

THE
COMPADRAZGO SYSTEM
OF
GUAM
by
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO COMPADRAZGO SYSTEMS AND A DEFINITION OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Introduction

In many parts of Europe and Latin America, a formal network of relationships has been observed in which individuals maintain cordial and respectful behavior patterns toward each other. The relationship between people in this network may also involve an exchange of goods and services or even money. The behavior found between individuals in this network appears to closely resemble the relationships often found amongst the members of a nuclear or extended family. Individuals involved in the relationships may or may not be family members. Affinal or consanguinal family ties do not seem to alter what appears to be a basic respect pattern and exchange between individuals in the network. The network of relationships, the individuals involved, and the behavior, norms, beliefs and attitudes surrounding it form in these societies a distinct system which is commonly referred to by writers on the subject as the compadrazgo system.

Observations of a similar network of relationships

on Guam led to the comparison of that network with published studies of compadrazgo in an attempt to understand the functions of this institution on Guam. In the course of the study, it became apparent that the Guamanian compadrazgo system is changing. This thesis describes the older and present forms of compadrazgo on Guam, and suggests factors influencing the observed change.

A compadrazgo system can be defined as that network of relationships and positions that form around three sets of people as a result of their involvement and participation in the Roman Catholic rituals of Baptism, Confirmation, and, sometimes, Matrimony. The three sets of people are generally distinguished as godparents (sponsors), parents, and initiate (godchild). Non-Catholic rituals are sometimes employed to establish this compadrazgo system, but the systems thus created seem to lack a permanence and acquire less significance than compadrazgo systems associated with the Catholic rituals. The compadrazgo relationships considered most important are those revolving around the ritual of Baptism.

The concept of Compadrazgo has been studied extensively in Southern Europe (Aschenbrenner 1975; Hammel 1968; Foster 1953) and Latin America (Foster 1967, 1969; Redfield & Villa Rojas 1962; Lewis 1951, 1960). These studies have analyzed its historical development, the various functions it serves, and the numerous patterns in which it has manifested itself. Questions have been raised concerning the nature of this system and the functions it may serve for any particular society, as well as the variety of ways

compadrazgo systems have emerged in different societies.

Despite a basic form transmitted by the Catholic Church through its representatives, compadrazgo systems evolve differently from one another. Explanations for these different compadrazgo systems lie in the manner in which the compadrazgo configuration is transmitted to a society and in the interpretation a society gives to the transmitted compadrazgo form, in combination with the needs of that society. The inherent flexibility of the basic form also appears to contribute to the variation possible (Foster 1953: 24; Mintz & Wolf 1950:354).

From the Church's point of view, the rituals have spiritual objectives including the removal of original sin (in the case of baptism), the granting of supernatural graces, the sanctification of existing relationships, and the creation of new spiritual relationships. These objectives are prerequisites for becoming a good Catholic and obtaining a heavenly reward. When these objectives are accomplished by performance of the rituals, the members of a society are generally left to decipher their meanings and to conceive for themselves the spiritual objectives being effected. The interpretations which follow constitute the folk conceptions surrounding compadrazgo. Attempts by Church representatives to convey the official meanings and functions of these rituals may be hampered by a lack of cultural precedents in the receiving society. Consequently, folk conceptions will generally be found to supplement the incomprehensible or

substitute a missing aspect of the Church explanation for these rituals. These folk conceptions, however, do not normally contradict or detract from the Church's interpretation of the rituals and their objectives.

Given a voluntary assimilation of these rituals and their objectives into the culture of a society, the tendency will be to utilize them in the reinforcement of existing social patterns. If no social pattern appears to require such reinforcement, the use of these rituals will be relegated to its original spiritual purpose. In cases where part of a culture might have been obliterated, these rituals may be used to satisfy a need previously satisfied by the missing cultural trait.

It is through such processes that variation in compadrazgo functions and nature develops in different societies. The manner in which compadrazgo rituals are transmitted by the donor society, the interpretation societies give to these rituals, the needs of societies and the flexible nature of the concepts surrounding these rituals are the major contributors to the process. Attempts to understand variation in compadrazgo functions and nature must necessarily take these factors into account.

Purpose of This Study

In the light of the concepts developed on compadrazgo and how it has been described and analyzed in numerous societies, the purpose of this study will in part concern a reconsideration of these concepts and their treatment in

a Guamanian village. The other part of my purpose is to bring into the literature additional information about the little known culture of Guam through the exploration and presentation of its compadrazgo system.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS AND BACKGROUND OF GUAM'S SITUATION

Geographic Location, Origin and Topography

Guam is the largest and the southernmost of the group of islands referred to as the Marianas Islands. The Marianas in turn, are considered part of the group of islands in the western Pacific Ocean known as Micronesia. Guam, a volcanically formed island, is located approximately 1600 miles due east of the Philippine Islands and 4000 miles southwest of the Hawaiian Islands. The island is approximately 32 miles long and 15 miles wide. Mountains reaching a height of 1,334 feet run through the center of the island from north to south. The southern half of the island is composed primarily of gently rolling hills and valleys with sporadic sections of flat land. The northern half of the island rises about 600 feet above sea level and develops into a high flat plateau on the northern tip (Thompson 1947:21). The island's eastern side is generally rocky and cliff-like while the western side sports sandy white beaches.

The flora and fauna of the island are characteristic of most island in the Pacific area (except for animals that have been imported). There are relatively few indigenous

land creatures. Among these few animals common to Guam are iguanas, a few species of birds, and fruit bats. These bats (fanihi) are considered delicacies by older Guamanian Chamorros (Thompson 1947:23-29).

Guam and the rest of the Marianas Islands were first settled sometime around 1500 B.C. (Spoehr 1954:34). Speculation on the origin of the first inhabitants suggests that they might have migrated from the Malaysian and Philippine area (Carano & Sanchez 1964:14).

The term Chamorro is used to identify these early inhabitants and is also used for their language. However, recorded accounts conflict on how this term came to be used. Present day inhabitants use the same word to describe themselves and the language, and they may use it in conjunction with other ethnic or national labels to reflect their ethnic mixture. (In the year 1950 the United States Government created an Organic Act granting the inhabitants of Guam the privileges of United States citizenship and a greater degree of self government [Carano & Sanchez 1964:367]. During this period the residents were asked by what name they wished to be called. They chose the name Guamanian, which is now applied to all residents on the island regardless of ethnicity.)

Similarities between the Chamorro and Malaysian languages, the cultivation of rice, and the presence of pottery (the latter two being traits not shared with any other cultures in Micronesia) have strengthened the belief in Chamorro origin from Malaysia (Wilson 1975:1; Spoehr 1954:34).

Pre-Contact Culture

Although some cultural traits of the original inhabitants of the islands can be seen to exist today, very little is actually known about these people. Physically they were said to be tall, big-boned, and muscular with tawny skin and long black hair (Thompson 1947:30). They were considered a generally handsome people of good health and great strength (Carano & Sanchez 1964:17). At the time of contact by Magellan, about 50,000 of these aboriginal people lived on Guam (Thompson 1947:33). From what is known of their culture, social groups and the inheritance of rank were apparently organized according to matrilineal principles. Matrilineal clans comprised the hamlets and villages. Villages combined to form a district which was headed by a council consisting of local chiefs. The head of this council was usually the eldest chief, called the Magat-lahe. No one district held political control over another, but some districts and their chiefs seem to have been considered higher ranking than others. The chiefs of the district of Agana were of high rank and were feared and respected by the inhabitants of the whole island.

Three social classes were distinguished in the accounts of early visitors: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The ranks held by both parents of the individual defined his place in the system. Rigid rules of conduct governed the behavior of the members of each class. For example, members of the lower classes were not permitted to eat or drink in the houses of the nobles or even to go near them. These

same nobles controlled much of the land through inheritance, and most of the prestigious and desirable occupations in the society could be held only by them. A system of reciprocal gift giving, religious beliefs revolving around ancestor worship, and men's houses similar to those found in other parts of present Micronesia were vital parts of this ancient culture (Thompson 1947:49,100; Carano & Sanchez 1964:20-23; Wilson 1975:2-4).

Contacts With Other Societies

In 1551 Guam experienced its first major contact with the Spanish who were to rule the island for more than 200 years. In the process of resisting Spanish subjugation and rule, a great number of the inhabitants of Guam were killed. Diseases introduced by the Spanish and devastating typhoons served to further reduce their numbers. Aboriginal Chamorro women became the wives and concubines of the Mexican, Spanish and Filipino soldiers who were stationed on Guam. The Spanish brought their Catholic religion, which quickly became the religion of all the inhabitants of Guam. During the period of Spanish rule, the remnants of Chamorro culture blended with the new culture to become the Hispanicized type seen today.

In 1898, after the Spanish-American war, the United States obtained possession of Guam, and the inhabitants began their orientation to American life. Guam was used as a coaling station for U.S. naval ships, and the Navy was given the authority to govern the island. Natives had no say or

control in government. New ideas, a new language, new technology, and a new type of people brought changes to the Hispanicized Chamorro's way of life. Military manpower needs created various jobs for willing workers, and natives in increasing numbers found working for wages more profitable than tilling the soil. Various reforms intended to alter the previous way of life were introduced. However, before the full effect of these reforms and changes could be felt, World War II hit the island.

In December of 1941, Japanese troops invaded the island and ruled Guam for more than two and a half years. Guamanians were forced to work for the support of the Japanese troops in the area. Children were sent to Japanese schools and adults were forced to learn the rudiments of Japanese culture. In 1944 U.S. forces retook the island from the Japanese and U.S. military troops were increased to aid in reconstruction and to boost military strength in the area. The war had brought greater attention to Guam as a vital point for military defense, and increased efforts were made through goods and money to provide for the welfare of the island. Governmental control, however, still remained in the hands of the Navy, with natives serving only in advisory capacities to the naval governor.

In 1950, the Organic Act of Guam, patterned after the United States Constitution, was passed. This act created local legislative, judicial and executive bodies to provide government for the people. Natives were now allowed to elect

their own local members of the Guam Congress and govern themselves to a greater extent on the local level. Final authority and decisions concerning the island still remained in the hands of the U.S. Congress. Up until 1970, governors for the island were appointed by the President of the United States.

The military still played a large role in island development. After the war, the military claimed a considerable amount of land for defense purposes. (Approximately one-third of the island's land area belongs to the U.S. military.) Naval and air bases were built to strengthen U.S. defense. Employment became increasingly available to the native Chamorro. Filipinos and other alien workers were brought in to fill the need for additional labor. (Many of these alien workers later married local women and became residents of the island.) Large naval facilities were built in the central area of the island around Apra Harbor, and a large Air Force base was constructed on the northern tip of the island. In the face of these changes, the native Chamorro kept many of the old customs, but much of the new way of life became integrated into the culture. English was taught in schools, and the Chamorros began to learn the American way of life through new media. Radio, television, cars, and canned goods became familiar sights in Chamorro homes. Native Chamorros still maintained small ranches and indulged in reef fishing to supplement any income they might earn, but as the military expansion increased, Guam rapidly developed into a wage

economy (Thompson 1947; Carano & Sanchez 1964; Spoehr 1954; Wilson 1975).

Economic Development

In November of 1962 typhoon Karen, the worst typhoon in Guam's history, destroyed a majority of the houses on the island. Guam was declared a disaster area, and federal aid was utilized to assist the people in the reconstruction of their homes and their lives. The effect of this surge of money created increases in construction and private business that had not existed before. Alien workers from the Philippines, Korea, Taiwan and Japan were once again brought to Guam in increasing numbers to supply the demand for labor, particularly in the construction industry. Large subdivisions in the northern area (around the village of Dededo) were created, and homeless Chamorros grabbed at the opportunity to obtain a new home. This migration pattern to the north upset many traditional Chamorro customs and family ties. The inflow of federal aid money, coupled with federal military increases for the Vietnam war, provided an attractive setting for U.S. and foreign private investors to speculate on Guam's future and place their money in various enterprises. The result of this came in the form of U.S. enterprises such as the Hilton Hotel, MacDonald's, Shakey's Pizza Parlour, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and the Chase Manhattan Bank. As Guam's economy grew, foreign countries began to notice it. Japanese tourists suddenly came in plane loads to experience being in a U.S. territory, to venerate their war

dead, or simply to enjoy the island atmosphere. Japanese hotels flourished. Air service from the U.S. mainland and major Asian countries increased, and by the 1970's the island economy was in the full swing of a boom.

The economic boom had profound effects on the local culture. Population on the island grew from a total of 67,044 in 1960 to approximately 90,000 in 1970 (U.S. Census of Guam). As a result of travel and contact with the growing number of aliens on the island, Chamorros became increasingly international. As the job market broadened, young people gained greater independence from many of the customs and family obligations adhered to by elders. A majority moved to the new subdivisions being built, and many others migrated to the United States mainland. The number of housing subdivisions being built on the northern section of the island, coupled with the assignment of an industrial and business zoning to this area, attracted great numbers of people from the middle and southern parts of the island. As the size of the population increased in the northern area, many southern villages began to resemble ghost towns. The northern portion slowly became the industrial and business area with an almost urban character in its ethnic mixtures and modern facilities.

In contrast, the southern areas seemed to maintain a conservative outlook both in physical appearance and social attitude. Fiestas are still held in these villages. Religion and family still exert a powerful influence over

village members, and many traditional Chamorro customs still prevail. Nevertheless, southern villages have been and are being affected immensely by the island changes. One noticeable effect is the preponderance of older citizens in these areas, in contrast to the northern villages. Perhaps in the passing away of older generations the change in the old ways will be complete. Currently, however, the differences can still be noticed, and viewing these villages and their residents still provides a feeling of what Guamanians once were.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Research on and Related to Compadrazgo

Research on the compadrazgo system is extensive. Numerous studies on compadrazgo have been done in Europe, and in Latin America (Hammel 1968; Foster 1953; Redfield & Villa Rojas 1962; Gudeman 1971; Middleton 1975; Lomnitz 1971). The interest in this institution is perhaps due to its presence in many countries of the world and to the great potentiality it offers for cross-cultural comparisons.

Early research on this subject presented vivid descriptions of compadrazgo found in different areas. These studies essentially portrayed interesting variations of an ideological and spiritual configuration which had Roman Catholic origins. The Catholic configuration was translated into reality through a process which usually involved three sets of people, participating in specific church rites. The Church rites used to realize this configuration were those administered during the sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation. The three sets of people consisted of a sponsor or sponsors (godparents), an initiate or initiates (godchild) and parents of the initiate. This configuration served primarily to accomplish spiritual objectives. In these rituals,

which generally signified the coming of the initiate into a new life, the Church defined the relationships between each of these sets of people and the attitudes they should have toward each other. The sponsor was to serve as spiritual parent of the initiate and therefore a co-parent or brother with his biological parents. The initiate was to respond as a spiritual child and the biological parents to respond in spiritual fraternity to the sponsor. The natural parent-child relationship was recognized but remained unchanged. Prescriptions surrounding this *compadrazgo* configuration emphasized, however, the spiritual responsibilities of the parents (Gudeman 1971:50). This basic configuration, with its prescribed relations and attitudes for the people involved, was the *compadrazgo* form transmitted by the Catholic Church throughout the world. As different societies assimilated this form into their cultures, various interpretations were given to it, which resulted in secular functions and objectives being added to the spiritual. These secular and spiritual objectives coupled with existing cultural behavioral patterns produced the variations in *compadrazgo* so abundantly found in the literature.

Research on the *compadrazgo* has provided evidence that in some societies the basic form has been reproduced on occasions other than those which have been prescribed by the Catholic Church (Foster 1953:5). Other studies have described instances where societies have altered the basic form by expanding it to include kinfolk of the members of

each set (Spicer 1940). In contrast, yet other societies have simply expanded the compadrazgo configuration by adding to the numbers of people in the set who participate in the rituals (Fox & Lynch 1956:426; Deshon 1963:579).

Some societies (Lewis 1951; Deshon 1963; Thompson 1971) have tended to emphasize certain relationships in the compadrazgo set over those considered more important by the Catholic Church. The fraternal relationships between the parents of the child and sponsor are considered secondary by the Church since it evolved as a result of the more important spiritual relationship contracted between sponsor and initiate (godchild). However, most Latin American societies assimilating the compadrazgo have tended to emphasize this co-parental or spiritual fraternity between parents and sponsor. Parents and sponsors (godparents) in these societies refer to each other as compadres (co-fathers) or comadres (co-mothers), hence the term compadrazgo (co-parenthood) is used (Mintz & Wolf 1950). Other instances have been recorded in which the form has been utilized with substitutions for the sponsors or godchild. Substitutions may also be made for the parents and godchild (Gudeman 1971:61). The substitutions made for the godchild are usually inanimate objects (houses, boats, bridges) (Gillin 1947:105). Saints may be substituted for sponsors. The reported substitutions for the parents were institutions or groups such as towns, clubs, schools and churches (Gudeman 1971:61).

In addition to the manipulations of the basic

compadrazgo form, these studies also present the plethora of folk beliefs, norms, values and behavior patterns surrounding it. Beliefs interact with values and norms to rationalize the different behavioral patterns found. Folk beliefs surrounding the compadrazgo may or may not be consistent with Catholic Church beliefs. They may elaborate upon or embellish the Catholic Church version, or they may simply overshadow Catholic Church beliefs entirely and relegate them to a secondary position. As long as the Catholic Church influence remains, it is unlikely that its beliefs will be eliminated. The folk beliefs generally revolve around the functions of the compadrazgo, behavior patterns and attitudes between godparent and godchild or between parents and godparents. They may also relate to behavior patterns leading to the creation of the compadrazgo relationship. In general, they tend to support folk manipulations of the basic compadrazgo form.

These folk beliefs are reflected principally in the norms that govern such decisions as who should be selected for godparents, how one should select godparents, the choice between kin and nonkin for godparents, and obligations between compadrazgo sets that may have been made. These norms also govern behavior during any rituals, ceremonies or festivities before or after the compadrazgo rite itself, and behavior in the subsequent network of relationships created.

Studies have attempted to isolate socio-cultural variables in order to discover explanations for the variations

in the compadrazgo found in different societies. Some variables suggested as influencing compadrazgo patterns are a society's class structure, the nature of its economy, its family structure, individual real or imagined socio-economic possibilities for mobility, and the rate and nature of change a society is experiencing (Mintz & Wolf 1950). A functional view of the compadrazgo is that it creates social solidarity and security in societies by establishing new networks of relationships or reinforcing existing ones (Mintz & Wolf 1950:354).

The network or relationships which revolve around the compadrazgo constitutes the compadrazgo system found in a society. Other studies have suggested that variations in the basic compadrazgo may be associated with establishment of households or resident patterns (Deshon 1963; Thompson 1971). Statistical studies indicate that godparent selection patterns may be influenced by the satisfaction or non-satisfaction of local norms regarding postmarital residence (Thompson 1971). One study theorizes that variations found in these societies are simply a result of how any one society may rationalize the dichotomy between a birth set consisting of the relationship between parents and child, on the one hand, and the baptismal or spiritual set consisting of relationships between godparents and godchild on the other (Gudeman 1971). Earlier studies of compadrazgo have concentrated on locating specific aboriginal cultural forms resembling that of the basic compadrazgo which might have provided precedents for the variations

found (Mintz & Wolf 1950:353).

The abundance of studies on the subject provides sufficient material for an adequate base for further explorations on compadrazgo. Focus on this subject offers social scientists the opportunity to observe and analyze situations where a relatively uniform cultural form has been injected into cultures of different societies. Hopefully the increasing knowledge about societies' responses to this injected form will provide greater insights into the workings of cultures and society.

Its Relevance For Guam

An understanding of socio-cultural development and societal change is predicated upon an understanding of the workings of a culture and how it has changed in the past. Guam is perhaps one of most rapidly developing societies in the Pacific area, yet there is a paucity of written information about its culture and people. A study of compadrazgo on Guam represents one avenue by which an understanding of its culture may be achieved. Herein perhaps lies the greatest relevance of research on compadrazgo for Guam.

Research on compadrazgo in other parts of the world can provide the conceptual tools and framework from which the study of compadrazgo on Guam can be approached. Similarities between aspects of Guam's culture as provided by historical accounts and many of the cultures where compadrazgo systems have been studied provide an excellent basis for an initial comparison. The process through which Guam acquired

the compadrazgo also resembles that experienced by other societies, and this additionally contributes towards the comparative advantage. Hypotheses and generalizations developed from studies of compadrazgo in countries similar to Guam may have greater application and relevance in a Guam study and may more easily provide fruitful directions for continued research in this area than concepts derived from studies in countries quite different from Guam.

Aspects of Guamanian culture abstracted from historical accounts show that religion and kinship ties have played a major part in Guamanian society. This emphasis is not unlike that displayed in the rural areas of Mexico. Up until the advent of World War II, Guam's economy very much resembled many of the subsistence economies found in Latin America. The Hispanicized nature of Guam's culture is undoubtedly the most salient feature it shares with the Latin American cultures. The Guamanian language is replete with Spanish words. Guamanian food reflects the Mexican influence with its spiciness and method of preparation. Guamanian customs and beliefs surrounding crisis events also bear great resemblance to many of the customs and beliefs described by Redfield and Villa Rojas (1962) in their ethnology of a Mayan village or Oscar Lewis' descriptions of Mexican villages (1960,1951).

At this point it may not be unreasonable to project that compadrazgo on Guam will have some similarities with compadrazgo portrayed in these countries. The existence of compadrazgo research in these areas thus provides a basis

of contrast and comparison for a Guam study which could not otherwise be realized. The value of the Guam study is greatest if in its comparisons with other studies, generalizations can be developed which transcend its specific nature.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Background and Description of the Community Selected for Study

Village History

Nestled along the western slopes of Mount Alisan on the southern middle portion of the island, the village of Santa Rita (named after its patron saint) resembles the picture book view so often portrayed by island novelists. But unlike this view, the village with a present population of 2,000 people has had a turbulent and trying history. Formed by a relocation plan developed by the military after the war, Santa Rita became the village which housed the former inhabitants of the war devastated coastal village of Sumay.

The village of Sumay in prewar times, because of its position fronting Apra Harbor (one of the best harbors on the island), was exceeded only by the town of Agana in prosperity and size. Although Agana was the capital, naval shipping operations were centered in the coastal village. The Pacific Cable Co., a large U.S. Marine Corps barracks, and Pan American Airways, using sea planes for international travel, were some of the larger organizations which used

this seaport village as a base of operations. Sumay's population in 1939 numbered 1679, placing it second in size to Agana's population of 10,861 (Thompson 1947:41-42). The few facts known about Guam in pre-contact times also indicate that this village was a center where powerful Chamorro chief-tains dwelled who rivaled in privilege if not in power the chiefs and nobles of the main village of Agana. These chief-tains formed one of the groups which provided strong resistance against the Spanish attempts to subjugate them (Carano & Sanchez 1964:76).

As Sumay had become a military operations center, a communications center, and a port of call for ships and planes going east or west, the Japanese made it one of their first bombing stops on Dec. 8, 1941. To avoid the bombing, people scattered to their small ranches located in the inner jungles. Those who remained were evacuated by the military. The Japanese invasion of Guam initiated a long migratory pattern for the people of Sumay. Throughout the Japanese occupation they were moved from camp to camp. This movement continued after the recapture of the island by U.S. forces in 1944. In 1948 the naval reconstruction forces finally allowed the people of Sumay to settle in the mountain area presently called Santa Rita.

The coastal village of Agat which also underwent a relocation process fared much better in the area in which it was resettled. Some former Sumay residents opted to move from the Santa Rita site to the settlement to be called

New Agat. However, the majority of Sumay residents, exhausted by the constant movement from site to site, chose to stay at Santa Rita rather than move once more. The New Agat site, which was developed and parceled into lots by the Navy, was originally intended for the Sumay people who were temporarily camped at Santa Rita. With the Sumay people's reluctance to move, the Agat people were allowed to buy lots and settle in the area.

Physical and Spatial Characteristics

The topography of Santa Rita village is typical of a mountainous area. The ground is clay-hardened or rocky and not well suited for farming. The contour and slopes of the mountain have made lot apportionment and house construction very difficult, and many of the early postwar houses can still be found on the edges of precipices and deep chasms. The majority of the houses constructed during the early postwar period were raised on stilts, which served to avoid floods during the heavy rains and to keep animals and pests out of the house. Roofs and sides were constructed of galvanized roofing tin, and floors and inner walls were made of wood. Streets are narrow and at steep inclines, and many houses border on the edge of the street pavement. The haste in resettlement is evident in the village layout.

In recent years, the village of Santa Rita has been expanded to include the surrounding lower areas of Talisay and a modern housing subdivision developed by a Korean

construction firm. This subdivision is referred to as the Hyundai Santa Rosa subdivision and along with Santa Rita village and Talisay it is referred to as the District of Santa Rita. In our discussion of the compadrazgo system, our focus will only be on the inhabitants of the original village of Santa Rita.

Subsistence Patterns

Before the war, the Sumay people, being coastal villagers, relied heavily on the sea to furnish their food. Outlying little farms (lanchu) also helped to provide meat and vegetables for daily needs. With the increase in private and military activity in Sumay, increasing numbers of people became employed by these organizations. After the war, the Sumay village location as well as its outlying areas on the Orote peninsula were taken over by the naval government and became known as Naval Station. Most of the area surrounding Apra Harbor also came under Navy control. With the increase in naval activity in the area, a considerable number of the Sumay villagers now resident in Santa Rita became employed by the Navy. When the Government of Guam opened up its civilian commercial port, a great number of Santa Rita villagers also became employed there. Most of the older villagers employed by these organizations did not graduate from high school. They acquired their jobs through experience or through family or friendly contacts. At present, these two organizations, the Navy and the commercial port, are the main employers of Santa Rita residents as well as of the residents

of villages farther south. With employment from these sources, Santa Rita residents also continue to engage in fishing along the Southern Coast and in occasional farming of the lower coastal and flatland areas. (Informants have often remarked about the abundance in the Sumay coastal area of sea life, in comparison to the Agat area. The Navy allows fishing in these areas on a pass basis but the construction, dredging and ship movement in recent years has reduced the sea life in the area. However, lucrative fishing spots occasionally can still be found.)

Residence Patterns and Social Organization

Residence patterns of Santa Rita village remain fairly stable and continuous. Lots and houses are usually passed down from father to son. Since the land area is limited, many of the children of the Santa Rita villagers move to the Talisay or Hyundai Santa Rosa area. (Since houses in the subdivisions are expensive by local standards, many villagers buy lots in Talisay and have their homes constructed.) This has left predominantly older people in the village; quite a few of the heads of households in the village are in the age bracket of 40 and older. Many married couples who cannot find or afford a lot or house in the lower areas and wish to stay in the Santa Rita area stay in the same household as their parents, so it is not uncommon to find two or more nuclear families living in the same household.

A Santa Rita household may be composed of the father

and mother, unmarried sons and daughters and married sons and their families. In accordance with the custom of patrilocality, a newly married man brings his wife to stay at his father's house until he can get his own place. Unless the wife's family can provide readily accessible land and present it to the couple in a manner not detrimental to the honor of the husband and his family, a couple will generally seek residence close to the husband's family. (In recent times young married couples, if their financial status permits, are opting to rent places close to their parents rather than live with them.) Usually a portion of the house is partitioned off for the married child's use. Daughters and sons who have been divorced or separated, (even when they have children) also tend to move in with their parents. Grandparents and elderly aunts and uncles can often be found in the Santa Rita household.

As in many other villages on Guam, Santa Rita residents tend to be related in one way or another. The migration from Sumay to Santa Rita tended to be a migration of previous neighbors, friends and relatives. In the migration process neighborly interdependence and intimacy developed and intermarriages helped to increase the consanguinal and affinal relationships now found in the village. In four blocks across the main street from each other can be found residents who are related either affinally or consanguinally. (Informants have remarked that in comparison to Agat residents, Santa Rita residents seem to have closer bonds.) Santa Rita

residents also tend to feel superior to residents of Agat whom they frequently refer to as man bukshun taotao (pale and weak people). However, despite this attitude, much intermarriage has taken place between these two villages and, as mentioned previously, a few Sumay families have settled in Agat. These notions of Agat inferiority are not as strongly adhered to among the younger residents as they are among the older residents.

Perhaps because of the limited capability to expand and the lack of industry in the immediate area, Santa Rita, like most of the other southern villages, has remained relatively homogenous. Except through marriage, the village has not received any great influx of new ethnic groups as has been experienced by northern villages such as Tamuning and Dededo. A few Filipino men married to Santa Rita women constitute the largest ethnic group which has come to reside in the village.

The homogeneity among members of the village can also be seen in the absence of any significant differences based on income, wealth or property. In Sumay, a few of the families were known to have been wealthier than others, some through their Spanish parentage and others through their own efforts. However, the relocation process after the war served as a status equalizer for those who eventually came to reside in the village. Also, intermarriage between village members tended to distribute any available wealth. The villagers who have acquired higher incomes have tended to move into the Talisay or Hyundai area.

While the village area has remained relatively homogenous over the years, the lower areas of the Santa Rita District have become heterogenous. The Hyundai Santa Rosa subdivision has increasingly become inhabited by mainland Americans who work for the Navy and have decided to take residence on Guam. Higher income immigrants and workers (from Japan, Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines) and Chamorros originally from other parts of the island who wished to take advantage of better housing also have settled in the subdivision.

The situation of Santa Rita in contrast to the northern villages has tended to preserve many traditional customs regarding family. Like most families on Guam, Santa Rita families tend to be quite large. The father's income might not be sufficient to provide support, so it is not uncommon for unmarried children of suitable age to work and contribute towards the family income. Generally an unmarried working child turns all his or her earnings over to his mother, who then gives him an allowance for his own expenses. The mother may then save the money or use it on household expenses at her own discretion. During special events, such as village fiestas, baptisms, marriages, or funerals, relatives come together to help or to contribute food or money. These events occur frequently enough in the village to provide continuity in their relationships.

In the family, fathers tend to be authoritarian and strict with their children. Children are taught at an early

age to give respect and obedience to parents and older people. (Older informants often remarked that obedience and respect for parents and elders have decreased among the younger generations.) This norm is generally reinforced by physical punishment. Punishment can be meted in the form of ear twisting or bucking, pinching, slapping, or strapping. Mothers do not hesitate to administer punishment in the father's absence, and they may be just as feared as the father.

Religious Influences

The other important aspect influencing village life is religion. For most of the villagers this is represented by the Catholic Church. A villager's whole idea of good and bad, his destiny, his actions, and the rationale used for the activity he indulges in are at least partly determined by the teachings of the Catholic Church. Until about the year 1938 these teachings were conveyed mostly by Spanish priests, but since 1938 most of the priests have been American. At the time of this study, the priest of Santa Rita Church and parish was a mainland American who had lived on Guam for 35 years, and had been in Santa Rita for a total of nine years.

The priest in a Guamanian village is given great respect, and regardless of age is accorded the respect given to an elderly person. To show this respect, Chamorros often practice the custom of mangninge toward him. This custom involves a facsimile of bending one's head and kissing an

elderly person's hand, while simultaneously uttering the words *señor* (shortened to *nyot*) in the case of a male and *señora* (*nyora*) in the case of a female. Except for occasions in which he feels a breach of Catholic practice has occurred, the priest rarely interferes in civil matters of the village. He may serve as an advisor to many activities, but his main function is that of spiritual leader, teacher, and administrator of the sacraments in the village. Despite this seemingly innocent role, Santa Rita villagers are loath to incur the wrath of the priests. The crisis events around which social obligations and ties revolve require the participation of the priest. To incur his wrath would mean difficulty in arranging for baptisms, marriages and funeral rites. Priests are also instrumental in obtaining records for the execution of these same events.

Among the older villagers, women appear to be more religious than men. Older women can be seen attending masses and nightly rosaries. It is the women also who have special saints and offer novenas to them during the year. Women also are the teachers and reinforcers of religious practices to the children. Older men attend the obligatory Sunday Mass and receive the sacraments, but they are not as ardent in their devotion and are much more prone to stray than women. A more practical and secular attitude is taken by the men in their attendance at religious functions. However, as men increase in age, there is a tendency for them to frequent religious functions more often. Younger men and women have not acquired

this devotion expressed by their elders.

Informants

The major informants used in this study were two priests and two current residents of the village of Santa Rita. The priests were mainland Americans who had each spent 35 years on Guam, arriving in 1941. They had been stationed at numerous villages throughout the island, including Santa Rita. Upon the Japanese invasion of the island, they were taken prisoner and spent the major portion of the war at a prison camp in Japan. At the time of the study one of the priests was the pastor of Santa Rita village, where he had been for a total of nine years. The other priest was the pastor of Piti village, but had spent $5\frac{1}{2}$ years as the pastor of Santa Rita from 1949 to 1955. Both priests were above the age of 50. Both priests spoke Chamorro fluently. They were among the first American priests to replace the Spanish priests on the island, and had seen Guam through the worst of times and the best of times. (By the time the American priests had arrived on the island, Spanish Catholicism was firmly entrenched amongst the people. Many of the Chamorro customs regarding religion were simply followed by the American priests.)

The first of the two lay informants who currently lived in the village was a male. The male informant, whom I will refer to by the fictitious name of Juan, was 68 years of age, married, had been a former resident of Sumay village, and had been living in Santa Rita since its creation. In

Sumay, he had worked for the cable company, and after the war went into the farming, fishing and cattle business. At the point of this study he was employed by the Federal Government as the postal clerk of Santa Rita village. Mail is not delivered to homes on Guam, so his residence is set up to receive mail as well as distribute it to the people who stop by to pick it up. The informant was the oldest of 5 brothers and 4 sisters. He has 4 children, 3 boys and 1 girl, all of whom are married. The informant's wife is of Spanish-Chamorro heritage and her family is considered to be of high status in the village of Agana. The informant was adept in speaking English, although he had not gone past the 9th grade.

The second informant living in the village was a female, whom I will refer to by the fictitious name of Ana. She was an affinal relative of Juan, he and her husband being brothers. Ana was 63 years of age. She was not an original resident of Sumay. She originally came from the village of Agana, and after her marriage in 1929 she moved to Sumay. She had lived in Sumay prior to the war and had moved along with most Sumay residents to Santa Rita. Her husband had been working on Wake Island prior to and during the war while she remained on Guam. He was killed on Wake Island during a Japanese attack on 1941; his body was never returned. Ana had 6 children of whom the oldest, a girl, died in childhood. The remaining children are all males and are married. At the time of study, Ana was living at an apartment owned by her oldest son and was taking care of several of his children.

This particular son was working on another island. Ana had her own home in a lower section of the village, where she had lived until moving to her son's apartment. After the war years, Ana supported herself and her children by working for relatives and baking sweet cakes, rolls, and pies which she sold. Her older boys would also work for relatives or for other people in exchange for food or money. At the time she was interviewed her sons were assisting in her support.

The researcher's own participation as a member of Guam society served to provide considerable information for this study. The baptism of the researcher's own son exposed him to cultural requirements and specific compadrazgo norms surrounding the father's role. The researcher is also the baptismal godparent of ten children (three boys and seven girls), three of whom are from the Santa Rita area. In addition he is the confirmation godparent of a young boy and the marriage godparent of a young man. Except for four of these occasions, the assumption of the godparent role took place during the period (1971 to 1975) in which this study was conducted. The untimely death of one of the researcher's godchildren involved him in activities and patterns of interaction normally experienced at a later point in a godparent's life. Participation in these roles of father and godfather provided much insight about the younger generation's view of the compadrazgo system which could be contrasted with that of older generations.

In addition to these main informants, and the researcher's own observations, numerous relatives, students, and friends were used as auxiliary informants. These additional informants helped to clarify and verify much of the data provided by the main informants while also providing greater detail on topics not specifically answered by the major informants.

Description of Research Procedures and Techniques

From January 1971 to October 1975 various observations on the Guamanian compadrazgo system were made and recorded for this study. The data collection methods used were participant observation and direct interviews. The purpose of the study was primarily one of exploration and description.

Although much research has been done in other parts of the world on the subject of compadrazgo, no previous study had been done on compadrazgo on Guam. A few books on Guamanian history and culture have mentioned compadrazgo in passing, but no study exists that has examined this institution in depth or determined its meaning and dimensions for the people of Guam. (Alexander Spoehr's [1954] ethnology of the Saipan Chamorros gives an illuminating description of compadrazgo in Saipan which was most helpful in directing this thesis.)

In the face of the dearth of information on this subject, this study was conducted. Since I am a native of the island, I approached the possibility of a study of this

sort through my familiarity with a system noticed on Guam resembling compadrazgo systems encountered in the literature. However, it was not presumed from this familiarity that a compadrazgo system existed, but instead the question of whether or not a compadrazgo system existed on Guam became one of the objectives of the study.

The problems that had to be studied were summed up in the form of these questions: Did a compadrazgo system conceptually described by the literature exist on Guam? And if such a system existed, what was its nature, and what importance did it have for the residents of Guam?

On the presumption that these questions could be answered, and armed with the conceptual view of compadrazgo, I began my inquiry. According to the literature, the original source of compadrazgo and godparenthood concepts and ideas was Catholicism which was brought to Guam by the Spanish priests. This knowledge, coupled with my own familiarity with the culture, made the idea of exploring such a system on Guam appear to be a highly promising prospect.

To determine whether the representatives of the Catholic Church on Guam adhered to a compadrazgo type configuration or observed any rites normally associated with compadrazgo, priests were interviewed directly and rites were observed as they were conducted. When in fact the compadrazgo rites could be verified to exist, I felt that some description of these rites and what they involved on the part of the individual were a necessary part of describing the compadrazgo system. Data on these rites were taken from actual participation

in the ceremonies and rituals in the capacity of a godparent. Additional information was obtained through direct observation of and interviews with people undergoing the rites, and interviews with those administering them.

After reasonable verification of the compadrazgo rites had been made and a description of them had been obtained, I concluded that the basic compadrazgo form did exist. Further evidence of the existence of compadrazgo on the island was found in the use of certain terms to describe people in relationships resembling compadrazgo described in the literature. Parents and sponsors were found to refer to each other as compairi (shortened to pari for males) and commairi (mali) for females. The term compairi is also used to describe the relationships between them. An initiate refers to his (or her) male sponsor using the term patlino (shortened to nino) and to his female sponsor using the term matlina (shortened to nina).

The next object of the study became concerned with the more difficult task of describing the values, norms, beliefs, and behavior patterns held by the people and associated with these Church rites. A realistic assessment of time and accessibility limited the possible scope of this study in terms of the size of population on which observations could be made. Considerations involved in constructing the research design concerned questions about how detailed a description should be made of the compadrazgo in a given area and what size of population would provide a reasonable

basis for creating generalizations about the Guamanian compadrazgo institution. To satisfy the requirements raised by these questions, it was decided that information collected in a village of 200 to 300 households would give an adequate picture of the compadrazgo institution and at the same time provide sufficient opportunities for the researcher's actual participation in the compadrazgo system. For this purpose, the village of Santa Rita was chosen. The main characteristics of the village are described in an early section. The villages of Piti and Agat were considered as alternatives for this study and perhaps would have served equally well, but one additional attraction regarding the choice of Santa Rita was that I am related to approximately 20% of its residents. This made it easier to establish rapport with informants and obtain interviews. It also increased my opportunities for actual participation and observation of events in the village without disrupting the normal course of its life and activities. The relative permanence of the village residents and the village layout were additional considerations favoring its choice.

In 1971 four months were spent living in the village area. In the following years, 1972-75, I lived at other villages but visited Santa Rita on an average of once a week for purposes of this study as well as to fulfill family obligations and other commitments during events requiring my attendance. Most of the events which occurred in Santa Rita were compadrazgo related and offered ideal opportunities

for participation and observation. Treated by many residents as a relative or known through them, I found it relatively easy to move amongst the villagers and make observations without the propriety of my actions being questioned. Opportunities for acquiring data were therefore plentiful.

Interviews with informants were in English and/or Chamorro, and would begin with an open-ended question such as "What do you know about the compadre system on Guam?" (Hafa tungknomu put y systeman compairi giya Guam?). Additional questions were asked according to the information that was needed. Descriptions of events and activities were recorded. Interviews were used primarily to obtain the beliefs, norms, and feelings that were not accessible to the researcher through observation. Informants were used heavily in answering many questions raised by the direct observations of relationships observed.

While conducting interviews, it was noticed that male informants offered less information about the religious aspects and purposes of compadrazgo than did females. Male informants seemed to stress the more secular aspects of compadrazgo, such as the kind of relationship it would create between people and other socially functional purposes. Female informants seemed to elaborate on religious reasons for the system and referred to many of the possible deviations from compadrazgo norms in religious terms.

The methodology applied in this study was not as systematic or holistic as was desired, but I feel that the

objective of providing some picture of how compadrazgo exists, how it operates, and what function it serves in a community on Guam was accomplished.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Presentation of the Data

Prologue

The compadrazgo system on Guam is tied in very closely with religion and family. Religion via the Catholic Church appears to give the system directions and constraints and remains its energizing source. Family, on the other hand, seems to be the unit through which these directions are carried out. As these institutions change, so will the compadrazgo system. One cannot give a complete picture of Guamanian compadrazgo without considering religion and family, because they are so tightly intertwined and interdependent.

For a Catholic family not to have a newborn baby baptized is unheard of. For an adult to have lived on Guam without having a compadre is also unheard of. For someone to refuse to baptize an infant is unthinkable. For an extended family not to have compairis and commairis amongst its members is not possible. To a Guamanian-Chamorro these notions maintain the compadrazgo system and serve to govern his behavior with regard to it. A compadrazgo relationship begins with the parents' selection of godparents or a godparent to baptize or confirm their child. A church rite

certifies the relationship between the three sets of people concerned and provides general ground rules which govern their behavior toward each other.

Compadrazgo relations developed through Baptism are considered more important than those through Confirmation. Baptismal godparents have the greatest responsibilities and obligations toward the godchild. Confirmation godparents fulfill these obligations only if the baptismal godparents are unable to. This study concerns itself primarily with the compadrazgo relationships surrounding the more important sacrament of Baptism. A spiritual objective is supposedly accomplished by adherence to these rules. The rules, however, are both general enough and flexible enough to allow the society to interpret them in terms of its own cultural needs, beliefs, and patterns. The blend of Church teachings and objectives with existing cultural forms and societal needs is what is described here as the compadrazgo system of Guam.

The Selection of Godparents

Catholic Church teachings indicate that for the rite of Baptism to take place, at least one sponsor (godparent) who is at least 14 years of age and is of the same sex as the initiate must be present during the rite to guarantee the initiate's good intentions. On Guam, two persons, one of each sex, normally serve as godparents for any one initiate. Regarding the selection of godparents, the Church requires that they be good practicing Catholics. Parents may not be the godparents of their own children; godfathers must be

male and godmothers must be female.

Multiple godfathers and godmothers are not unheard of and are acceptable to the Church, but only one godfather and one godmother is officially recognized. (This practice of using multiple godparents is followed mostly by Filipino immigrants.) However, the Spanish priests appear to have introduced the idea of multiple godparents to Guam and the Philippines, and they considered all who participated in the ritual to be godparents. Chamorros consider this unusual and it is not commonly practiced among them. Other than what has been mentioned--sex, age, spiritual propriety--no other restrictions are placed by the Church on the selection of godparents.

Guamanian Chamorros commonly choose godparents from among kin groups and friendship groups. The choice of relatives over friends for compadres depends upon family size and how close nuclear and extended family members are. As mentioned earlier, families in one household may range from what is considered a nuclear or elementary type with parents and children to the extended type which would include grandparents, parents, and children. Unmarried siblings of parents or grandparents may also often live in the same household. One tends to find the greatest amount of interaction and interdependence among members of an extended family living in the same household. And it is from among these members of the household that godparents tend to be first chosen. Even if the household is composed only of parents and children,

parents will still select godparents from among their brothers and sisters. Families may encourage the selection of godparents from among relatives. This may create a situation in which the same relatives become godparents to more than one child of a nuclear family and it may also result in the phenomenon of choice reversal in which nuclear families sponsor each other's children. These situations can occur because there are no Church sanctions against having the same godparent for all one's children or in turn being the godparent of your compadre's children. However, despite their emphasis upon choosing godparents from among kin, these families do not prohibit non-relatives from also becoming godparents. No families were known to the respondents that restricted the choice of godparents to non-relatives.

Grandparents and parents in the household may influence the choice of godparents. A grandparent or a parent wanting to establish closer relations with another person or between his family and that person's family may select the godparent for his grandchild or great-grandchild. To establish this same relationship, parents or grandparents may also instruct their married or unmarried children to ask to be the godparent of someone's child. The former method has proven more successful in establishing this relationship, for it is considered embarrassing, insulting or as wrong as a Church-recognized sin to refuse a request to baptize someone's child. In the case of grandparents' or parents' expressed wish regarding a sponsor, the parents of the child,

if they do not wish the alliance, may remark simply that someone else has already offered to be the godparent or that someone has already been promised the position of godparent.

Choice of consanguinal kinsman for godparent does not appear to alter relationships between blood relatives. Godparent-godchild relations and obligations are created but between compairis who are relatives, compadrazgo may serve only to create closer and more intimate relations. A male parent might ask the wife of a first cousin to serve as the matlina. These affinally related persons will thus be in a so-godparental relationship while also being in a compadrazgo relationship with the parents of the child. Godparents are thus often selected with an eye toward creating closer relationships between affinal relatives. A relative and his wife also commonly serve as the patlino and matlina of the child. Godparents are chosen from among either the mother's relatives or father's relatives. There is no evidence of a preference for one side or the other.

Godparents also may be chosen from among a set of non-relatives who form the friendship groups of parents. A husband and wife who are mutual friends of the parents may be asked to serve as godparents. From among separate friendship groups, separate individuals can serve as godparents. These friendship groups are usually composed of individuals of the same age as the parents. They may derive from work-related or recreational situations or from hobby type activities.

Neighbors are also frequently asked to be godparents. Close friends may make a pact to become compairis should any one of their wives bear a child. The creation of a compadrazgo relationship between friends appears to create a sanction against the possibility of bad blood between them. In addition to the friendship relationship, a brotherhood is created which cannot be dissolved by earthly means.

From the data available, it was not possible to determine whether relatives were preferred over non-relatives as godparents. Informants had conflicting views over this issue. However, there appears to be a tendency among younger couples to choose godparents who are non-relatives.

In addition to these two main groups from which godparents are usually chosen, occasionally a godparent may be chosen for the sake of extracting economic and political favors. With no prior relationship existing between the two people, this usually occurs under a situation where the person desiring the compadrazgo alliance is at least familiar with the other person's status. Choosing godparents in this manner is held in contempt by most Chamorros, particularly if the differences in status or social class are great and readily obvious.

In instances where a wife or a husband may be chosen to be a godparent to the exclusion of their spouse, the spouse is still considered part of the compadrazgo relationship and is addressed by the godchild's parents by the appropriate compadrazgo term (either compairi or commairi). The godchild

would also address his godparent's spouse by the appropriate compadrazgo term of patlino or matlina (nino or nina) and the same respect, courtesy, and obligations would be accorded him.

The selection of the godparents is done verbally and is not accomplished during any specific time. Godparents may be selected before or after the child's birth. Usually the parents have someone in mind prior to the birth of the child, and they may decide to ask the prospective godparents before the child's birth. If individuals are requested or request to be godparents, it is always understood that their acceptance is tentative and contingent upon the infant's survival.

Older people feel that one should wait until the mother has given birth before selecting godparents in order to avoid the situation of godparents being selected for a stillborn child. Such an occurrence dissolves any compadrazgo commitments. Older people do not feel an urgency in selecting godparents, since prospective godparents are always available from at least among one's relatives, and no one can properly refuse a request to baptize another's child. However, because a godparent must incur certain expenses during the Baptism and baptismal party, if parents are certain of their choice, the prospective godparents are normally informed as soon as possible to allow time for the accommodation of these expenses. If godparents are selected after birth, it is usually within the period allotted by the Church for the infant to be baptized. (Among close friends and relatives no formality prevails

in the selection of each other for godparents, since it is superseded by the existing relationship between them.) No special rituals accompany the request for someone to be a godparent. Since it normally occurs between good friends or relatives, a casual and sometimes tacit understanding may cause either parent or prospective godparent to broach the subject. With the selection of the godparents, the child is now ready to receive the sacrament of Baptism in the Baptismal Rite.

The Baptismal Rite

After it has been determined who the godparents will be, arrangements are made for the rite to be performed. A day and time is selected that is convenient for the priest, prospective godparents, and child's family. The child's father generally makes the appropriate arrangements and then informs the prospective godparents of them.

Traditionally Baptisms were performed on Sunday after the last morning Mass. This practice developed as a result of priests being scarce during the prewar and early postwar period. During these times the priests made rounds saying Mass at the different parishes throughout the island. The parishioners usually would not be able to see them during the week and would thus try to take advantage of their Sunday presence. Catholic Church ruling allows Baptism to take place at any time or on any day that a priest is available. In cases of an emergency, pending death, even a layman may perform Baptism.

Church protocol suggests that the Baptismal rite be

performed within two weeks after the child's birth; however, because of the sometimes extensive preparation for the celebration accompanying this rite and an allowance for the mother's recuperation, a child might not be baptized up to a period of five or six months after birth. Filipino families on Guam tend to hold off the Baptism of their children for these longer periods. Guamanian Chamorros on the other hand are usually prompt in securing the Baptism of their children. This may be a result of beliefs surrounding the death of an unbaptized child. Although many of these beliefs revolve around Catholic Church teaching, where dogma ends, Chamorro beliefs seem to begin. One belief particularly among older people is that the unbaptized child is more susceptible to the evil manipulations of the devil, duendes, or taotaomona (spirits which take human form) as well as sickness and death. Upon the birth of a child, salt may be scattered around the house to ward off such spirits or beings who might harm the mother or the unbaptized infant. According to Church dogma, unbaptized infants who die, despite the fact that they have committed no personal sin, because they are born with original sin cannot enter heaven. They do not go to hell but remain in limbo, a place in between heaven and hell. Parents whose child dies unbaptized due to their neglect are reproached by elders and are said to be visited by bad luck and sickness. They will receive punishment and answer to the child on Judgment Day for his predicament. These beliefs combine to reinforce the prompt Baptism of the

child which coincides with the desires of the Catholic Church.

On the day assigned for the Baptism, before the rite, the godparents go to the house where the parents and infant reside. The prospective godmother brings with her a white christening gown (bata) of silk, lace, and ribbons for the infant. If the infant is a boy, the lace usually is blue and if it is a girl, pink or yellow. (Priests are beginning to insist upon batas which are completely white to signify the purification of the baptismal rite.) In addition, the godmother brings a package for the baby consisting of three diapers, a baby blanket, and a baby dress worn after the baptism and during the guput baptismo (baptismal party). She also brings a christening cake for the guput baptismo. The godfather does not bring anything for the rite itself but brings a monetary gift called bañus to give the parents for the child. The godfather also provides all drinks for the baptismal party afterwards. The child is dressed in the gown, and at the designated time the godparents and parents go to the church where the priest awaits them. (Traditionally in Guam to signify the godparents' importance and the trust in them and their responsibility for the child's spiritual and material welfare, only the godparents would bring the child to the church. The parents and other relatives would remain at home.) At the church entrance the infant is given to the godmother, who carries the baby to the baptismal fountain. The parents and godfather walk alongside her, and the priest walks in front. The procedure involved in the Baptismal

rite is standardized and outlined in a booklet which the priest reads aloud during the ceremony.

The Chamorros have associated certain actions performed during the ritual with the identity of the godfather, and others with the identity of the godmother. The godmother carries the baby during the rite. The godfather holds and lights a candle from a perpetually lighted candle called the Easter candle. These actions have sometimes been used to distinguish the primary godfather and godmother when more than two godparents are present. According to Church law in Guam for the Baptism of a child, only one person of the same sex as the child is required. If more than one godmother or godfather is present at the Baptism, the Church recognizes only one in its records. The Chamorros on the other hand feel that in instances like this, all are godfathers and godmothers, incurring the same responsibilities over the child by being in the position and by touching the child. However, the godmother who carries the baby and the godfather who holds the lighted candle are considered the primary ones and have the first responsibility over the child. If they are no longer alive, the secondary godparents become responsible.

At the conclusion of the ceremony at the baptismal font, the priest congratulates the parents and is discreetly given an amount of \$5 to \$20 by the godfather. If the godfather forgets or neglects to do this, the father usually does so. This money is considered a payment to the priest for administering the sacrament. The priest usually is

invited to the guput baptismo afterwards, where he is asked to bless the food. The whole baptismal ritual, depending on the priest, lasts about half an hour.

The Guput Baptismo-The Baptismal Party

While the infant is being baptized at the church much activity is taking place at home. Women are busily slicing meat and vegetables. Sliced onions and hot chili red peppers are being mixed with soy sauce and vinegar to make the hot finadene sauce commonly served with food. Pounds of chicken are being fried or marinated semi-raw in a vinegar sauce with hot chili peppers and grated coconut to create the traditional dish called kelaguen. Pots of red rice are boiling over hot stoves. Large tortilla patties are being pressed out for grilling. The men are delivering drinks, moving tables, killing pigs, setting up the bar, adding to the pala pala (temporary extension), or making other last minute arrangements.

All this hustle, bustle and work is aimed at producing the guput baptismo (baptismal party). The baptismal party is a joyous occasion celebrating the birth of a child, his becoming a child of God by baptism and the survival of the mother. If it is the first child or grandchild, much pride is expressed and made evident in the liveliness of the party.

Planning and Preparation for the Party

Long before the baby is born, during the early period of pregnancy, plans are being made for the guput baptismo. Thought is given toward how the child's birth may be celebrated,

a pig is reserved, and money is saved or borrowed. Although close relatives may be consulted or give advice, the planning is usually done by the parents or grandparents of the child.

Decisions and planning for the guput baptismo involve answering a myriad of questions such as: where the party should be held, how much and what type of food should be served, how furniture and food tables should be arranged, whether or not a pala pala should be built, and who and how many people should be invited. This latter concern may seem a slight matter, but Chamorros invite relatives by contacting the heads of different extended families, and they in turn determine who will come from among their own families. This increases the difficulty of estimating how many people will actually come to a party. A feast giver never really knows how many members of a family invited will come. A couple can never accommodate all of their relatives at these parties. But to try to establish a cut-off point would be very difficult, since it would involve denying invitations to the heads of households who are generally closer relatives and who indulge the most in the practice of chenchuli (reciprocal gift giving) and ajudo (labor exchange). To restrict the number of these people will almost certainly generate bad feelings between families. Estimations for events like these baptismal parties usually end up being based on the maximum number of relatives and friends that might come minus those relatives who through past experience are known not to come. In addition to families of relatives, friends are individually invited to the party.

Baptismal parties are complicated affairs. Ten to twenty people may spend three or four days each preparing for the occasion, and an average of \$500 to \$600 may be spent. Generally the child's mother or grandmother manages the party assisted by a sister or female cousin. Most of the cooking is done by the women.

During events such as Baptism and the party that follows, young parents rely heavily on their own parents for direction and financial assistance. A short explanation of Guamanian marriage practices will show why this is the case.

Couples on Guam tend to marry at a young age. The wife is usually 18 or 19, and the husband usually not more than a couple of years older. After the Organic Act of Guam in 1950, young men could be drafted into the U.S. Armed Forces, and therefore would spend at least two years in the service before getting married. Only recently was it acceptable for girls also to enter the Armed Forces. For a young girl who had completed high school, the alternatives would be to get a job, attend the local college of Guam (an alternative which did not exist until the creation of the College of Guam in June 30, 1952, and one which was not previously encouraged by Chamorro families), or get married. Families had a stricter code of conduct governing women's behavior, especially in the presence of the opposite sex. Whatever their age, it is not acceptable for unmarried women to live alone in apartments or houses separate from their families. This frequently results in daughters living until old age

with parents. This strict code of conduct has led some women to marry just to be able respectably to leave their parents' house. This tendency to marry young creates a dependence on parents which continues after marriage.

Traditionally parents arranged the marriage of their children, usually carrying the brunt of expenses for the marriage feast and for helping the couple settle. In recent times young people choose their own partners; however, because parents still bear a considerable portion of the expenses for the marriage feast, it is still customary to at least obtain the acquiescence of one's parents in the choice of a partner. The proper way for a marriage to take place in the traditional Chamorro pattern is for the groom to bear most of the bride's expenses (wedding dress, church decorations etc.). The groom and bride each have their separate marriage feasts, which join up later in the evening in what is referred to as the complimento.

The manner in which a proper wedding can take place places an enormous financial burden upon the young groom who is usually ill-equipped or unable to bear it. However, a wedding not carried out properly would embarrass his family, so he is forced to borrow money for the feast, or more than likely his parents or some close kin will provide it. (Compairis may provide this money but usually it is because they are kin.) Besides the fear of losing face, parents are motivated to bear this financial burden for other reasons. As mentioned earlier, unmarried children while living in

their parents' home usually give their earnings to parents (normally to the mother) for them to use at their discretion. Frequently a mother will set aside a certain amount in preparation for the child's marriage. This type of unity and financial interdependence is carried over to the point of the guput baptismo. Since the young couple is usually living at or near the groom's parents' house, their dependence on family counsel and financial aid represents the continuation of the pattern begun at the point of marriage. (If the family of the bride is more prosperous than than of the groom's, the couple may stay at the bride's parents' house. However, if possible this is avoided because it is considered embarrassing for the groom's family, for this indicates an incapability to support the bride.)

Functions of the Guput Baptismo

The guput baptismo is usually held at the home of the child's parents or paternal grandparents. Whatever the arrangements made, this guput baptismo provides an occasion for family and friends to come together. However, the interactions involved go further than the process of simple contact, for it is during these types of events that the reinforcement of bonds between extended family members and fictional kin (such as compadres) occur. Although the parents and grandparents of the child contribute the bulk of the labor and expenses for the baptismal feast, relatives and friends will also contribute labor, materials, and money to the feast

givers (usually the parents or grandparents). Labor contributed is referred to as ajudo and money or materials contributed is referred to as chenchuli. The infant may be given a gift (regalo) by a relative or visitor. Godparents make their separate contributions to the baptismal feast. As mentioned earlier, the godmother provides the christening gown, a christening cake and a regalo package. The godfather's gift is money (baños) ranging from an amount of \$5 to \$200. The drinks he provides, on an average, consist of five cases of soft drinks, five cases of beer and five bottles of whiskey.

Regalos and the contributions by the godparents, in contrast to chenchuli and ajudo do not incur an obligation to reciprocate. Chenchuli and/or ajudo, under pain of being considered taimamalao (shameless) must be returned to the giver in some equivalent form. Thus as relatives or friends contribute chenchuli and/or ajudo, they are either reciprocating for previous chenchuli or ajudo given by the feast givers, or they wish to initiate such a reciprocation process with the feast givers. Among close relatives, chenchuli and ajudo are expected. (Close relatives are expected to help each other.) It is presumed that relatives will reciprocate because of blood relations. Chenchuli and ajudo given by non-relatives indicate a desire to form a material relationship and at least a symbolic interdependence between families. The receiver must thus take pains to observe events which may offer the opportunity to reciprocate. To neglect to

reciprocate would label the receiver as taimamalao, bringing the giver's contempt upon him and ending the possibility of establishing any desired relationship. If the receiver reciprocates in equivalent value, it is now incumbent upon the initial giver to continue the process or end it. Should he decide not to reciprocate, the relationship ends without his being shamefully labeled. Extenuating circumstances which prevent a reciprocation of chenchuli or ajudo are acceptable, and in these cases the persons who cannot reciprocate are not considered taimamalao and are not held in contempt by those who gave in some previous event. These extenuating circumstances do not, however, absolve one from returning chenchuli or ajudo, but merely hold in abeyance sanctions against one until such time that he is capable of responding properly. The guput baptismo, then, is not just a simple affair to celebrate the child's birth and initiation into the membership of the Church. By providing opportunities for reciprocal gift giving to occur, it serves the added function of formally (or manifestly) bringing family and friends together.

Every family would like the guput baptismo to be bibu (lively). The amount and kind of food and drink and the entertainment are an indication of the baptismal party's liveliness. A new baby is significant to a people who seem to lavish attention on children, and the birth itself provides more than enough reason for celebration. This is especially so if the baby is the first born and a boy, which means that

the family name will be continued. For the elders (called man-amku) and the more religious females, it is also significant that the child is made Christian and an acceptable member of the Church (mana Kilisyano). Elders will visit the baby and give their blessing, often remarking that the child has now seen God's face (a lyii matan Yuus). The impression one gets from these remarks is that the infant is not yet really considered a complete person until it has been baptized. The celebration may also reflect the relief of relatives that all is well with the mother and baby (this was particularly so in the past when present medications were not available and mothers often had a difficult time with deliveries.)

Besides the purely psychological gratification it provides, the liveliness and success of the guput baptismo (how bibu the party is) is frequently used as one indicator to determine the social status of the family. The family which is wealthy will naturally present a more bibu and bigger party. As mentioned previously, in Chamorro custom the young couple usually lives with the parents of the boy and as in the marriage feast, it is the husband's family which is expected to shoulder the majority of the expenses for the feast, since it is incumbent upon the male to provide the means of support. The wife's family may chip in for this feast but always less than that provided by the male's family. An inability to provide a baptismal feast reflects an inability on the husband's part to live up to customary standards, and

this in turn reflects on his parents. (This same incentive lies behind behavior found in wedding feasts.)

As a result of these combined forces, a family may exceed its means, even going into debt, to put forth a lively and successful baptismal party. Single working sons and daughters are cajoled into contributing to this party, if the parents do not already control their financial resources. Although the liveliness of the party is enhanced by the presence of family and friends and their contributions of ajudo and chenchuli, rarely do these contributions exceed the total cost of the guput baptismo. (However, they do provide something extra that would have been a drain from the feast giver's pocket, yet those who labor must still be fed while chenchuli given must be returned at a later date.) Despite the feature of over-consumption or unnecessary consumption, it is precisely events such as these which create a situation where extended family members develop family pride and channels from which they can depend on or increase their dependence on one another.

Younger couples are not as concerned with the necessity and pageantry associated with the baptismal party, but it is found important by their parents and since they are greatly dependent on parents at this stage, their parents' wishes are generally acceded to. As a result father and son find themselves pooling their resources (labor and material) to satisfy these requirements.

A Changing Pattern

It is interesting to note that the more financially independent couples become from their families, the smaller is the circle of relatives invited and the greater is the incidence of giving regalos to the infant rather than the use of chenchuli and ajudo. It would appear that affluence and financial independence might allow one to transcend the obligations and involvement imposed by a participation in the giving of chenchuli and ajudo. However, crisis events for one's close kin still carry an obligation to help in some way which usually results in giving ajudo or chenchuli. Even if one has given chenchuli before, if a crisis event occurs again in the same family, chenchuli or ajudo is given again. Affluence does seem to be associated with a trend toward restricting the giving and receiving of chenchuli and ajudo to a smaller and closer group of relatives and to allow regalo to be used more with distant relatives and friends. The type of economy and the increasing diversity and size of population has also tended to contribute towards the perpetuation of this latter behavior pattern.

Traditionally, the baptismal party began after the last morning Mass as soon as the baby was baptized, and lasted all day into the evening. At present, although the baby may be baptized on any day, it is customary for the rite to be conducted about 4:00 in the afternoon and for the party to be held immediately afterwards. In typical Chamorro fashion, food is left on the table and plates are continually refilled

until such time as no one any longer wishes to eat or drink. Drinks are served in great quantities and a makeshift bar may be constructed to accommodate people. Long after the food has been removed from the tables, men may be still seen drinking and conversing in small groups. As the evening becomes late, the trickle of people leaving becomes larger until the party ends.

The Functions of Compadrazgo Relationships

The Primary Functions

In the Catholic Church's intentions, godparents exist to serve as the guarantors insuring that the child follows the spiritual teachings and commandments of the Church. The godparents become the spiritual parents of the child. As Catholics, the parents also have this duty. Should they fail, it becomes the responsibility of the godparents to insure that the child follows Church teachings. However, in cases in which parents are deceased, since spiritual well-being could not really be detached from physical well-being, it was concluded by the Church that to insure this spiritual well-being, godparents should be prepared also to undertake the physical care of the child. (When a child's parents die, unless compadres are also kin, this rarely takes place on Guam.) Chamorros have accepted these Church beliefs as their own.

Chamorros consider godparent-godchild relationships to be of the greatest importance with relationships between

compadres playing a secondary role. Since the godparent-godchild relationship is a phenomenon introduced by the Catholic Church, it is not unreasonable to assume that this emphasis might have been implanted by the Spanish priests. If this is the case, they were highly successful. Chamorros consider the functions of the godparent-godchild relationship to be of prime importance. The norms governing godparent-godchild relationships are quite clear in contrast to those governing godparent-parent relationships. The overriding spiritual and material responsibility over the child remains. The notion of spiritual responsibility, as previously mentioned, was obtained from the Church. The material responsibility and how the spiritual responsibility was to be executed and carried out was left more to the interpretation of the Chamorros.

Chamorro culture is replete with sayings emphasizing the spiritual responsibility and influence of the godparents over the godchild. Great significance is placed on the fact that it is the godparents who brought the child into the Christian world. Sayings such as Mana lyii ni matan Yuus, (They let him see God's face) are commonly used to express their importance. One very popular legend tells of a young girl named Sirena who continuously disobeyed her mother's orders about going swimming. As a result, her mother cursed her so that she would change into a fish. The godmother's claiming her right to the child altered the curse so that only the bottom half of the child became a fish. The top

half which belonged to her remained human. Half fish and half human, Sirena could no longer live on land but had to remain in the sea forever. The legend illustrated the godmother's role in the determination of the child's destiny and future. The elders (man-amku) would say that the matlina's and patlino's (godmother's and godfather's) words with regard to their godchild are stronger than those of parents' in the face of God.

To properly fulfill the role of the spiritual guarantor, a godparent is expected to maintain some contact with his/her godchild. Unless the godchild or godparent is off the island, facility of intra-island travel, and numerous crisis and festive events provide many occasions for this contact to occur. In most cases, godparents and parents are either relatives or friends so this contact occurs often. On Christmas or on his birthday, the godparent may give the godchild a gift, which usually satisfies this contact criterion. Interaction between godparent and godchild may occur for other reasons. As the child grows up, he may seek advice or assistance from his godparents. Godparents may be asked by the parents for their advice concerning the child. Incidents have occurred in which a child may have run away from home and sought sanctuary at the home of his godparents. A girl who eloped and married against her parents' wishes may ask her godparent to mediate for her so that she may come again into their good graces.

Cases have been reported in which the parents have

disowned a child because she has eloped and has lived with a boy. When the girl later on wishes to marry the boy, a godparent may again mediate between her and her parents for the marriage to take place. If the girl is of age, the godparents may themselves make the arrangements for the marriage. (Eloping and getting married is one way to avoid the wedding expenses; however, it brings much shame upon the families, particularly that of the girl's.) When family troubles of this nature occur, the godparent is often sought as a mediator or neutral party. This is possible because of his position vis-a-vis parents and vis-a-vis child.

A godchild may dislike his godparents but a minimum of respect must be shown. When a godchild sees a nino or nina (godfather or godmother), he or she is expected to show this respect by greeting him or her with a mangninge. Depending on how close parents and godparents are as relatives and friends, or how Americanized one child's family may be, kissing on the cheek may be used instead. Upon the godchild's performing mangninge, the godparent may confer a blessing by uttering the words Si Yuus u Bendici hao (May God Bless You), or he may simply say, Thank You. If he is close to the child, he may give the child money.

Godchildren are also expected to give obedience to their godparents. In the absence of parents or close kin, godchildren are expected to listen to godparents. In prewar times, godparents disciplined their godchildren found doing mischief. The godparent's report of the wrongdoing to the

child's parents would usually incur another reprimand or beating. In recent years godparents tend to admonish the child and refer him to his parents for disciplinary action. Except for these instances mentioned above, if the parents of the child are still alive (or even if deceased so long as close relatives still exist), rarely do the godparents participate in actively caring for or rearing the child.

No special relationship develops between godchild and godparent's children, but marriage between godchild and godparent's child is frowned upon. No special relationship exists between godchild's siblings and his godparents.

In addition to the fulfillment of his role as spiritual parent, the godparent's contacts with his godchild keep him abreast of the different crisis events the godchild may be entering into. Knowledge of the godchild's progress with respect to these events is essential because of the godparent's participation in some of them. Godparents have very explicit and important duties to perform during two crisis events in the child's lifetime. These duties are performed on the occasion of the godchild's marriage and on the occasion of his death. (If a godparent is deceased or unable to make the occasion, a wife or a son will usually stand in and fulfill his obligations for him.)

Upon the impending marriage of a godchild, the godparents are informed, usually as soon as the marriage has been decided upon between the couples' families. Often the godparents may be asked for advice concerning arrangements

for the marriage and/or the marriage feast (guput fandangu). The fandangu on Guam provides occasion for activity, work, excitement, and expense that exceeds the guput baptismo in magnitude. The planning and coordination for hosting a fandangu are extremely taxing and tiresome and rarely produce the results intended. People may work a week or two weeks ahead in preparing for this party and expenses may easily exceed \$2,000.

Traditionally marriages took place on a Saturday morning during the Second Mass. The marriage ceremony is customarily held at the village church of the bride. The church is elaborately decorated with flowers for the occasion. The Friday evening before the wedding, the bride's family would have a guput fandangu at their home, and the groom's family would also hold a fandangu at their home. These wedding parties would usually begin at 6:00 in the evening. Later on in the evening, the groom's party bringing food, drinks, and entertainment would move to the party of the bride, in what is referred to as the complimento. The two parties joined at the bride's home may last long into the evening or early morning. After the wedding, a breakfast party is usually held at the house of the bride. Weddings nowadays can be held on Friday afternoons, Saturday mornings, or Saturday afternoons.

Throughout the whole sequence of the wedding feast, the customs of ajudo and chenchuli operate. Godparents are usually present throughout these activities. They may choose to give additional chenchuli or ajudo but ordinarily the

godfather of the groom is expected to buy all the drinks for the fandangu and provide the entertainment. (This is usually in the form of a musical band.) The godfather also absorbs one-half of the cost of the first wedding reception food table. A special table is set aside for the bride and groom. Seated on the table with them are the groom's baptismal godfather and bride's baptismal godmother. Occasionally, the godparents' spouses or the priest may be also seated there.

During the wedding ceremony the godfather of the groom serves as the best man and the godmother of the bride serves as matron of honor. The godfather stands or sits at the left of the groom as he faces the altar during the ceremony. The godmother of the bride is situated on the opposite side from the godfather and at the right side of the bride. The marriage event thus requires actual participation of godparents in the marriage rite. If the godparents are unable to be present a son may take the godfather's place or a daughter, the godmother's. If none are available, then the godparents for confirmation would fill this role.

On the occasion of the godchild's death, godparents perform certain functions and undergo expenses. They are among the first people notified if a godchild is very ill or dies. If the godchild dies unmarried and has received his First Holy Communion (animas), godparents pay for the cost of the casket and burial clothes and provide a special wreath. They may assist their compairi (child's father) and commairi (child's mother) in arranging for the wake and funeral. They

also should at least be present when the body comes out from the hospital and at least attend the wake and funeral if not the nine days of Rosary afterwards. In the case of a married godchild who dies, arrangements and expenses are provided by the spouse. The godparents may give a special wreath and assist in the funeral arrangements.

If an unmarried godchild dies before receiving First Holy Communion (these persons are usually infants or children), godparents undergo the same expenses as in the case of the unmarried godchild who has received Holy Communion. However, in the case of the former all burial clothing and flowers are white. The death of a child who has not received his First Holy Communion is not considered an occasion for sadness. Since they are considered to have no sins, they are considered anghitsu (angels) when they die and they immediately go to heaven. Consequently white burial clothes and flowers are used to signify this purity of the child and the joy of his going to heaven. (Guamanians have come to associate white with happy and joyful occasions whereas black denotes mourning and sadness.) A belief exists among the elders that to express sorrow and grief over the child's death would cause the child's soul to lose its way or delay its journey to heaven. Also because the child is considered an angel, unlike the case of a child who has received his First Holy Communion, no Rosary, prayers, or wake is considered necessary. (The body is brought out unembalmed from the hospital and displayed only a few hours before burial.) These two events in the lifetime

of a godchild usually provide the greatest participation of godparents.

In the case of a godparent who dies, godchildren customarily attend the wake and funeral. They may give a wreath and the godson may sometimes carry the casket.

Secondary Functions

As mentioned earlier, if no previous blood tie or friendship tie existed between parents and godparents, entering into a compadrazgo relation through the baptism of the child makes a person a compairi or commairi of the child's parents. Customs teach that parents and godparents should be cordial and respectful to one another. They should not argue or cheat one another or have bad feelings for one another. A type of brotherhood should exist between them. They should be willing to help one another, particularly if it concerns the godchild. If because of blood ties or friendship this type of cordial relationship already exists, entering into a compadrazgo relationship serves to reinforce and bind the relationship closer by providing religious sanction of it. At the very minimum, parents and godparents must recognize their co-parental status and maintain a cordiality and respect pattern commensurate with it.

The compadre relationship and the godparent-godchild relationship have a profound effect on the other contact situations between these three sets of people. In politics, a man to a great degree will rely on his compadres to support him. It is quite difficult to refuse your compadre political

support, particularly if he is the godfather of your child. (A compairi essentially has done you a favor by baptizing your child and by serving as a guarantor for the child's spiritual and even material welfare.) If no valid excuse can be produced, requests for favors from compairis are usually fulfilled. No one wishes to generate bad feelings between himself and his compairi. However, the ethic of reciprocity also operates in this area and a favor requested should be returned. At the very least being compairi with someone provides a basis for contact and communication between people which would otherwise have to be cultivated. In getting a job, filing taxes, paying bills, or simply in obtaining information, having a compairi or commairi in the organization serves to facilitate matters. (Generally compadres who are non-kin are resorted to for these problems if no relative is available.)

The concept of getting things done by whom you know is aptly demonstrated by use of the compadrazgo system. Despite its attraction as a lubricant to facilitate matters, the compadrazgo system places great stress and pressure upon individuals who work under or wish to operate equitable systems based on merit. The compadrazgo system, like the extended family system, does not lend itself toward the theoretically efficient political and governmental systems imposed by the U.S. government. Job advancement and hiring on the basis of merit is generally adhered to or at least given lip service, but it is never entirely possible for a

Chamorro individual to ignore the pressures of the family and compadrazgo system on Guam. For an individual to do so would ostracize him or alienate him from the very people providing incentives for the advancement he seeks. If his undesired action can be rationalized by shifting the blame to an authority which all those concerned can see would produce his demise, then his action might not bring contempt or condemnation upon him. An example of this can be illustrated in the case of a patrolman who has pulled over a speeding car only to discover that it contains his godfather. In the interest of justice and what he stands for, the issuing of a ticket would be in order. However, if he is Chamorro it is unlikely that a ticket would be issued, but instead a deferring admonishment to slow down might be made. If no option were given to the patrolman, as in this instance let us say his superior might be accompanying him on the patrol, to avoid losing his job, the patrolman would most likely issue the ticket to his godparent. The godparent, on the other hand, recognizing the godchild's predicament, would most likely not place any sanctions against him for issuing the ticket.

As Guamanians are increasingly made to conform to work ethics derived from American culture, institutions such as the compadrazgo system will eventually take second place. This is not to say that there will not be a feedback effect, for if one were to observe the manner in which American style law and order is maintained on Guam, one cannot help but

detect distinctive cultural differences from that of any other society's system. This uniqueness is not, however, arrived at without a price, for until such time as the majority of the members of the Chamorro society totally conform to some of the American ideas being introduced, a shuffle and tightwire act is constantly being performed by many Guamanian Chamorros who find themselves in a position of having to adapt to American standards to survive while still maintaining some semblance of continuity with the still existing island institutions such as the extended family and compadrazgo system.

The description of the compadrazgo system being offered here is in fact a description of this tightwire act being performed by Chamorros. The norm is described and contrasted with what is actually done. To the degree that what is done is usually based on norms, it is necessary to seek out these norms. As what is actually done becomes customary and acceptable, these actions in turn will serve as the basis from which norms will be derived for the forthcoming generations. As the economic and social environment changes, so will norms change. Such will be the fate of the norms governing the compadrazgo system. For close to three centuries the compadrazgo system on Guam has served a spiritual as well as social purpose. The spiritual function has yet remained relatively unchanged (which is to be expected) but the shifting needs of the society are directing a change in this age old system and the behavior patterns which accompany it.

Generalizations and Abstractions

Observations of compadrazgo on Guam suggest a definite use of the institution to intensify and/or extend kinship relationships. Weak or potentially volatile kinship ties are strengthened by the creation of compadre relations between relatives (particularly affinal kin). On the other hand, between already close family members compadrazgo is used to recognize and intensify this existing intimacy by publicly and formally expressing through compadrazgo one's trust in certain relatives' method or capability of raising a child. These close family members that parents choose for godparents are the ones they feel (amongst other relatives) could and would raise the child in a manner not inconsistent with the way they would do so themselves. Additionally, since close family are normally involved in the rearing of a child who has lost his parents, simply to recognize this fact, compadrazgo may be created between relatives.

The choice of non-relatives for compadres reflects the extension of the kinship relationship in what is referred to as ritual or fictive kinship. This extension of kinship is not used to create new relationships between people, but serves only to reinforce existing ones. Good friends of approximately the same age and status as the parents are normally chosen for godparents. This friendship is transformed into a co-parental or brotherhood status by the compadrazgo relationship. Entry into this relationship is a permanent affair. Friendship may form the basis for initially

entering into the compadrazgo relationship but once individuals have become compadres, friendship need not be present to sustain the relationship.

Status considerations and economic and political factors occasionally serve as the basis for establishing a compadrazgo relationship, but on Guam these factors generally run second to the more important factors of kinship and friendship. Both kin and friends are represented in the array of compadres a person may have. Regardless of the relationships around which compadrazgo forms (kinship or friendship), emphasis is still placed on maintenance of the proper godparent-godchild relationship.

With respect to the godparent-godchild relationship, non-kin godparents essentially serve as reinforcements in the event of a breakdown in the more important family system. (Theoretically relatives can disown a family member who has gone astray, but his godparents cannot do so.) Compadres who are friends are rarely called upon to undertake the tasks of spiritually and physically caring for their godchild. The rare occasions when this does occur reflect the inability of the extended family to successfully handle the problem. The godparent may be aware of a problem concerning the godchild and may suggest solutions to the parents and their kin, but active and actual participation in the process of correcting and/or helping the child occurs only after family efforts have proven ineffective.

Family remains the most influential force shaping

the lives of most Guamanians. Compadrazgo is one of the tools used to intensify familial relationships or to extend them as seen fit. Religion in general serves to provide the rationale for maintaining the behavior found between family members. Church emphasis on respect and obedience for elders serves to illustrate this point. Family provides support for the individual and in turn allegiance must be given to it in the form of these patterns of respect and obedience. The intensity of this allegiance is greatest within the nuclear family and extends outward according to the directions set by it. Financial and economic dependence and survival may have served as the initial major force maintaining these patterns of familial interaction, but it has been ingrained so well over time in the minds of the individuals that financial independence may not be as quick as expected in altering the allegiance given to it. Family provides security but is often stifling for people who cannot employ new methods they have learned under changing conditions.

The source of control and the greatest influence over an individual remains the nuclear family and is reinforced by members of the extended family. Grandparents provide the greatest amount of reinforcement and influence outside the nuclear family, next in line come parents, older male siblings, then female siblings. If efforts by these members to correct or help a child are found to be futile, then godparents who are nonkin may be the resort. The individual's consciousness of lineage rarely goes past the generation of his grandparents

and that of his grandchildren. The greatest amount of vertically active interaction among extended family members focuses on the members of the parent's generation. Horizontal extension of the family ties is greatest between siblings in each generation and may be optional at the third cousin level.

The role of compadrazgo must thus be understood in terms of the kinship system. The form compadrazgo traditionally has taken has been determined primarily by extended family considerations (usually governed by grandparents). In a changing society this control by grandparents has weakened and has shifted to that of the parents. In recent times emphasis and dependence on family has decreased and compadrazgo has reflected this shift in an apparent increased choice by younger parents of friends rather than relatives as godparents. The final consequences of this shift still remain to be investigated, but what is presently apparent as a result of this shift is the lessening of compadrazgo's use as a cementing agent for strengthening family ties. The consequences ensuing from this will similarly have to be determined.

Given the familial influence on compadrazgo, it is not unrealistic to assume that as the family system changes so will compadrazgo. This change will occur at different rates in each village and will be influenced by the same factors that are affecting the society's changes as a whole. The shift from a subsistence economy to that of a wage economy, the introduction of new goods and services, the influx of different ethnic groups with their ideas and customs, and

the imposition of an American way of life, have all made their mark on the compadrazgo system. The formerly tightly knit village composed of households related to one another is slowly giving way to a more ethnically diversified type of community. Behavior patterns and attitudes associated with respect and obedience diminish as the children gain greater education and financial independence. The historical sequence of events and the changing outside control of the island with its concomitant economic barriers did not provide many opportunities for the present older generations to amass any substantial amount of wealth which could be used to influence or control younger generations. The possibilities for land transfer from father to son may have helped to maintain the former's control over the latter, but today, the reduced dependence on subsistence farming and dwindling individual land holdings have made living under the support, protection and control of one's father less and less attractive. With the younger Chamorro now having to cope with a more American society and having to survive in a world which rewards adherence to American principles, ideas and customs, many Chamorro customs will be found non-adaptive. The gap between older and younger generations widens. Survival requires the relinquishing of some old ways of thinking that have been held dear. Older people have become increasingly aware of this fact and have reacted to many of the changes with tacit acceptance. Sometimes incapable of understanding and coping with the changes, many older people begin to trust

their children for guidance.

The effect of these changes will tend to place greater emphasis on individuals and the nuclear family. Financial independence allows for greater deviation from custom, while the presence of other ethnic groups, particularly the mainland American, provides the models for these deviations from one's ancestral culture. New housing subdivisions created on the island and the facility of migrating to the mainland reduce proximity of family members and the communication between them. Extended family members can no longer be as easily contacted nor are they as readily available to participate in crisis events. Coordination between extended family members decreases. The nuclear family relationship slowly begins to dominate the choices being made.

The change Guam is experiencing is not a unique process. Kenneth Little (1967:254-272) describes a similar process being experienced by the Mende of West Africa. Little (1967:272) forms the following four propositions about this change process:

1. An increasing number of individuals no longer acknowledge the tribal and other sanctions to which they were formerly subject.
2. Older values and forms of social prestige are being replaced by new ones.
3. There is a growing tendency for an individual's social position to be assessed with reference to the community rather than to his own family.
4. The kind of relations between individuals who gain their living in some western form of employment is giving rise to a type of social structure in which status is assigned increasingly according to factors, such as income, occupation, and education, which originate in a western system of values.

These propositions would apply very well to Guam's case.

Compadrazgo as it is influenced by these changes may take on different forms. It may become more religiously motivated and simply serve to satisfy the Catholic Church requirements, or it may take on the more secular function of horizontally establishing fictive kin relations to compensate for the loss of emotional and moral support as the extended family disintegrates.

Comparisons With Compadrazgo Systems In Other Community Studies

In comparing compadrazgo on Guam with compadrazgo in other parts of the world, certain characteristics contrast sharply with characteristics found in other communities. Compadrazgo in the Guam community, unlike that in communities of Latin America (Mintz & Wolf 1950:255; Lewis 1960:66), and more like compadrazgo in Spain (Foster 1953:5), places the greatest emphasis on the godparent-godchild relationship. Compadre relationships are important but with few exceptions they form primarily around preexisting friendships or kin relations. In contrast, the godparent-godchild relationship is basically a new relationship. The obligations and responsibilities of the godparent with respect to the godchild are more specific and positively action-oriented than those in the compadre relationship. The obligations and responsibilities attached to the godparent-godchild relationship exceed those stemming from kinship or friendship relations. Religious and social sanctions against noncompliance or nonmaintenance of the proper relationship between godparent and godchild

are greater than that found between compadres. Relationships between compadres, although spiritually sanctioned through compadrazgo, may oftentimes become less intense and more distant. There are no specific norms which indicate the degree to which compadres should like each other or help each other. Compadrazgo adds very little to an existing relationship. It may idealize and sanctify existing relationships or provide a point of contact which potentially could provide the basis for forming a relationship in the future, but the attitudes between compadres normally are governed by their previous relationship. The godparent-godchild relationship does, however, require a minimum of contact between godparent and godchild. Norms governing this relationship do indicate specific duties to be carried out by godparents during the life cycle of their godchild.

Another salient feature of Guam's compadrazgo which contrasts with the Americas is the paucity of formal rituals (outside of the church rites themselves) surrounding compadrazgo. There is no formal process of selecting godparents or formality surrounding the exchange of gifts between compadres as in parts of Mexico and South America (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1962:184-190). Chenchuli and ajudo are exchanged but no rituals accompany the actual exchange process. This lack of rituals may be a consequence of the rapid change process experienced by the society. Part of this change process consists of more casual attitudes about compadrazgo being introduced by the American priests and

other mainland Americans. This de-emphasis on formality and rituals represents the lack of importance of compadrazgo as an independent social unit and as a social mechanism in the day to day life process.

In marked contrast to this de-emphasis on ritual is the strong emphasis on feasting, pageantry and grandiose display of consumption during crisis events. The outlay of effort and material for baptisms, weddings and funerals is reminiscent of the conspicuous consumption found in New Guinea, Saipan and Palau. In these societies the elaborate and conspicuous display of food, money and services during crisis events and feasts is associated with factors of prestige, status, economics and a system of reciprocal obligations (Spoehr 1954:263,266; Pospisil 1963,1965:64-79; Barnett 1960:44-45,62-64). Guam's elaborate celebrations are related to the same factors. They are, however, less economically motivated and more concerned with prestige, status considerations and conformity with norms. As in Saipan, New Guinea and Palau, Guam's systems of reciprocal obligations and kinship provide the support for these celebrations during crisis events.

Like the communities of Pascua on the outskirts of Tucson, Arizona, and Barrio Poyal in Puerto Rico, the extension of ritual kinship through compadrazgo is horizontal between members of approximately the same status (Mintz and Wolf 1950:360). This lack of a conspicuous vertical class relationship is partly associated with the lack of any real

class development among the present Chamorro population. Until the island's recent development no real accumulation of wealth could take place to form the basis for a solidified class system. However, past differences in status between families did exist, and apparently depended on the degree to which a family happened to be Hispanicized or Americanized. The accruing status undoubtedly evolved out of their relatively favored position vis-a-vis the controlling power. These higher status families lived primarily in the Agana area and tended to marry amongst each other (Thompson 1947:54). Before island-wide strata could develop, the political and economic fortunes of the island changed. The concentration of these higher status families in the island's capital of Agana tended to create a status distinction between them and families living in villages farther south and north. People from these areas were considered provincial (gi Sengsong). This phenomenon perhaps presented the closest approximation to a class development. In recent years as the island's economy has developed, status distinctions are based on indicators of wealth (land, capital, money, etc.) and ethnic differences. This situation has not yet developed into a fully stratified system, but it may be not long in coming. Sumay villagers were not considered as provincial as their more southern neighbors, but they nonetheless were not considered to be as urban as the families of Agana. A few Sumay families, because of wealth and/or their Spanish background, were considered of comparable status to some of the Agana families.

This conception of Sumay people held by some Agana people often led to intermarriage between them.

The Santa Rita village was found to be relatively socially homogenous. A few families because of government positions they held or incomes they earned were regarded as influential, but an overall similarity in wealth, land and income prevailed among the Santa Rita residents. As a result of increased economic development with its concomitant wage system, Santa Rita, like Barrio Poyal and Pascua, could be said to be a community participating in a capitalistic world economy. Most of the residents are in fact wage-earners. However, despite the horizontal nature of Santa Rita's compadrazgo, the choice of compadres has not been limited to the village residents. As a result of family members and friends moving to other villages, as well as friendship relations developed in work situations with residents of other villages, compadres of the Santa Rita residents can be found among any of the villages on the island. This contrasts with the Pascua and Barrio Poyal cases where compadrazgo is essentially an intra-village phenomenon. Middleton (1975:469) in his study of compadrazgo in the city of Manta, Ecuador, presents a spatial distribution and social distance dimensions of compadrazgo choices similar to that of Guam's. In his study the choice of friends of the same status who are spatially well distributed throughout the city also dominate compadre selections. However, the distribution and dimension between classes is not affected by the same factors in Ecuador and

Guam. Conflict avoidance and the extension of more secure social relationships under changing conditions are what account for the Manta pattern.

Any proliferation of compadrazgo-forming occasions is strikingly absent on Guam. This contrasts sharply with communities such as Moche in Peru where a multitude of compadrazgo events have been found (Gillin 1947:105). As expressed in the data, baptism and confirmation represent the only occasions in which compadrazgo relationships are formed between Guamanian individuals. Multiplication of compadres, godchildren or godparents or the extension of compadrazgo relationships to include relatives of the compadrazgo set is not common on Guam. More aberrant variations such as the substitution of objects for parents, godparents or godchildren are also apparently non-existent on Guam. Guam's compadrazgo is similar to most compadrazgo systems studied principally in its lack of use as a mechanism to transfer inheritance.

Relationships between compadres are more symmetrical in Santa Rita than in the Latin American communities reported. Relationships between compadres on Guam are less formal in contrast to the more formally structured compadrazgo relationships in the Americas. Compadres on Guam, particularly those who are friends, frequently indulge in fishing and drinking together.

The compadrazgo negative affect introduced by Sayres (1956) is not significant in the Guam community. The most

evident expression of negative affect comes in the form of a reaction to the financial expense incurred by a godparent during the life cycle of a godchild. This minimal evidence of negative affect may be a result of the lack of stringent rules governing compadre relationships. Relationships between compadres that are felt to be stifling can be and are minimized. Often minimum contact occurs as a result of the movement of compadres to other villages. Outside of crisis events, the social norms surrounding compadrazgo do not require constant contact between compadres. The limited contact that is maintained still enables the godparent to fulfill his sponsorial obligations and responsibilities to the godchild.

Comparison of Guam's compadrazgo with that on Saipan reveals many similarities. Saipan's compadrazgo approaches the older, more traditional manner in which compadrazgo was developed on Guam. Saipan compadrazgo appears to be a more solemn and serious affair, and the religious implication seems to be more imbedded in the Saipan social life, than does compadrazgo on Guam. As in Guam, the study of compadrazgo on Saipan finds godparents selected sometimes from among non-relatives but often among close relatives. Spoehr suggests that this selection from among close kin differs from the selection pattern in much of Latin America (Spoehr 1954:269,312).

In the Latin American and Mexican communities, compadrazgo often functions to reduce conflict, to maintain

reciprocal economic obligations in production and business exchange or as an insurance policy against bad times in the more poverty stricken communities. Guam's compadrazgo is not utilized in this manner. The inherent flexibility of the compadrazgo configuration allows for the possibility of its being used in this fashion on Guam, but the Chamorro kinship structure and the strength of the Spanish introduction of compadrazgo into the Chamorro society, combined with Guam's limited social, economic and political development precluded the use of compadrazgo for these purposes.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

OF THE STUDY

In summarizing compadrazgo on Guam, the following overriding observation can be made: the nature and function of compadrazgo on Guam is greatly influenced by the nature of the extended family and the Catholic Church. Unlike the Latin American communities mentioned, the Santa Rita community does not rely heavily on compadrazgo to reduce conflict or for economic gain or to enhance status. Compadrazgo does, however, function to satisfy the dictates of religious beliefs, to intensify existing relations between kin and non-kin, and to aid in providing social, psychological and economic support, particularly on occasions when the extended family may be unable to do so. The use of compadrazgo to extend fictive kinship to non-kin, a concept suggested by Paul (1942:57), is limited primarily to existing relationships between individuals. No elaborate social network composed of non-relatives exists in Santa Rita or is sought by its residents. In the choice of compadres, villagers are motivated primarily by a combination of their kinship ties and their like or dislike of certain individuals. This latitude for choice coupled with a lack of formality surrounding compadre relations reduces the negative effect which

has been shown to exist in some communities.

Emphasis on the godparent-godchild relationship, the absence of formality surrounding compadre relations, the lack of ritual proliferation or multiplication of the individuals in the compadrazgo set, all reflect the secondary role of compadrazgo in the social life of the Santa Rita community. The primary function of compadrazgo in Santa Rita is the satisfaction of Church objectives, with secular utility remaining secondary. In this respect, Santa Rita villagers have deviated slightly from the Spanish pattern and the original Catholic Church objectives which stressed norms and behavior emphasizing godparent-godchild relations over compadre relations. Compadrazgo among the Santa Rita Chamorros shares much in common structurally with the Spanish type described by Foster. Spoehr (1954:317) in his study of Chamorros on Saipan also suggests that Saipan compadrazgo much more resembles the Spanish European type than that studied in the Americas. Foster indicates that in Spain, compadrazgo, at the time it was transmitted to the new world, played a secondary role to the cofradia and gremios in Spanish social life. The primary role of compadrazgo in Spain, as on Guam, was the satisfaction of religious functions. Spanish gremios and cofradias serve to satisfy the more secular needs (Foster 1953:3-21).

Considering the Hispanicized nature of Guam's culture, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Spanish impression of compadrazgo's religious and less important social role

was brought along with the compadrazgo configuration to the island. This compadrazgo configuration, amidst an aboriginal Chamorro society whose culture was drastically altered and partially obliterated under Spanish domination, would come to take center stage. Under these conditions, despite native interpretation and assimilation of the compadrazgo configuration, it is conceivable that through Spanish control the Spanish configuration would remain relatively intact and maintain its existence in the social life that has developed to the present day. Acceptance of this supposition would help to explain the continued emphasis of godparent-godchild relations over the compadre type in the Guam community. However, the aboriginal culture was not without its influence upon the Spanish compadrazgo. This influence can be partially recognized in the present compadrazgo's involvement in the reciprocation process of chenchuli and ajudo and its close association with the Chamorro kinship system. This influence would have been expected considering the Spanish control and disinterest in compadrazgo's secular utility. Once the religious objectives were satisfied, as in other communities compadrazgo was left to the devices and influences of the aboriginal culture.

It is in understanding the assimilation of compadrazgo into the state of the aboriginal culture under Spanish administration that we can understand its development to its present stage. The kinship structure of Chamorros, which Thompson (1947:45) has suggested was matrilineal, under less

drastic circumstances would consider the use of compadrazgo in a more secular fashion as redundant and repetitive. Many of the functions performed by compadrazgo in the different communities studied (e.g. increase in social solidarity, intensification, extension, reduction of conflict, economic support) are performed by extended families and lineages. This can be readily noticed in other parts of Micronesia which have not had their social systems forcefully altered in so short a time as has Guam's aboriginal culture. In the islands of Palau southwest of Guam, compadrazgo was introduced also by the Spanish missionaries, but with little forceful interference in the native culture (Barnett 1960:2). This left the kinship system relatively intact and allowed it to function in its traditional role. Despite Palau society's certain exposure to the compadrazgo configuration, it is not found in the Palauan social system. However, many of the same functions which compadrazgo performs in other communities are accomplished by the Palauan kinship system. All of the functions mentioned above are some of the needs being satisfied by the existing kinship system (Barnett 1960:18-64). The Palauan kinship system's performance of these functions appears to be in line with survival needs and is not Catholic Church-related. This similarity in functions lends support to Foster's suggestion that the functions of lineages and ritual kinship systems may overlap and that compadrazgo may be used to reconstruct some part of the old form (Foster 1953:23-24). Acceptance of this suggestion would help to

explain the development of Guam compadrazgo and its close similarity with the Spanish configuration. The forceful imposition of compadrazgo on aboriginal Chamorro society, coupled with an existing kinship system which negated the potential secular utility of compadrazgo, results in a compadrazgo system which emphasizes the godparent-godchild relationship, satisfies religious dictates and performs a secondary and auxiliary role in the social activities of the society. (It is this form of the compadrazgo configuration that we currently find on Guam.) To the degree that the Chamorro lineage pattern prevailed, compadrazgo would be expected to emphasize the extended family and remain under its influence. Because of factors indicated in an earlier section (pp. 77-80), the strength and influence of the extended family is today slowly weakening. Following Foster's suggestion that compadrazgo will be used to regain the support and security lost through the disintegration of extended families and lineages, and given no outside competition for this function, my expectation is that compadrazgo will increase in functional importance for the Guam community. This tendency has already been noted in the younger generation's emphasis on choosing friends rather than relatives for godparents of their children. However to recapitulate, this trend suggested by Foster will occur provided no other system competes with compadrazgo for the accomplishment of the above functions. Under American influence and control, support may be provided by systems forming around the situations accompanying the advent of a

capitalistic, industrial, secular society. These systems will certainly detract from the secular use of compadrazgo. No final or definite conclusion can be reached on how compadrazgo will change; more research on the subject is certainly necessary. This study may provide a base for a better understanding of any changes that do occur in Guam's compadrazgo.

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