Members in countries in these categories pay reduced fees.

11.3. 2009 workshops: Asia Pacific Workshop

ISSBD Asia Pacific Workshop titled *Human development in the context of movement within and across national boundaries* will take place at Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia, 4–5 July, 2009. Organizing Committee of the workshop: Dr Julie Robinson, Flinders University, Australia and Prof Ann Sanson, University of Melbourne, Australia.

12. Next meeting of the EC

The next meeting will take place one day before the next ISSBD Meeting in Lusaka, Zambia on 17 July, 2010.

13. Other relevant business

The possibility of having a credit card for the ISSBD was discussed. All the EC members approved the idea.

In addition, Arnold Sameroff raised the issue of creating an operations manual for the EC.

Katariina Salmela-Aro
Secretary

The ISSBD Regional Workshop Study: Insights from 19 Nations

Catherine R. Cooper
University of California, Santa Cruz, USA
E-mail: ccooper@ucsc.edu

and

Suman Verma
Government Home Science College, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India
E-mail: suman992003@yahoo.com

Over its 40-year history, the ISSBD has sponsored over twenty regional workshops to advance its mission to include and engage a global community of developmental scholars. In 2007, ISSBD launched a study to ask how these workshops can become even more effective. To do so, thirty workshop organizers and participants, representing a wide range of regions and past workshops, were invited to respond to a survey regarding strengths and ways to improve these workshops. The survey was available on a website and through email, and included Likert ratings and open-ended question formats. This paper highlights findings from the survey and their implications, and summarizes an invited symposium at the 2008 ISSBD meetings that focused on issues emerging from the survey.

Taken together, survey respondents had organized and/or attended ISSBD regional workshops in 19 nations, spanning Africa (Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Zambia, Namibia, Uganda, South Africa); South Asia (Indonesia, India); East Asia (Korea, China); Eastern Europe (Poland; Hungary; Czechoslovakia; Russia, Estonia); the Middle East (Israel); and Latin America (Brazil, Peru), as well as North America (Canada); Western Europe (Finland, Belgium); and Australia. These comprise a majority of regional workshops ISSBD has convened (Hartup, 1996; Silbereisen, 2003).

Respondents were well satisfied with workshops they attended, and a wealth of useful findings emerged in their responses to open-ended questions. Across regions, recommendations converged for four steps: facilitating regional collaborations by forming research groups and creating opportunities for resource sharing; capacity building among young scholars by providing avenues for professional growth, greater inter-connectivity, and institutional placements; mentoring by identifying more senior scholars for this role in regional and global contexts; forming regional centers of excellence; and moving beyond "training" to developing collaborations.

At the 2008 ISSBD meetings in Würzburg, Germany, an invited symposium built on these findings and addressed the following themes: How can ISSBD regional workshops become more effective and culturally relevant? How can ISSBD facilitate regional collaborations and resource sharing? How can ISSBD play a proactive role in capacity building among young scholars? How can we make ISSBD truly an international organization by building on human resources at the regional level? What sustainable strategies will work in each region?

Our symposium convened distinguished leaders of regional workshops to discuss these issues. We present highlights from these leaders–Avi Sagi-Schwartz, Israel; Rita Žukauskienė, Lithuania; Therese Mungah Shalo Tchombe, Cameroon; Silvia Koller, Brazil; Tao Sha, China; and Suman Verma, India; with reflections from ISSBD President Anne Petersen. As regional workshops continue–including those held in China and Australia in 2009, both senior and young scholars who participated in these workshops will report their observations in the *Bulletin*. Building on what we learn from ISSBD regional workshops will enrich global perspectives for developmental science, practices, and policies.

Avi Sagi-Schwartz
University of Haifa, Israel
E-mail: sagi@psy.haifa.ac.il

This report describes experiences with crafting and implementing a joint Israeli-Palestinian workshop on "Chronic exposure to catastrophic war experiences and political violence: Links to the wellbeing of children and their families", held in East Jerusalem in May, 2005, and sponsored by ISSBD, Al Quds University, the University of Haifa, and the Peres Center for Peace. More than 100 participants attended, with equal representation by Palestinians, Israelis, and scholars from war zones such as Iraq, Rwanda, Croatia, Kosovo, Northern Ireland, Kenya, and Ethiopia, as well as researchers from the UK, the Netherlands, and the US. Papers addressed challenges of life under extreme violence and reported several joint Israeli-Palestinian projects. Sessions provided ample opportunities for informal discussions, notably among Palestinian and Israeli scholars.

One major result of this unique workshop, highlighting a mutual quest for cooperation, was a special issue in *IJBD* in July 2008. Guided by a commitment to a joint publication in developmental psychology, three organizers–a Palestinian, Ziad Abdeen, Al Quds University, and two Israelis, Abraham Sagi-Schwartz and Rachel Seginer, University of Haifa, worked together as guest editors. Other valuable outcomes were establishing a network of scholars working in a highly conflictual war zone, making strategic decisions (e.g., selecting a venue), creating a functional organizing committee, designing the workshop program, selecting speakers and attendees, addressing financial issues, and maintaining post-workshop contacts.

The organizing committee, comprising Palestinians and Israelis, worked together like an orchestra: each contributed in his/her capacity, and experiences were professionally and personally rewarding. Genuine partnerships and personal contacts also developed among participants. This was exactly the kind of dialogue and exchange the organizing committee hoped would take place.

Rita Žukauskienė
Mykolas Romeris University, Lithuania
E-mail: rzukausk@gmail.com

Regional workshops offer tremendous opportunities for learning and professional collaboration. Typically, workshops introduce scholars to new methods, and enable them to update areas of research and review given topics. By including young scholars from developing and underdeveloped countries, workshops can promote unity and collaboration. The current format mostly includes lectures by prominent scholars. Senior researchers deliver formal addresses and lead discussions, while junior scholars present posters or short papers on topics related to workshop themes.

More emphasis could be placed on *interactive communication* among students and between students and teachers. To facilitate collaboration, more time should be available for students and post-docs to present insights, listen to each other's research to get ideas about combining datasets or expertise (statistical or otherwise), work together on one dataset, and plan new comparative studies. Students' ideas should be presented to audiences and elucidated in informal discussion. Each group can give summaries and plans for future collaborations. Studies presented by young scholars should be in areas of invited scholars' research expertise. Therefore, *selection of participants* should be based on their regions and research areas. Advanced lectures, taking place after student activities, would help students link their studies and collaborative plans to leaders who could be mentors during ISSBD meetings. Sessions with students and teachers could *focus on regional perspectives and research priorities*, on studies conducted by centers of excellence, or on key issues in behavioral development, prevention, or intervention strategies. This forum could identify and discuss regional issues and priorities in human development research.

Therese Mungah Shalo Tchombe
University of Buea/CRCFDE
E-mail: tmtchombe@yahoo.co.uk

Capacity building in both quantitative and qualitative research that addresses indigenous issues will help ensure that policy in Africa will henceforth take its cues from contextual frameworks, philosophy, and patterns. Colonial patterns and ideologies still dominate African reflections, making the application of African scholarship inadequate. African scholars, young and old, require retraining if an authentic African voice is to be presented to the world research arena. ISSBD workshops have provided opportunities for exchanging knowledge, experiences, and good practices. With the authority of ISSBD in cognition and finance, scholars from the North have responsibilities to mentor those from the South without making them feel inferior.

The research challenges for Africa are quality and standards. ISSBD research has addressed health, education, culture, beliefs and knowledge, economics and politics, and development, focusing on multidisciplinary approaches to ensure sustainability of knowledge, values, and practices. Yaoundé, Cameroon, was the cradle of the first ISSBD regional workshop in Africa in 1992, initiated by Professor Bame Nsamenang; four others have been organized.

These workshops were effective because the skills and resources offered were adequate and contributed to professional development. However, African scholarship in refereed journals is still limited, thus causing young African scholars to be overlooked. Difficulties in conducting authentic research may stem from deficient access to research methods, literature, and mentoring, and from inadequate dissemination of findings. Networking is essential to promote the sharing of developmental and behavioral knowledge through skilled scholarly writing and publication in Afro-centric research. Collaborations with universities and departments of psychology should be promoted.

Tao Sha
Beijing Normal University, China
E-mail: taosha@bnu.edu.cn

What do people from all over the world want from an international organization like ISSBD? The answer may be accessible platforms for communicating and learning from each other, with better ways to solve problems through communication and learning. Integrating international, regional, and locally relevant efforts allows these approaches to help support local solutions and sustainable working models.

Aligning core issues with regional approaches is critical for ISSBD to become more locally relevant. Collaborating with local organizations is efficient and practical. In 1994, an ISSBD satellite workshop was held in Beijing in collaboration with the Psychological Society of China. Topics in seminars and roundtables included divorce and only children. This workshop convened local and international researchers in a wonderful platform for communication. Professor Meng Zhao-lan as chair, and colleagues from both ISSBD (e.g., Professor J.J. Campos) and Chinese

At the 1994 Beijing workshop, participants discuss a seminar.

At the 2000 ISSBD conference in Beijing, Professors Meng Zhao-lan (middle) and J.J. Campos (left) meet with young scholars.

universities and organizations contributed to this successful workshop. In 1995, ISSBD and the Developmental Psychology Branch of the Psychological Society of China jointly organized the national conference on developmental psychology, offering Chinese researchers and graduate students opportunities to know ISSBD, and integrated ISSBD's experience and efforts to meet local needs. In 2000, the ISSBD conference was held in Beijing. Its success came from close collaboration with local universities and organizations. In 2005, the central government created the National Key Laboratory for Cognitive Neuroscience and Learning, offering mutually beneficial opportunities for ISSBD and local societies. Their mutual involvement will help both sides and make local realities relevant in effective ways. Finally, web-based platforms and information centers can expand influence by sharing regional and other workshops among members worldwide.

Sílvia H. Koller
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil
E-mail: silvia.koller@gmail.com

The Workshop on Advancing Inter-American Collaboration in Human Development Research, Methodology and Training was organized in June 2007, in Gramado, Brazil, by Brett Laursen (USA), William Bukowski (Canada), and Carolina Lisboa and Silvia Koller (Brazil). Twenty-five

ISSBD-sponsored scholars attended from Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Mexico, and the United States. The workshop benefited attendees as well as research, the profession, and the larger local community.

This regional workshop was effective and culturally relevant, allowing exchange of information and effective presentations; enabling future collaborations and an enhanced knowledge base; building international relationships; empowering young scholars, lessening gaps between them and senior scientists; and offering enjoyable social and cultural events.

ISSBD played a proactive role in the capacity building of young scholars by providing avenues for their professional growth, greater inter-connectivity, and institutional placements. The ISSBD goals to provide opportunities to learn from senior scientists were achieved, especially with regard to creating and developing international projects and networks. Strategies for accessing senior scientists and addressing methodological issues were important for young scholars.

The impact of a workshop can be judged in the years that follow. It is safe to say that connections and experiences gained in Brazil are lasting, as evident in collaborations already launched among group members. Most of the young and senior scholars continue to keep in touch after two years. Future workshops that will allow junior scholars to interact with senior/young scholars are encouraging and essential to enrich the academic landscape for all.

Suman Verma
Government Home Science College, Panjab
University, Chandigarh, India
E-mail: suman992003@yahoo.com

The two workshops organized in India resulted in partnerships with other professional organizations at the local level, with multi-disciplinary scholars acting as resources and participants. Strengthening the interface among research, policy, and practice helped bridge gaps among researchers and practitioners with effective inputs from non-government organizations (NGOs), resulting in dissemination and networking at regional levels.

ISSBD could facilitate regional collaborations by forming research groups and creating opportunities for resource sharing. Capacity-building avenues for professional growth of young scholars, greater connectivity, and institutional placements among students and faculty can be planned. Mentoring, provided by identifying senior scholars at regional and global levels, could be crucial in regional centers of excellence that respond to cultural needs.

This multi-level project might begin as a pilot project with one or two institutions to build regional empowerment, human resource sharing, and research infrastructure. Possible strategies for supporting regional teams include networking, capturing regional perspectives, measures for overcoming financial constraints, and developing an online data bank to build research infrastructure. ISSBD could explore establishing a Regional Planning Committee to disseminate information and reach out to regional centers. The data bank could include information about ISSBD

members, allied NGOs, and funding/supporting agencies. The Regional Planning Committee could help identify regional needs by organizing workshops, discussion groups, and needs assessment in collaboration with regional centers; provide consultation in proposal writing and publishing in respected journals; and link researchers and funding agencies. Such initiatives could promote ISSBD becoming truly international with a regional developmental focus.

Anne Petersen
President, ISSBD, University of Michigan, USA
E-mail: apetersen@casbs.stanford.edu

Thanks so much to Suman and Catherine for the excellent effort in leading the research and reporting of the ISSBD Regional Workshop Study. On behalf of ISSBD, I thank you for your outstanding work. You have provided to the ISSBD leadership and membership much important and useful information about our regional workshops and how we can improve them. ISSBD has invested a significant portion of our funds in these workshops. For many members, this is their contact with ISSBD, as the biennial meetings are more difficult (and often too expensive) to attend. Therefore, it's very important that we understand the role these workshops play for members.

Further, as reflected in this *Bulletin* article and in my President's article in this issue, there is a tremendous opportunity to take such efforts even further. At the 2008 symposium, Suman shared a very ambitious vision for where we might go with our efforts. I find her thoughts very exciting. At the same time, I'm sobered by the challenge it is to achieve this vision–but that's what a good vision is for: to cause us to reach high.

The role proposed for ISSBD in collaborative research is more achievable now than ever before. Cyberinfrastructure is available to support such goals. Yet it is expensive and requires expertise. I'm hoping many members will take initiative to create such cyberinfrastructure for ISSBD, raise funds, and identify the necessary expertise. These goals cannot be accomplished without such collaborative efforts. Such efforts will assure the result will serve ISSBD members.

Thanks again to the two of you, your committee, and all who participated in this excellent symposium. Such work will make ISSBD even more effective on behalf of researchers around the world!

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Workshop Reports

Appreciating the Mutually Beneficial Relevance between the International and the Regional

A Unique Experience at the 2009 ISSBD Workshop in Nanjing, China

Qian Wang
Department of Psychology
The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong
Special Administrative Region, China
E-mail: qianwang@psy.cuhk.edu.hk

The International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development (ISSBD) Regional Workshop on "Social and Emotional Development in Changing Societies" was held at Southeast University, Nanjing, People's Republic of China, from June 15th to 17th, 2009. Being a young scholar participant who grew up in Mainland China, obtained PhD training in the United States and now works in Hong Kong as an Assistant Professor in Psychology, I was particularly excited about and appreciative of the fruitful exchanges and collaborations that have been taking place between Western and Chinese scholars, which were impressively highlighted at this workshop.

First of all, the wonderful presentations of internationally renowned scholars from Western countries undoubtedly brought great benefits to keen-to-learn postgraduate students from different parts of China, who constituted the majority of the participants. As far as I know, despite recent progress and improvement in many aspects in higher education in Mainland China, postgraduate students there still do not have many opportunities to attend international conferences and they may even have difficulty accessing the most updated literature in their areas of research. At this workshop, presentations by scholars from the United States, Canada and Germany as well as Japan provided the audience with pithy yet systematic information on state-of-the-art theory and research on social and emotional development, which was indeed an invaluable experience for all of the participants, especially the students.

What was actually more stimulating to me was the fact that a number of presentations clearly showed how research conducted in China could significantly enhance the scientific understanding of social and emotional development of children across cultures as well as open up new lines of queries of both theoretical and practical import. For example, more than a decade of work by Dr. Xinyin Chen at the University of Western Ontario, Canada and his Chinese collaborators on the functional relevance of shyness to Chinese (vs. Canadian) children's socio-emotional functioning not only has contributed a critical cultural perspective to the field but also has keenly brought due attention to the role of historical societal changes in child development. Furthermore, I learned at the workshop about some most recent collaborations between Western and Chinese researchers such as a cross-cultural longitudi-

nal project on child and adolescent development jointly conducted by New York University, in the United States and Southeast University, in China, which is a rather remarkable endeavor because it involves multiple cohorts of children from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds in each country. As a young scholar who is just starting a career in Hong Kong, a place which is believed to be where

Visiting the Research Center of Southeast University and introducing the "Learning by Doing Project" (here with Professor Rainer K. Silbereisen) in China.

Professor Ronald Rapee answers questions for participants.

Poster session.

"West meets East", I was greatly inspired by all of this and indeed considered my experience at this workshop quite unique in comparison to that at conferences which are relatively less devoted to bridging the international and the regional.

To conclude this short essay reflecting on my experience at the workshop, I would like to once again thank the Society and the organizing committee of this workshop in particular for making this excellent event possible; I would also like to extend my best wishes to the Society as it plans more such events in the future!

ISSBD Asia Pacific Workshop, July 4–5th, 2009. A Delegate's Perspective

Jacinta Poskey
Australia
E-mail: jacinta.poskey@unisa.edu.au

This Adelaide-based Asia-Pacific Workshop: Human Development in the Context of Movement within and across National Boundaries, July 4–5th, 2009 was an enjoyable event. The ISSBD forum gathered researchers from India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, China, South Korea, New Zealand and Australia. As an attendee I found the opportunity to share research with others from across the Asia Pacific region in a multidisciplinary forum to be stimulating from start to finish.

The event began with a guided tour of the Adelaide Migration Museum. The tour provided a range of exhibitions describing individuals, family households and community group experiences within a political history of multiculturalism in South Australia. During the Flinders University Art Gallery Reception we were entertained and kept laughing by Auntie Josie (Kaurna elder) and Mr Hieu Van Le (Lieutenant Governor of South Australia). Auntie Josie provides a *Welcome to Country* on behalf of Kaurna elders, the indigenous people of the Adelaide plains. Welcome Reception, Friday 3 July, 2009.

Day one keynote addresses by Professor Graeme Hugo, Professor Hyewon Park Choi and Professor Brenda S.A. Yeoh presented research about population flows, the settlement of population, and human development in contexts of migration. Common to all keynote presentations was the identification of political, cultural, ecological and economic factors currently affecting human movements within and across national boundaries.

Afternoon Keynote addresses by Professor Colleen Ward and Sandy Gifford highlighted the importance of the constitution of "settlement" to both sending and receiving communities. Workshop programming carefully provided a structure in which delegates explored and discovered shared research goals with local, national and overseas colleagues. Two very well attended and lively poster sessions opened up intimate opportunities to share both research findings and questions.

On day two workshop presentations by Bonnie Barber, Graham Davidson, Paul Jose, Robert Coplan, and Mark Israel were very well received. This event served to highlight diverse population flows within the Asia-Pacific region and the presence of skilled social researchers

concerned for human development in migration contexts over the life course.

The forum concluded with a majority of attendees voicing support for "a community of research" beyond our initial meeting. On behalf of the delegate group I thank Julie Robinson of Flinders University, Adelaide for continuing to broker information via a large and growing global email list. Thanks are also extended to the Australian Human Development Association for assisting to provide both funds and the social space required to make this event the success that it was. In conclusion I report that whilst this initial event finished on the 5th of July, communication between delegates locally, nationally and globally continues.

2009 ISSBD Asia-Pacific Workshop

Human development in the context of movement within and across national boundaries. Adelaide, Australia, July 4–5.

Julie Robinson
Flinders University, Australia
E-mail: julie.robinson@flinders.edu.au

This was the first time in memory that an ISSBD workshop has been held in Australia and we were delighted to host it at Flinders University in Adelaide, South Australia. The workshop was convened by Ann Sanson (University of Melbourne) and Julie Robinson (Flinders University) and was funded by ISSBD and the local organising committee of the 2006 ISSBD Meeting held in Melbourne.

The theme of the workshop focused attention on the consequences that movement within and across national boundaries has on human development for those who are left behind, those who move, and those who live in receiving communities.

A total of 65 people attended the workshop. Thanks to a generous scholarship program, many students and researchers from nations with currency restrictions were

Mr Hieu Van Le (Lieutenant Governor of South Australia) shares a dramatic moment in the story of his arrival in Australia as a Vietnamese asylum-seeker as he officially opens the ISSBD Asia-Pacific Workshop. Flinders University Art Museum, Friday 3 July, 2009.

Welcome Reception, Flinders University Art Museum, Friday 3 July, 2009.

Professor Faith Trent (Dean, Faculty of Education, Humanities, Law and Theology), Mr Hieu Van Le (Lieutenant Governor of South Australia), Dr Julie Robinson (Co-convener, ISSBD Workshop), Professor Michael Barber (Vice-Chancellor, Flinders University), and Professor Ann Sanson (Co-convener, ISSBD Workshop; representative of the ISSBD Executive Committee) at the Welcome Reception, Flinders University Art Museum, Friday 3 July, 2009.

Invited speakers included Professor Brenda Yeoh (National University of Singapore), Professor Graeme Hugo (University of Adelaide) and Professor Hyewon Park Choi (University of Ulsan, Korea).

Invited speakers Professor Sandy Gifford (LaTrobe University, Australia) and Colleen Ward (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand) chat during a break.

geography, psychology, sociology, social work, health, population studies, law, education, women's studies, urban planning and cultural studies. It also included researchers working in university, government and NGO contexts.

Many previous ISSBD workshops have focused on recruiting early career researchers. However, feedback suggests that regional empowerment and the development of teams that build research resources require relationships between senior, mid-career, and early career scholars. Therefore, this workshop actively sought to recruit delegates at diverse points in their careers.

Delegates' research presentations were also very diverse. They addressed the movement of people within countries (as a result of urbanization, natural disaster, or violent conflict), the "temporary" movement of people across national boundaries (as international students and guest workers) and the "permanent" movement of people across national boundaries (as marriage migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, skilled migrants and people who have been "trafficked"). Both qualitative and quantitative research projects were represented.

On the evening before the workshop began, delegates were invited to participate in a free guided tour of the South Australian Migration Museum and to attend a Welcome Reception at the nearby Flinders University City Art Museum. The reception was sponsored by the Faculty of

able to attend. As a result, the participants were very diverse in terms of nationality, including delegates from India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Papua-New Guinea, Philippines, China, Korea, and New Zealand. In addition, nineteen delegates from within Australia received registration scholarships. This allowed students from most states in Australia to attend.

The workshop was also a truly multidisciplinary meeting. It included perspectives from demography,

Discussions during a poster session (From left: Susanne Schech, Shirley Worland, Ann Sanson, Won Oh Choi).

Jin Sun (University of Hong Kong) discusses her research on parenting among rural migrants to Beijing with invited speaker, Professor Brenda Yeoh (National University of Singapore).

Social Sciences and the Faculty of Education, Humanities, Law and Theology at Flinders University. During the reception, Mr Hieu Van Le (Lieutenant Governor of South Australia) officially opened the workshop. This was particularly appropriate to the theme of the workshop, since Mr Le arrived in Australia as an asylum seeker from Vietnam. Since then, he has been awarded an Australia Day Medal for outstanding service to the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC) and a Centenary of Federation Medal for service to the advancement of multiculturalism.

The first day of the workshop program was opened by a *Welcome to Country* by Mr Lewis O'Brien, an elder of the Kuarna people, the traditional owners of the Adelaide plains. Julie Robinson then provided an overview of the purpose and program for the workshop and how these related to the findings of an evaluation of previous ISSBD workshops conducted by Catherine Cooper and Suman Verma. Feedback from previous workshops indicated that the most useful aspect of workshops for career development was the building of relationships. To foster such relationships, all participants attended the same sessions on the first day. In previous workshops, this arrangement resulted in extended discussion between invited speakers and delegates and among delegates. The common program included oral presentations by five invited speakers (Graeme Hugo, Hyewon Park Choi, Brends Yeoh, Colleen Ward and Sandy Gifford) and poster presentations by all other presenters. To ensure adequate time for discussion of each delegate's research, there were two dedicated poster sessions of 70 minutes duration each.

The program for the second day of the workshop focused on building research capacity. In response to feedback about previous ISSBD workshops, some sessions were specifically designed to address the needs of early career scholars and their career development. There was a common program before morning tea. This consisted of a presentation on planning to achieve personal research goals by Julie Robinson and a session in which researchers had the opportunity to "meet the editors" (or former editors) of three journals that publish manuscripts relating to human development in the context of internal or international migration (Robert Coplan, Colleen Ward and Graham Davidson). Before lunch, delegates used their research plan from the morning session to select from parallel streams focusing on: applying for research grants (Bonnie Barber); preparing tests and other research instruments for use with culturally and linguistically diverse mobile populations (Graham Davidson); and analysis of statistical mediation (Paul Jose). After lunch, participants selected from parallel sessions on: what to write to the journal editor (Robert Coplan); ethical issues in research with vulnerable populations (Mark Israel); and analysis of statistical moderation (Paul Jose). The day closed with round table discussions involving all delegates. There were three topics: barriers to research in the field and ways in which these might be overcome, future directions of interest to participants, and strategies for on-going networking and collaboration.

In line with conclusions from previous workshops, this workshop was viewed as one of a series of interconnected strategies that would be necessary to facilitate and sustain individual, network, and institutional development. Thus, the workshop booklet was designed to be a resource to assist delegates in further development. It provided key references relating to the special ethical issues that need to be addressed in the field. In addition, in order to facilitate the formation of research collaborations and create opportunities for resource sharing, the booklet included the initial stage of a register of researchers interested in human development in the context of movement within and across national boundaries, including those who were unable to attend the workshop, and information about specialist journals, research centres and research clusters.

The workshop appears to have produced some positive outcomes. It was very positively received by delegates. The mean rating of the extent to which each of nine objectives was met was greater than 4 on a 5-point scale. The workshop has already led to a submission for a small grant to facilitate a collaborative research project between two previously unacquainted researchers. News items are now shared among delegates via an email distribution list. In addition, a number of the initiatives identified during the round table discussions are being explored and it is planned to expand the register of researchers over the next year. (If you or your colleagues have an interest in research relating to human development in the context of movement within and across national boundaries and would like to be included in this register, which is not restricted to scholars within the Asia-Pacific region, please contact Julie Robinson at julie.robinson@flinders.edu.au.)

News

ISSBD 2010: An Intersection of Multiple Agendas

Planning the scientific program of the 21st biennial congress of the ISSBD over the past six months has been a challenging and stimulating activity, affording opportunities to engage with scholars of many different persuasions in very interesting ways that revealed a wide range of intellectual and sociopolitical preoccupations.

1. Manifestation and Promotion of the Scientific Study of Behavioral Development across the Lifespan

From the outset, this was the most obvious agenda. Our search for quality in deciding on the invitations to extend to distinguished scholars around the world raised issues of a philosophical, theoretical and methodological nature, as well as issues of relevance to regional and international concerns of a socio-political character, e.g. gender, culture, poverty and disease. In arriving at our shortlist of invitees, we consulted widely among the three planning Committees (whose composition is listed on the congress website at www.issbd2010.com): the International Scientific Programme Committee, the African Research Advisory Panel, and the Local Organising Committee at the University of Zambia (UNZA).

2. Promotion of Interdisciplinary Understanding and Cross-Fertilisation of Ideas

The concept of interdisciplinary understanding and cross-fertilization became one thematic agenda informing the constitution of the Invited Program, reflecting the widely contested nature of the human sciences. Topics highlighted by the invited speakers (detailed on the congress website) include: an Africentric perspective; aging, social relations and health; cognitive development in chimpanzees; cultural differences in cognitive styles; cyberbullying; development of verbal deception; gendered analyses of youth development; HIV, AIDS and behavioral change; individual differences in developmental plasticity; intervention with vulnerable children and youth in Latin America; learning to read Chinese; mainstream values among Chinese adolescents; multilingual socialization; neurocognitive development of decision-making; personal storytelling; risk, protection, and well-being among children on the streets; self-regulation; theory of mind; a unified theory of development; and using research to improve child and youth well-being.

Further extending this diversity, titles of the invited symposia now include: adolescents in migrant families: a cross-national view of developmental resources and challenges; advancing child development research in Africa; child abuse and neglect across cultures and settings; inter-disciplinary childhood studies in Africa; children living in poverty; developmental perspectives; development of political persons: studies from three continents; gene-environment interactions and epigenetic approaches to development; memory development in childhood and adolescence; mental health of young people with chronic illness; multinational research on parenting; reading acquisition in Africa: typical and atypical pathways; and shaping the social brain and behavior during development. Further details of these Invited Symposia will be published on the congress website as their full composition is decided.

3. Articulating the Interface between Science and Policy

This was a third important agenda to emerge. Beyond a rhetorical commitment to mutual enrichment, what has been learned about operational procedures that work to optimize the impact of scientific knowledge on public policy and on professional practices? We look forward to learning from ISSBD President Anne Petersen on this subject, since she has announced that the theme of her Presidential Address to the Congress will be on the topic of "Making a Difference: The Role of Research on Human Development in Global Policy and Practice".

4. Enhancing International Communication and Cooperation

This agenda flows naturally from the objectives of ISSBD and led us to place high priority on achieving diversity in the geopolitical regions represented on the Invited Program. It now includes twenty internationally renowned scientists based in twelve different countries (Australia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, China, India, Japan, Netherlands, South Africa, Switzerland, UK and USA) on six continents, and twelve invited symposia bringing together co-convenors from fourteen countries (Brazil, Canada, Chile, Finland, Germany, Israel, Kenya, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, UK, USA and Zambia) on five continents.

In the first phase of responses to the Open Call for Proposals posted on the congress website in July, a wide range of proposals had already been received from 23 different countries at the time of writing this report on 10 September 2009.

5. The Battle Against the HIV and AIDS Pandemic

Given the venue of the congress, in a region of the world where an exceptionally large proportion of the population is affected by poverty and disease, both of which are currently intensified by the spread of HIV and AIDS, the battle against the pandemic has acquired its own unique thematic significance.

6. Giving Voice to Cultural Traditions that Have Been Marginalized

Another regional hallmark of Africa is its history of exploitative domination by foreign powers and the enduring hegemonic influence of those external societies' cultures, manifested in forms of governance, law and education, and many other professional practices addressed to issues of human development. Giving voice to endogenous cultural traditions that have been marginalized by that domination is thus another agenda claiming attention in the design of the congress program.

7. Empowerment of Women

Another agenda, that can be related to both agendas (5) and (6), is the empowerment of women in decision-making processes in families and communities, in the design of human development services, and in the definition of research priorities. Half of the confirmed Invited Speakers and Invited Symposium co-convenors are women.

8. The Significance of Linguistic Diversity

Related to agendas (3), (4) and (6), the program has sought to highlight the significance of linguistic diversity both for understanding developmental phenomena and for designing appropriate policies for addressing its many challenges. The Local Organising Committee had initially proposed to provide simultaneous interpretation between English and French, the two most widely used international languages in Africa. However, the African Research Advisory Panel revisited this idea at it recent meeting in Buea, Cameroon and decided to recommend a less expensive strategy.

Acting on that advice, the Local Organising Committee has decided against providing simultaneous interpretation services at the Congress. However, symposium speakers will be informed that they may present in a language other than English, but those who wish to do so must submit an English abstract as well as an abstract in their preferred language. While presentations proposed and approved in this format will be in a language other than English, the accompanying PowerPoint slides or overheads must be in English.

No formal translation service will be provided, but informal arrangements may be made in symposia, such as grouping speakers of a minority language in one part of the room together with one or more bilingual participants. I had the privilege of witnessing some high quality exchanges of ideas in this format at the recent African Regional Conference of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) in Buea, Cameroon. Some additional time will also be allocated to such sessions to cover translation. The Committee will welcome suggestions from the membership of ISSBD and other readers of the Bulletin on how best to make this innovative, multilingual arrangement work.

9. Social and Recreational Aspects of the Congress

The Local Organizing Committee has also been giving a lot of thought to ways of making the experience of all participants both intellectually enriching and socially agreeable. We plan to entertain you, both at the opening ceremony and at the gala dinner, with an exciting display of African music and dance. We also hope that many of you will take this opportunity to explore more of Zambia than just the inside of the Conference Centre, and the city of Lusaka, by venturing out for a holiday trip to some of the many scenic wonders of the Zambian countryside or indeed in other African countries. Some details of these tourism attractions are already posted on the congress website, and our PCO partners, Image Promotions (leeanne@image.co.zm), will be pleased to respond to any questions you may have about travel logistics, advance bookings, etc

A special "Young Scholars" group, led by Dr Zena Mello (zmello@uccs.edu), is committed to creating opportunities for exchange of ideas among scholars at an early stage of their research careers. We hope that many of you will engage with her (either via email or on the Facebook "Wall" opened for the ISSBD) in brainstorming ways of ensuring that your voices are heard and your distinctive expectations are met.

10. Pre- and Post-Congress Workshops

One way of securing financial support to attend the congress, especially for Early Career scholars, will be to apply for a grant to attend one of several training or policy development workshops that are currently under development on the fringes of the congress. For more details about these and other funding opportunities, check out the Sponsorship page of the congress website.

Please note that, after the early decision period for submitting online proposals ends on 15 September, proposals will continue to be welcome up to the end of October. We shall do our best to send all authors of proposals submitted online between 15 September and 31 October a decision by the middle of February 2010, five months before the congress in July.

If you haven't already done so, please write the week of 18–22 July 2010 into your diary, calendar or planner. We look forward to seeing many of you in Lusaka!

Robert Serpell
University of Zambia, Zambia
E-mail: robertserpell@gmail.com

News from the IJBD Editor

In the issue of the International Journal of Behavioral Development that accompanies this bulletin, you can find nine very interesting articles, ranging from research on children's responses on pictorial humor, through studies addressing children's peer relations, and families, to papers addressing more measurement and data-analytical issues.

Coincidentally, several papers focus on family or parents. McShane and Hastings present results of a new way of measuring parental psychological control. Other papers on families or child-rearing are presented by Flouri, on the question of whether chaotic or unstable homes are really that bad, and by Fung and Lau, on cultural child-rearing beliefs as a moderator in the association between parental punitive discipline and children's adjustment. Perlman, Ross and Garfinkel focus on young children's

siblings as important interaction partners, and Punamäki et al. address the effect of ICT-use (both game-playing and ICT for communication) of parent- and peer-relations. Two papers come from a more cognitive tradition: Zhu, Liu and Tardiff focus on children's explanations for illness, and Puche-Navarro on their responses to pictorial humor.

One of the aims of IJBD is to publish life-span research. However, we do not attract many submissions from studies with adults (unless they are parents, as shown above). The present issue contains one notable exception with a paper by Kimbler and Margrett on older adults' interactive behaviors during collaboration. These authors show more detail about the nature of these behaviors, and also show that they are linked to solving everyday problems.

Last, our already famous Methods and Measures section contains a practical primer on growth mixture modelling, a method that is increasingly applied in longitudinal studies (with several instances published in IJBD). For the readers of IJBD, this crisp-clear introduction to these advanced methods, written by Ram and Grimm, is therefore not to be missed!

Marcel van Aken
University of Utrecht, The Netherlands
E-mail: M.A.G.vanAKEN@uu.nl

Young Scholars' Corner

Greetings and welcome again to the Young Scholars' Corner! We are excited to update you on the wonderful Young Scholars' activities that have been taking place within ISSBD. As many of you may know, the next biennial meeting for ISSBD will be held in Lusaka, Zambia July 18th–22nd, 2010.

Young Scholar Presence at the 21st ISSBD meeting in 2010

The Young Scholars' Committee is seeking to increase the presence of young and early career scientists at the biennial meetings. In this attempt we have begun several new activities to increase awareness as well as funding resources for young scholars to attend the meeting. The deadline for submissions was October 31st, 2009. If you have submitted to the ISSBD and are looking for additional funding we have set up a travel team that will provide information on resources for attending the meeting. We also have several activities planned for young scholars at the upcoming meeting.

Travel Committee

Bin-Bin Chen (China; b-bchen@hotmail.com)
Filomena Parada (Portugal; fparada@netcabo.pt)
Joche Gayles (USA; jgg137@psu.edu)
Jonathan Santo (Canada; jonathan.santo@gmail.com)
Dr. Zena Mello (USA; zmello@uccs.edu)

Young Scholar Activities

Several scholarly and professional development activities targeting young scholars specifically will be provided throughout the conference.

A publishing workshop led by IJBD Editor Marcel A.G. van Aken will be offered.

A Professional Development Workshop is in the works!

A Grant Writing and Submission Workshop is also in the works!

A Young Scholars' Community Meeting will be held. This is a forum for young scholars to network with one another and to communicate interests and needs to Young Scholar Representatives who will be present to report on respective committee activities and to solicit involvement from other young scholars. If you are at all interested in being a part of the Young Scholars' Committee, you should attend this meeting.

A Young Scholar Dinner/Social!

Young Scholar Volunteer opportunities. We will be creating a mechanism whereby young scholars can volunteer in exchange for reduced registration.

For information on other aspects of the ISSBD meeting in 2010, not regarding young scholar inquiries, please go to http://www.issbd2010.com/. If you are interested in receiving additional information about ISSBD in 2010 contact either Jackie Jere-Folotiya (jackie@folotiya.com) or Professor Robert Serpell (robertserpell@gmail.com).

ISSBD Communication and new Activities

1. We now have a Facebook group, which you can join, and a listserve. To join the Facebook group, please go to http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=1094506202 90&ref=ss or contact Julie Boker (jonathan.santo@gmail.com). To be a part of the listserve please contact Deepali Sharma (deepali_sharma75@hotmail.com).
2. In an effort to communicate what ISSBD does for young scholars and all of the work we do, a new page entitled "Young Scholars" is being developed. This page will highlight the young scholars, including each one's role, a short bio, current contact information, and a photo.

As you may be aware, the ISSBD Newsletter has been renamed as the ISSBD Bulletin. This section of the Bulletin is dedicated to matters concerning young scholars. If you have ideas for topics please do not hesitate to send me an email (Joche Gayles: jgg137@psu.edu).

Jochebed G. Gayles
Penn State University, USA
E-mail: jgg137@psu.edu

Jing Qicheng (1926–2008)

Developmental scientists world-wide lost a special friend and contributor when Professor Qicheng Jing (C.C. Ching) passed away in the fall of 2008. "Lao Jing" was well known internationally for his many fruitful collaborations and generous efforts, his warmth, humor, distinguished scientific contributions, and introduction of western psychologists to China and Chinese psychology to the west. He played important roles within the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, both formally as a member of the Executive Committee and organizer of several ISSBD-related meetings, and informally as "the" liaison for Chinese developmental science within the larger international community. Similarly, within the

International Union of Psychology, he served on the Executive Committee and as Vice President and was the first psychologist elected to the Third World Academy of Sciences. Professor Jing was, of course, a Fellow of the Chinese Psychological Society, and was also a Fellow of the American Psychological Society, the International Association of Applied Psychology, and the Association for Psychological Science, and was elected to the New York Academy of Sciences.

These cross-national links were based on relationships cultivated for 30 years, beginning when Jing visited the Center for Human Growth and Development at the University of Michigan in 1979–1980. That visit also marked the beginning of a reunion of Chinese psychology with the west. During that visit, Jing was the first psychologist from the People's Republic to visit the US since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and gave an invited address at the American Psychological Association's 1979 annual meetings in New York. At Michigan, Jing began a life-long friendship and collaboration with Harold Stevenson, a past-president of ISSBD. Jing and Stevenson formed an impressive partnership, introducing western psychologists to psychology and culturally relevant issues in China (e.g., effects of the one-child policy on child development), and bringing western psychology to China. Long before it became popular or easy to travel to China, Jing generously hosted international scholars in China and facilitated both faculty and student exchanges. He was also the ultimate guest – giving of his thoughts, his time, his energy – and visiting numerous universities where he formed deep friendships with psychologists and developmental researchers across the world.

Jing was born and raised in northeastern China during the period just before and during the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In 1938 he was sent as a young teen to begin his secondary education at St. Joseph's College, Hong Kong. With the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong (1941–1945), he returned north to Beijing, and passed the difficult entrance exam to FuJen University. At FuJen, he majored in Psychology, where he earned a Bachelor's degree of Education in 1947, and a Master's degree in Anthropology in 1950. There he also met his wife, An-Xing Wang, and they married in 1948. In his SRCD oral history, Lao Jing attributed his many accomplishments to the sound training that he received from his psychology professors at Fu Jen.

Jing's distinguished career at the Chinese Academy of Sciences began in 1950. He advanced quickly, ultimately becoming Professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of Psychology in 1983, and remained in leadership roles at the Institute until last fall. In 2005, Professor Jing received an honorary doctorate from his alma mater, Taipei FuJen Catholic University, now in Taiwan. In accepting this doctorate, Professor Jing expressed gratitude not only for the well-deserved honor, but vowed to work even harder to live up to it. And he did, publishing further studies in Chinese and international journals, attending further congresses, and providing supportive leadership to colleagues worldwide.

Within China, Professor Jing was crucial in helping reinstate Psychology after it had been banned during the Cultural Revolution and in co-founding China's UN-supported Child Development Center. He was a major statesman and diplomat for Chinese science, most recently as President of the 28th International Congress of Psychology that hosted over 6,000 psychologists at its Beijing meetings, August 2004. His work on color vision, human factors, China's one-child policy, and recent collaborations on cultural differences in cognitive aging speak to the depth and scope of his work. He published 18 books and over 120 scholarly articles. His numerous PhD students are also well-respected psychologists and leaders in Chinese psychology.

On October 8, 2008, a farewell ceremony was held for Professor Jing at the Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery with more than 400 Chinese friends and colleagues taking part. Memories and accolades were shared. Many of you who read this will recall, with fondness, your own special memories with Lao Jing, as he was remarkable in cultivating special bonds with all of those he met. The Institute and the Chinese Psychological Society have set up a bilingual website which contains many personal narratives and reflections on Professor Jing's influence on their lives.

Lao Jing is survived by his wife, An-xing Wang, his sons Ruichang and Weichang, his daughter Yan, and two grandchildren.

Twila Tardif and Henry Wellman
E-mail: hmw@umich.edu

MAJOR CONFERENCES OF INTEREST

2010 March 11–13
Biennial Meeting of the Society of Research on Adolescence (SRA)
Location: Philadelphia, USA
Website: www.s-r-a.org

2010 May 12–15
XI Biennial Meeting of the European Association for Research on Adolescence (EARA)
Location: Vilnius, Lithuania
Website: www.eara2010.eu

2010 July 11–16
International Congress of Applied Psychology
Location: Melbourne, Australia
Website: www.icap2010.com

2010 July 18–22
21th Biennial Meeting of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development
Location: Lusaka, Zambia
Website: www.issbd.org

2011 March 31–April 2
Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD)
Location: Montreal, Quebec, Canada
Website: www.srcd.org

2011 August 23–27
15th European Conference on Developmental Psychology (ECDP)
Location: Bergen, Norway
Website: www.ecdp2011.com