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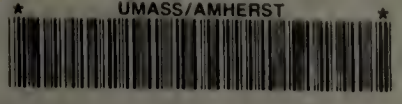Mary Anne M. Stanitis
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MAKING PLACE: PROCESS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF

INTERGENERATIONAL AFFILIATION AND CONTINUITY

A Dissertation Presented

By

MARY ANNE STANITIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February   1986

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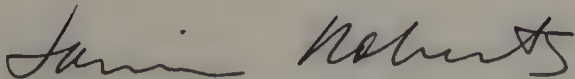
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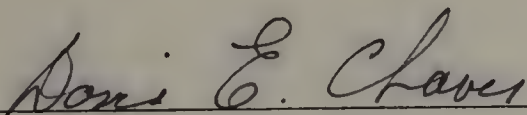

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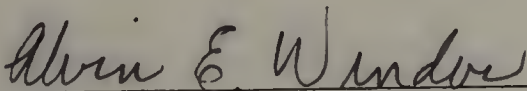
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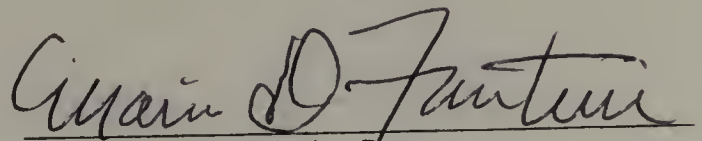
_____
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Alvin E. Winder, Member

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Mario D. Fantini, Dean
School of Education

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DEDICATION

To

Steve

Julie and Michael

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The support, encouragement and participation of many others has helped make this dissertation a reality. This study would not have been possible without the participating families who opened their doors and shared part of their lives with me. I extend my deepest thanks to you.

I am grateful and appreciative for my committee's many contributions to this effort. Thank you Janine, Doris, and Al for exploring new territory with me, and for the many ways you were there for me when I needed you.

My warmest thanks are for you, Steve, for your support and belief in me, and to Julie and Michael, who's frequent question, "Are you done yet, Mom?" helped me get to the finish line.

ABSTRACT

Making Place: Process   for Development of
Intergenerational Continuity and Affiliation

February, 1986

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This research generated theory through the use of constant

comparative analysis related to intergenerational family processes

occurring in response to the birth of the first child-grandchild.

Theoretical sampling was conducted over a period of fifteen months

among three three generation families.

The data analysis revealed that families participated in the

process of <u>making place</u>, which is an integrative process facilitating

the creation of new relational connections within the family as well

as giving new meaning to already existing ones. The function of

<u>making place</u> is the development of intergenerational affiliation and

continuity.

As the core category of the method of constant comparative

analysis, making place has two properties, namely <u>claiming</u> and

<u>attributing</u> behaviors through which modes of <u>validation</u> and

<u>negotiation</u> are the major communicative behaviors which facilitate

the process.

Making place is a morphogenetic process which creates a relational context for human growth based on caring and commitment among family members. The concept of making place is a unique contribution to theory of normal family process for two reasons. First, the theory is grounded in data and second, it explicates the actual creation of a relational environment through inter-generational transactions.

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THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The arrival of a new generation, heralded by the birth of the
first child-grandchild, is a profound transition in the life of a
family. The event has antecedents and consequences for the family
which affects it in cumulative and irreversible ways, requiring family
reorganization on many levels. Sedgwick (1981) contends that the
addition of a new member to the family influences its emotional
environment, alters communication patterns among original family
members, and transforms emotional attachments within the family system
(p. 18). Van Gennep (1908), an anthropologist who studied the rites
of passage among primitive cultures and the role transitions with
which rites were associated, observed the importance of "firsts" in
family tribal life. Events which occur for the first time, such as
first births, are marked with important rite-of-passage ceremonies
that attest to their status as transitional events which have
importance for the entire family and community.

Researchers and theorists who have focused on the concept
of the family life cycle acknowledge the importance of the birth
of the first child in family life. Hill (1964) noted that the

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arrival of the first child marks a change in family development stages. He observed that

> of all children, to be sure, the oldest child's development is the most significant for the shift in role content in the parents' positions, since his (sic) experiences present new and different problems which as yet the family has not encountered and brings about the most modification of role content in all other positions of the family. (p. 191)

Duvall (1974) hypothesized that the birth of the first child begins a new cycle in the life of the family, and precipitates the new parents' developmental need to re-establish working relationships with the extended family.

Statement of the Problem and Rationale

To date, there has been no research reported in psychological, social science, nursing or family studies literature which study the event of the first child-grandchild within a three-generational context. Until now, studies of the birth of the first child have focused primarily on the nuclear family unit. Research has been done on the first pregnancy and the birth of the first child in the context of the marital pair's transition to parenthood (Barnhill, 1979; Cowan et al., 1978; Golan, 1981; Larsen, 1966; LeMasters, 1957; Rossi, 1968; Rubin, 1967 and 1975; and Russell, 1974). Personality development of the firstborn child has been described (Senn and Hartford, 1968; Toman, 1976).

The birth of the first child has been studied within a variety of two-generational contexts: Family life cycle development; married couples' transition to parenthood; role changes in parenting and grandparenting; and, transitional crisis resolution in response to the first birth. At this time, however, there exists no published studies which include description or analysis of the impact of the first birth within a three generational context and its effect upon the relationships among the members of the parental and grandparental generations. Lack of research focused on family systems reorganization at this point in the life of a family is evident.

Research about grandparenting, though sparse, is increasing with current interest in later life stages of growth and development (Albrecht, 1954; Apple, 1956; Cavan, 1953; Clavan, 1978; Kahana and Kahana, 1971; Neugarten and Weinstein, 1964; Robertson, 1977; Sussman, 1954; Troll, 1971; and Wood and Robertson, 1976). Studies of grandparenthood have focused primarily on aspects of its social role or personal meaning, and on the nature of the relationship between grandparent and grandchild. Popular press books on grandparenting reflect similar emphases (Bowman, Hayes and Newman, 1982; Dodson, 1981; Kornhaber and Woodward, 1982; and Silverstone and Hyman, 1976).

Promising sources of relevant theory and research pertaining to the birth of the first child of a new generation are those reflecting family developmental life cycle and crisis theory frameworks. Cowan (1978), Duvall (1977), Golan (1981), Larsen (1966), LeMasters (1957), Rossi (1968) and Russell (1974) refer to the birth of the first baby

as a point of stress and transition for the parents during which life

cycle developmental tasks need to be accomplished. Elliot (1955),

Hadley et al., (1974) and Holmes and Rahe (1967) suggested that the

addition of new family members can precipitate perceptions of stress

and crisis, even though the acquisition of the new person is seen posi-

tively, such as in the case of marriage or birth.

Stress and crisis is part of life. The management of life

difficulties rather than their occurrence differentiate functional

from dysfunctional families. It is with the functional or "normal"

family that this study was concerned, and how relational processes of

these families develop within an intergenerational context.

Walsh (1982) asserted that insufficient research attention has

been given to the "normal" family. She pointed out that research

emphasis has been focused on dysfunctional family patterns which have

provided pathology-based models limiting the theoretical base for

effective understanding and treatment of a wide range of families

(p. xiii). However, assumptions about what a "normal" family is

explicitly and implicitly influence both treatment and research and

therefore warrant scientific inquiry.

Factors which contribute to this lack of research include:

Current emphasis on studies of more accessible clinic populations;

the problems inherent in eliciting three-generational participation

in research; the complexity and difficulty of measuring and describing

change in family processes; and, the expense in terms of time and

resources in conducting longitudinal and qualitative data necessary

or description and analysis of transgenerational processes.

In conclusion, lack of theory and research on "normal" family processes, and the researcher's interest in intergenerational relationships led to formulation of the initial research question: How does the family as a three-generation system respond to the birth of the first child-grandchild? The unresearched nature of this problem indicated the need for an inductive methodology designed to broaden the potential base for theoretical development and further research.

Purposes of the Study

It was the general purpose of this study to discover intergenerational transactional processes associated with the birth of the first child-grandchild in the three-generational context including grandparent, parent and child generations. The birth was studied as a nodal point in the life of the families, which is considered to be characterized by an interval of relative disequilibrium and concomitant efforts in the system toward a more complex reorganization.

The specific purposes of the study were:

1. To expand the scope of existing research regarding the birth of the first child by studying the event as a three-generational experience.

2. To generate theory grounded in research data on normative family processes.

3. To generate theory regarding the processes of family reorganization which occurs over time in response to the addition of the first representative member of a new generation.

4. To generate theory regarding transactional processes which reflect negotiation of intergenerational continuity between the new parents and grandparents.

Research Methodology

The constant comparative method of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used in the study from which theory of family processes was generated. This method provides an inductive, phenomenological strategy for the generation of new theoretical concepts and hypotheses (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 4-6). The grounded theory method is based on a process of data collection from theoretical sampling whereby joint collection, coding and analysis of data directs the emerging theory and informs the ongoing process of what data to collect next. Thus, data collection and analysis are concurrent ongoing processes, with the data shaping the emerging theory, and the theory development recursively influencing the ongoing data collection process. Theory "grounded" in data increases the relevance, fit and workability of the theory because it increases the chances that theory and the empirical world will match.

A fifteen-month longitudinal study was conducted of three families experiencing the birth of a first child-grandchild. Eighteen

interviews were conducted, during which family members were interviewed separately, as parental pairs, or as parental-grandparental groups. The families were interviewed during the last trimester of the pregnancy, during the six-week postpartum period, and again a year after the baby's birth. Naturalistic observation, semistructured interview and circular questioning methods were used.

Significance

An important aspect which is absent from family research is that of the so'called "normal" family; that is, families who have neither requested nor received an institutionalized, societal label for behavior which is considered problematic either by the family members or by professional representatives of the society at large. Most family research have been done within clinic populations who are receiving professional help, either voluntarily or involuntarily, for some problem in living. Application of research findings from clinic to non-clinic families has unfounded merit in explaining and predicting normative family processes. Greater knowledge of functional family processes can enrich the theoretical bases upon which all families are regarded and treated within the health care system.

A three-generational focus on the birth of the first child-grandchild offers the possibility of new information about the coevolution of intergenerational processes at this time in the life of a family. New knowledge obtained from this unique focus has

potential to inform other related areas of theory development; namely,

the areas of family theory, family developmental life cycle theory,

and adult personality development theories. More specifically, greater

understanding of the changes in the three-generational system

precipitated by the birth of the first child-grandchild could prove

useful to health care providers such as family therapists, nurses,

psychologists, physicians and social workers who care for families

throughout the perinatal period and those who counsel young families

or the elder (grandparent) population. Knowledge of normal family

processes can inform the practice of these health professionals by

providing the theoretical base upon which the objectives of assessment

and intervention reflect research on functional versus dysfunctional

intergenerational transactions. Thus, knowledge of functional

processes can broaden the perspective needed to be effective with a

wider range of families who seek health care.

Limitations of the Study

The results of the study was the delineation of one core category

from the data. The method of constant comparative analysis generates

a voluminous amount of data from which a number of hypotheses and

related core categories can be identified and saturated. However, the

coding of data must eventually be limited to only those variables that

relate to the core variable in sufficiently significant ways to be used

in a parsimonious theory (Glaser, 1978, p. 61). Identification of a

core category is a process guided by selective pursuit of hypotheses determined as most representative of the study data. Another researcher may have chosen to focus on a different aspect of family processes observed during the study, and would have generated theory from an aspect of family processes different than the core variable saturated by this researcher.

The scope of the inquiry was confined to those data which reflect family processes observed through the last trimester of pregnancy to a year after the baby's birth. Research focus was maintained on family processes reflective of family reorganization patterns associated with the birth of the first child-grandchild. Results may not be generalizable to other family processes.

The sample size of the study was three families. This limited the densification of the core category with data from a larger and more diverse family population.

Application of systems theories to family processes created a theoretical bias in data collection, analysis and theory development. This bias implies the conceptualization of families in terms of universal processes that are characteristic of all systems. These basic processes are described in terms of integration, maintenance and growth of the family unit in relation to both individual and social systems.

The concept of "normal" family processes introduced a definitional bias. Family normality is viewed in the context of multiple circular processes over time. This conceptual bias is congruent

with General Systems Theory (Bertalanffy, 1968) which describes

normal functioning in terms of a transactional system that operates

over time, according to certain organizing principles that govern

interaction.

Definition of Terms

Attributing behaviors: Behaviors reflecting the process of describing

    the baby's characteristics in a way which reflects relationship

    or heritage within the family group.

Boundary: A delineation between subsystems or components of a

    system.

Category saturation: The state of a theoretical category when

    additional data no longer adds new properties.

Claiming behaviors: Behaviors shown toward the new baby which either

    establishes or acknowledges relationship between the family and

    the baby.

Coding: The assessment and labeling of incidents in the data which

    result in their categorization.

    Open coding: Coding the data in every way and into as many

    categories as possible.

    Selective coding: Coding delimited to only those variables that

    relate to the core variable in sufficiently significant ways

    to be used in category saturation.

Conceptual categories: Conceptual elements of a theory construed from the evidence of data.

Core category: The category with the most explanatory power.

Energy: The force which influences and results from open systems maintenance and transformation.

Entropy: A trend toward randomness and chaos in a system.

Family: A social system with evolving rules, patterns of interaction and communication which reflect transgenerational processes that maintain intergenerational continuity within an evolutionary context.

Feedback: A portion of a system rerouted in a circular fashion back into the system as input that in turn affects subsequent input and output.

Negative feedback: System signals which decrease the deviation from the steady state.

Positive feedback: System signals which increase the deviation from the steady state.

Fit: A quality of a conceptual category or theory which shows ready applicability to the data under study.

Grounded theory: A method of research in which data collection, data coding and theory development are concurrent and interlocking activities which allow the discovery of theory from data. A major strategy of the method is that of comparative analysis.

Hierarchy: The delineation of subsystems within a system in terms of their relationship to each other.

Homeostasis: A system's internal steady state or balance among

   subsystems.

Indicator: An empirical descriptor of the data which contribute to

   the delineation of category properties.

Local concepts: Some principal features of the structure and process

   of the research question organized into a beginning partial

   theoretical framework.

Memoing: Writing up theoretical ideas about codes and their relation-

   ships as they strike the analyst while coding.

Morphogenesis: A change in the basic structure of a system.

Naming: The process of deciding upon and conferring a personal name

   upon the baby.

Organization: The consistent structure of the elements of a system

   to each other.

Parenting functions: The nurturant, guiding and protective behaviors

   shown from parent to child.

Patterns of contact: Frequency and purpose of usual family interac-

   tions reflecting a central theoretical theme.

Property: A conceptual aspect or element of a category.

Rules: Descriptive metaphors which describe behavioral or communica-

   tional redundancy in a system.

Slice of data: Different kinds of data which are collected to give

   the analyst different views or vantage points from which to

   understand a category and develop its categories.

Sorting: Conceptual reorganization of data in formulating grounded

   theory.

Subsystem: Components of a system delineated by boundaries.

System: A set of interacting elements with relationships among
them.

Theoretical sampling: The process of data collection for generating
theory whereby data is simultaneously collected, coded and
analyzed to determine what data to pursue in developing the
emerging theory.

Organization of Subsequent Chapters

Chapter II contains a review of literature relevant to the
research problem. In Chapter III, the research methods used in the
study and the participating families are described. Analysis of
results and discussion is presented in Chapter IV. In Chapter V,
the study is summarized in manuscript format.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Organization of the Chapter

This chapter reflects a preliminary literature review which
encompasses four major topical areas related to intergenerational
family processes.:

A.   Systems concepts

B.   Theories of intergenerational processes

C.   Kinship relationships

D.   Family developmental life cycle concepts

This literature review reflects current theory and research on
intergenerational family systems theories. For the purposes of this
study, this review was an initial search of relevant knowledge which
was then used to initiate the process of grounded theory research.
This review supplied key concepts related to intergenerational relation-
ships and family systems theory, to which additional literature
references were added in the research process to verify the emerging
theory.

This chapter is organized into the four abovementioned topical
areas. Each topical area comprises a section of the chapter within

which key concepts from theory and research are applied in discussion of intergenerational family processes. The final section summarizes and integrates theory and research related to the focus of the study; namely, processes involving incorporation of a new generation into the life of the family.

This literature review was the first search of existing theoretical and research work related to the initial research problem: How does the family as a three-generation system respond to the birth of the first child-grandchild? These topical areas were explored to generate understanding of as many aspects of the research problem as possible for identification of local concepts and initial partial theoretical framework. This literature review was supplemented by a review done later in the study to densify the core category.

Section One

Systems Concepts and Family Processes

Systems theories are relatively recent developments in the evolution of scientific inquiry. The foundations of systems philosophy is the recurrent applicability of empirically precise systems concepts in diverse fields of investigation. Cybernetics, general systems theory, information and game theories, and an entire constellation of mathematical and empirical disciplines emerged with striking rapidity since the 1950s (Laszlo, 1975, p. 67).

Prior to the "systems theory explosion" in the 1950s, Ludwig Von Bertalanffy developed concepts which initiated an epistemological

challenge to the prevailing linear "scientific method" of inquiry.
Von Bertalanffy introduced the first of a series of concepts in 1928
that, taken together, were intended to develop an "organismic"
approach to biological problems. In 1945 these concepts were collec-
tively given the title General Systems Theory (Von Bertalanffy, 1968).
Historically, these concepts were developed in response to major
dilemmas that had been arising in the biological sciences, dilemmas
which Von Bertalanffy thought were related to limitations imposed
on the scientific explanation by existing theoretical approaches to
science. The core of the problem as he saw it was the exclusive
reliance on what has been called the reductionistic/mechanistic
tradition in science (Steinglass, 1978, p. 299).

As systems theories were being hypothesized by representatives
of various scientific fields--biology, mathematics, physics--some
serious questions arose concerning the feasibility of incorporating
these theories into a comprehensive united whole. There were
contradictions in comparisons of the systemic natures of machines and
biological organisms. Von Bertalanffy (1968) began to bridge this gap
by making important distinctions between open (living) and closed
(non-living) systems. He asserts that "an open system is defined as
a system in exchange of matter with its environment, presenting import
and export, building up and breaking down of its material components"
(Von Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 141). Some of the characteristics of open
systems which he described are:

(1) Open systems maintain a time independent steady state.

> The steady state is maintained in distance from true
> equilibrium and therefore is capable of doing work; as
> it is the case in living systems, in contrast to systems
> in equilibrium. The steady state shows remarkable
> regulatory characteristics . . . (Von Bertalanffy,
> 1968, p. 142)

(2) Open systems can reach a steady state, independent of initial

conditions, and determined only by the system parameters.

> This is called equifinality as found in many organismic
> processes, e.g., in growth. In contrast to closed physico-
> chemical systems, the same final state can therefore be
> reached equifinally from different initial conditions and
> after disturbances of the process. (Von Bertalanffy, 1968,
> pp. 142-143)

(3) Open systems show negentropic trends. Von Bertalanffy states:

> The general trend of physical processes is toward increasing
> entropy, i.e., states of increasing probability and decreasing
> order. Living systems maintain themselves in a state of high
> order and improbability, or may even evolve toward increasing
> differentiation and organization as in the case of organismic
> development and evolution. (1968, pp. 143-144)

Family Systems Core Concepts

There are four concepts central to the nature of family as a

system: organization, control, energy, and rules. Each concept

represents a metaphorical map of a family systems structure, function,

and process. Each is discussed in relationship to the family.

1. <u>The Concept of Organization.</u>

The concept of organization is a structural notion which reflects the consistency in the nature of relationships among systems elements. Organization can be inferred from various systems properties: wholeness, subsystems, boundaries, and hierarchies. Each of these properties are discussed as they relate to the family system.

A. <u>Wholeness.</u> As a whole, a system consists of more than the sum of its parts. It also includes the interaction of these parts with each other. The concept of wholeness precludes the notion of individual parts or subsystems acting independently. On the contrary, the parts of a system are constrained by, conditioned by, or dependent on the state of the other units (Miller, 1965, p. 68). This study was based on the assumption, that, as a "whole" entity, the family system has a response to the addition of a new member inclusive of the composite of individual reactions to the event.

B. <u>Subsystems.</u> Subsystems are the parts of the system that comprise the whole. Every family system consists of a number of coexisting subsystems, through which it differentiates and carries out its functions. Subsystems can be formed by generation, by sex, by interest, or by function (Minuchin, 1974, p. 52). Every individual has simultaneous membership in difference subsystems. The individual family member can also be considered a subsystem. Differentiated skills and varied levels of power are experienced on the level of the subsystem. Interactional demands differ among subsystems, and provide the family members valuable training in the

process of maintaining a differentiated stance while exercising interpersonal skills at different levels (Minuchin, 1974, p. 53).

The most basic subsystems are the spouse, parental and sibling subsystems. The husband/wife subsystem is basic. This subsystem provides a model of intimate relationships between marital partners, and could well affect how the child views intimate relationships and interacts with intimates later on in life.

The parental subsystem is involved with childrearing functions such as nurturance, guidance and control. The subsystem may include individuals other than the parents, such as older children, other significant adult friends or companions, or grandparents. The child's interaction with those adults comprising the parental subsystem teaches ways in which to deal with authority and people of greater power.

The anticipation and birth of the first child-grandchild is the precipitant of relational changes in the family. The birth creates new subsystems within the family: spouses become parents; and, parents become parents. The presence of the new child influences renegotiation of rules within the two adult generations not only in the context of relatedness to the baby, but also within the adults' renegotiation of their relationship among each other.

C. Boundaries. Boundaries are delineations between subsystems. The boundaries of a particular subsystem are the rules governing who participates in its transactions and in what way. Minuchin (1974) asserts that

> The function of boundaries is to protect the differentiation
> of the system. Each family subsystem has specific functions
> and makes specific demands on its members; and the develop-
> ment of interpersonal skills achieved in these subsystems is
> predicated on the subsystems freedom from interference by
> other subsystems. (pp. 53-54)

Boundaries must be clear and well-defined if subsystems are to
be allowed to carry out their differentiated functions without harmful
interference. Family functioning is dependent on boundaries which
are appropriately limiting to circumscribe the various subsystems
parameters and differentiated tasks, and which are sufficiently
permeable to allow for necessary informational and interactional
exchange.

Family boundaries are zones of negotiation and protection where
the family distinguishes and processes information as useful or
irrelevant to the family system. Family boundaries bind the members
together and guide their beliefs and practices. Family rules,
sanctions, attitudes, communication patterns and values are all
observable in how the family maintains its boundaries among subsystems
and among suprasystems.

Boundaries function as a protective border which can restrict
the input of matter, energy or information which threatened the
system's "ordered wholeness." All such exchange provokes temporary
disturbance to the patterns, but equilibrium—restoring mechanisms are
usually activated to protect the system from irreversible
disorganization. Skynner (1976) comments on the special vulnerability
that family systems can experience, especially at times of growth
and change.

> At those times when the living system is itself growing
> and changing, the boundary characteristics may need to alter
> in order to provide protection against disturbing inputs
> (or outflows). . . . There is a need for communication and
> coordination of information about the state of affairs
> within the boundary, and of events impinging or likely to
> impinge on it from outside, in order that the boundary
> characteristics may be varied appropriately. (p. 197)

The inclusion of the new baby which heralds the presence of a new family generation requires alteration of subsystems boundaries. Boundaries must be flexible enough to permit necessary reorganization of subsystems while also maintaining some constancy inimic to the family system's self-definition.

D. Hierarchies. The concept of hierarchy emphasizes the notion that " . . . the universe (is) organized along ordered and highly structured lines, with clearly identifiable differential levels of complexity that relate in logical fashion to one another" (Poolino & McCrady, 1978, p. 309). Systems can be seen as composed of component subsystems of smaller scale, and in turn, as being a component part of a larger suprasystem.

In the framework of an open system, the term "hierarchy" does not refer to authoritarian chain-of-command relationships, but rather denotes relationships of various levels to one another. Laszlo (1975) refers to hierarchy as

> A level-structure in which the systems functioning as
> wholes on one level function as parts on the higher
> levels, and where the parts of the system on any level
> (with the exception of the lowest or 'basic' level)
> are themselves wholes on lower levels. (p. 73)

Thus, hierarchy is the delineation of subsystems within a system,
and the system within related suprasystems.

The relative influence one subsystem has on another is a property
of systems hierarchy. Patterns of influence are flected in
hierarchical relationships among family subsystems the effects of
which effect the system's mechanisms of control.

2. The Concept of Control.

As an open system, the family maintains itself in a continuous
exchange with the environment. As von Bertalanffy (1968) indicated,

> Consideration of the living organisms as an open system
> exchanging matter and energy with environment comprises
> two questions: first, their statics, i.e., maintenance
> of the system in a time independent state; secondly,
> their dynamics, i.e., changes of the system in time.
> (p. 158)

The idea of a dynamic steady state contrasts to the notion of
equilibrium, the latter being a property of closed entropic systems.
Laszlo (1975) asserts that 1) equilibrium states do not dispose over
usable energy whereas natural systems of the widest variety do, and
2) equilibrium states are "memoryless," whereas natural systems
behave in large part in function of their past histories. "In short,
an equilibrium system is a dead system. . . . Thus, although a
machine may go to equilibrium as a preferred state, natural systems
go to increasingly organized non-equilibrium states" (Laszlo, 1975,
p. 71).

The concept of control allows the development of highly complex,
fluid, interactional models that increase options rather than diminish

them. Control suggests an image of elements in constant dynamic interaction, in which available mechanisms keep the elements within an acceptable set of limits, and also permit adaptation to occur (Steinglass, 1978, p. 309). Control is mediated through the processes of feedback, and results in either homeostatic or morphogenetic states.

A. Feedback. Clements and Buchanan (1982) refer to feedback as "A portion of the output of a system being routed in a circular fashion to re-enter the system as input that in turn affects subsequent through put and output" (p. 105). Cybernetic theory describes feedback "loops" as regulatory mechanisms which affect a systems steady state and function to maintain homeostasis.

Adjustment processes of subsystems which influence the system's dynamic steady state are referred to as positive and negative feedback. Miller (1978) describes the differences between the two types of feedback:

> When the (feedback) signals are fed back over the feedback channals in such a manner that they increase the deviation of the output from the steady state, positive feedback exists. When the signals are reversed, so that they decrease the deviation of the output from a steady state, it is negative feedback. Positive feedback alters variables and destroys their steady states. Thus it can initiate system changes. Unless limited, it can alter variables enough to destroy systems. Negative feedback maintains steady states in systems. (p. 36)

Negative feedback leads to the process of homeostasis which means that the system must maintain constancy in the face of environmental

changes. And, positive feedback leads to morphogenesis, which indicates a change in the basic structure of the system (Hoffman, 1971, p. 290).

The idea of feedback allows for a more "circular" (non-linear) view of family interaction processes. The system's own homeostatic adjustments contribute to how it incorporates and modifies tendencies or stresses toward change. The complexity of these interactions negate the validity of linear, cause-and-effect attributions to the behavior of the system's members.

B. Homeostasis. Homeostasis can be considered a system's internal state or balance among subsystems which process matter, energy, or information (Miller, 1978, p. 34). In the family system, homeostasis is maintained by a number of mechanisms which maintain acceptable behavioral balance on the family (Jackson, 1957, pp. 79-80). According to this idea, families tend to resist change from a predetermined level of stability (homeostasis) which maintains the family identity. The idea of homeostasis suggests mechanisms for system survival in the face of change.

C. Morphogenesis. However, open systems not only survive, they evolve (Laszlo, 1975, p. 72). The living system must make adjustments to forces which impinge from both internal and external forces in a manner which ensures a balance between sameness and differentiation. Steinglass (1978) refers to this process as "controlled adaptation," which appears to be critical to the issues of growth and development central to living systems. "Controlled adaptation is the key to meaningful change" (Steinglass, 1978, p. 309).

Hoffman (1981) differentiated homeostatic and morphogenetic processes in terms of systems change. She depicted morphogenetic change as change in the homeostatic setting, whereas homeostatic (Hoffman prefers the term morphostatic) change is change governed by the homeostatic setting (p. 56).

In short, the control processes which influence a family's dynamic equilibrium and growth are interrelated and mutually codeterminous of the family's state of existence at any given point in time.

3. The Concept of Energy

The concept of energy addresses the process of open systems maintenance and transformation. Energy is operationalized as information in a system (Steinglass, 1978) and which shows two trends: A trend toward increased complexity or negentropy; or a trend toward randomness and chaos or entropy.

These concepts of energy are based on a principal concept of thermodynamics which describes the degradation of energy. "This law states that, over time, because heat energy cannot be coverted into an equivalent amount of work, there will be a gradual degradational loss of energy in a particular system" (Steinglass, 1978, p. 314). However, this concept of entropy, though appropriate to the nature of a closed system, does not explain the transformations which characterize an open, living system, i.e., growth, development, and evolution (Von Bertalanffy, 1968, p. 152). Open systems demonstrate negentropy, which is equivalent to the concept of "increase of information" (Trincher, 1965). More specifically, information is a type of energy

that leads to reduction of uncertainty within the system, and to
increased patterning, increased degree of organization, and more
complex structuring (Steinglass, 1978, p. 315).

In the open system of the family, information is transmitted
through verbal and nonverbal communication processes. The use of
information in the family is mediated by the rules which govern
interaction among members. The phenomenon of increased information
and related transformations in the family system are seen as central
to the notion of negentropy.

4. The Concept of Rules

The family is considered to be an active rule-governed system.
In this section, the concept of rules will be a) defined, b)
classified into a typology, c) described in relationship to the
concept of punctuation and d) applied to family processes.

The importance of the concept of the family as a rule-governed
system cannot be overemphasized. Baker (1976) asserts that "rules are
the invisible glue of family theory." Weiting (1976) states that the
notion of rules is the central focus of systems theory investigation
(382). Andolfi (1979) describes the nature of family rules:

> The family structures its interactions according to rules
> that it has developed through trial and error over a period
> of time. By means of these rules, the family members learn
> what is permitted and what is forbidden in a relationship
> until a stable definition of the relationship evolves.
> This process leads to the criterion of a systemic whole that
> is maintained by specific transactional patterns potentially
> capable of being modified. (p. 8)

The idea of the family as a rule-governed system was first
proposed by Don Jackson (1965). Jackson's "Rules Hypothesis"
represents a major leap in describing and developing a language of
interactional exchange. The rules concept followed the observation
that within any committed unit of persons (dyad, triad, etc.), there
were redundant behavioral patterns (Greenberg, 1977, p. 393).

Family rules can be understood as descriptive metaphors which
are inferred by the observer to delineate the observed behavioral or
communicational redundancy. Jackson's notion of rules can be
delineated into three types:

> (A) Norms - or rules that appeared to be covert and out of
> awareness of family members; (B) values - rules that are
> consciously held or could be openly acknowledged; and (C)
> homeostatic mechanisms - rules that have to do with norms
> and/or how values are enforced. (Greenberg, 1973, pp. 395)

A. <u>Definition of Family Rules</u>. Rules of the system can be
largely out of the family's awareness. For the most part, most family
rules are unwritten and covertly stated. They are inferences that all
family members make to cover the redundancies or repetitive patterns
in the relationships they observe around the house (Goldenberg and
Goldenberg, 1980, p. 31). Examples of covert rules might be: Don't
talk to Dad before he has his morning coffee; Mom's most receptive to
special favor requests after the dinner dishes are done; the oldest
child will learn to take care of the younger children; the youngest
child cannot be trusted to walk alone to school, and so on.

Overt awareness of interactional rules is not always necessary
for optimal family functioning. Watzlawick, et al. (1967) wrote,
"The more spontaneous and 'healthy' a relationship, the more awareness
of the relationship aspect recedes into the background. 'Sick'
relationships are characterized by a constant struggle about the
nature of the relationship" (p. 52). Members' attempt to consciously
control relationships interfere with adequate family functioning.
Rather, a functional family develops rules which allow interaction
around the interactional content rather than process (Baker, 1976,
p. 10).

Watzlawick, et al. (1967) discussed how on-going interactional
systems formulate and maintain rules:

> . . . In every communication the participants offer to each
> other definitions of their relationship, or, more forcefully
> stated, each seeks to determine the nature of the relationship.
> Similarly, each responds with his (sic) definition of the
> relationship, which may confirm, reject, or modify that of
> the other. This process warrants close attention, for in
> an ongoing relationship it cannot be left unresolved or
> fluctuating. If the process did not stabilize, the wide
> variations and unwieldiness, not to mention the inefficiency
> of refining the relationship with every exchange, would lead
> to runaway and dissolution of the relationship. (p. 133)

Jackson and his associates speculated about the cyclic nature
of family rule development, and hypothesized that the rules of the
"family of orientation" were learned and adopted by each family member
(1968). A continuous relationship was seen as an on-going process in
which the members, acting initially out of established and previously
learned and normative patterns, would negotiate and renegotiate

mutually acceptable and unacceptable behavior, and thereby arrive at new normative arrangements. These interactional operations worked out that which comprised the rules prescribing and limiting one's behavior across various contexts. If the relationship were to develop into a continuing one, it was hypothesized that the behavior exchanges, or interactions, would subsequently be formed into a reasonably stable system having organized patterns comprising behavioral sequences that were redundant (Greenberg, 1977, p. 396).

The notion of the "quid pro quo" was defined by Jackson as the basic unit of relationship representing the process by which a rule--a simple interactional agreement--is established. Interactional rule establishment was made analogous to a legal contract (Jackson, 1968). In such a contract or interactional bargain, an exchange is made: each person receives something for which he gives something in return and which concomitantly defines the rights, duties and position of each individual vis-à-vis the other (Jackson, 1968, p. 591). The "quid pro quo" proposes that "if you do this, I'll do that."

The formation of family rules is described by Lederer and Jackson (1968). First, as a couple gets to know one another, they explore a wide variety of behaviors in a random fashion in attempts to determine the boundaries of mutually acceptable behavior. A functional relationship results from the couple's working out "quid pro quo" patterns which supports a sense of shared equality between the partners. A behavioral balance is established and maintained which is mutually satisfying to both partners. As suggested by Clements and Buchanan (1982), the equality of the relationship may not be

readily apparent to outside observers, yet patterns which are perceived

by the couple as an equal exchange are acceptable to them. The "quid

pro quo" provides a sense of security and protects both partners'

dignity, self-respect, and self-esteem (p. 261).

The importance of the "rules hypothesis" is associated with two

important concepts: first, the concept of circular interaction and

second the idea of transmission of family health or pathology. First,

let us consider the idea of circular interaction. If it can be

accepted as true that family members interact in mutual response and

renegotiation of agreements (rules) among them, then it is misleading

to assume that one person's behavior causes (or is a simple stimulus

for) the reaction of another member. Jackson (1965) referred to the

"emergent" properties of the family system by observing that an

exchange of behavior between two or more people result in a phenomena

greater than the sum of the separate parts of the reciprocal

relationships (p. 590). At the center of Jackson's position was the

contention that in abstracting simple linear cause-and-effect

(stimulus and response) exchanges, the larger and more significant

patternings may be lost (Greenberg, 1977, p. 400).

The quality of family functioning is dependent on the nature of

the rule-making process. The family, as an open system, must have

the capability to accommodate to the exigencies of life, and adapt to

growth and change. The rule-making process can be examined in light

of interactional, communication, and general systems theory. Rule-

making processes, as well as classification of rule types can be

studied within the above mentioned theoretical frameworks. Rule
negotiation in families necessarily involves conflict resolution
which is influenced by metarules about who is in charge and how the
conflict resolution may be conducted. In addition, a family rule
system will include <u>metarules</u>--or rules about rules, influencing how
flexible the entire rule structure is to modification and change.
Distribution of power in the family is influenced by its rules.
Interactional theory offers some interesting ideas about family rules,
power, and conflict resolution.

B. <u>Typology of Family Rules</u>. Broderick (1975) discrminates
among three levels of family rules, referred to as Type I, II, and
III. Type I rules reflect <u>rules of direct distribution</u>, which are
the basis for direction allocation of family resources. Such rules
might govern the family budget and the allocation of individual
personal space within the household. Type I rules function to
preclude power confrontations through the pre-solution of potential
problems (p. 120).

Type II rules represent <u>rules allocating authority</u>, and
determine who gets to make decisions in various content areas. For
instance, a child may have sole authority on how to spend allowance:
father may have decisionmaking and veto power over large family
expenditures; and mother may be in charge of budgeting the family
income.

Type III rules indicate <u>rule-bound negotiation</u>; they specify
how contested decisions may be family negotiated. Broderick says that

Type III rules are reflected in the quid pro quo ("If you do the

dishes for me tonight, I'll take your next two turns"); appeals to

distributive justice ("I'm not too fond of visiting your parents

either but I've never refused to go with you, have I?"); and

limitations on the degree of coercion ("One thing I refuse to put up

with is your threatening to leave me every time you get upset. If

you really want to go, please do and don't come back. I will not

live with a person who always has one foot out the door.") (p. 121).

It is important to mention that families cannot be considered

to operate in a static manner in only one mode, but have preferred ways

of power negotiation depending on family style and situational context.

Superimposed on a family's use of rules across situations is the

system's metarules, or rules about rules. Metarules determine who

makes and implements the rules, as well as who has the power to change

them. For example, a couple may discuss how financial decisions will

be made between them. The behavioral interaction outcome will permit

the observer to make inferences about the metarule governing this

interaction. Mutual egalitarian negotiation of decisions indicates a

metarule (e.g., Both of us have equal influence and responsibility in

financial matters) that is quite different from unilateral decision-

making by the husband which is accepted by the wife (e.g., The husband

will make the decisions, and the wife will accept them). However,

similar metarules may be experienced quite differently, depending on

the individual relational context. For instance, in the latter

example, the marital pair may have agreed to allow the husband the

financial decision-making power because he has more business expertise, more time, more interest in the task, etc. In this case, there is a mutually satisfactory complementary role alignment. In another situation, a husband and wife may battle over financial control, and the wife may eventually surrender decision-making power to the husband to escape the conflict, and perceived threat of punishment, etc. Thus, the same metarule can be experienced in very different ways. As would be expected, metarules are influenced by meta-metarules on a higher order of abstraction.

C. <u>Family Rules and the Concept of Punctuation</u>. A character-istic of communication which influences the perception and negotiation of relationship rules is the <u>punctuation of the sequence of events</u>. This concept refers to how various members of a system perceive and respond to sequences of interaction. Bateson and Jackson described the nature of punctuation as patterns of interchange (about which there may or may not be agreement) which are the rules of contingency regarding the exchange of reinforcements (Watzlawick et al., 1967, p. 56). People will punctuate interactional sequences so that they are consonant with their own perceptions, expectations, and experience. For example, consider the common stereotype of the relationship between the "alcoholic" husband and the "nagging" wife. Each most likely has vastly different views about how their problems persist. The wife may nag the husband to stop drinking and may perceive the drinking as the stimulus for her nagging. The husband, on the other hand, may not stop but rather increase his drinking when his wife nags

him. Each spouse sees the other's behavior as the cause of the
problem between them. In effect, they have punctuated the sequence
differently and do not understand the cyclical nature of the problem
and how it is maintained by both of them. Watzlawick et al. (1967)
points out that the problem lies primarily in the couple's inability
to metacommunicate about their respective patterning of interaction
(p. 58). Discrepant punctuation of interaction by its participants
may require the intervention of a third party, perhaps a therapist,
who can stand outside the interaction and see how the participants
are viewing the same events differently.

Interest in how families negotiate rules needs to include
inquiry about how the rules contribute to family function or
dysfunction. Baker (1976) asserts that "In more functional (family)
systems natural differentiation processes render outmoded rules
obsolete. The rules change as family members undergo substantial
developmental changes" (pp. 12-13). This supports the association of
optimal family functioning with rules which are flexible and
potentially capable of transformation in response to changes within
or impinging on the family system.

Family rules reflect the flexibility or rigidity of the system
to life events. In order for developmental change to occur, rules
must be both responsive to and permissive of reorganization in the
family system. This research focused on healthy families to draw
inferences regarding their rule in the process of developmental change.

Wieting (1976) indentified a basic assumption of systems theory
that acknowledges the interconnectedness of all systems members and
the fact that any change will be followed by a rule-defined adjustment
of the other elements of the system (p. 390). Each family experiences
countless internal (i.e., developmental) or external (i.e., societal)
pressures to change. The family's responses to these pressures will
reflect the relative flexibility or rigidity of the particular family's
rule structure, and will ultimately influence the family's overall
functioning. Family dysfunction--the continued existence of symptoms,
problems within the family unit, and/or the lack of significant change
in behavior between family intimates in treatment--can be characterized
as the lack of rules for change (Greenberg, 1977, p. 396).

Instability in interaction can be expected as family members
struggle to negotiate and re-negotiate rules (Beckman, Brindley and
Tavormina, 1978, p. 433). Conflict among family members is heightened
in the struggle for redefinition of rules, not only when requirements
for change stress the system's flexibility, but also when "rules
networks" clash. There are times in the life of a family during which
it is most vulnerable to the clashing of rules networks. For instance,
the first year of marriage is a time of increased negotiation between
individuals who bring to the new relationship different experiences
and expectations of family rules (Greenberg, 1977, p. 396). Hoffman
(1976) comments on clashing rules networks and contends that family
instability is heightened when the operational rules of the nuclear
family clash with the operational rules of the kin supra-system, since

no relationship value will persist for any duration without conflicting with another (p. 460). The tension between the suprasystem and subsystem can precipitate the reorganization necessary for the emergence of a more complex integration within the family.

This study examined the relationship between intergenerational processes and developmental change, and how the rules of normal families influence and are influenced by these parameters. The event of the new baby's arrival offered a research opportunity in which qualities of intergenerational processes could be discovered during a period when generational issues become salient in the evolution of the family.

In summary, Section One discussed the systems concepts of organizations, control, energy and rules as they applied to the family. These concepts are central to understanding the structural and process context in which a family reorganizes in response to the arrival of a new generation. It is important to maintain a family systems view of the birth of the first child-grandchild so that the knowledge base of normal family processes can be broadened from the already existing individual and dyadic theories explaining the significance of this event.

The next section will discuss how selected theories of inter-generational family processes can be useful in understanding relational phenomenon associated with the birth of a new generation.

Section Two

Theories of Intergenerational Family Processes

In this section on intergenerational family processes, concepts which influence contemporary theory, therapy and research on the family are explicated and evaluated in terms of their overall usefulness in understanding normal family processes. The intergenerational theories highlighted are those which have a systems orientation, that is, those theories which regard the family as a dynamic integrated whole entity.

The two family theorists who reflect systems concepts in their work are Bowen (1976) and Boszormengi, Nagy and Spark (1973). Each of these theorists have emphasized different aspects of intergenerational relationship dynamics, which will be discussed and critiqued separately and then compared.

Bowen: Family Systems Theory

Bowen views the family as a multigenerational system characterized by patterns of emotional interaction. He elaborated and refined a series of eight concepts which he incorporated into what is referred to as the Bowen Theory or Family Systems Theory (Bowen, 1976). Bowen has asserted that a family cannot be adequately understood unless at least three generations have been surveyed (1978).

Bowen's core contention is based on the premise that two parallel processes are the fundamental components of human behavior: emotional

and intellectual processes. Bowen's first concept deals with

differentiation of self in which a theoretical notion of individual

functioning is suggested. Bowen considered this concept the corner-

stone of his theory, and describes people according to the degree of

fusion or differentiation between emotional and intellectual function-

ing. The more differentiated a person is (i.e., the more the

intellect is freed from domination by the more primitive, automatric

emotional system), the more the person will demonstrate flexibility

and adaptability in the face of life stresses (Bowen, 1976, pp. 65-66).

The second concept explains triangles as "a three-person

emotional configuration, (which) is the molecule or the basic building

block of any emotional system, whether it is the family or any other

group" (Bowen, 1976, pp. 75-76). The triangle is the smallest stable

relationship system. Although two-person systems may exhibit relative

stability in the absence of stress, at times the two-person system is

highly unstable, and the tendency of sucy a dyad is the attempt to

involve a third person thereby establishing a triangle. If tension

continues to increase even after a triangle has been established, then

additional people are incorporated and a series of interlocking

triangles is established. This theory represents the family as a

series of interlocking triangles (Steinglass, 1978, p. 332).

The third concept describes the nuclear family emotional system

in terms of the patterns of emotional functioning in a family in a

single generation. "Certain basic patterns between the father, mother,

and children are replicas of the past generations and will be repeated

in the generations to follow" (Bowen, 1976, p. 78). Bowen asserted
that a therapist's knowledge of present family functioning, along with
information about the family's history of past generational function-
ing allow predictions of future family functioning. Bowen classified
family functioning along a fusion-differentiation continuum. Just as
an individual represents the relative status of his/her family-of-
origin's level of differentiation, so similar characteristics of this
dimension can be observed in the marital pair. Marriage, says Bowen,
is a union of two people operating at similar levels of differentia-
tion. Bowen considers marital health as based on the spounses'
differentiation from their families of origin, and marital disorder
a reflection and result of fusion. The more highly fused the marital
pair, the more possibility there is of pathology in the marriage or
the family. Bowen stated that the degree of undifferentiation that
exists in a marriage will manifest itself specifically in three
directions: 1) marital conflict; 2) emergence of dysfunction in a
spouse; and 3) a tendency to project marital problems onto children,
resulting in impairment of one or more of the children.

The fourth concept deals with the family projection process,
and describes the mechanism by which the nuclear family emotional sys-
tem can create impairment in a child. Bowen contends that the
children selected for the family projection process are those con-
ceived and born during stress in the mother's life; one who is
emotionally "special" to the mother, or one the mother believes is
special to the father; or children who were colicky, fretful, or

unresponsive to the mother early in infancy. Maternal experiences in
her family of orientation influence perceptions and expectations of
children, and influence the "choice" of the special child. Bowen makes
specific reference to the initial maternal role in the establishment
of the family projection process.

> The process begins with anxiety in the mother. The child
> responds anxiously to mother, which she misperceives as a
> problem in the child. The anxious parental effort goes
> into sympathetic, solicitous, overprotective energy, which
> is directed more by the mother's anxiety than the reality
> needs of the child. It establishes a pattern of
> infantilizing the child, who gradually becomes more
> impaired and more demanding. Once the process has
> started, it can be motivated either by anxiety in the
> mother, or anxiety in the child. In the average
> situation, there may be symptomatic episodes at stressful
> periods during childhood, which gradually increase to major
> symptoms during or after adolescence. . . . (Bowen, 1976,
> p. 83)

Bowen (1976) supports the contention of the mother's centrality
in the family projection process: "The process through which parental
undifferentiation impairs one or more children operates within the
father-mother-child triangle. . . . It revolves around the mother,
who is the key figure in reproduction and who is usually the principal
caretaker of the infant" (p. 81). It is important to understand this
concept, not in the linear context of blaming the mother for
initiating dysfunction in the "triangled" child, but within the
circular context of the mother-father-child as a subsystem interlock-
ing with the other sub- and suprasystems which influence the family
projection process.

Bowen's fifth concept, <u>emotional cut-off</u>, deals with the relationship between the individuals in a marriage and their families of origin. This concept describes the emotional process between generations. A life pattern is determined by the way people handle their unresolved attachment. The concept describes how people separate themselves from the past in order to start their lives in the present generation. The degree of unresolved attachment to one's parents is equivalent to the degree of undifferentiation that must somewhow be resolved in the person's own life and/or in future generations. Unresolved attachment is handled in various ways: by the intrapsychic process of denial, and the isolation of the self while living close to the parents; by physically running or moving away; or, by a combination of emotional isolation and physical distance. Physical distance from the family of origin does not predict the degree of individuation achieved by an individual. As Bowen (1976) says, "The person who runs away from his family of origin is as emotionally dependent as the one who never leaves home. They both need emotional closeness, but are allergic to it" (p. 84). Bowen has observed that the average family of today is one in which people maintain a distant and formal relationship with their families of origin, returning home for duty visits at infrequent intervals. "The more a nuclear family maintains some form of viable emotional contact with the past generations, the more orderly and asymptomatic the life process in both generations" (Bowen, 1976, p. 85).

The sixth concept of Bowen's theory describes the <u>multigener-ational transmission process</u>, which describes the ebb and flow of

emotional process through the generations. The notion expands the view of the nuclear family as an emotional unit to the view of the multigenerational family as an emotional unit (Kerr, 1981, p. 248). This concept also explains how dysfunction is transmitted down through successive generations. Individuals who emerge from the family of origin with a lower level of differentiation are attracted to and marry persons of similar levels of differentiation; as the parents' undifferentiation is transmitted to the next and then future generations, more severe forms of pathology become evident in successive offspring. Higher, as well as lower, levels of differentiation may also be demonstrated, just as dysfunction can exist in a child from a highly differentiated family who has "started down the scale" as a result of the family projection process. Bowen (1976) hypothesized that the occurrence of a severely impaired individual (i.e., a person diagnosed as schizophrenic) takes from three to ten generations to produce, depending on the speed and intensity of the multigenerational transmission process (p. 86).

Bowen's seventh concept discusses <u>sibling position</u>, based on Toman's (1961) work of birth order and personality profile. Bowen contends that sibling position and understanding of the typical roles played in each position can help to explain how a particular child is chosen as the object of the family projection process. The degree to which a personality profile corresponds with the expected provides a way to understand the level of differentiation and the direction of the projection process from generation to generation. Bowen (1976)

said: "Based on my research and therapy, I believe that no piece of single data is more important than knowing the sibling position of people in the present and past generations" (87).

The eighth concept of societal regression is an attempt to describe society as an emotional system, but is peripheral to this discussion and requires only this brief mention. "Bowen's theory implies that current behavior is the result of a long process over many generations of patterned relationships that are both pre-determined and self-perpetuating" (Steinglass, 1978, p. 333). Bowen considers family functioning within the context of its multi-generational history, present levels of differentiation, and its potential for future differentiation.

Critique of Bowen's Family Systems Theory. Bowen's theory, though intergenerationally focused, has its limitations on universal applicability for two main reasons.

First, it is a pathology based model; that is, assumptions of the model are derived from work with clinic populations and emphasizes development of dysfunction. Inferring normal family processes from examples of disturbed interaction is difficult at best, and of questional validity.

Second, the dynamic premises on which it is based are psycho-analytic in origin, as seen by the emphasis on the role of the mother as a major causative factor in severe pathology. The Bowen model presents a serious and questionable bias in this respect, and has not been revised to include contemporary theory and research on sex roles and stereotypes (Goldner, 1985).

These two serious limitations of Bowen's Family Systems Theory make the model of limited use in understanding normal, contemporary family processes, but the theory does represent a major school of thought about intergenerational relations. However, it is possible to assume that, if pathology in families is perpetuated through a multi-generational transmission process, then health may be developed through similar mechanisms. It was on this dimension that Bowen's Family Systems Theory became useful in understanding intergenerational processes at the arrival of a new generation.

Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark: Contextual Family Theory

Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) have made significant contributions to the theory of intergenerational relationships. Family relationships are seen as those with unique, irreversible bonds. They have asserted that "We can terminate any relationship except the one(s) based on parenting; in reality, we cannot select our parents or our children" (p. xiii). These family theorists contend that human function is deeply determined and substantially influenced by invisible interpersonal accountabilities and family loyalties, and that it has become important to critically reevaluate the dominant myth of our Western civilization. "(Therapists) will find that the dynamic understructure of close relationships is at variance with the idealized images of both the absolute autonomy of the fully grown-up adult and the individual's total separation from the family of origin" (Boszormenyi-Nagy, 1976, p. 231).

Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) explain the concepts central to their view of family relationship theory:

> From our point of view, the basic issue of family relation-
> ship theory is: What happens in the action context and how
> does it affect the family's propensity for keeping the system
> essentially unchanged? According to this framework, although
> loss by death, exploitation, and physical growth are
> inevitabilities of change, every move toward emotional
> maturation represents an implicit threat of disloyalty to
> the system. . . . In our view, the child-rearing function
> has remained the core existential mandate of contemporary
> families. Loyalties anchored in the requirements of
> biological survival and of integrity of human justice are
> subsequently being elaborated in accordance with the historic
> ledger of actions and commitments. (pp. 4-5)

A multigenerational perspective needs to include at least three generations.

> At any point in time, at least three generations overlap.
> Even if the grandparents are absent or dead, their influence
> continues. Psychological, transactional, and ethical aspects
> lose crucial meanings if they are not seen in this perspective.
> The struggle of countless preceding generations survives in
> the structure of the nuclear family. (Boszormenyi-Nagy and
> Ulrich, 1981, p. 162)

The basic dynamic substrate is considered to be the desire for trustworthy relationships among family members. Trust is built on reciprocal consideration of each other's basic welfare interests related to members' survival, growth, and relatedness. Merit is acquired by one who contributes to the balance by regarding and supporting the interests of the other. In terms of relational ethics, merit is the unit that counts. Moves toward trustworthiness strengthen the family, and conversely, moves away from trustworthiness weaken

it. Family life is never enhanced by moves away from trust. Moves toward trustworthy relatedness are called _rejunctive_: moves away from such relatedness are called _disjunctive_. Familial disengagement from concern about fairness is referred to as relational stagnation (Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark, 1965). In a stagnating family, moves toward rejunction are blocked or invalidated (Boszormenyi-Nagy and Ulrich, 1981, p. 162).

An ethical dimension exists in all relationships. Boszormenyi-Nagy and Ulrich (1981) stress that the notion of ethics does not imply moralistic judgment, or "noble altruistic or self-sacrificial postures that are customarily regarded as costly to the self" (p. 163). These authors emphasize that the deepest source of relational ethics stem from "intergenerational rootedness" which provides an inherent synergism. Those linked by membership in successive generations have an intrinsic coincidence of interests that has profound ultimate effects on all members (p. 162).

Legacy and the Ledger of Merit and Indebtedness. The legacy is the dimension which represents the transgenerational call for existential obligations, and derive from the generative, enabling significance of parent/child relationships (Boszormenyi-Nagy, 1976, p. 242). It denotes the specific configuration of expectations that originate from rootedness and impinge on the offspring.

> Certain basic contextual expectations convey an intrinsic
> imperative stemming not from the merit of the parents but
> from the universal implication of being born of parents.
> The roots of the individual's very existence become a source
> of systemic legacies that affect his or her personal
> entitlements and indebtedness. The origins are multi-
> generational; there is a chain of destiny anchored in every
> generative relationship. (Boszormenyi-Nagy and Ulrich,
> 1981, p. 163)

The "ledger" refers to an accumulation of accounts of what has
been given and what is owed. The ledger does not reflect quid pro
quo or barter arrangements or balancing of power alignments. The
ledger concept has two ethical components: first, the ledger reflects
the family legacy which dictates expectations and obligations of each
child to their families. Second, the ledger refers to accumulation
of merit through contribution to the welfare of the other. "Thus,
entitlement may combine what is due as a parent or child and what one
has come to merit" (Boszormenyi-Nagy and Ulrich, 1981, p. 163).
Legacy expectations are in the realm of ethical imperatives: "I
should do this." Postponement of payment is possible, but refusal
or failure to make payment means pathology derived from stagnation,
loss of trust and entitlement, and the violation of the basic
imperative of fairness to the merits of previous generations.

Critique of Boszormenyi-Nagy's Contextual Family Theory

Implications for the Well-Functioning Family. As the family
life cycle consists of various stages of transition, the demands on
the system for change are inevitable. Change brings new demands for

both new commitments and new choices toward autonomy. Closeness, warmth and affection among family members are possible only when honest efforts are made to balance the ledger.

As a family progresses through its life cycle, relational imbalances are inevitable. Family functioning is determined by the system's flexibility in the negotiation of the imbalances. Boszormenyi-Nagy and Ulrich (1981) explain:

> Parental responsibility is considered the essential anchoring point, while the child's accountability increases as its capacity to reciprocate increases. Role definitions are arrived at through a sensitive engagement in the intrinsic fairness of a relationship. Tendencies toward exploiting and scapegoating are noticed and corrected. Problem-solving occurs through intention to achieve ledger balancing by honest give and take. . . . It means that the legacy is such to permit autonomy. And it means that there is no hidden ledger of unpaid debts, real or imaginary, that keeps some family members in bondage to others. . . . In the well-functioning family, separateness does not contradict intimacy. Genuine autonomy can only be reached through consideration of relational equibility. (p. 171)

The concepts of family ledger and ethical balance in relationships are useful in attempting to infer rules which govern a family system. This model provides for generation of data related to meaning among family members intergenerational patterns, and is therefore useful as a potential process framework.

The intergenerational family theories of both Bowen and Boszormenyi-Nagy have broadened the unit of behavioral observation beyond both the individual and the nuclear family. These intergenerational approaches offer useful dimensions from which to develop

the framework necessary to study the three-generational event of the birth of the first child/grandchild. Specifically, Bowen's notion of multigenerational transmission processes and Boszormenyi-Nagy's concepts of relational responsibility and entitlements offered dimensions upon which intergenerational transactions could be regarded.

In the next session, the concept of kinship ties is explored which will provide another context for understanding intergenerational relationships.

Section Three

Kinship Relationships and Family Processes

Kinship Structure and Adult Relationships

Maturation in adulthood and differentiation of the individual from the family of origin does not preclude ongoing relational ties with one's family. Turner (1970) has suggested that the most important kinship relationship affecting family processes in the nucleus sub-system is the continuing tie of parents to their adult children and grandchildren. Bengston and Black have observed:

> The generational relationship itself should be viewed as a developmental phenomena (that is, subject to systematic change over time). Both cultural change and individual developmental change may take place within the life span of a generational relationship, and so the relationship itself must also be seen as a continuously developing entity. . . . The socialization process may be viewed as an interactional confrontation between developing individuals in which those factors leading to continuity and those leading toward difference are negotiated. (p. 209)

Williamson (1981) asserted that completion of the tasks involved in leaving the parental home require termination of the hierarchical boundary between the adult generations. He refers to the renegotiation of the intergenerational power dynamic as a "continuing and constant co-evolution both between and within the parties" (p. 443). Hess and Waring (1978) observed that both parents and adult children have equal social roles which transcend the parent-child hierarchy. They suggested that the autonomy and equality of adulthood places a burden on the generations to voluntarily undertake the initiative necessary to maintain their relationship.

The relationship between parents and their adult children has been the focus of very little research. Sociologists have begun investigating aspects of this relationship, often within the framework of classifying families (i.e., into such categories as extended, modified extended, and nuclear) in American culture (Parsons, 1943; Litwak, 1960' Kerckhoff, 1965). Other areas of intergenerational kinship research have been patterns of aid among kinship systems (Sussman, 1953; Sharp and Axelrod, 1956); patterns of economic decision-making among generations (Hill, 1965 and 1970); and the variables which affect family continuity (Sussman, 1954).

Bengston and Black (1973) offered hypotheses about the nature of intergenerational change, and suggest that relationships experience change on two levels. They noted that first, with the passage of historical time, the lineage relationship as a social institution changes in nature just as any social organization changes its

structure through the years. Second, an individual lineage relation-
ship changes within the shorter time framework of individual develop-
ment. Developmental events in the life of the individual and the
family are particularly important because they have a systematic
influence in the ordering of human behavior. Developmental tasks are
anchored in the social structure, of which individual lineage members
occupy different positions. Though each individual's developmental
tasks will orient them toward different activities, a portion of the
developmental task will reside in their relationships with one
another (pp. 219-227).

Kinship structure in American society is an important part of
the larger context of intergenerational relations. In our culture,
lineage is considered <u>bilateral</u>: that is, kinship can be determined
through both male and female lines. Farber notes the importance of
lineage: "Lineage determines inheritance, authority, economic
privilege, rights of participation in ceremonies and rituals, choice
of marriage partner, and even whose side to take in a conflict" (p.
49). Our American kinship structure is bilateral, and Bell (1971)
explains the concept of bilaterality:

> The characteristic of bilaterality means that both the
> husband's and the wife's families are potentially of
> equal importance in reckoning descent, controlling
> property, giving support and direction and so on. Since
> neither side of the family receives a culturally prescribed
> preference, each family must work out its own balance of
> the ties to, and independence of, two extended families.
> The task is further complicated by the tendency to define
> the maintenance of kinship ties as a feminine rather than
> masculine role. (pp. 177-178)

The implication of a bilateral kinship system is significant to the functioning of a family system: there are no clearly defined rules for the two parental families vis-à-vis the nuclear unit. Status is not ascribed; it is achieved through mutual negotiation and complex balancing of the two families of origin.

Hill (1970), who pioneered three-generational longitudinal research, studied among other things, patterns of intergenerational contact among a subject group of 360 people. Hill observed that the parent (middle) generation served as the "lineage bridge" and maintained "kinkeeping" functions between the older and younger generations (p. 62). Crucial to the process of "kinkeeping" is how the middle generation copes with the establishment and structuring of ties to two families of orientation.

Gender Role Differences in Kinship Ties. However, bilateral kinship is not an absolute constant, as indicated by de Bie (1970):

> In many Western civilizations the male imposes and gives his name to the family. Undoubtedly, this stimulates a sense of belonging to the patrilinear family.
>
> On the other hand, social values and customs tend to be more closely connected with the mother's family. Various inquiries show that women tend to maintain their obligations and activities within the kinship group more than men do. As for family life, women (more than men) are the guardians of family contacts and traditions. (p. 212)

The centrality of women's role in kinship interaction is reported by other researchers. Robins and Tomanec (1962) observed greater closeness among female relatives, which can probably be

explained by the fact that women tend to act as the representatives
of the nuclear family in fulfilling obligations to relatives (p. 345).

Bahr (1976) asked 180 married men and women to report their
perception of the husband's and wife's responsibility in various
kinship duties. Results indicated that maintenance of kinship ties
is defined as sex-specific role behavior. Financial decisions
tended to be defined more as the husband's role, but communication
with kindred was largely defined as the wife's responsibility. Tye
tie between the wife and her family was the most common form of
kinship communication, followed by communication between the wife
and the husband's family, between the husband and his family, and
finally between the husband and the wife's family. And, reports on
frequency of interaction add further evidence of the wives' greater
involvement in communicating with relatives. Fifty-two percent of
the wives (compared to 39% of the husbands) communicated with their
own relatives at least weekly. Husbands were more likely to have
frequent contact with their wives' relatives than with their own
(40% reported weekly communication with their wives' relatives,
versus 33% with their own relatives). The latter differences are not
statistically significant, but suggestive that the interests of the
wife tend to shape the interaction with kin (pp. 66-70). The primacy
of women's function in the maintenance of family communication and
relationships has important implications, for women's roles vis-à-vis
one another within in-law relationships.

These studies suggest that women indeed bear the major
responsibility of maintaining intergenerational ties. The primacy

of women's role in parenting are well as kin-keeping is central in almost all family literature. It is only recently that family theory and research have begun to transcend the myth of the mother-child dyad as the source of all meaningful information about parenting relationships. Fathers, siblings and grandparents are now beginning to be included in investigations about family life.

In summary, it can be seen that intergenerational relationships are embedded patterns of kinship ties. There are two major trends in American kinship ties which influence family processes. The first is the primacy of the "middle" adult generation in "kin-keeping" activities among the generations. The second is the emphasis on relationship maintenance as primarily a women's function in the family.

These trends contribute to the social context in which the contemporary family negotiates reorganized relationship when the first child-grandchild is born. This study included observation of interactions between and among the parental subsystem and their respective parents as well as interaction between the two families of origin. How transactions among these three subsystems contributed to the evaluation of family development was a central point of interest.

This section provided a review of theory and research on kinship structure and its relationship to family processes. In the next section, concepts of family developmental life cycle theory are presented as they relate to a family's shift to inclusion of a new generation into their existence.

Section Four

The Birth of the First Child-Grandchild as an event in the Family

Developmental Life Cycle

This section will include concepts from Family Developmental Life Cycle Theories which contribute to understanding the birth of the first child-grandchild in the context of family developmental processes. Concepts of transition, crisis, stress and developmental tasks are applied in a three-generational look at the birth event.

Intergenerational Focus of Family Life Cycle Concepts

The transitions of the family developmental life cycle are concerned with shifting membership over time, and the changing status of family members in relation to each other (Carter and McGoldrick, 1980, p. 12). These authors referred to the family as an entire family emotional system of at least three generations, which is the operative emotional field at any given moment (p. 9). In their note-worthy work on framing family therapy within the concepts of the family life cycle, Carter and McGoldrick (1980) assert the importance of studying the interlocking tasks, problems and relationships of the three-generational family system as it moved through time, and as issues and stresses move from one generation to the next:

> Our hypothesis is that there are emotional tasks to be ful-
> filled by the family system at each phase of its life cycle,
> requiring a change in status of family members, and that there
> is a complex emotional process involved in making the transi-
> tion from phase to phase. (p. 11)

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the merit of
family developmental life cycle theories, or to analyze and compare
the various theories relating to the family life cycle concept.
This has been accomplished recently by Nielson (1981) and the
concept of family life cycle has been included in this paper because
of its potential utility in examining the birth of the first child/
grandchild as a family event. The concept's theoretical integrity
may still need to be validated; however, various disciplines (e.g.,
sociology, nursing, the family theory and therapy fields, psychology)
have found it to be such a useful concept that it continues to be
used as a framework for theory and research (Hill and Rodgers, 1964;
Baetes and Schaie, 1973; Carter and McGoldrick, 1981; Golan, 1981;
Janosik and Phipps, 1982) and as a contemporary topic in popular
psychology (Sheehy, 1974). Nock (1979) asserted: "The most
fruitful uses of the family life cycle concept has been, and will
continue to be, as a conceptual tool, illustrative principle, or
didactic technique" (p. 25). Nock contends that the family life cycle
concept's usefulness is based on the conceptual utility of its multi-
dimensional aspects. He speaks of the concept's value:

> The family life cycle approach is a very useful framework
> for studying various aspects of family life. One reason
> for this is that the approach is unusual in focusing on
> process and change as opposed to cross-sectional descrip-
> tion. The events that mark points in the family life cycle,
> must be demonstrated or presumed to have real consequences
> for the issues being studied by the researcher. (p. 16)

Nock (1979) conducted a nationwide survey of 1746 adults who were married and living with their spouses to determine the major empirically important dimensions of the family life cycle. The results of this study indicated that the <u>presence or absence of children</u> and the <u>length of the marriage</u> were key dimensions in the life cycle concept which accounted for variations in family members' attitudes, experience and functioning. This finding lends credence to the usefulness of this framework for studying the birth of the first child/ grandchild as a significant event in the life of a family.

Family life cycle theorists have described family development in terms of sequential stages (Duvall, 1977; Rodger, 1965). Passage from one stage to the next is marked by an identifiable event (i.e., the accession or loss of a member) for which an adaptation in family roles and rules must be made. The family system experiences a transition phase between life cycle changes, which include anticipation, experiencing, and incorporation of the event into the functioning of the system. The transition phase can be considered a period of disequilibrium and disruption of family homeostasis.

<u>The Concept of Transition in Family Life Cycle Theory</u>. Golan (1981) offered a useful theoretical frame for understanding life change in terms of the concept of "transition." In studying the intervals between one relatively stable state and another, Golan observed that although these passage intervals are normal occurrences, they are frequently upsetting experiences. Golan named these intervals of strageness and uncertainty "transitions," which are "often

marked by perceptual and cognitive disturbances as well as emotions of confusion, disorientation, and ambivalence. Behavior patterns may become tentative, erratic and unpredictable as we search for road signs that guide us through unfamiliar territory" (pp. 3-4). Golan proposed a working definition of the term "transition" as "a period of moving from one state of certainty to another, with an interval of change and uncertainty in between" (p. 12).

Golan delineated the classification of transitions in different ways.

> They can be classified by time periods, the passages from one chronological stage in the life cycle to another, marked by specific biological, psychological and social characteristics. Transitions can be differentiated by role shifts, the relinquishing of one set of social roles and the taking on of new ones, each calling for a period of adaptation. Or they can be defined by transitional or marker events, which serve as the transformation points which start off and shape the period of change. (p. 12)

According to Golan's criteria, the addition of the first child/ grandchild to a family is a transitional event. First, as a time period, the event is marked by specific biological and psychological changes, and certain social phenomena. Second, role shifts occur for both parents and grandparents for which old roles must be relinquished and new ones assumed in relationship to each other and to the new baby. And third, the first birth can be considered a marker event in the life of a family from which new patterns of relating are stimulated between and among the generations.

The Concepts of Crisis and Stress in the Family Life Cycle.

Transition and change in families precipitate disequilibrium, which

is often experienced by members as stress. Minuchin (1974) offered

a structural description of the effects of stress at transitional

points in the family:

> There are many phases in a family's own natural evolution
> that require the negotiation of new family rules. New sub-
> systems must appear, and new lines of differentiation must
> be drawn. In this process, conflicts inevitably arise.
> Ideally, the conflicts will be resolved by negotiations of
> transition, and the family will adapt successfully. These
> conflicts offer an opportunity for growth by all family
> members. However, if such conflicts are not resolved, the
> transitional problems may give rise to further problems. . . .
> Problems of transition occur in a number of situations.
> They may be produced by developmental changes in family
> members and by changes in family composition. (pp. 63-64)

Minuchin and Fishman (1981) reiterated the notion that there

will always be points of friction in family transactional patterns,

and it is the system's task to meet changed contextual demands

(pp. 16-17). Inability of the family system to meet the requirements

of change will result in dysfunction, most obvious in the form of

symptoms.

Hadley et al. (1974) conducted research that validated the

significance of transitional events as stressful crises in family

life. Their sample consisted of 90 three-or-four-person families in

which a child or adult had received diagnostic or treatment services

at a university clinic over a period of a year. A positive relation-

ship between family crisis and symptom onset was hypothesized and

two crises were used in evaluating the hypothesized relationship.

"Crisis 1" was the <u>addition</u> of a family member, including birth, adoption of a child, and marriage of a parent. "Crisis 2" was the <u>loss</u> of a family member, including a death, separation of parents, or a child's moving out of a family. The time between symptom onset and the last addition or loss of a family member was calculated. Results showed that 37% of the sample families reported symptom onset to occur nine months after the addition of a family member, and 24% of all cases reported symptom onset to occur within nine months after the loss of a family member. Statistical analysis revealed a significant difference between the expected random distribution and the Crises distributions at the (p<.001) level (pp. 210-211). Thus, it was concluded that there is a positive and significant relation-ship between symptom onset and family developmental crises associated with the addition or loss of a family member. This study underlines the notion of life cycle transitions to be periods of vulnerability, during which family members experience more disequilibrium, and are more likely to display more symptoms of stress and problems in living. This study is limited, however, in a more general application of the findings because of lack of controls, notably for factors such as the non-clinic population, the type and severity of symptoms diagnosed and treated; and family developmental crises other than the addition or loss of a family member. Also, a more detailed breakdown of the "addition" and "loss" crises categories would have proved instructional in the relative significance of each type of addition/loss. However, for the purposes of this paper, it is important to acknowledge the

correlation between sympton onset and family developmental crises as indicated by this study, which supports the applicability of family life cycle concepts in clinical work.

Carter and McGoldrick (1980) described both "normative" and "transgenerational" stress, and when and if these stresses exist concurrently at any point in time, greater anxiety will be engendered and the transition will be more difficult or dysfunctional:

> If, to give a global example, one's parents were basically pleased to be parents and handled the job without too much anxiety, the birth of the first child will produce just the normal stress of a system expanding its boundaries from two to three members. If, on the other hand, parenting was a cause celebre of some kind in the family of origin or of one or both spouses, and has not been dealt with, the birth of a baby will produce heightened anxiety for the couple in making the transition to parenthood. (p. 11)

The Transition to Parenthood as a Developmental Crisis. The birth of the first child has been researched in light of its associated stresses, and examined as a developmental crisis. Cowan et al. (1978) remarked that the birth of the first baby predisposes the family, individuals, and the marital couple to disequilibrium, and is one facet of a complex process involving changing identity, role behavior, and communication patterns among three generations. They stated:

> From the moment of confirmation of pregnancy, the couple begins to focus on specific questions and tasks concerning pregnancy, childbirth and child care. From their original family and from their current relationships, each partner begins to act upon expectations of family life. We have noted that each partner becoming a parent for the first time begins to add new aspects to his/her identity and adopts a number of new roles. At the same time, their

> parents will be changing identities and taking on new roles
> as they become grandparents. As parents simultaneously try
> to become mother and father to the new baby and pursue the
> role of grownup child to their own mothers and fathers,
> there will certainly be some new modes of communication
> between the new parents, the new grandparents, and the baby.
> (p. 300)

LeMasters (1957) reported that 83% of 46 couples interviewed

reported extensive or severe crisis in adjusting to the first child

(p. 353). It seemed that the severity of the crisis related to the

romantic notions of parenthood and childhood held by the prospective

parents before the birth. The new parents were caught unprepared for

the realities of the first child. Larsen (1966) studied the stresses

of the childbearing year as perceived by 130 women. The women

reported that the first three months after childbirth contained the

greatest number of stresses. Stress was increased by too much

company and interference by relatives and neighbors (p. 36).

Unfortunately, the nature of this interference was not specified.

It is not surprising that an interactional and/or intergenerational

focus is omitted; most research done about parenthood at the time of

this study was based on a psychodynamic, individual psychological or

nuclear family sociological theories.

Russell (1974) researched the stresses of the childbearing year

by interviewing 511 couples after the birth of their first babies.

The babies' ages averaged seven months at the time of the study.

Russell concluded: "Whatever crisis is experienced in the transition

does not seem to be caused by the basic instability of the triad.

More distressing to these parents were fatigue, 'loss of figure,'

money, and in-law problems" (p. 209). It would have been interesting

to discover the nature of "in-law problems" mentioned, but this

information is not available from the literature source.

Parental Tasks During Pregnancy. The transition to parenthood

begins before the actual birth. The pregnancy itself is part of the

transitional phase. The physical, emotional, and anticipated role

and relationship changes make the pregnancy experience one of

transition between couplehood and parenthood. Rossi (1978) asserted

that the first pregnancy is the major transition period in an

American woman's life. Rubin (1975) described pregnancy as a "period

of identity reformulation, a period of reordering interpersonal

relationships and interpersonal space, and a period of personality

maturation" (p. 143). Rubin listed four maternal tasks of pregnancy:

> 1) Seeking safe passage for herself and her child through
> pregnancy, labor and delivery; 2) insuring the acceptance
> of the child she bears by significant others in her family;
> 3) binding-in to her unknown child; and 4) learning to give
> of herself. (p. 145)

The second task insuring the acceptance of the child by other

significant family members, acknowledges the importance of realigned

bonds within family relationships. However, Rubin described this task

as a conceptual one which involves the woman's internal work of

reformulating her own identity and is accomplished through negotiation

of acceptance and rejection of self and baby within the family (p. 148).

Research on new fathers reported by Golan (1981) notes that the

birth of the baby necessitates his role transitions in three major

areas: his relation to his new child, to his wife, and to the outside world. Fathering skills, marital readjustments and changes in extended family relationships need to be mastered. The quality of the relationships with the extended family will depend on the extent to which the nuclear family's boundaries are kept intact, and to the way in which the new father integrates himself and his new child into the family where he is now both father and son (Barnhill et al., 1979, pp. 233-234).

Six developmental tasks of expectant fatherhood were hypothesized by Barnhill et al. (1979) from observations made of men attending "expectant fathers groups." Three of the tasks describe intrapersonal activities; two relate to changing relationships in the marital interaction and in the newly developing nuclear family, and one refers to the father's role in an intergenerational context. The new father's task is one of establishing family boundaries and differentiating from the extended family. Barnhill et al. (1979) explained:

> After the wife and the newborn arrive home, the father participates in redefining the family boundaries with regard to the nuclear and extended family and the larger social network. These boundary issues include such concrete matters as how long visitors can stay with the convalescing mother, negotiating with family members who wish to 'help out,' deciding if and when to have private time for husband, wife and child in spite of the presence of extended family members, and issues involving interpersonal influence and power (i.e., both grandmother and mother often refer to the infant as 'my child'). The new father must now also alter his role as an individual in his extended family. He has moved between generations, becoming primarily a parent rather than a son. In addition, he becomes connected in a whole new series of family relationships transforming (or further establishing) his siblings to (as) aunts and uncles his parents to (as) grandparents, etc. (p. 233)

Both Rubin's and Barnhill et al.'s focus is that of the individual experience of pregnancy and birth. However, these researchers considered the individual within the context of the extended family and validate the importance of intergenerational relationships during this stage of the family life cycle.

Two more recent studies have included an intergenerational focus in their research of the birth of the first child. Cowan et al. (1978) studied eight couples in the second trimester of their first pregnancy, and then six months following the birth of their child. It was observed that, at the six month follow-up "The new parents (were) developing a more sympathetic identification with their own parents as they take on the parent identity role. . . . This change seemed related to the fact that almost every man and woman in the group expended energy to be a 'good son' or 'daughter' once the pregnancy was confirmed. Some attempted to reconnect with parents with whom there had been little contact for years: many hoped their parents would share their eager anticipation of the new grandchild" (p. 307).

In a study of 20 couples, Shapiro (1978) found that

> All couples seemed eganged in a process of defining a
> relationship to both families of origin which balanced
> two crucial dimensions: maintaining the autonomous
> boundaries of their nuclear family, and maintaining the
> support of the extended family connections. (p. 567)

In summary, the aforementioned studies reflect patterns of changing relationships between the prospective new parents and grand-parents, both in the anticipation and experience of the birth of the

first child/grandchild into the family. Although the significance of the first birth and the formation of a new generation has not been the primary focus of these or other studies, it is important to begin to consider the significance of this event within a three-generational context.

Jay Haley (1973) acknowledged the significance of the birth of the first child/grandchild as an intergenerational happening, and specifies some related problems:

> The imminent birth of a child represents the coming together of two families and creates grandparents, aunts, and uncles on both sides. Such simple arrangements as visiting agreements become revised when a grandchild appears. The two families may quarrel over such matters as what the child is to be named, how he is to be raised and educated, which family will influence his development, and so on. . . . Set farther apart from their families by the arrival of a child, the young couple is also further entangled within the family system. As parents, they are now more individuated as adults and less children themselves, but the child brings them further into the total network of relatives as old bonds change their nature and new ones are formed. (pp. 53-54).

In section four, family developmental life cycle theory concepts were studied in light of the stresses and tasks inherent in a family anticipating and living with a new baby. Family life cycle events were discussed in terms of their impact upon intergenerational relationships. Transitional points in the family life cycle were discussed as opportunities for system reorganization affecting all members. The significance of the birth of the first child/grandchild was emphasized, in that generational rule shifts were initiated with profound impact on the entire family system.

Summary and Integration of Concepts Relevant to the Study

This literature review has outlined some parameters for the examination of intergenerational family processes which occur in response to the birth of the first child/grandchild.

The event of the first birth of the third generation is one for which the nuclear and two families of origin have no pre-established rules; the ambiguity of expected behavior increases the state of disequilibrium experienced by all family members. The new parents and their parents will be faced with synthesizing the rules of their three subsystems into a workable structure for the new situation. The family must abandon outmoded rules and establish new rules which can result in more complex family interaction and the accomplishment of a new level of dynamic equilibrium. The birth precipitates formation of new boundaries among family subsystems.

In simple numerical terms, the addition of a new member increases the number of interlocking triangles in the family, increasing the potential for increased complexity in relationships. New dyads will be formed between the baby and each of his/her parents and grandparents. The dyadic marital relationship is transformed into a triad, and grandparent-parent-child triads are formed. The subsystems of the nuclear family and two families of origin have a new focus of inter-action at the child's arrival, and must redefine the parameters of their contact with each other. The nuclear subsystem must protect the integrity of its boundaries vis-à-vis the extended family in a

way that allows for continued interaction and continuity with the families of origin. The extended family subsystems must allow the nuclear family to assume parenting roles and authority. While renegotiating adult status relationships with them, and developing new nurturing and support roles as appropriate for the new family. Ideally, the relationship between the adult child and the parent needs to move in the direction of interdependence, which would allow for patterns of mutual assistance within increased relational symmetry.

In addition, the nature of intergenerational relationships, as defined by Bowen and Boszormenyi-Nagy will alter, and will be altered by the event of the first birth. The specialness of the first birth will have different intensity and meaning in every family; however, "specialness" will make the first child vulnerable to the family projection and multigenerational transmission processes (Bowen, 1976), by which both the family's emotional continuity and pathology can be perpetuated.

In terms of the intergenerational ledger of merit and indebtedness (Boszormenyi-Nagy, 1973, 1976), the arrival of the new generation will precipitate a shift toward including the new family member into the "relational ledger." The nuclear and extended families of origin will create a role (actual as well as potential) for the baby in balancing the intergenerational ledger of merit and indebtedness. The relative balance (or imbalance) of the intergenerational ledger among the generations will influence the role assigned to the first member of the next generation.

Family developmental life cycle theory acknowledges the importance of the first birth as a precipitant for individual role changes, and as a transition event that catapults the family into another developmental stage (Duvall, 1977; Carter & McGoldrick, 1980; and Golan, 1981). The disequilibrium of the transition period is significant because the incidence of family dysfunction exhibited as individual or family crises increases around the time of transitions (Hadley et al., 1974).

Studies of new parents point to the increased stress they experience during the antepartal and postpartal periods. The role of women within the bilateral but asymmetrical American kinship system (at least among middle class research samples) and in parenting activities is an important finding in this time of sex role revolution. In light of these social influences compounded with the situational stress of the baby's birth and the three-generational shifts in the family system.

Evidence indicates that, although there are significant relationship changes among the nuclear and extended families, it is primarily the nuclear family which is most likely to experience the event as stressful. This is understandable, given the level of change required of the marital pair to meet the challenges of new parenthood. The grandparents are re-living, albeit on a different level, an experience that they have completed, and are participating in the event in a less intense manner.

This literature review has supported the notion that the birth of the first child/grandchild is a profound transitional event in the

life of a family, and does precipitate relationship changes within at least three generations. Yet, research to date has not adequately addressed some important questions, the answers to which would help us understand both "healthy" family development, and the unfortunate development of dysfunctional family relationships.

The numerous theorists and researchers cited in the first three parts of the paper have validated the developmental significance of the birth of the first child/grandchild in individual, marital, nuclear family and extended family life cycles. If this occurrence does in fact, impact the family system in such noteworthy ways, why then has there not been more research conducted on its function in the intergenerational context? Obviously, research trends are affected by historical, theoretical and practical factors. Family research done in the psychological, sociological, and family therapy fields has been influenced by each of these factors; research from each of these disciplines have evolved in different ways. Psychological research trends have been influenced by changing historical emphasis on the "unit of observation" to be studied. And of course, research has gone hand-in-hand with prevailing psychological theories of the time: individual emphasis in research paralleled psychodynamic theory development, followed by interactional, communications and system theory which formed the basis of research with dyads, triads, small groups, and families, respectively. Sociological research has examined the event of the first birth in the larger context of family developmental life cycle theories,

ritual behavior and role theory. Research which has grown from the
newer field of family therapy has not included a focus on this event,
as the focus of family therapy is primarily oriented to family
dysfunction rather than to the exploration of functional family
processes and change.

The importance of an intergenerational focus in family
assessment is underscored by Bell (1962), who asserts that disturbed
families are distinguishable from well families in terms of their
patterns of relationships with extended families:

> Disturbed families have a deficiency of family boundaries
> which leads them to involve extended kin in their conflicts
> and makes them sensitive to influence from extended kin.
> Directly or indirectly a considerable segment of kindred
> systems become part of a pathological drama, until pathology
> is a characteristic of the system, not of individual persons
> or families. (p. 192)

Since the birth of the first child/grandchild requires complex
changes in family rules and interaction across at least two adult
generations, research of the family at this time may provide informa-
tion helpful in understanding the development of both functional and
dysfunctional family rules. Such information could add to our
sparse knowledge of how "healthy" family functioning develops, and
how dysfunctional patterns are set into motion.

The major areas of the literature review were systems concepts,
theories of intergenerational processes, kinship relationships and
family developmental life cycle concepts. This review has encompassed
the existing theory and research related to family systems and

intergenerational relational transitions at the event of the first
child/grandchild's birth. The lack of research specific to the subject
is evident. The literature review allows the formation of a broad
systems intergenerational-developmental framework within which
research questions can be formulated.

The virtual absence of any research specific to theory of normal
family systems processes at the birth of a new generation prompts
selection of a research methodology which is designed to explore and
describe this event in a manner which contributes to useful theoreti-
cal development. The constant comparative analysis method of grounded
theory generation was used in the study to accomplish this goal.

In conclusion, this chapter has described the birth of the first
child/grandchild as a developmental event in a three-generational
context, requiring complex changes in the entire family system. The
enormity of this change is reflected in the exacerbated stress levels
and increased potential for crisis reported by new parents. The
impact of the birth is felt within both parental and grandparental
generations; the significance of this event is reflected in the
increasing level of complexity of relationship rules and interactions.
Broadening the scope of analysis to an intergenerational systems focus
is necessary to develop theory related to this crucial stage in the
family developmental life cycle. In the next chapter, grounded theory
methods are described which were used to discover concepts central to
family processes at this point in the life of a family.

C H A P T E R   I I I

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The research method used for this study; namely, grounded theory generation from constant comparative analysis is a relatively complex process. Appreciation of theory generated from this method depends upon a thorough understanding of the process. Therefore, this chapter contains a detailed description of the grounded theory method of constant comparative analysis as a basis for analysis of the research results. This description of the methodology is contained in the first of three sections in the chapter.

In Section Two, the three participating families are described. And in Section Three, a chronology and description of the research interviews are provided.

Section One

Method of Constant Comparative Analysis

A qualitative longitudinal research design was used to develop substantive theory related to the evolution of three-generational transactional processes in families experiencing the arrival of the

first child-grandchild. The inductive hypothesis-generating method of constant comparative analysis was used in which direct contact with subjects facilitated the discovery of theory grounded in data about basic social processes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978).

The constant comparative method puts a high emphasis on theory-as-process; that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, rather than as a perfected product. The primary goal of this method is the production of theory which provides predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications relevant to the phenomena in question (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 1).

The grounded theory method was used in the study for two reasons; first, the method has proven useful in the analysis of qualitative data based on processes, sequence and change which pertain to phenomena in social interaction (Glaser, 1969, p. 226). Second, the method is suited for investigations of relatively uncharted waters (Stern, 1980, p. 20). Thus, the lack of research in the problem area and the appropriateness of constant comparative techniques in the description of relational phenomana support the selection of the grounded theory method for this study.

The grounded theory method begins, not with a preconceived theoretical framework, but with a general problem area. The research problem can be set within a partial framework of concepts with which to begin data collection. These concepts are referred to as local concepts which indicate a few principal features of the structures and processes to be studied (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45). The local concepts of the study give the research its initial direction.

Local concepts are derived from various sources. Observations or "hunches" that the investigator thinks might be related to the phenomena of interest are good beginning sources. Initial literature review in the general problem area can help to generate questions from which data can give shape to the emerging problem. The relevancy of the local concepts to the theoretical end-product is unknown, since the research problem must emerge from the data.

Sample Selection and Theoretical Sampling

Sample selection is conducted in response to theoretical criteria established by the researcher; areas of inquiry are selected for their theoretical relevance for furthering the development of emerging categories. The researcher selects subjects or groups "that will help generate, to the fullest extent, as many properties of the categories as possible, and that will help relate categories to each other and to their properties" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 49). This type of sampling is called theoretical sampling, and unlike sampling methods of deductive research methods, theoretical sampling is not planned according to structural limits (i.e., a particular age group); instead, theoretical sampling allows the flexibility necessary to insure the data's relevance to the emerging theory.

Theoretical sampling precluded specifying an entirely predeter- mined sampling design prior to data collection. Sampling decisions were dependent on ongoing data analysis and the developing conceptual categories. Multiple sources of data were pursued to generate data

from which comparisons could be made. It is from the comparison of multiple sources of data that the theory emerges.

Theoretical sampling was approached from two perspectives: Environmental contexts and relational contexts. Sampling was conducted to generate data on intergenerational family processes in as many varied contexts as possible. Tables 1 and 2 list the varied contexts in which theoretical sampling occurred. Collecting data within this variety of environmental and relational contexts provided a rich source of "data slices" in which comparisons were made and theoretical properties emerged.

The sampling methods of this research began with open coding which leads to sampling in all directions which seemed relevant. When core variables were discovered later on, sampling became selective to the focus on the central issues of the emerging theory. Theoretical sampling was conducted in such a way that allowed the researcher to stay open to the data and to discover what categories and their interrelations fit and work best. Sampling and data collection strategies reflected this research model's purpose; that is, the generation rather than the verification of hypotheses. Various strategies were used to advance the analysis of data through this method: constantly changing interview style, place and interviewees in order to keep following up new ideas; noting constant or patterned recurrences in informants' discussions and stories; and, requesting selected subjects to appraise and give more data on codes proving to become core to the analysis. Glaser (1978) observed that these

TABLE 1

Theoretical Sampling: Environmental Contexts

Parental home

Grandparental home

Catholic church

Hospital maternity ward

TABLE 2

Theoretical Sampling: Relational Contexts

Three generations together

Spousal Interactions

In-law Interactions

Mother-Infant Interactions

Father-Infant Interactions

Parental couple-Infant Interactions

Grandfather-Infant Interactions

Grandmother-Infant Interactions

Grandparental couple-Infant Interactions

Parent-Grandparent-Infant Interactions

Dual Family-of-origin Interactions

strategies allow openness to new data which modified the ongoing data analysis as well as facilitate ongoing verification and pursuit of relevant data.

In other words, the method of theoretical sampling does not require that the inquiry be uniform at every stage of the data collection. For example, after each family had been interviewed twice (The Initial Interview with the expectant couple and the Two-Generation Family Interview with the expectant couple and their parents), it was discovered through interview and observation that two of the three expectant mothers-to-be had some conflict with their husbands' mothers. During the Two-Generation Family Interview, each family was asked the question: "How does your family solve disagree-ments when you have them?" Each family described similar conflict--resolution transactions. It was difficult to account for the nonverbal tension between the mother and daughter-in-laws of the two families. Coding and analysis of data from both interviews did not illuminate the difference between the families experiencing the conflict and the family not experiencing it. A hypothesis was made; namely, that some areas of conflict are not discussed with a non-family member in the presence of other family members. To test this hypothesis and to gain more information about the areas of conflict, appointments were made with the two wives which generated new and sufficient information to further support the hypothesis and add to the ongoing data analysis.

The issue of confidentiality. This method of theoretical

sampling from among the various family subsystems raised confidenti-

ality issues throughout the study. The researcher addressed this

problem by discussing it at the beginning of every new contact with

the family. The participating subsystem members were reminded that

all of the interview content would remain confidential within the

confines of that particular session, and that they were free to share

its contents with other family members but that the researcher would

not divulge any information to members outside of the interview. In

addition, the family was invited to refrain from sharing any informa-

tion that they wished to keep private or chose not to discuss with

the researcher or each other at that time. The researcher explained

that the information that they shared helped the researcher understand

and ask more questions about the behaviors common to families with a

new baby which emphasized her role as observing inquirer rather than

informant. On only two occasions did family members identify

information for which they preferred that no reference be made: In

one instance, a member reported past conflict with another member

which "was over and done with and resolved." The family member asked

that the researcher not refer to the incident, but if the topic was

brought up at another time, she would talk about it with the entire

family's agreement. In the other instance, the family member inter-

viewed asked the researcher for advice about an interpersonal conflict.

The researcher declined to give an opinion or suggestion, reiterating

the observer role. This family member then decided to discuss her

concerns with the relative and requested that our discussion remain confidential. In the first instance, the topic was never mentioned in the researcher's presence. In the second, the family member did initiate the confidential topic for family discussion during a research interview, during which the researcher took a passive observer role.

The above example illustrates that grounded theory data collection is based on principles and strategies that differ from the information-seeking activities in therapy and other qualitative research strategies. Theoretical sampling requires that data collection be responsive to developing hypotheses. This method of data collection differs from information-seeking for the purposes of therapeutic change. For example, meetings between a family therapist and an individual family member without the family's knowledge and consent leaves the therapist in a difficult position of managing private communications and should be avoided or routinely discussed with the entire family to free the therapist to use all information for change (Jackson & Weakland, 1971, pp. 22-23). Since the purpose of grounded theory is generation of knowledge and not family change, data can be collected that seems helpful in fleshing out the developing hypotheses. The families were also assured that confidentiality and anonymity applied also to the research report, and that the process of theory development would be emphasized and would be illustrated with content examples well disguised. Since theoretical sampling differs from other qualitative descriptive data

collection methods which have as their purpose theory verification, non-uniform methods of data collection are necessary to advance the ongoing process of developing the theoretical categorizations. In summary, theoretical sampling advances theory development in its' flexibility to pursue information in the service of hypothesis generation. Varied data collection techniques allow the researcher to approach the research situation from multiple angles and generate theoretical assumptions from comparison of diverse sources of data.

Data Collection

Research contacts with the participating families took place in the parents' and grandparents' homes; on the hospital postpartum unit; and, at one family's parish church during their baby's baptism ceremony. Interviewing, observing and interacting with the families in their naturalistic life settings had three effects. First, family participation and continued involvement in the study was maximized, in spite of other commitments during a very hectic and often stressful period in the families' lives. Second, rapport and communication was facilitated between the family and researcher by virtue of the fact that the families felt that the researcher "cared enough" about them to want to meet with them in their own homes and in response to life events important to them. Third, interactional and contextual data were enriched by the use of naturalistic and participant observation methods.

Naturalistic Observation

Naturalistic observation is a method based in the science of anthropology and is the study of people in the context of their environment. Jules Henry (1978) supported the use of naturalistic observation and emphasized the importance of the daily context of human interaction, without which family research has no meaning (p. xv). He has advised that research

> Return from the laboratory and the consulting room to man (sic) in his natural surroundings, and by observing him through the successive transformations of his activity as he moves through his daily activities and cycles of feeling. . . . (p. xvi)

Henry not only defended naturalistic observation as the best way to obtain data about family processes, but he also questioned the premise that a researcher's presence distorted family life and either modified it or failed to provide a true picture of the family. He asserted that the observing researcher could gain useful information about families while having negligible effects on the "family culture." In light of these considerations, he stated:

A. Family individuality very often manages to maintain itself even in the presence of therapeutic efforts to change it.

B. Family members cannot remain on guard indefinitely in the presence of a stranger; their fixed patterns of behavior will be maintained in spite of conscious attempts to impress the observer.

C. Crucial dimensions of behavior cannot be controlled because behavior is influenced by unconscious as well as conscious motivations,

and personality integration cannot readily change under ordinary circumstances.

D. Many family behaviors are based on fixed action patterns of long standing and are not easily modified.

E. The family usually does not have the same understanding of dynamics as does the researcher, and so sometimes does not know what one should inhibit or conceal.

F. The family's agreement to participate in a research study to add to scientific knowledge that would be helpful to other people reduces the family's tendency to conceal.

G. The demands of children push parents to habitual modes of conduct even though they might choose to avoid them (1978, pp. 457-458).

Participant Observation

The role of participant observer was maintained throughout the study, which made it possible for the researcher to collect rich and varied data over a period of fifteen months as an "outsider" who became accepted and included intermittently by the families into their ongoing lives. Participant observation is based on the phenomenological tradition, which is concerned with understanding human behavior from the actor's own frame of reference and proposes an active, involved role for the social scientist researcher (Patton, 1980, p. 45).

Schwartz and Schwartz (1969) defined participant observation as a "Process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation" (p. 91). The stance of naturalistic observation is based less on the objective stance of the observer than it is in a face-to-face relationship with the observed, who gathers this data by participating with them in their natural life setting. Thus, the observer is part of the context being observed, and he both modifies and is influenced by this context.

The method of participant observation has been criticized as a method which reduces the "objectivity" of research data. Churchman (1980) questioned the usefulness of the concept of "objectivity" in human research and pointed out that there is no "one best way to conduct research other than deciding how best to formulate the problem or hypothesis." He said, "Objectivity is a characteristic not of the data, but rather the design of the inquiring system as a whole: Does it try to be open to all those aspects it deems relevant?" (1980, p. 147). Churchman indicated two alternatives in the use of systems methodology:

> One option is to maintain the spirit of the classical
> laboratory by collecting just those data that appear
> relevant and can be obtained objectively; this means
> that other competent observers would essentially agree
> with their findings, even though these data are not
> 'basic' in terms of human lives. The other option, the
> harder one, is to recognize that the unpredictable human
> is an essential aspect, and begin to invent a methodology
> in which human bias is a central aspect. Will the
> methodology characterized by participant observation be
> 'scientific'? No, if we doggedly stick to the assumption
> that the classical laboratory is the basis of science.
> Yes, if 'science' means the creation of relevant knowledge
> about the human condition. (Churchman, 1980, p. 62.

One must conclude, therefore, that the concern that naturalistic and participant observation predispose the researcher to subjective bias overlooks the reality that bias is a universal phenomenon. It is the researcher's task to uncover and explicate biases influencing the research as part of the ongoing process of discovery.

In keeping with Churchman's view that good science explicates the nature of its bias, the theoretical bias of this study is identified as systems theory in data collection and analysis. The characteristics of systems as they are defined and thus "observed" in the real world of human interaction; i.e., boundaries, hierarchy, organization, subsystems, entropy-negentropy, morphostasis-genesis, etc., reflect certain views of the world and therefore, values.

Interviewing Techniques

Two interviewing methods were used to collect data in the study: the general interview guide approach, and the circular questioning approach. These interviewing techniques are described as follows:

The general interview guide approach was used in the initial interviews with the participating families to open areas for data explorations and initial testing out of the relevance of the beginning local concepts. Patton (1980) described the benefit of the general interview guide approach, which allows the researcher to remain free to "build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style-but with a focus on a particular subject which has been determined"

(p. 200). The predetermined subject of this study is the event of the birth of the first child/grandchild with beginning emphasis on the local concepts chosen to begin data collection and hypothesis genera-tion.

Circular questioning, (see Appendix I) an interviewing technique developed by the Milan Associates (1980), was conducted to produce an "enlargement of the field of observation (Selevini-Palazolli, Boscolo, Cechin, & Prata, 1980, p. 19) and to increase information about the family's behavior and the differences in that behavior over time. Penn (1982) describes the aim of circular questioning as fixing the point in the history of the system when important coalitions underwent a shift thereby permitting the researcher to understand how the family experienced differences in relationships before and after the shift (p. 272). Campbell, Reder, Draper and Pollard (1984) suggest that circular questioning elicits the story of family relationships as they have developed over time and shapes a multidimensional map of changes in closeness-distance between individuals.

> We consider that relationships can never be described in absolute terms, but it is the differences between individual perceptions of, or reactions to, others' behavior that provides the useful information about relationships. In order to get this information we have found it helpful to inquire about the family members' perceptions of the effect that one relationship has on the other relationships in the system. (pp. 15-16)

Therefore, the use of circular questioning increased the amount of interactional data not readily obtained from observational or other

interviewing techniques used in the study. Bateson, Jackson, Haley and Weakland (1956) have observed that ideas develop from having two or more descriptions of the same process, pattern, system or sequence that are coded are collected differently. The information provided by circular questioning offered another "slice of data" which provided another view of the families and increased the richness of the information obtained as well as the diversity of modes of developing conceptual categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 65-69).

All sessions were audiotaped with the exception of the final interview of one family, who agreed to a videorecording. The idea of using videotape in the interviews was introduced to the families for the final session for the purpose of increasing relational data available for analysis. Only one family was comfortable with the videotape equipment and so additional relational data was obtained with this family.

A language barrier existed between the researcher and the paternal grandparents of the Gonzalez family: The researcher spoke no Spanish and the grandparents spoke little English. This barrier was discovered during the first three-generation interview, during which the marital couple and the English-speaking maternal grandmother interpreted for the paternal grandparents. However, family members interpreting for each other created interruptions within the interview, and made assessment of spontaneous relational data more difficult. Therefore, it was decided that an outside interpreter was needed to make the interviews more productive. An interpreter

was included in the Year-After three-generational interviews with
the family to facilitate communication and free the family members
from the task of interpretation.

Other "tools" used in data collection and analysis were the
interviewing and observation skills of the researcher, who was also
a psychiatric nurse clinical specialist and family therapist educated
in individual, group and family systems treatment modalities. The
researcher's role was clearly established as different than her role
of therapist with the families who participated in the study. The
difference between research and therapy was explained: Research was
done to discover knowledge and therapy was done to create change.
The families were invited to discuss whatever they wished or to decline
discussion as they chose, and the researcher's role would be to ask
questions which would help her to learn as much as possible about how
families worked. The participants were informed that the researcher
would not advise or counsel the families during the research. How-
ever, one problem situation became an exception and therapeutic inter-
vention was negotiated apart from the research. When the Gonzalez
parental couple described their marital crisis, it was clear to the
researcher that research with this family could not proceed in light
of the couple's separation. In addition to the problem of continuity
within the research, an ethical issue arose related to the researcher's
obligation to the family in light of their difficulties.

The researcher referred the couple for marital counseling.
They accepted the referral and then dropped out of therapy with the

complaint that neither of the two therapists they had seen on
separate occasions were helpful for these reasons: one, the couple
was uncomfortable with them because the therapists were new and
unfamiliar. Two, the therapists were perceived as "wasting time
asking questions" rather than "making useful suggestions."

The couple expressed the need for a therapist with whom they
were familiar so that they both could be comfortable enough to
discuss solutions to their pressing problems. The researcher who
was also a family therapist, was someone with whom the couple was
familiar and comfortable, based on the year-long research association.
The couple requested therapeutic assistance for their immediate
crisis, and the researcher decided that the most ethical response in
this situation was to respond to the couple's request for therapy
which could be provided with clear parameters isolating it from the
research. Thus, three therapy sessions were agreed upon and con-
ducted with the couple over a six week time period with reported
improvement of the marital crisis. Research was then resumed with
the three-generations in the Year-After interview.

Data Analysis

Analysis of data was conducted as a continuous, ongoing process
which was inseparable from other research operations. The importance
of integrating research activities in the method of constant
comparative analysis is emphasized by Glaser and Strauss (1967):

> Joint collection, coding and analysis of data is the under-
> lying operation. The generation of theory, coupled with
> the notion of theory-as-process, requires that all three
> operations should be accomplished together whenever possible.
> They should blur and intertwine continually, from the beginning
> of an investigation to its end. (p. 43)

A sequence of comparisons within the data from which the

conceptual material emerged, and is summarized as follows: First,

the researcher compared incident to incident with the purpose of

establishing underlying uniformity and its varying conditions.

Second, the researcher labeled the underlying uniformity as a concept

and then compared the concept to more incidents generating new

theoretical properties of the concept and more hypotheses.

> This comparison of concept to further incidents has the
> purpose of establishing the best fit of many choices of
> concepts to a set of indicators, the conceptual levels
> between concepts that refer to the same set of indicators
> and the integration into hypotheses between the concepts,
> which becomes the theory. (Glaser, 1978, p. 50)

Coding, memoing, and sorting are activities essential to

grounded theory data analysis. These procedures are described as

follows:

Coding refers to the process of "fracturing" the data and then

conceptually grouping it into codes that then become the theory which

explains what is happening in the data. Coding provides for a

conceptual scope which provides a condensed, abstract view within

the scope of the data that includes otherwise seemingly disparate

phenomena.

Two types of codes were generated: <u>substantive</u> and <u>theoretical</u>. Substantive codes conceptualized the empirical substance of the area of the research. Theoretical codes conceptualized how the codes may relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into theory. The outcome of this research data analysis was the generation of substantive and theoretical codes in the defined problem area of intergenerational relationship changes which occur with the inclusion of a new generation in the life of a family.

Substantive coding began as <u>open</u> coding; and, as the analysis proceeded toward the point that a core variable or variables were identified, coding then became <u>selective</u> to focus on variables that related to the core variable in significant ways. The core variable then became a guide to further data collection and theoretical sampling (Glaser, 1978, p. 61).

A code is generated on a set of empirical indicators. This model provides the essential link between data and concept and results in a theory grounded in data. A diagram of the model is illustrated in Figure 1.
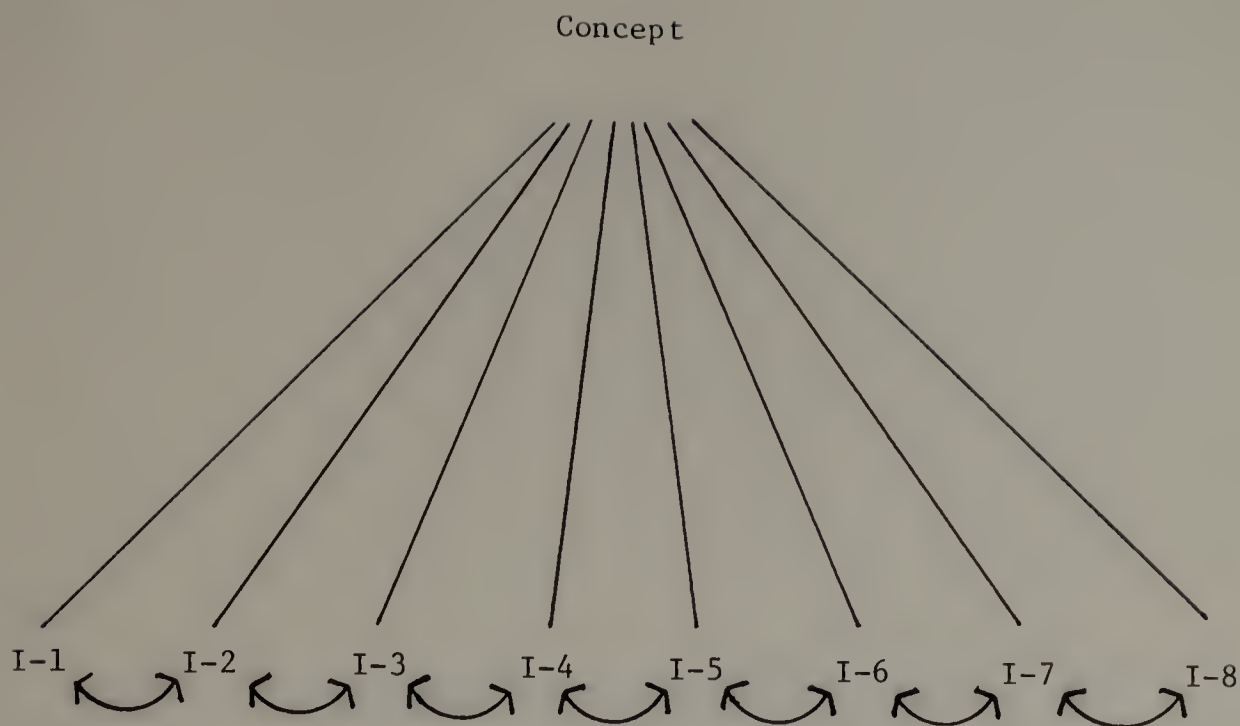
Concept

Figure 1. The Concept Indicator Model

I stands for "indicator" which, when compared between and among each
other suggest the properties of the concept and their relationship to
each other and to the emerging concept.

This concept indicator model is based on the constant comparison of indicator to indicator and of indicators to the emerging concept. Glaser (1978) explains:

> From the comparisons of indicator to indicator the analyst is forced into confronting similarities, differences and degrees of consistency of meaning between indicators which generates an underlying uniformity which in turn results in a coded category and the beginning of properties of it. From the comparisons of further indicators to the conceptual codes, the code is sharpened to achieve its best fit while further properties are generated until the code is verified and saturated. (62)

Theoretical codes conceptualized how the substantive codes may relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into a theory. Theoretical codes, like substantive codes, are emergent; they weave the fractured story back together again (Glaser, 1978, p. 72). Theoretical codes were grouped according to various organizing frameworks, eighteen of which are described by Glaser (1978). Elaboration of theoretical codes relevant to this data analysis will be explicated in the next chapter.

Memoing is considered the primary activity of generating theory and was the process which lead to abstraction or ideation upon which the theory was based. Memos were the recordings of the analyst's ideas about codes and their relationships, and reflected the "frontier" of the researcher's thinking as she ran through the data, coded, sorted and wrote. Glaser (1978) described the ideational developments which are accomplished in memos: (1) Data was raised to a conceptualization level; (2) Properties of each category were

developed which begin to contribute to their operational definitions; (3) Hypotheses were presented about connections between categories and/or their properties; (4) Connections between categories were integrated to advance theory generation; and (5) Emerging theory was located with other theories with potential relevance (p. 84).

Sorting refers to the literal separation and reorganization of ideas for the purpose of integrating and relating conceptual categories to each other. The basic task of sorting was to achieve integrative fit in the emerging theory; ideas were fit into the emerging theoretical outline. Integration was changed or modified by resorting.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity of the research results were built into the method of grounding theoretical observations in actual data. Reliability was enhanced by data collection within the naturalistic home setting and the cross-coding and categorization of data. Though not congruent with the grounded theory method, interrater reliability was determined as an adjunct measure of the researcher's coding and categorization. Interrater reliability was determined by data categorization performed by a family therapist educated in family systems concepts, who coded the initial interview data with 90% agreement with the researcher's coding. In addition, verification of interrater reliability was achieved by comparison of researcher and rater coding of interview data by calculating the Index of Qualitative Variation (IQV) which measures dispersion in a nominal distribution (Crittendon & Hill, 1971, p. 1073). According to the IQV formula, perfect reliability is

represented as 1.0. The interrater reliability score among all data
coded by both the researcher and independent rater was 95% indicating
a healthy reliability in the coding process. Data which received dis-
crepant coding was separated and discussed by rater and researcher to
concensus for further categorization refinement. Establishment of
interrater reliability validated the researcher's credibility in the
categorization process.

Validity was enhanced through knowledge and contact with
families over a period of 15 months, and by using the words of the
participants to create a substantive coding system. Participant
observer neutrality was enhanced by the researcher's conscious
application of family systems interviewing expertise, and by the use
of circular questioning to maintain a systemic perspective within the
families. In the case of one-person or dyad subsystem interviews,
neutrality was maintained by the researcher's systematic references
to her role as information gatherer as opposed to information sharer
or therapeutic change agent. Face validity of the data codes was also
supported by the consistent level of agreement between researcher and
rater. Disagreement between the researcher and rater's data coding
were noted and discussed until concensus was reached.

Population of the Study

The population of concern for this study was three families
experiencing the birth of their first child/grandchild. The three
families was obtained from the obstetrical practice of a certified
nurse midwife and obstetrician who practice jointly at a local health

maintenance organization. Since heterogeneous comparison groups enrich theory development in the grounded theory method, variations among subject families were accepted and utilized to advance the developing theoretical conceptualizations.

Sample of the Study

The study sample included the range of <u>theoretical</u> <u>samplings</u> conducted for category saturation. The theoretical sampling can be conceptualized along two dimensions. First, the family subsystems which were interviewed; and second, the contexts in which the families were observed and interviewed. (See Figures 2 and 3).

Section Two
Description of Participating Families

Identifying characteristics have been changed to maintain confidentiality and anonymity in all descriptions and discussions of the participating families. A brief demographic description and genogram of each family is provided here to provide information of membership, ethnicity and residential proximity.

<u>The Koshi Family</u>. Of third generation Polish, Italian and English heritage, the Koshi Family membership included the parental couple who were expecting the birth of their first child; parental grandparents for whom the expected baby would be the fifth grandchild but the only one within 600 miles of their home; and, a maternal

Key:

◯	Female	
☐	Male	
△	Other Grandchildren	

GF	Grandfather
GM	Grandmother
F	Father
M	Mother
GC	Grandchild
AD	Adopted
DEC.	Deceased
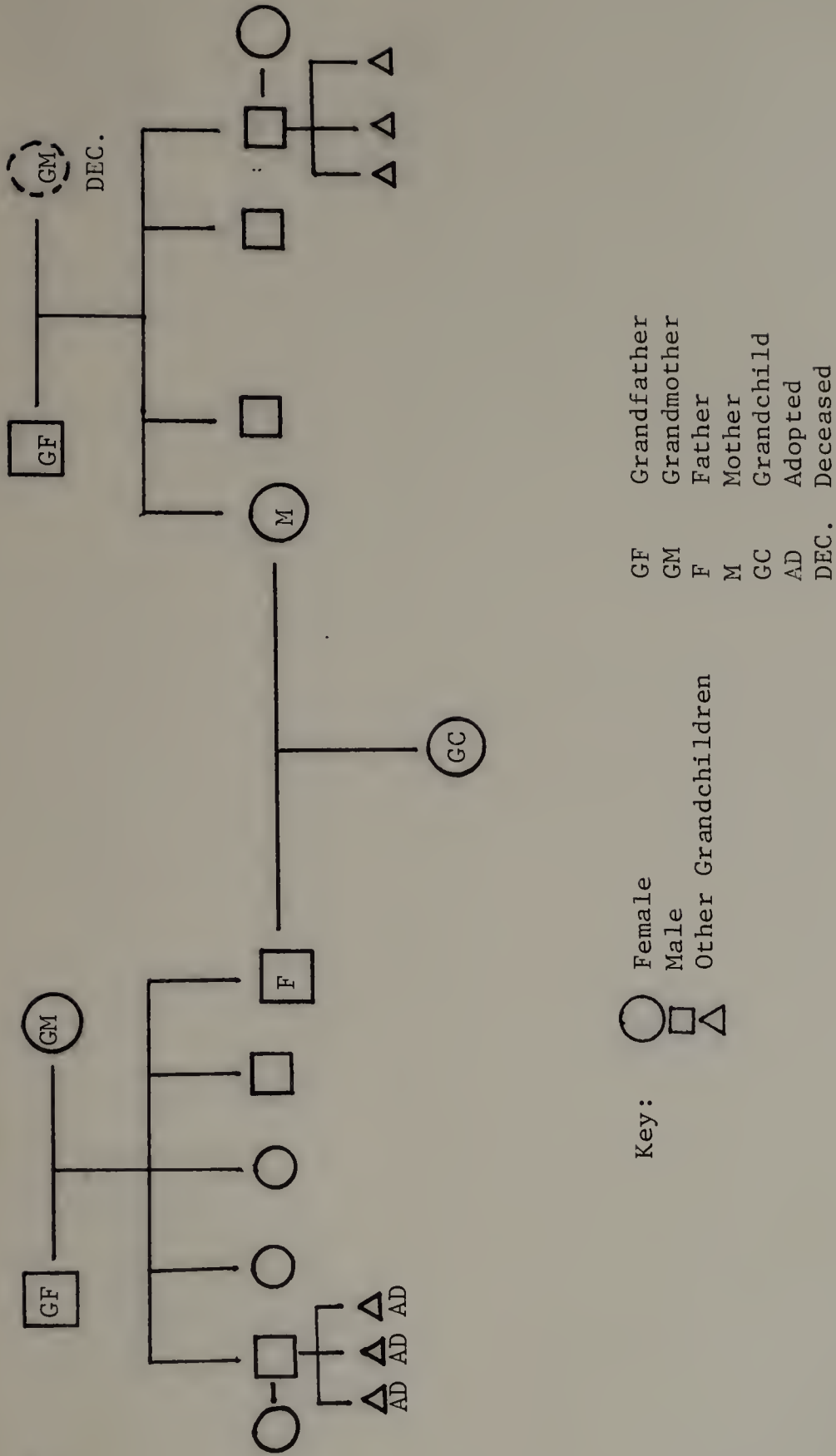
Figure 2.   Genogram of the Koski Family

grandfather who is widowed, for whom the expected baby would be the third grandchild but the only one within 3,000 miles of his home. The parental couple live in the same two family house as the maternal grandfather and a half mile from the paternal grandparents. (See the family genogram in Figure 2.)

The Marceau Family   The Marceau Family is of third generation French and Polish descent. The parental couple was expecting the birth of their first child and resided in a rented apartment within approximately twenty miles of their parents' homes. The paternal grandparents had four other grandchildren living in the same town. The maternal grandparents had been divorced for the past ten years; the maternal grandmother remarried four years ago, and the maternal grandfather has remained unmarried and resides with his sister, also divorced, in their mother's home, who at 84 is in good health. The expected baby is the first grandchild of the maternal grandparents. (See Figure 3.)

The Gonzalez Family. The Gonzalez Family is Columbian. Both maternal and paternal sides of the family, who knew each other because they lived in the same Columbian village, came to this country 14 years ago. The expectant parents are American citizens; the grandparents retain Columbian citizenship and are considering changing to American citizenship. The parental grandparents live a mile within the couple; the maternal grandmother, who has been divorced three times now resides with two of her adolescent children in a major city 150 miles from the couple. The maternal grandfather is estranged

KEY:
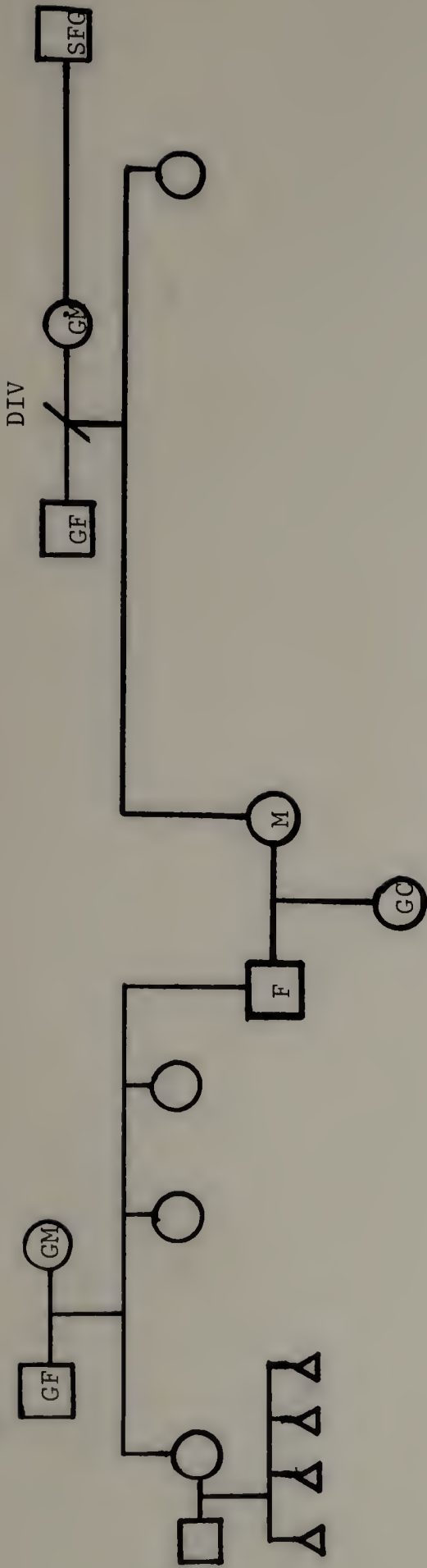
Female
Male
Other Grandchildren

GF	Grandfather
SGF	Stepgrandfather
GM	Grandmother
F	Father
M	Mother
GC	Grandchild
DIV	Divorced

Figure 3. Genogram of the Marceau Family
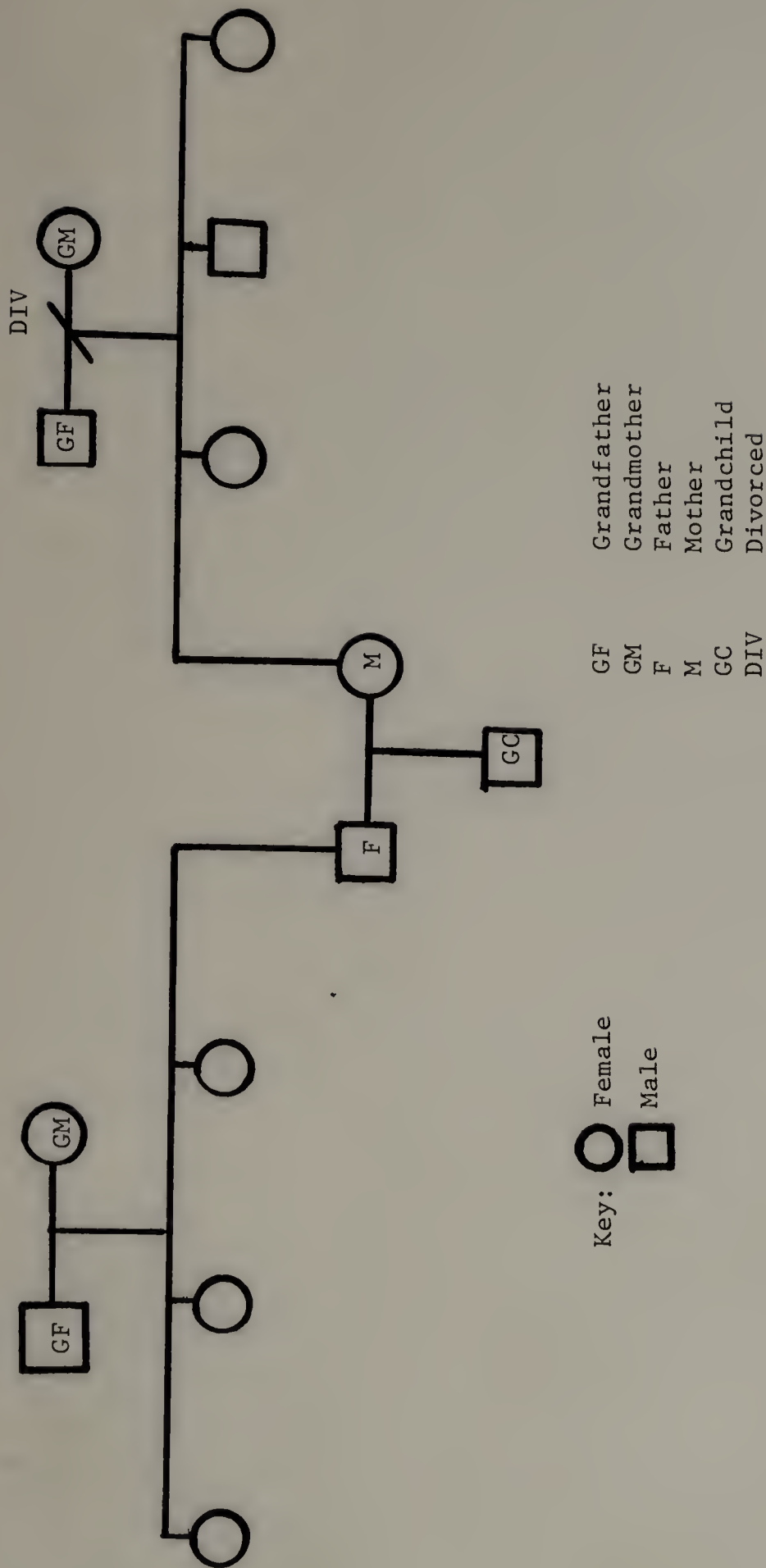
Key:

○ Female
□ Male

GF   Grandfather
GM   Grandmother
F   Father
M   Mother
GC   Grandchild
DIV Divorced

Figure 4. Genogram of the Gonzalez Family

from the family and lives in Columbia. The expected child is the couple's first, and is the first grandchild on both sides of the family. (See Figure 4.)

<div align="center">

Section Three

Chronology and Description of Family Interviews

</div>

Each family was interviewed six times over a period of 15 months: Twice before the birth of the baby and four times after the birth, totalling 18 interviews in all. However, each family presented the researcher with uniquely different opportunities for contact; for instance, the Koski family invited the researcher to their baby's christening ceremony and party. An interview chronology and description of the purpose of each is as follows.

Introductory Contacts

An Introductory Letter to Potential Research Subjects (Appendix A) was distributed by the participating midwife to selected expectant mothers in her care who were anticipating the birth of their first child. The letter described the research project and requested permission for the researcher to contact the woman and her husband to describe the study more fully and discuss the possibility of their participation.

The Initial Phone Call (Appendix B) was made to five women who signed the Introductory Letter. One family, who had initially agreed

to participate, withdrew before the first interview because the
expectant mother perceived the study as potentially threatening to
an existing disequilibrium among the expectant parent and grandparent
generations. Four couples in all agreed to participate in the study
and appointments for an initial interview were made with each. In
addition to the three families described above, a fourth family
participated in a pre- and post-birth interview, but were excluded
from the study because family living arrangements and schedules did
not permit the grandparent generation to be included in the
interviews.

The Initial Interviews with the Parental Couple and the Parents and Grandparents Together

An Initial Interview (Appendix C) was conducted with the
expectant couple to accomplish the following purposes: first, to
discuss the study and elicit participation with informed consent
(Appendices D, E, and F) second, to establish reapport; third, to
elicit the couple's relationship history and current situation,
feelings, perceptions and attitudes about their family relationships;
and fourth, to obtain the couple's cooperation in including their
parents in the study. All families agreed to audiotape interviews.
One family agreed to a videotaped session, which was conducted at
their final three-generational or Year-After Interview (see Appendices
G and H).

All three couples agreed very willingly to invite their parents to participate in the study, and all of their parents accepted the invitation. An appointment was set for an <u>Intergenerational Family Interview</u> (Appendix C) which included both the expectant parents and grandparents. The purposes of this interview were first, to join with the all of the prospective grandparents; second, to demonstrate relational neutrality among all family members and generations to establish a trustworthy position within the family; and, third, to collect relevant historical data within the context of the local concepts of the study, as well as within discussion of issues and concerns which were idiosyncratic to each individual family relating to the imminent arrival of the next generation.

<u>The Postpartum Interviews</u>

Each family was interviewed once or twice within three months after their babies' births, (see Appendices G and H) depending upon the families' needs and individual situations and the direction dictated by the emerging data codes. In particular, the families were interviewed in the following ways:

<u>The Gonzalez Family</u>. The new mother and baby were interviewed a month after the birth in the nuclear family's home.

<u>The Koski Family</u>. The new mother and baby were interviewed a month after the birth in the nuclear family's home; and, the researcher was invited to the baby's christening ceremony at the parish church and to the christening party at the paternal grandparents' home.

The Marceau Family. The new parents and three day old infant were visited while they were in the hospital and their first day home from the hospital.

The Year After Interview

The parental couple of each family was contacted by phone to plan the final interview sessions. The families' individual needs dictated the following contacts:

The Gonzalez Family. The couple had separated four months after the baby's birth, and described problems of crisis proportions for which the researcher contracted for three therapy sessions with the couple, and then conducted the final interview with parents, grandparents and baby in attendance. In all, three research and three therapy sessions were conducted with the Gonzalez family.

The Koski Family. Two interviews were conducted in the parental home; one of which included the paternal grandmother and the maternal grandfather who were babysitting the baby; and, one during which all grandparents, parents and the baby participated.

The Marceau Family. Two interviews were conducted in the parental home; one with the couple and baby and the other with all grandparents, parents, the baby, the great grandmother and an aunt in attendance.

In addition to the 18 interviews, the researcher contacted the families periodically by phone for the purpose of maintaining connection with the families. Also, Christmas cards and baby birthday

cards were sent to mark important "firsts" in the lives of the families.

The families expected and received no financial reimbursement for their participation in this study. However, the researcher acknowledged the generous time and personal effort given by the families by bringing a small gift to the family at each interview. Small baby gifts, fruit baskets and baby toys were offered by the researcher in the spirit of appreciation for the families' commitment to the study, and as socially acceptable affirmation of the importance of the events which they were sharing with the researcher. A final gift was incorporated into the conduct of the final session with each family; that is, five-generational data was collected for the purpose of the study, some of which was incorporated into a family tree which was framed and given to each family as a memento of their participation in the study.

Summary of Chapter III

This chapter included three descriptions of the grounded theory method of constant comparative analysis used in this research. Also, the participating families were described and a chronology and description of research interviews presented. In the next chapter the process of making place is described as it emerged from the data.

C H A P T E R   I V

MAKING PLACE:

PROCESS OF INTERGENERATIONAL AFFILIATION AND CONTINUITY

Introduction

This chapter describes the process of <u>making place</u> as the primary
concept explaining normal family processes around the event of the
birth of the first child/grandchild. This core category and its
properties were observed in all of the participating families despite
the varied characteristics and life experiences among them.

The discovery of grounded theory will be traced from the initial
area of research interest to the identification of <u>making place</u> as a
conceptual category. The steps of the constant comparative method
of analysis will be applied to the data as delineated in Figure 5.

The grounded theory method is described in two phases. Phase
One is presented in Section One of the chapter and follows the research
process from exploration of the interest area to saturation of the
core category. Section Two contains an elaboration of Phase Two of
the process; that is, densification of the core category from data and
literature and a description of the emerging theory: the process of
<u>making place</u>.

PHASE ONE

STEP ONE: Identification of interest area

STEP TWO: Development of research question

STEP THREE: Choice of local concepts

STEP FOUR: Theoretical sampling

STEP FIVE: Coding into categories

STEP SIX: Reformulation of research question

STEP SEVEN: Theoretical sampling

STEP EIGHT: Identification of core category

STEP NINE: Saturation of core category

PHASE TWO

STEP TEN: Densification of core category

STEP ELEVEN: Theory writing

Figure 5.   The Method of Constant Comparative Analysis
            The Discovery of Grounded Theory

<center>Section One</center>

This section encompasses description of Phase One of the method of constant comparative analysis. The phase and the steps included within it are outlined in Figure 6 and are described accordingly.

Phase One: From Initial Interest to Identification of Core Category

Step One: Initial Area of Interest

The literature review of Chapter II encompassed major family systems, intergenerational and family life cycle theories and research regarding the birth of a child as a three generational event. The review uncovered little research specific to an intergenerational family systems perspective of the arrival of a new child. Therefore, local concepts for this study had to be derived from theoretical inferences and the researcher's observations, experiences and questions which had the potential to shape useful and relevant initial research questions. Integration of the above mentioned sources resulted in the following two observations about families experiencing the arrival of the new generation:

A. That the addition of the baby to the family precipitates the creation of new identities among family members. That is, spouses become parents, parents become grandparents, and a new person is ascribed on identity as a baby with certain characteristics.

PHASE ONE

From Initial Interest to Identification of Core Category

(Steps 1-7)

Initial Interest

Research Question $\longrightarrow$ Local Concepts

Theoretical Sampling $\longrightarrow$ Coding

Population of Study

Memoing $\longleftarrow$ Categorizing

Identification of the Core Category
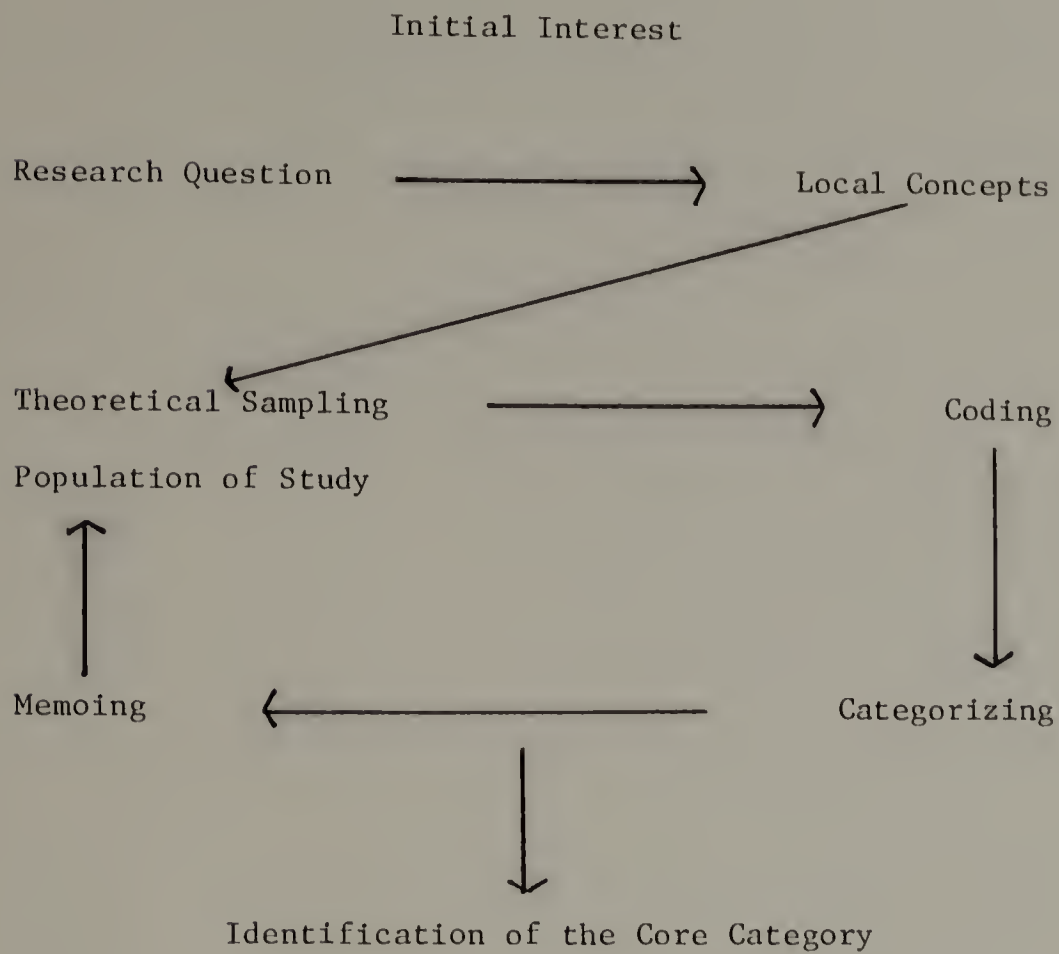
Figure 6.   The Method of Constant Comparative Analysis

B. <u>That the birth of the first child/grandchild</u>, as a new event <u>for the family, sets in motion profound changes in intergenerational relationships and, therefore in the entire family system.</u>

These two major observations were developed into the following two theoretical assumptions on which the local concepts of the study were based.

1. <u>That the new member will exist as an individual in relationship to the family group and will therefore be regarded as a unique subsystem connected within other family subsystem units.</u> The family is an active system in constant transformation which changes over time through the dual processes of individual growth and maintenance of group continuity. As a system which is an organized, structured whole, the family is regulated by rules which serve to define each person in relation to each other and to the family group (Andolfi, 1983; Baker, 1976; Minuchin, 1974; Steinglass, 1978; Weiting, 1976).

Confirmation of family membership has as its purpose the recognition of the new baby as an individual who is related to the family as a whole.

2. <u>That the addition of a new member to the family will precipitate changes in parent-grandparent relationships.</u> The presence of a new family member precipitates both structural and functional changes within the family group which therefore influencesrelation-ships among parents and grandparents. Feikema (1982) describes the fundamental shifts in relatedness between his parents and himself

when his first child was born, and observed that every member's role
in the family was restructured and redefined in response to the birth
of the new generation.

Step Two: The Research Question

The two abovementioned observations sybstantiated by the
preliminary literature review and the researcher's experience formed
the initial research question: How does the family as a three-
generational system respond to the birth of the first child-
grandchild?

Step Three: Choice of Local Concepts

The local concept of claiming behavior was identified from the
researcher's experience and observations of how families act so as to
confer individual and family characteristics on the new infant: That
is, families name the baby and attribute certain characteristics which
identify the baby as an individual within its larger system. A
further assumption was made that claiming processes began before birth
and could be identified in family behaviors.

The local concept of family reorganization was identified in
terms of both changes in structure and function. It was assumed
therefore that structural reorganization would be observed through
changes in patterns of contact, and functional reorganization would
be observed through shifts in parenting functions among the parents

and grandparents in the process of including the new baby into the family.

Step Four: Theoretical Sampling for Initial Data Collection

The local concepts of claiming (naming and attributing) and family reorganization (patterns of contact and parenting functions) were used to construct the Initial Interview with the expectant couples and the Initial Intergenerational Interviews with the expectant couples and their parents. The questions derived from the local concepts elicited information about each of these areas and also served as topical "leads" from which the researcher pursued other relational data provided by the families.

Step Five: Coding into Categories

The Initial Intergenerational Interview data were transcribed from audiotapes and coded line for line. Two groups of categories emerged from this activity: Categories that reflected family struc-ture and processes, and categories that can be subsumed under the rubric of family discussion and interaction. Each of these two categories and the subcategories that comprise them are listed in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Grouping of Initial Categories

A. <u>Structure-process categories</u>:

Family structure

Family rules

Claiming processes

Patterns of contact

Patterns of family interaction

B. <u>Content categories</u>:

Pregnancy experiences

Role expectations

Child care

Advice

Parenting

Cultural influence

Description of the Initial Categorizations

A. Structure-process categories:

Family structure. Who's who in the family and how the family members are related to one another. Family organization was explored through the identification of subsystems and the nature of boundaries which reflected hierarchical relationships.

Family rules. Observations of principles influencing family interaction.

Claiming processes. Transactions involving naming and attributing activities.

Patterns of contact. Contact between the parental and grandparental generations were described along the following dimensions: Who initiated contact with the other generation; how contact was initiated; how often and for what purposes contact was initiated; how patterns of contact had changed since the pregnancy; and what changes in contact patterns were expected after the baby's arrival.

Patterns of family interaction. Interactive behavior which was described or demonstrated by the family members.

B. Content categories:

Pregnancy experiences. Responses to the current pregnancy and reminiscences of the grandparents' experiences of their own pregnancies.

Role expectations. Current spouse and in-law roles in the family and expected role changes after the baby's birth.

Child care. Anticipated needs and plans for the baby's nurturance, protection, guidance and supervision.

Parenting. Parental and grandparental activities directed toward meeting the expected baby's needs, and the nurturing, guiding, protecting and supervising activities of one adult for another in the family.

Advice. Verbal suggestions or instruction on how to do something related to parenting or child care.

Cultural influences. Sociocultural factors which had identifiable impact on the family's experience. These included cultural beliefs and activities specific to heritage and contemporary social values.

The Method of Constant Comparative Analysis. These preliminary categories were each studied, incident by incident, and were compared to one another to determine the similarities and differences among them. This comparative process was accompanied by memoing, a process by which the researcher recorded the theoretical connections between and among incidents. Description of the incidents and related memos in each of the preliminary categories were put on index cards and then sorted. The following observations were made upon the basis of this data:

A. The families described and demonstrated similar activities in anticipation of the expected baby's arrival. For example, each family had had a baby shower, had begun decoration, furnishing or renovation of space in the home

for the baby. These preparatory activities involved members from both families of origin. The baby shower, in particular, was an event which brought both families together to plan and share an experience with the marital couple. It was the only birth-related event <u>not</u> coordinated by the couple, but of course they remained its central focus.

B. <u>Family activities and conversations related to the anticipated birth contributed to the developing sense of the baby's "realness" as a person in the family</u>. The family participated in elaborating "what it would be like" for them when THE BABY ARRIVED. The arrival of the baby was discussed as if it were a <u>fait accompli</u> in a sense; the child was a living presence whose existence was acknowledged as having potential profound impact on family life.

C. <u>The entire family system became involved in the preparations for the new baby; that is, each member participated in some way</u>. Every family was careful to point out the contribution of each member to their preparation for the baby. Even minimal activity was acknowledged as important or as having potential for future relatedness with the baby. In the Koski family, a grandfather was described as "seeming uninterested but actually the most excited about the baby's birth." It seemed as if the families established the expectation of unanimous involvement in anticipating the baby, and the more active, involved members made efforts to include the more reticent among them.

D. <u>Family members have expectations of what the baby will be like and what life will be like with the baby and with each other</u>. The families drew on the past experience of the grandparents and the experiences of the expectant parents' friends who had young children. However, the projected view of family life after the baby included general, rather than specific expectations. For instance, all expectant parents acknowledged that "life would be different"; they expected to be "more busy," with the baby but all asserted that their basic life style would not change dramatically. All expectant parents and grandparents acknowledged that there were aspects of life with the new infant that could not be predicted or planned for. This openness to the unexpected seemed to be related to differentiation within the families. The grandparents demonstrated a differentiated stance vis-à-vis their adult children's families and supported the nuclear subsystem as separate and autonomous from the extended family.

E. <u>The expectant parents were acknowledged by the family as their central connection to relationship with the expected baby</u>. Grandparents thoroughly enjoyed their involvement in discussions about the new baby, and expressed their expectations and wishes for relatedness with the infant. At the same time, the grandparents actively conferred parental status on their adult children. The two grandfathers of

the Marceau family told the parents: "You have to make your own decisions about the baby no matter what we say." The grandmother of the Koski family said: "You will know your child the best."

Occasionally, a grandparent got carried away and pursued their fantasy of grandparent/grandchild relationship in a way that excluded the central role of the parents with the baby. At these times, another family member--either the spouse of the grandparent or one of the expectant parents-- "reminded" the discussant of the primary parental role, contributing to a balanced evaluation of differentiated functions in the family system. An example of this rebalancing transaction was seen in the Marceau family, when a grandmother said that she might come to feel that the baby "is my baby. I want a very close relationship to the baby like I have with my children." The expectant father responded with a reminder that the baby already had two parents! The expectant mother countered this confronta-tion by supporting the grandmother and indicating the baby's need for "lots of love" from everybody in the family. Thus, it can be seen that subsystem boundary definition among family members vis-à-vis the expected baby began before the birth.

F. <u>The expectant parental couple integrated and balanced their relationship with their families of origin and with each other.</u> All of the expectant couples were involved in the

continuous process of negotiating an equitable, balanced relationship with both extended families. This activity took many forms, i.e., "taking turns" calling the grand-parents to invite them to dinner; planning an alternating visiting schedule with both families, etc. These negotia-tions took place with the couples' conscious awareness of inequities in patterns of contact; certain entitlements accrued and were earned by virtue of position in the family, services, gifts or special supports given to one another.

G. The expectant grandparents became included in preparation which the expectant parents made for the new baby. The expectant parents initiated plans for the baby and initiated inclusion of the grandparents into the preparations. For example, the Koski father began renovating a bedroom and then asked his father-in-law for help. In the Marceau family the mother asked for advice on a baby blanket she was making. Through these activities the parents included their own parents while determining the pace and prioritiza-tion of plans for the new baby. If a grandparent initiated activity not requested by the parents--either too soon or beyond the scope of what the parents considered necessary, the grandparent was considered intrusive. For example, one grandparent in the Marceau family did a thorough house-cleaning for the expectant parents who responded with anger that she offered an unsolicited service. This family

responded to the perceived intrusion by coming to a verbal agreement that the parents would only accept help for which they asked. All of the families developed patterns along this line, with the expectant parents as the subsystem which was responsible for the initiation of activity around the new baby, with the grandparents maintaining a more receptive consultant role vis-à-vis their adult children.

Theoretical Inferences Derived From Initial Categorizations.

The data had revealed a number of potential areas for further inquiry. The researcher asked the question of areas for inquiry by deciding which among all the areas represented the central issue which would direct the theoretical sampling toward collection of data intrinsically relevant to the families' experiences. Relationships between and among the preliminary categories and related observations were made and compared. Two major inferences about the compared data were made:

1. The phenomena under study was related to family change over time. Evidence for this inference was based on the families' continual references to past experiences, present activities and future expectations of adding a new baby to the family membership. For example, each family discussed how the expectant grandparents' birth and childrearing experiences were related to the expectant parents' plans for the baby. These discussions served as the context for both generations to discuss the similarities and differences among them which shaped their expectations for future interaction vis-à-vis the new baby.

2. The phenomena under study was related to fundamental, patterned family processes which go on irrespective of the conditional variation of situation or family differences. Evidence for this inference was based on the observation that, even across differing family structures and customs, each of the families demonstrated similar processes in preparation for the new baby. For example, each family had acknowledged the actuality of the baby's existence through similar preparatory behaviors such as naming activities, even though each family had different cultural and experiential histories.

Step Six: Reformulation of the Research Question

The study began with the research question. How does the family as a three-generational system respond to the birth of the first child/ grandchild? This question, along with the literature review and the researcher's observations of families experiencing the event resulted in the development of local concepts which, in turn contributed to generation of preliminary data. It has been shown how the method of constant comparative analysis resulted in initial categorization and evaluation of the data into the two above-mentioned theoretical inferences. Upon examination of these inferences, a major shift in the focus of the research was considered necessary.

A shift in research focus was indicated because the emerging data and theoretical inferences pointed to the possible existence of a social process which was operating in families incorporating a new

generation into their system. These inferences suggested that the arrival of the new baby precipitated a family process; that is, patterned conduct which occurs over time and under different conditions which generate change (Glaser, 1978, p. 101).

The possibility of an intergenerational family process operating in response to the arrival of the new generation prompted the research question to be reformulated: How do families create the conditions necessary to include the first child/grandchild into their ongoing life? This reformulation permitted the researcher to specifically investigate the processes responsible for the creation of these conditions.

Step Seven: Theoretical Sampling: Postpartum Period

To this point in the research process, the data indicated that the parent and grandparent generations participated in certain ways to establish "room" for the new baby in their lives. Family discussions focused on how their lives would be changed with another person around. Family members acknowledged their expectations, not only of "how it will be" when the baby arrived, but also began expressing their preferences of and to each other vis-à-vis their relationship with the baby. For instance, parental expectations and requests for grandparental help in the immediate postpartum period was a topic frequently discussed and, as the baby's birth drew nearer plans for this help were increasingly refined and modified.

Since the presence of the new individual was acknowledged as such a significant change by the families, the family members

acknowledged that they would need new ways of doing things once the baby had arrived.

Theoretical sampling was accomplished to meet the criteria of the emerging theory development. Choice of family subsystems for theoretical sampling was based on detailed research questions derived from the major reformulated question: How do multiple generations create the conditions necessary to make place for the first child/ grandchild within the family system?

The detailed research questions which guided the next phase of theoretical sampling included the following:

1) How did the family members determine mutual interaction needs among them and the baby?

2) How did the family arrive at decisions regarding who would do what for/with the baby and each other?

3) How did the family members operationalize their expectations and decisions in family interaction?

4) How did the family respond to convergent and divergent expectations and decisions in their interactions?

The next series of theoretical samplings were conducted in the three months after the baby's birth and a year later, within a month of the baby's first birthday. These time periods are referred as the Postpartum and Year-After periods respectively. Theoretical sampling in each period is discussed.

Postpartum Period: One to Three Months After the Birth. The three-month period after the baby's birth was theoretically sampled to include:

1) A hospital visit with new parents and baby on the fourth day after birth and then a home visit to the same nuclear family subsystem the first week post-hospital.

2) Two home visits with the mother and infant present.

3) Attendance at a christening ceremony and family celebration afterwards.

These samplings were chosen because they represented common events in which subsystem combinations of families incorporated their new baby into their lives. Over the course of this phase of theoretical sampling, the following system and subsystem units were available for interview and observation.

1) The entire family, including grandparents, parents and new baby within the context of a religious ceremony and the presence of other relatives and friends.

2) Parent-infant and grandparent-infant interactions.

3) Spouse interactions, both parental and grandparental generations.

4) Adult parent-child interactions between the parental and grandparental generations.

5) In-law interactions: Father-mother-son-daughter-in-law combinations.

6) Both parental family-of-origin interactions.

The various contexts of these interactions included:

1) A hospital maternity ward.

2) The parental home.

3) The grandparental home.

4) A religious setting.

This theoretical sampling afforded a number of settings in which the various subsystem interactions took place. This selection provided a composite of intergenerational events and transactions around the new baby from which data was coded directions for continued theoretical sampling were determined. The data from this sampling allowed for the core category to be identified.

Step Eight: Identification of the Core Category

Coding, and comparing data incident by incident led to the identification of a group of family activities and processes which continued to be observed throughout the study. That is, the participating families were involved in transactions which made it possible for the new baby to be included in the ongoing life of the family. The data indicated that, not only were these families reorganizing their intergenerational subsystem boundaries, but they were also expanding these boundaries to incorporate the presence of the new member. The core category; that is, the set of variables which account for the essential phenomena observed was identified as the process of making place. The next research step required that the core category be saturated; that is, through continued theoretical sampling and data analysis, all of the properties of the core category be discovered for theoretical development.

Step Nine: Core Category Saturation: Postpartum and Year-After
Interviews

Category saturation is accomplished when the category's
properties are fully identified. Glaser and Strauss (1968)
described theoretical saturation as a quality of category data in
which no additional data are being found whereby the researcher can
develop properties of the category (p. 61).

Data from the Postpartum and Year-After Periods was used for
theoretical saturation of the core category. Analysis of data from
each time period is presented separately for the sake of clarity.

Saturation of the Core Category from Postpartum Period Data.
Interview and observation data from all postpartum research contacts
were compared with pre-birth incidents for identification of ongoing
intergenerational processes. The trends which emerged from this set
of data were observed as the following:

Expectations of parenting and grandparenting roles with the
baby were generally operationalized into postpartum behavior in the
family system, with some flexibility determined by circumstances.
For instance, grandparents made their availability and preferences for
childcare advice known to the parents before the baby's birth.
Families had informally established for what purposes grandparents
would be called. As it turned out, if the grandparents had been
contacted by the new parents for some help or advice, the pre-birth
expectations of each grandparent did not prove to guide the parents'
selection of who-to-call-when-for what. It was apparent that it was

within the immediate context of the child care situation that the

selection for support was determined, rather than the pre-birth

identification of individual grandparents to specific tasks. For

example, both Marceau grandmothers were employed outside of the home

and had asserted their unavailability for child care. However, when

the paternal grandmother resigned from her job she then offered to

take care of the baby while the mother returned to work. The

maternal grandmother had expressed no desire to babysit except

occasionally: "It's the parents' job. I've raised my children and

now it's their turn." Yet after the baby's birth, this grandmother

and her daughter established a weekly visiting routine: Grandmother

cared for the baby while the mother did the laundry. The family

labeled this as "Grandmother's special time" with the baby and not as

babysitting!

The parent generation mediated contact between the grandparents

and the new baby. The new parents assumed an active gatekeeping role

between the baby and other family members which was universally

supported by their parents. Grandparents not only conferred primary

parenting status upon their children but also carved out the role which

they said was their preferred one: That is, the role of the

"indulgent grandparent" whose basic responsibility is to love and

enjoy the grandchild. This view of grandparenthood is one which is

idealized in popular books and media (bibs) and was the role of

choice across all families for the grandparents in the study. The

two adult generations had come to a concensus of role expectations

prior to the baby's birth and after the arrival continued to negotiate around the new parents' central generational position. The mother of the Koski family expressed concern that the mother-in-law would "take over" the baby, especially when the infant was at the grandmother's house. After the birth however, this and all of the grandparent's continued to support the primacy of the parental role with the new baby, and generally "did things the way the parents wanted them done" across all contexts. In addition to this consistent finding was the parents' conferring of _in loco parentis_ status upon their parents in their absences. For example, the Koski parents accepted the grandparents' administering "over-the-counter" medication to the baby at their discretion while the child was under the grandparents' care. It was accepted in these families that the parents' ways of parenting would be maintained unless an unusual circumstance required different action. Thus, family rules around parenting and grandparenting were flexible within a consistent framework which allowed for both consistency and change in the family system.

Mothers were considered the most central parental caregiver by the entire family system. Fathers were very active in infant care. Grandmothers supported the parents and were active in infant care. Grandfathers supported their wives and the new parents but were initially inactive in infant care although willing to care for the baby as he/she got older. This finding reflected the present status of parenting in the culture. The woman maintained a central nurturing role while the men became more involved in childcare once their wives/daughters went back to work.

Parents and grandparents often discussed the behavior and
characteristics of the infant which strengthened the family's sense
of relationship to the baby. The families enjoyed speculating who
the baby was most like and in what ways. Attributions were almost
always positive. The child was likened to family members' valued
qualities; i.e., the paternal grandmother observed that, "She's
friendly and outgoing like her father was when he was a baby." In
all of the families, attributions of sameness were made toward self
was well as others. Certain infant behaviors of which members
disapproved; i.e., stubborness, moodiness, reticence--were also
described but these, too were discussed in the context of positive
connotation. For instance, the Koski infant was described by her
mother as "Stubborn like me. She managed to get what she wants no
matter how long it takes her." In the Marceau family, the maternal
grandmother attributed a quality of shyness to her granddaughter that
reminded her of the baby's mother. The shyness was accepted as a
behavior that the baby would "grow out of, just like her mother did."
This attributing behavior reflected an active associative process in
which both generations participated and which functioned to build a
sense of familiarity and relatedness to the new baby.

Parents and grandparents were in continuous interaction about
contact with the baby when the baby was present. All adults were
actively engaged in negotiating contact with the baby. Parents were
observed by the researcher as responsible for determining the baby's
needs for and responses to contact with family members. The parents

were acknowledged by the grandparents as those who "knew the baby best" and acted as the spokespersons for the baby. For instance, the Gonzalez mother determined when her son was tired and needed a nap, and decided how long and when the baby would be held by other family members. Mothers were most often the baby's spokesperson in the postpartum period. All of the parents actively offered the infant for contact with grandparents and tried to get each grandparent to hold the baby as soon as possible. A grandparent's (usually grandfather's) reluctance to hold the baby was based on two general responses. First, reluctance to hold the baby was sometimes in the service of deference to a spouse or a parent "who should hold the baby now" or "who hasn't held the baby long enough." Second, reluctance to hold the baby was sometimes a result of the grandparents' insecurity in handling such a tiny infant. For instance, the mother in the Gonzalez family reported that the grandfather was reticient in handling the baby as a new infant, deferring to his wife when he needed care. However, refusal to hold the baby more often served the former function. By the end of the first month postpartum, all members showed and expressed comfort in handling the baby.

It was during the postpartum period that the grandparents were invited by the parents to initiate contact with the baby at their own discretion. As the new parents became more secure and comfortable with the baby, they permitted more exchange between grandparent and infant outside of their mediation. The grandparents acknowledged and supported the development of the new family subsystem of parents-and-child. In the Gonzalez and Koski families, references were made to

"the new little family." The paternal grandmother in the Marceau

family described her role in the boundary-marking of this postpartum

period when she said, "I wait until the baby is offered to me, but

I don't ask to hold her." In this family the maternal grandmother

who was considered somewhat intrusive to the nuclear unit was

carefully constrained in the postpartum period from "taking over the

baby." The parents managed this constraint, not by refusing her

contact with the baby but by seeing to it that "everyone had an equal

chance to have the baby" to hold and care for. Parental mediation

allowed for a gradual boundary expansion among grandparents and their

nuclear unit in a way which maintained the new threesome's connections.

These trends which emerged from the data contributed to category

saturation and to formulation of the following questions for the final

phase of data collection:

1) What changes do parents and grandparents perceive in their

    family life and their relationships with each other?

2) What parenting patterns have been established among the

    adults in the family?

3) How does the family maintain or change established parenting

    patterns?

4) How are claiming behaviors being demonstrated toward the

    baby and among the adults in the family?

How have patterns of contact changed over the year?

Saturation of the Core Category from Year-After Interview Data.

The fifth and sixth family interviews were conducted a year after the

babies' births. The new nuclear subsystem was interviewed; then, the three generations were interviewed together in the final session. In addition, the paternal grandmother and maternal grandfather of the Koski family was interviewed while they were together with the grand-child for babysitting.

Interview data was coded and categorized for further saturation of the core category. The data from this round of sampling revealed the following trends:

<u>Family members were able to identify parenting patterns and articulate the family system's rules regarding their maintenance and change</u>. Parents and grandparents knew each other's parenting philosophies and activities and how they were similar or different. These families spoke of consensual values in their shared parenting of the infant on which their activities were based. By the baby's first birthday the adults emphasized their shared view of the baby as an active participant in determining parenting responses. The adults described themselves and each other as having to be sensitive to "What the baby needs." The Koski grandmother's statement summarized this thought: "Just pay attention to the baby and she'll tell you what her needs are." This child-centered focus allowed the members of both generations to have a point of basic agreement from which to arrange parenting functions among them.

Each of the families was able to discuss how their family lives had changed. The baby's needs were of central concern for all of the family members, and was one of the major influences in the way the

families made plans with one another. Holidays were considered by the families as times during which as many relatives as possible got together to celebrate the holiday event. The new parents stressed the importance of each of their families of origin having equal time with them and the baby, even if that meant that they travel to two households on the same day to visit both sets of grandparents. If the grandparent home was too far for the parents to make two holiday trips in the same day, other arrangements were made to maintain balance in contact among families of origin. Such other arrangements included inviting the distant relatives up; alternating holidays at each grandparent's house; and having the holiday in the home of the parents and the baby and inviting both sets of grandparents. Those grandparents not present with the nuclear family for the holiday were included in the celebrations by being telephoned by the parents and invited to speak with all present, including the baby. Holiday plans were discussed ahead of time with all households aware of them.

Parents and grandparents made various attributions of each other's activities with the baby. The two adult generations made frequent reference to each others' new roles as parents and grandparents. For example, the Marceau's maternal grandmother commented: "She's such a good mother. She gives the baby lots of love without spoiling her." And, the Marceau mother said of her mother-in-law: "She knows just when to help out. I know that she's always there when I need her." These comments served two major purposes. First, they augmented the connectedness between members. Second, they expressed what is

expected as well as what is appreciated. Attributions among the two adult generations, then, served the dual functions of acknowledging desired behavior and communicating expectations of desired behavior among the family members.

Changes in both patterns of contact since the baby's birth was identified by the families. Family plans were largely influenced by the baby's needs such as state of health and needs for naps to which all households adapted. For instance, if the baby was ill, plans would be made to have the holiday meal at the new parents' house rather than at the grandparents as had been originally planned. The grandparents would often bring the meal to the parents' house already prepared or cook it there to free the parents for extra child care required for an ill child.

In addition to the baby's needs, the other most influential determinant of family contact patterns was the work schedule of all of the households. With the exception of one grandmother all of the adults in the research families were employed at least part time, with some members working weekends and shifts which made it hard for the three generations to plan time together. The families spent time on the phone coordinating their plans which sometimes needed last minute adjustments. Family members said that they were generally satisfied with the kind and frequency of their joint activities as long as they "knew what was going on" and could respond accordingly. Dissatisfaction with contact patterns occurred when misunderstandings or unclear messages were not resolved. Unexplained or unanticipated

lateness or absences of long duration distressed the family system and prompted clarification of expectations among members. For instance, the Marceau paternal grandparents openly expressed dissatisfaction with having cooked a large holiday meal for which some of their adult children had arrived late without explanation. Expressing this dissatisfaction in the family's presence allowed the grandparents' expectations to be known; namely, that they receive a phone call if someone was going to be late. This expectation was acknowledged by other members as reasonable: the message was heard and promises were made to act upon it.

Development of closer ties among family members was valued and expressed as a heightened sense of "togetherness over time." The families described a general feeling of "being closer as a family" since the baby's birth. The Marceau family reported the re-engagement of estranged members (adult siblings) since the baby's birth and attributed the increased connections among the family as "The power of Michelle." The Koski family expressed the sentiment that they were unique and privileged to be three generations close together, both physically and emotionally available to each other. The Gonzalez family related their happiness in the idea that their life would be continued into the future through their association with the new son-grandson who carried the family name.

The families showed ways through which they maintained connected-ness that permitted the baby's needs to be met irrespective of existing difficulties or conflicts among member, dyad or generational

subsystems. Each of the research families described their sense of renewed connection among their members which enriched their lives together. However, these families were not without tension and conflict among members. Each family demonstrated and reported long-standing and situational difficulties among members which reflected some cross-generational alliances and triangulation dynamics. These family members experienced a share of unpleasant inevitabilities of life with intimates in the family: Disagreement, disappointed expectations, preferences in association, competing loyalties, filial demands, anger, rejection and conflict. The families integrated both the unpleasant and the pleasant aspects of their changing lives together through communication processes which facilitated ongoing contact as a family. Each family expressed their desire to remain connected with all members over time, frequently expressed in the sentiment stated by the Gonzalez grandfather: "No matter what happens, we're family, and we're here when help is needed."

The families valued and demonstrated varying degrees of communication behaviors which helped the members transcend difficulties and differences and set the conditions for ongoing connectedness. Members expressed most satisfaction with life together when the following conditions existed:

A. When members felt informed about "what was going on" in the family.

B. When members felt included in the decisions which would affect their being together.

C. When members felt that communication was clear and direct.

D. When members felt that their opinions and preferences were taken into consideration by others.

E. When members felt they had some choice in how they participated in family events.

The research families had ways of operating which allowed them to maintain connectedness over time. These operations or family rules were reflected in family transactions in which clear communication and flexible participation were the stable conditions for ongoing relatedness. The Marceau family agreed with the father when he described the conditions of clear communication in their family: "If there's a problem, we bring it out into the open so that everyone knows what's going on. Then we can resolve it." The Gonzalez mother told how she clarified her concerns: "If I don't like what my mother does with the baby, I just tell her. She sometimes doesn't like it, though, but I'm a mother now and am no longer a child. I have to say my opinion about what's happening with the baby."

The mother of the Koski family shared her perception of the flexibility of communicative responses which occurred in the family. When asked by the researcher how the family responds to disagreement or conflict, she said, "It depends on what it is." The Koski family's response to this question at their first intergenerational interview was spoken by the paternal grandfather.

> We don't have any conflicts! (Family members laugh)
> Seriously, it depends on the problem. I guess we
> discuss it. If its' a small thing it might be ignored.
> We all just try to get along.

The Method of Constant Comparative Analysis

As incidents were compared and contrasted to one another throughout the data analysis, repetitive trends in intergenerational family transactions across all families emerged. These trends were consistent across all units of theoretical sampling. Continuous memoing and sorting of emerging concepts from observations of these family processes revealed repetitive phenomena which signals the saturation of the core category (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). At this point in the research theoretical sampling was completed and the work of integrating the conceptual category and its properties into a theoretical formulation began.

At this point in the research, the data suggested that families incorporating the first child-grandchild into their life are actively engaged in a process which has these general characteristics:

A. Expanding physical and relational space for the new family member.

B. Intensifying relational connections among all members.

C. Developing a sense of continuity through time among the generations.

Summary of Section One

This section contained a description of constant comparative analysis through the first of two phases of the method. Phase One included the development of the research question: How does the family as a three-generational system respond to the birth of the first child-grandchild? Local concepts structured the initial theoretical sampling which generated data for comparative analysis. Data was coded and categorized which resulted in the emergence of two major groups of categorizations. Comparisons of data among these categories led to reformulation of the research question: How do multiple generations system create the conditions necessary to make place for the first child-grandchild within the family system?

Continued theoretical sampling and data analysis revealed the emergence of the core category, that of making place (see Figure 9). The processes observed as making place were observed in all of the participating families despite their heterogeneous characteristics and varied life experiences. Category saturation was described and analyzed to illustrate theoretical observations from the data which contribute to the category's properties.

In Section Two, the core category of making place is described as the primary process reflecting intergenerational family transactions around the arrival of the first child-grandchild. The category is discussed in terms of its properties. The category is densified through use of literature which is relevant to the emerging theory.

TABLE 4

Summary of Section One

The Method of Constant Comparative Analysis

Phase One

STEP ONE: INTEREST AREA

The birth of the first child-grandchild as a three-generational event.

STEP TWO: RESEARCH QUESTION

How does the family as a three-generation system respond to the birth of the first child-grandchild?

STEP THREE: LOCAL CONCEPTS

Claiming: Naming, Attributing Behaviors
Family Reorganization. Patterns of Contact, Parenting

STEP FOUR: THEORETICAL SAMPLING

Initial Intergenerational Interviewers

STEP FIVE: CODING INTO CATEGORIES

Category Groupings: Structure-Process and Content

STEP SIX: REFORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

How do multiple generations create the conditions necessary to make place for the first child-grandchild within the family system?

STEP SEVEN: THEORETICAL SAMPLING

Postpartum Period

STEP EIGHT: IDENTIFICATION OF THE CORE CATEGORY

Making Place

STEP NINE: SATURATION OF THE CORE CATEGORY

Postpartum and Year-After Interviews

Section Two

Result of the Grounded Theory Method

Section Two will detail the result of the constant comparative method; that is, the emergence of grounded theory. In the previous section, the data was used to illustrate the inferential processes based on the data which led to the identification and saturation of making place as the core category. Figure 7 illustrates the continuous process of using data from theoretical sampling to accomplish saturation and densification of the category.

Saturation was reached when data analysis and theoretical sampling revealed no new properties of the core category. After category saturation, densification of the theory was accomplished in two ways. First, the data was referred to or "pinpointed" for clarification and illustration of the theory. Second, references to literature were done concurrently with memo writing and conceptual integration (see Figure 8). Literature review of additional theoretical areas other than the initial search was conducted for two purposes; first, to remain open to all significant variables and second, to facilitate conceptual integration (Glaser, 1978, p. 139). In the grounded theory method, the literature is considered an area for theoretical sampling which adds conceptual detail to the emerging theory. New areas of literature review as well as sources used to form the beginning theoretical framework were sampled to enhance the conceptual development of the core category.

PHASE TWO

Saturation and Densification

of the Core Category

(Steps 8 and 9)

Core Category

Theoretical Sampling:
Population of Study
Literature

Coding

Memoing

Categorizing

Elaboration of Core Category's
Properties and Indicators
From Data and Literature
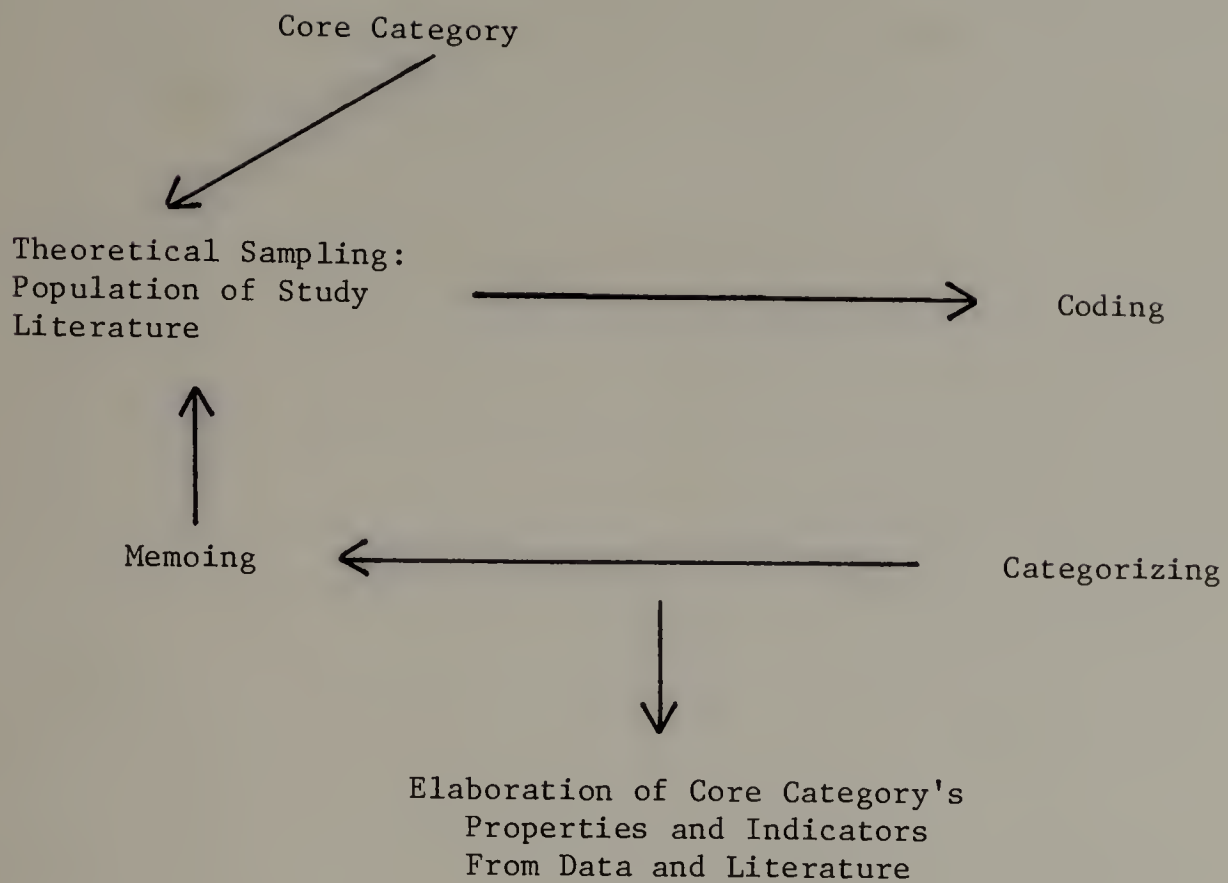
Figure 7. The Method of Constant Comparative Analysis

PHASE THREE

Theory Writing

(Step 10)

Core Category data: $\longrightarrow$ Memoing

Concept Integration $\longleftarrow$ Sorting

Grounded Theory
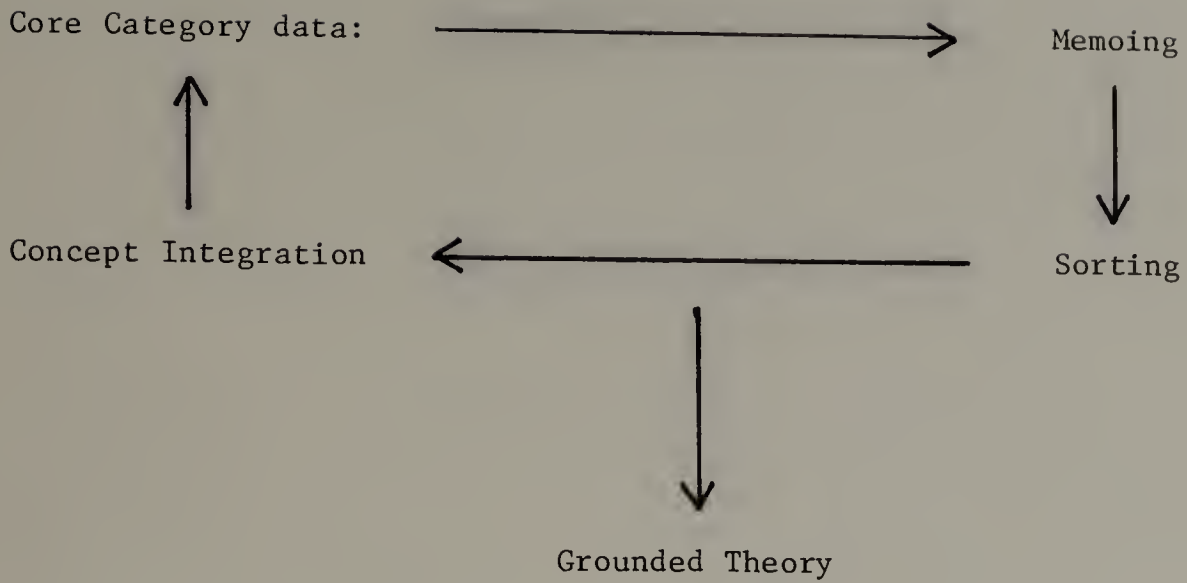
Figure 8.   The Method of Constant Comparative Analysis

The initial literature review encompassed systems, developmental life cycle and intergenerational family theories. As the core category developed and themes of developmental maturation and interactional bonding emerged from the data, related literature was sampled. Review of social-psychological and psychodynamic-relational literature revealed the work of two major theorists, Bowlby (1982) and Winnicott (1965) which supported the conceptual development of making place. The works of Bowlby and Winnicott are based in empirical clinical experience and focus on relational aspects of human bonding and maturation. These particular emphases complemented initial literature review and served to densify the core category.

Definition of Making Place

Making place is defined as the process occurring in a family through which a newborn individual receives recognition as a member of that family. Making place is an integrative process in that it facilitates the creation of new relational connections within the family as well as giving new meaning to already existing ones. Since a newborn is being introduced into the family these meanings occur within an intergenerational context. These changes in relational connections among existing family members and to the newborn member reflect the evolution of two functions of the process of making place; namely, intergenerational affiliation and continuity. These functions can be viewed as separate aspects of family life, though in their

actual operation they are interdependent. They are interdependent in that each function contributes to the development of the other; the elements of each are closely related in the process of making place. The functions of affiliation and continuity can be said to represent the space--time dimensions by which the process of making place confers family membership on the newborn.

The nature of human development, during which there is a prolonged period of physical and emotional dependence in the young require the presence of protective and nurturant others for individual and collective survival. Thus, human survival requires the development of relational connectedness among and within the social groups of families and communities.

Bowlby (1982) has described the development of these human connections in his theory of interpersonal attachment. He has observed that human attachment evolves through interaction between infant and caregivers and has survival as the function of effective attachment. This theory is based on the assumption that the development of attachments is mutual and reciprocal between child and caregiver. The interactive nature of human attachment has also been explored by Winnicott (1965) who described how the caregiver (mother) creates a reliable interactional environment through which empathic connectedness is developed. Both Winnicott and Bowlby have highlighted interactive phenomena which maintain the parent-child subsystem as a crucial affilitation for individual survival and health.

However, human survival is not merely dependent upon or reflected in the well-being of the individual. The individual exists within

the context of the family as the primary social group, the survival
of which requires the development of affiliations and continuity.
It is through the process of making place that it is possible to
create the conditions of new relationships which evolve over time which
energize the family system.

The presence of the first child-grandchild was described in
the Marceau family as "the power of Michelle," to which was
attributed the force behind the family members' re-engagement with
one another in ways that "buried the hatchet" and renewed positive
connectedness. In a three-generational analysis of the birth of his
first child, Feikema (1980) referred to the birth as the introduction
of a new source and recipient of energy within the three-generational
system, which increased the exchange of attention, interest, emotions
and shared activities (p. 113). He described a renewed investment in
re-engaging with his parents as he became more involved with knowing
and caring for his daughter, and a deeply pleasurable sense of exper-
iencing a sense of past, present and future at the time of her birth.
This is an example of how the presence of the new child stimulates a
sense of connectedness and renewed energy among family members, shared
not only with the new infant but also across other generational boun-
daries. The process of making place can therefore be described as a
transactional process which transcends the biological-interactional
theoretical base of Bowlby's attachment theory. The significance of
its transactional nature lies in the multidirectional and recursive
flow of energy-through-connectedness which described making place as
a family systems phenomena.

Thus, it can be seen that the process of making place coevolves
through transaction across intergenerational, interpersonal and intra-
personal subsystem boundaries throughout the family in a recursive or
circular fashion. Theory does not yet exist which successfully incor-
porates the dimensions of family system and subsystem complexities, if
for no other reason that a system is "more than the sum of its parts."
Analysis of relationships between and among systems components can
contribute to understanding of the system as a whole. Sanford (1980)
has alluded to this difficulty while observing that "The individual
and some part of his social environment constitute a system whose
parts are so closely related that drawing lines of demarcation is
difficult" (p. 23). The difficulty increases when an attempt is made
to establish relationships among individual experience and systems
phenomena. However, what is needed is understanding of how individual
experience and behavior influences and is influenced by family struc-
ture and process, and how each contributes to the evolution of the
other in a shared context. Making place facilitates the restructuring
of relationships among the family members which will affect their
experience of and responses to self and others. More systemically,
making place is the creation of an environment in which attachment
and bonding phenomena develop family affiliation and continuity.

Affiliation

Affiliation is defined as a state of relational connectedness
resulting from human interactional processes. These processes were
demonstrated in _claiming_ and _spacing_ transactions in this research.

The families demonstrated their striving toward nurturing and
developing their mutual affiliations in many ways. The arrival of
the new generation brought the issue of affiliation into new focus.
Parents and grandparents alike enjoyed the renewed opportunity for
contact among themselves and the extended family.

The members' experience of family interactions were intensified
and thus their awareness of the connectedness among them was enhanced.
The father of the Marceau family expressed the sentiment, "Now that
the baby has arrived, I have more to talk about with my in-laws. It's
more interesting to be together enjoying the baby." Both the antici-
pation and the presence of the new baby created a focus of consensual
interest in which family members interacted in new ways. Fellings of
increased closeness among family members were attributed to their
ability to share in the pleasure of anticipating and welcoming the new
baby.

In addition to pleasant associations of intensified attachments,
the importance of family affiliation was heightened in the presence
of tension or conflict among members. For instance, a common method
of responding to interpersonal conflict was to temporarily withdraw
from interaction with other family members. Withdrawal took many forms:
Being "cool" and limiting involvement in conversation or family

activity; reducing telephoning or visiting; and, "ignoring" another. Yet even in the presence of conflict and members' attempts to modulate interactional distance, each member's remained affiliated to the family. Disagreement and conflict existed and sometimes contributed to interpersonal distancing maneuvers; yet the larger system organization allowed for the negotiation of distance without severing affilative bonds. In short, these families had rules which maintained the family members' connectedness to the group while allowing for distance regulation among the various subsystems. Baker's (1976) description of functional family rules as flexible to developmental changes applies here. Healthy families can respond to internal as well as external changes through transformation of family rules. This principle is exemplified by the mother of the Gonzalez family: "We've all changed since (the baby's) birth. It had to be. There is a new person here, and he's important to all of us." And, the father of the Koski family commented: "A lot of things are the same, but some things are different. We will be willing to give-and-take in planning time together around our busy schedules. We all have separate lives but still want time together." Thus, it can be said that well-functioning families are likely to have a rule system flexible to reorganization and change while at the same time strengthening members' intergenerational attachments through time.

Attachment and bonding phenomena: Components of intergenerational affiliation. Winnicott (1965) asserted that there is no such entity as a "baby;" that human the human infant cannot and does not

exist outside of the parent (mother)-infant relationship. This relational perspective on personhood is complemented by Bowlby's (1982) interactional theory of attachment and caregiving. These theories describe attachment and bonding phenomena within dyadic interaction and have overlooked the whole family system as the context for development of human connectedness. However, dyadic interaction is embedded in the larger family organization and is therefore influenced by and contributes to the family's affiliative patterns.

Family affiliations can be described in terms of the attachment bonds through which members experience connectedness to each other. Affiliation is developed and maintained by relational bonds which tie persons together through shared, valued association with each other (Turner, 1970, p. 41). Two types of bonds contribute to family affiliative patterns: _Identity_ _bonds_ and _crescive_ _bonds_.

The addition of the child to the family precipitates structural changes in relationships across the generations, not only with the baby but between and among each other. Adult married couples become father and mother; in addition to their role as children to their parents, they become related in new ways to their parents as the grandparents develop relationships with their child. Grandparents who have had the experience of parenting their children become involved in new ways with their grown children and their new child. Both sets of extended families have opportunities to share the common enjoyment and care of the baby while witnessing the evolution of their respective "ways of doing things" within the new family. Feikema

(1980) called this process of systemic role redefinition as "renaming" (p. 105). He said that this renaming process has visible external structural manifestations such as new titles conferred; e.g., Mommy, Daddy, Grandpa, Granny, etc. In addition, Feikema referred to the internal process based on what he calls "imagination":

> Holding my daughter in my arms I could imagine myself as my father holding me in his arms, both instances of first borns holding their first born. For a moment I became my father and came in touch with my former complete dependency on him (and my mother) as I looked at my daughter (an me) in my arms. Joy, gratitude and love for my parents flowed through me as I 'remembered' for the first time how I had once been their infant. (p. 105)

The two types of bonds reflect aspects of family connectedness. Identity bonds are related to affiliation and crescive bonds to continuity. Each will be described and illustrated.

Identity bonds are those attachments among people which foster gratification from association or interaction with others. These bonds are developed through a sense of similar traits, values or experiences with others, and are as strong as they are rewarding to the person's self-concept (Turner, 1970, p. 65). Family members' affiliation with the family system is influenced by the interaction of individual and system identification processes, and the nature of the gratification within them. The participating families showed examples of this principle in various ways. For instance, members were pleased when given recognition through association with others. A grandmother of the Gonzalez family was pleased when her daughter commented on the similarity of their parenting styles. Identity bonds

are reciprocal and mutually reinforcing; the gratification associated with them invites a stronger affiliation.

A sense of shared purpose also contributes to the development of identity bonds. The new infant is the focus of the two older generations. Each of the participating families expressed the sentiment that "We all care about the baby. The child will get lots of love from us all." The families communicated a sense of together-ness around a common goal which was gratifying and reinforcing to individual members and to the group as a whole.

In addition to bonds which develop from mutual identification, other bonds emerge as a result of relationships existing over time. Turner (1970) called these attachments crescive bonds.

Crescive bonds are attachments which develop as a "residue of interaction" not present at first but which develop gradually over time. These bonds take the following forms:

A. Investment in incomplete action.

B. Shared experience and "We Feeling."

C. Interlocking roles.

D. Responsibility. (Turner, 1970, pp. 80-84)

The study data illustrated these aspects of crescive bonds as follows:

A. Investment in incomplete action. The family's ongoing plans which involve future transactions is one sign of a crescive bond. Plans made during the pregnancy became acted upon after the baby's birth, such as making plans for child care among grandparents.

B. <u>Shared experience and "We Feeling"</u>. Family members had many memories of common shared experiences. They also participated in one another's experiences directly through interaction and indirectly through discussion, "rehashing" and planning events which contribute to a shared "we-ness." For example, the families spoke often of past birth and childhood episodes which imparted a sense that the past is available within the family's memory as is a living part of the present relationship among members.

C. <u>Interlocking roles</u>. Interdependence among members for the completion of family tasks and for ongoing relationships create role complementarity expressed in the sentiment, "I don't know what I would do without you." Families develop interactional patterns in which members become dependent on each other for completion of tasks and negotiation of needs. For example, the new parents worked out complex child care arrangements between each other and with the grandparents which illustrated the intricate dependency ties in the family.

D. <u>Responsibility</u>. As a sense of interdependence develops among the family members, so does a sense of responsibility for their welfare (Turner, 1970, p. 84). System rules reflect the demonstration of a family's sense of responsibility toward members. For example, patterns of contact among the research families were influenced by their consensual sense of acceptable parameters. These families expressed values which influenced the members' rule-governed behavior: "We are a family and will be available to each other. We owe it to our parents to bring the grandchild over to see them.

The concept of responsibility is similar to Nagy's (1968) notion of _entitlement_ in relationships which describe intergenerational transactions during which benefits and duties accrue over time. The new infant is considered entitled to care by virtue of his or her birth, based on the elder generations' sense of having been cared for as children and being endebted to repay the family system. This notion was demonstrated in a grandmother's statement: "They (the parents) got lots of love from us and they will pass it on to the new baby."

Bomen's (1976) notion of multigenerational transmission process may be used as a metaphor here. This individual perspective within an intergenerational context could be thought of as a multigenerational transmission process of identity bonding; that is, attachment through identification (Turner, 1970).

The birth of the first child-grandchild can also be viewed as a precipitant to crescive bonding, as described by Turner (1970). Feikema has described the individual experience of "gratitude toward his parents" felt in response to holding his firstborn. This sentiment was also described by the father of the Marceau family: "Having (the baby) has made me understand what my parents went through for me; now I'm doing the same for my daughter." Thus, parental responsibility is experienced within the three-generational relation-ship, thus contributing to development of crescive bonds.

Continuity

Continuity is represented in individual experience as a sense
of self-through-time. Yet this sense of self-through time is related
to the individual family member's sense of relatedness to others as
described in Derly de A. Chaves' autobiography:

> Here is where I made the richest friendships which gave
> me lasting feelings of love for this land where my days
> were augmented in the life of my children, grandchildren
> and great-grandchildren who are not few but who made me
> experience the significance of immortality. (p. 161)

Participating families voiced similar themes which reflected
their desire for and perpetuation of a sense of intergenerational
continuity. All of the grandparents included in their reaction to
the expected first grandchild the happiness in knowing that the family
or the "family name" would "go on." The maternal grandmother of the
Gonzalez family expressed her joy at being alive to witness the arrival
of her first grandchild, and expressed sadness that her own mother,
who was deceased was deprived of the experience. Thus, family
continuity, as the experience of self-through-time within relational
connectedness is considered a desirable state which promotes
individual, group and ultimately community and society survival. It
is through the process of making place that the new generation is
incorporated into the ongoing life of the family as a source and
recipient of the relational energy which vitalizes and perpetuates
the family through continuity.

In summary, the data indicated the operation of attachment bonds through which affiliation and continuity developed in intergenerational transaction. The family process of making place is one in which the potential for new and expanded relational connectedness to the new infant and among each other are created.

<div align="center">

Core Properties of Making Place:

Claiming and Spacing

</div>

The research data indicated that families make a place for the new infant through two major activities: Claiming and spacing. Each of these activities reflect aspects of affiliation and continuity within the process. Each of these activities will be discussed separately.

Claiming

Claiming behaviors are defined as behaviors shown toward the new baby which either establishes or acknowledges an ongoing relationship between the family members and the baby. A simple example of a "claiming" statement is" "This is my daughter."

As a property of the core category of making place, claiming had two indicators: Naming and attributing behaviors. Naming related to activities of deciding what to call the baby. Attributing referred to the process of describing the baby's and other family member's

characteristics in a way that reflected similarities, differences or relationship within the family.

Naming

Naming behaviors establish a certain and distinct identity as a person within the family. This identification began before the baby's birth. Discussions and activities around naming the baby was a central point of interaction for all families throughout the pregnancy and into the first few days of the baby's life. Although the speed and manner in which the name was chosen and conferred differed across families, the process had common elements for all.

Factors which influenced naming the baby which were seen across all of the families were the following:

A. Complementary roles of parents.

B. Extended family role.

C. Cultural factors.

D. Gender factors.

E. Religious tradition factors.

A. Complementary Roles of Parents. The expectant mother and father played different and complementary roles: Mother was the initiator and father was the conferrer in the naming process.

Naming was a major task of the expectant parents, although the extended family was included for consultation and approval of the name during the selection process. The expectant mother most often initiated conversation about and interest in the baby's name. This

corroborates other research indicating that the expectant mother is involved earlier with the idea of the baby, most likely due to her personal physical awareness of the baby's existence (Rubin, 1975). The wife made active attempts to involve her husband in the effort to choose the "right" name for their baby. Though the expectant father had no direct physical connection with his baby, being involved in naming was evidence of the father's developing relatedness with him or her. In each participating family the father was very involved in the collaborative effort of naming the baby, thus acknowledging his or her presence. Though concensus between the expectant couple was the basis for the ultimate choice, it was very interesting to observe the particular role that the father played in naming. All of the wives expressed great pleasure in relating how the father got involved in naming the baby. In each of these families, the parents decided together on the name, but the father <u>conferred</u> it on the baby. In the Gonzalez family the father made the final determination of the order of the first and middle names. The Marceau family father agreed to a name with which he had direct experience: He preferred the name that a close friend had named his daughter. And the Koski family father made the final determination of the baby's name at the time of her birth: When he held her in his arms for the first time, he said "This is Ella Joan." This particular father was the only one who had a "pet" name for the baby during the pregnancy, a clear example of his connection with the baby before birth. His relative delay in conferring the formal name was probably due to the fact that

he had already "named" the baby! In conclusion, the father's confirmation of the baby's name seemed to symbolize his acceptance of the baby and directly acknowledge the relationship between them.

B. <u>Extended Family Role</u>. Extended family members were called upon to react to the various names which the parental couple had already chosen as good possibilities. In all families it was clear that it was the parents' right and responsibility to select the name. The prospective grandparents respected this distinctive function of the parents, even though they occasionally expressed dislike for some of the choices. The grandparents affirmed the parents' centrality in the naming process by reinforcing the naming role as that of the parents.

C. <u>Cultural Factors</u>. The family culture dictated certain aspects of the name selection process. For example, the Gonzalez family, who lived in the most extended-family fashion, included every adult in the family system in a <u>vote</u> to determine the baby's name from which the parents made the final selection. This couple selected names which they considered "American" rather than Columbian. Choosing a name from the new culture was an example of how this couple tried actively to separate from their South American culture and identify with the American culture.

The Koski family had a tradition of including a deceased male ancestor's name as a middle name for sons born; thus, in accepting this custom the expectant parents perpetuated family continuity. This tradition did not apply to girls born. The name chosen for a

girl in this family included the mother's middle name as the baby's middle name, however.

D. <u>Gender Factors</u>. The anticipated or desired sex of the child was a factor during the naming process. All families expressed the value that the sex of the child was less important than his or her health, and that eventually each family wanted at least "one of each." However, there were sex preferences expressed but statements of preference were consistently modified by the sentiment that "The sex of the baby really didn't matter as long as it was healthy." In one family ultrasound diagnosis identified a male child; in the other families the sex of the baby was unknown until birth. It was interesting to see that no matter what preferences or knowledge existed about the baby's sex, all families went through the process of deciding both female and male names which would be used for either the first or subsequent children.

In all of these families the expectant father was the "heir apparent" for the task to "carry on the family name." Two of the three fathers were the only sons in their families; the third father was the only son in his family capable of having children. Transmission of the family identity through the continuity of the family name was most often mentioned by the paternal grandfather and the notion of its importance supported by their sons in particular. Though paternal lineage was acknowledged as important in all of the families, only one expectant couple preferred the selection of a male name identical with the father's as a designated "junior." The fathers

who rejected the idea of naming their sons after themselves either stated that they didn't like the idea of the same names or that they didn't like their own name.

Girls' names received attention similar to that of the boys but without the emphasis on "carrying on the family name." The girls' names chosen were names which the parents found attractive and pleasing. However, the girls' middle names were identical to the mothers' middle names. These gender-related naming behaviors parallel the larger culture's kinship affiliation patterns through which, as Rossi (1965) pointed out, boys' names are likely to be rooted in the past and girls' names are more related to affiliative ties with the mother (p. 504).

E. Religious Tradition Factors. All of the families in the study were Catholic and had their children baptized. The ceremony of baptism symbolizes entry into the Catholic community and reflects both the affiliative and continuity aspects of making place. First, the ritual of baptism confers new membership status on the infant so that affiliation with the congregation is acknowledged. Second, baptism is considered a sacrament which connects the new member to God through eternity; hence, continuity is secured. The ritual of baptism makes place for the new Catholic member in the religious family of the Church.

The above mentioned factors played a major part in the naming activities of the families and illustrate the profound importance of naming in the family and the larger culture. Naming assures both

affiliative and continuity bonds and locates the new child within the
network of family relationships. Rossi (1965) inferred the signifi-
cance of naming as a symbolic means for linking family members to each
other through time (p. 503).

Development of Fit and Familiarity with the Baby's Name. After
the baby's birth all of the family members used the baby's name
frequently in conversation which gave the impression that the families
needed to actively concretize the baby's presence among them. Members
not only repeated the baby's name frequently while talking about her/
him but also spoke the name often while conversing with the baby.
These activities facilitated the affiliative bonds between the members
and the baby by increasing familiarity with the identity conferred on
the infant.

The families' responses to the baby's name served to develop a
sense of "fittedness;" that is, that the name suited the baby and the
other family members. The "fit" of the name was developed and
consolidated during the first days and weeks after the baby's birth
during which the family repeatedly associated the name with the child
and the pleasure of interaction with the baby. As the name "fit"
the child, so did the child "fit" within the family as a member in
his/her own right.

In conclusion, the data revealed the centrality of naming
activities within the process of making place for the first child-
grandchild in the family. Another aspect of claiming behavior is
attributing activities, which will be discussed in the next session.

Attributing

Attributing behaviors are those in which characteristics were ascribed among family members. These behaviors had direct influence on the quality and development of affiliative bonds. Attributions manifested the following two dimensions:

    A. Complimentary-Derogatory Dimension.

    B. Similarity-Difference Dimension.

Each dimension will be illustrated as they reflected attributing behaviors.

Complimentary-Derogatory Dimension. Complimentary attributions affirmed a positive quality of another family member; i.e., "He's a good father." In contrast, derogatory attributions expressed criticism or negative comments; i.e., "She's a flake." There were frequent complimentary and few derogatory attributions made in the researcher's presence, very likely due to a common social norm of maintaining a respectfully polite relationships with family members, especially in the presence of in-laws. In addition to this effect, the researcher's presence as a non-family member most likely inhibited the expression of derogatory attributions.

When a derogatory attribution was made during an interview a compensatory effort was made to place it within a more positive framework within the family. For example, when one family member was called "a flake," another member aligned with the criticized member with a supportive comment: "No she's not. She's enthusiastic and excited." The redefinition of the derogatory attribution as a more

positive and acceptable characteristic received sanction by the family through verbal acknowledgement.

   Similarity-Difference Dimension. Family members had perceptions of the similarities and differences among them and shared these perceptions in the form of attributions to self and other. Generally, family members expressed a relaxed tolerance for the differences which they saw between themselves and others as well as frequent identification of characteristics which members had in common. Expressed affect associated with attribution of similarities and differences varied somewhat among interactions, but for the most part the families showed more willingness and enthusiasm to highlight areas of similarity in the presence of the researcher than to identify and discuss differences. Attribution of similarities, i.e., "We think alike about a lot of things;" "The baby looks just like her Daddy;" "We're both in agreement about childcare" tended to emphasize those traits which reflected feelings of closeness and pride in identification. Attributions of similarity tended to evoke acceptance and reinforcement from the family group, even if they were not necessarily true. For example, it is a very common pasttime for families to discuss who the baby resembles most. Fortunately, a child's appearance changes over time so that most every family member might enjoy identifying with the baby's resemblance at some time or another.

   Thus far, the process of _making place_ has been described in terms of its dual functions of _affiliation_ and _continuity_, and in relation to its property of _claiming_. _Claiming_ was illustrated

through its two major indicators; that of <u>naming</u> and <u>attributing</u> behaviors. Next, the core category property of <u>spacing</u> and its indicators of <u>nesting</u> and <u>welcoming</u> will be explored.

Spacing

<u>Spacing</u> behaviors are those which create physical and relational space for the baby. Physical spacing is reflected in <u>nesting</u> activities and relational spacing in <u>welcoming</u> behavior. <u>Spacing</u> represents the structural aspects of the process of <u>making place</u> and involves expansion of existing family systems boundaries to include the new baby.

Nesting

The addition of a new member to a family requires that some additional room be made within the family's existing physical space. Families make room for the new infant in the following ways:

    A. Expanding space

    B. Rearranging existing space

    C. Cleaning

<u>Expanding space</u> included adding on a room or moving to a larger living space. All of the research families felt that it was necessary for them to expand their living space, but chose to postpone this step until the baby was older and financial resources more available. The anticipation and birth of the first baby set into motion the parental

couple's long range planning for what they saw as the next phase of their lives together; that is, life with children. The birth of the first child represented not only his/her own presence in the family but also the potentiality of the next generation. The families not only planned for expanded space for the first baby but also other children who were desired in the future.

Couples' agreement on the number of children desired influenced how they planned for potential expanded space. Two of the three couples agreed on the size of their family and were in the process of negotiating for a larger living area at the time of the baby's first birthday. The third family had some conflicts about how many children to have, which seemed to delay their agreement on the kind of living space they would need in the future. Thus it can be seen that the process of making place is influenced by the family members' ability to determine concensual goals.

Rearranging existing space was the primary activity for space-making in which the family members "moved over" to make room for the new person. Guest rooms were emptied, painted and decorated for the baby; closets and drawers were rearranged for extra space; living room space was emptied of unnecessary furniture; and, kitchens and bath-rooms were "baby-proofed" to prevent accidental injury to the infant. These activities occurred in the grandparent's homes as well, though on a modified scale. All of the families had created room and safety space for the infant before the birth. The meaning of this potential space to the family is evidenced by their frequent visits to the

expected baby's room. The baby's presence was very real even prior to birth, and the creation of the baby's room was a major step in the family's acknowledging the new member's actuality.

Cleaning is a major preparatory activity prior to the birth. The couples shared household tasks and the "spring cleaning" which was done in anticipation of the postpartum period. The parental couples anticipated that they would be busy with round-the-clock child care and little time or energy for cleaning when the baby came, and cleaned to free themselves of major household chores after the birth.

Prior research on human nesting phenomena has reported a correlation between hormonal changes in the pregnant mother which contribute to the flurry of cleaning shown by the wives (Jaharri-Zadek, 1969). It may be true that nesting is precipitated by physiologic changes in the expectant mother, but the data revealed that the behavior had meaning within the family system and the larger culture. The families expressed approval of the parents' cleaning and rearranging preparations, and made positive attributions of the activities: They were signs that the couple was "acting like parents." These attributions conferred positive affirmation for parenting behaviors and helped the couple and the grandparents take their respective places within the intergenerational hierarchy.

Expansion, rearrangement and cleaning of family living space all contribute to making room for the new baby. In addition to an enlargement of physical space, room has to be made within the structure of existing family relationships. This is accomplished by the activities of welcoming.

Welcoming

Welcoming activities acknowledge the existence of the new baby, whether actual or potential in relationship with others. This relational space-making is seen in three major ways:

A. Gift-giving.

B. Greeting.

C. Invitations for interaction.

Each of these indicators of welcoming will be illustrated.

Gift-giving is welcoming-in-action. Gifts for the baby were given in all families as early as four months in the pregnancy. Parents also received gifts which affirmed their potential roles as parents, such as books on baby care. Even grandparents received a few gifts from their adult children or their own friends which had the effect of affirming their new position in the family.

The baby shower was the epitome of welcoming-in-action and represented familial and social acknowledgement of the baby's existence and its commitment to contribute to her/his care. The ritual of the shower not only served the function of formally welcoming the new family member, but it also supported the expectant parents in their new place in the family as adults responsible for the new person's care. The shower provided an emotional turning point for the family. The expectant mothers expressed the sense of "not really feeling ready for the baby" until after the shower had taken place. This ritual marked a modern cultural initiation into the state of parenthood while also symbolizing the importance of nurturant support for the new family.

Greeting is acknowledgement of the existence of another person. Family members began greeting behavior while the baby was still in utero by both indirect and direct communications. For instance, a family member's patting the expectant mother's abdomen and saying "Hi, baby" is an example of a direct greeting. The child was also greeted indirectly by being included in the parents' greetings, i.e., "How are the three of you today?"

The families demonstrated greeting behavior in a consistent way over the 15 months of the study. First, each family member was greeted by everyone at family events. No member was excluded from this courtesy, although tension between members was manifested in delayed greetings or greetings which were accompanied by nonverbal signs of distance. Second, members were greeted with verbal acknowledgement of their new family roles; i.e., "How's the new father doing?" Thus, greetings served to acknowledge the existence of relational space for interaction among family members as well as to affirm the changes in relationships which influenced the members' transactions.

Invitations for interaction expressed a desire for relationship among the family members. Various forms of invitations for interaction were outstretched arms inviting a hug; eye contact and smiling; offering to share something like food, a drink, a toy or book; or a verbal request for another person's presence. These behaviors imply the availability of relational space between and among people and contribute to the evolution of making place from which affiliations develop and endure over the life of the family.

Thus it can be seen that <u>nesting</u> and <u>welcoming</u> activities are essential components of the <u>spacing</u> property of <u>making place</u>. Both properties and their indicators are interdependent in that each effects the other within the process of <u>making place</u>.

Thus far in this section the process of <u>making place</u> was discussed in terms of its dual functions of <u>affiliation</u> and <u>continuity</u> and its properties of <u>claiming</u> and <u>spacing</u>. Examples from the data illustrate how the theoretical constructs reflecting this family process emerged. Next, the two transactional modes of the core category will be presented.

<u>Transactional Modes of Validation and Negotiation</u>

The process of <u>making place</u> requires that the family reorganize to a new level of organizational complexity. As a human system the family relies upon communication processes to effect the second-order or discontinuous change characteristic of a new stage of development. Human interaction is the context in which information is generated, fed back into the system and acted upon. Information within the family system is the means by which energy is created and used in the service of morphogenesis (Dance & Larson, 1976, p. 57). The transformation of energy through communication processes contributed to the creation of a new social reality which included the first member of a new family generation. The research data revealed that two specific modes of communication facilitated the process of <u>making place</u>; that is, <u>validation</u> and <u>negotiation</u>. They were essential components of

family communication in all aspects of making place and without which
the process would not have occurred. These modes are interdependent
and recursive. Each will be discussed separately and its emergence
from the data illustrated.

Validation

Validation is defined as the transactional mode of determining
consensual reality. Validation establishes the context in which both
relational and content messages (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967)
are confirmed and clarified. As the families redefined their relation-
ships among themselves and the baby, it was crucial that there was
consensual understanding of the many changes which were occurring
in the family and how the members were responding to them.

Validation behavior was observed both in two-person and family
group interaction. It involved the activities of clarification and
confirmation in interaction and, when effective, resulted in the sense
that "We share a consensual understanding of our experience together."

Clarification allows for a question or concern to be made more
understandable. By clarifying communication, family members made
explicit the meaning of their behavior so that discrepancies between
intent and effect of messages could be dispelled (Watzlawick et al.,
1967, p. 90). Confirmation is a response which implies acceptance of
the other's definition of self (Watzlawick et al., 1967, p. 84) and
offers validation of family members' self-perceptions. Clarification
addresses the content portion of communication while confirmation

acknowledges the relationship aspect. Thus it can be inferred that validation transactions are crucial to the process of making place in which both task and relational changes are shifting. Validated transactions facilitated the sense of intimacy among members and strengthened affiliative bonds. Interactions between the mother and maternal grandmother of the Gonzalez family provided an example of how validation operations (clarification and confirmation) are intrinsic to making place. The mother described the first three months after the baby's birth:

> My mother and I had problems deciding who would take care of the baby. We would disagree about how to hold him, how much to feed him, when he should sleep. It seemed as if she was the mother, not me. I was very upset by this. . . . I told her how I felt; that I was his mother and would decide these things. She was hurt by my saying these things, but I had to say them. At first she kept on telling me what to do, like I was still a child; but after a while she agreed that it was my wishes as the mother that should be carried out. After that, things were better. We were both more relaxed, and things were smoother between us.

Mother's statement of feeling to her mother clarified her position, which eventually the grandmother confirmed. This transaction resulted in validated interaction in which the interactants have arrived at consensus about their relational positions vis-à-vis each other and to the baby. In this way, relational space was expanded in making place.

<u>Negotiation</u>

   <u>Negotiation</u> is the transactional mode through which family mem-
bers influence the course of relational change. Through negotiation,
the family transfers responsibilities and entitlements among members.
The family hierarchy and history provides the context in which
<u>negotiation</u> occurs. The hierarchical organization of the family will
determine who in the family exerts what kind of influence (Minuchin,
1974). The family's past experience reflects the intergenerational
ledger of debts and entitlements (Nagy & Spark, 1973). Both of these
factors; that is, <u>who is responsible for what</u> and <u>accrued entitlements</u>
will influence the outcome of family negotiation.

   Successful <u>negotiation</u> was reflected in the family's shared
sense of fairness among them and was based on two conditions. The
first is <u>mutual involvement</u>; the second, <u>a fair transaction</u>.
<u>Negotiation</u> implies the participation of at least two people and can
take place only within actual interaction; it is not a solitary or
unilateral process. Also, <u>negotiation</u> took into account each of the
participants' needs, resources and entitlements and balanced them to
the benefit of all involved. Negotiation reflected a sense of fair-
ness over time among the family members. Negotiation influenced
boundaries and attachments which developed into crescive bonds. For
instance, the family continually <u>negotiated</u> around contact with the
baby when they were together. During the Marceau's Year-After inter-
view, this negotiation was nicely illustrated. It was obvious that
all of the members wanted contact with the baby, which occurred

throughout the interview. Two patterns were evident during these transactions. First, the baby was allowed to be her own "free agent" and was permitted and encouraged to move among all members as she wished. Attributions of independence were given to the baby: "She has a mind of her own," observed a grandfather. Second, the adults managed to "share" her with a sense of fairness as she moved among them, and organize contact for all with the baby. The adults "sent" the baby to another adult with regularity: Mother said, "Go see Granny," who would then "take her turn" playing with the baby. Transactions reflected the family's acknowledgement (rule) that each adult was entitled to relate with the baby and allowed negotiation among them as to how "sharing the baby" would be accomplished. Thus, place was made for all members and the baby for equitable relatedness to which each had developed an entitlement, and from which both identity and crescive bonds could be strengthened.

An example from the data will illustrate the functions of validation and negotiation in the process of making place. The researcher conducted an interview in one family's home on the first day they brought the baby home from the hospital. The mother became tearful and said to the researcher, "I'm afraid that she'll come between me and (husband)." The husband replied in a firm and protective voice, "Oh no she won't. She won't even come to visit if that starts happening!" The wife looked confused and asked her husband what he meant. He said, "Anybody who tries to come between us won't be part of our lives." The wife laughed and said, "Are you

thinking of my mother?" The husband replied affirmatively. The wife explained that she had been referring to the baby "coming between them," not her mother! The ambiguous communication was recognized by both husband and wife who then engaged in clarifying the message. They then called the wife's mother who agreed to come and stay with the mother and baby while father went to work, if the father could give her a ride to their apartment and back. Validation and negotiation transactions served to foster the family's attachment and continuity bonds in spite of the moment of stress and potentially troublesome miscommunication.

Developmental Issues: Inclusion and Competence

Making place involved validation and negotiation among the family and its members on two major issues; namely, issues of inclusion and competence. The issues of inclusion and competence recurred over the duration of the study. Each will be discussed and illustrated as they emerged from the data. First, inclusion concerns were reactivated during the families' preparation for the expected baby. A grandmother from the Marceau family expressed the concern that she might be excluded from relating to the baby: "It's their baby and I'll never intrude but if they keep me from the baby it will kill me." The mother of the Gonzalez family talked about her feelings of insecurity during the first few weeks postpartum while other family members held the baby. She discussed her need to assert her role as the infant's mother with her own mother: "I had to keep reminding myself that I'm (the

baby's) mother, and not her." A grandfather talked about his worry that he would see less of the new family because they would be "too busy" with the new baby to visit regularly. Inclusion concerns were most obvious prior to and just after the baby's birth. They were not evident at the Year-After interviews. Making place allowed the families to resolve their initial concerns regarding inclusion: Who may relate to whom? In what manner? Will there be "room" for everyone in the family now that the baby has arrived? The data from the Year-After interviews showed that place had been made for all members with the baby and within the total family structure.

Second, the issue of competence in child care was a central concern which was expressed by members of both elder generations. Examples of competence concerns are shown in the following exerpts from family discussion. Grandfather: "I've never held such a small baby; I'm afraid I'll wake her up." Mother: "I worry that his (father's) parents won't understand her crying." Father: "I leave diapering to my wife. She's better at it than I am." Issues of competence were accentuated prenatally and in the postpartum weeks and were not evident at the baby's first birthday interviews. At the Year-After interviews it was obvious that all family members were considered proficient in child care and it was no longer an issue.

Thus, the data suggests that families' experiences during this time of making place undergo change. Issues emerge and recede which imply the operation of a family process during this time of intergenerational reorganization. The transactional modes of validation and

negotiation facilitate the most effective communication and transfer
of energy in the family system in the service of morphogenesis.

Summary of Section Two

The process of making place was defined and described in terms
of its two properties and the transactional modes through which
affiliation and continuity are operationalized. The major properties
of claiming and spacing were described in light of their indicators
and illustrated by examples from the data. The transactional modes
of validation and negotiation served to facilitate making place and
its functions of intergenerational affiliation and continuity. Fin-
ally, two issues specific to transactions of making place; namely,
inclusion and competence, were illustrated theoretical sampling of
literature from various conceptual models was used to densify the
core category and increase the conceptual detail of the emerging theory.

Summary of Chapter IV

The method of constant comparative analysis began with the local
concepts of claiming (naming and attributing) and family reorganization
which guided data collection on the initial research question: "How
does the family as a three-generational system respond to the birth
of the first child-grandchild?" Initial coding delineated structure-
process categorizations. Continued theoretical sampling, coding and
analysis resulted in reformulation of the research question: "How do

families create the conditions necessary to include the first child-grandchild into their ongoing life?" Data analysis indicated that intergenerational processes of <u>inclusion</u> were operating and which had the following characteristics:

A. Expanding physical and relational space for the new family member.

B. Itensifying relational connections among all members.

C. Developing a sense of continuity among the generations. Further theoretical sampling led to the identification of the core category and central family process of <u>making place</u>.

<u>Making place</u> was defined as the process through which a newborn individual receives recognition as a member of that family. It is an integrative process in that it facilitates the creation of new relational connections within the family as well as giving new meaning to the old ones. <u>Making place</u> potentiates the development of affiliative bonds which create and maintain relational connectedness through time in a family.

In Chapter V, the theoretical analysis is expanded to show implications of <u>making place</u> for theory of normal family processes. In addition, applications to family therapy and recommendations for further research are offered.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Introduction

Chapter V is divided into four parts. The first is a summary of the research. Next, conclusions of the study and implications of the research are discussed. Third, the design of the study is critiqued. In the final part, applications to family therapy and recommendations for further research are presented.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to generate grounded theory of intergenerational family processes which occur around the event of the birth of the first child-grandchild. The method of constant comparative analysis was used to generate substantive theory from the study data.

Theory and research on normal family processes have been sparse. Research of family processes done on clinical populations of troubled families is an insufficient knowledge base for understanding normal families. In addition, no research has been conducted on the birth of the first child-grandchild within a three-generational family

system context. Emphasis in this research was on changes which occurred within the family as a three-generational system around the birth of the first child-grandchild.

The absence of research related to the three-generational exper-ience of the birth of the first child-grandchild and relatively little knowledge of normal family processes provided the basis on which the grounded theory method was selected for this study. Minimal scientific knowledge of a phenomenon invites the initial research of the area to be generative. Lack of previous scientific inquiry requires methods geared to identification of research questions and potential hypotheses for further scientific investigation. Grounded theory methodology was applied in this study to facilitate the expansion of knowledge and generate hypotheses in the area of normal family processes.

Grounded theory was generated through the method of constant comparative analysis. In this method the research data was simultan-eously collected, coded and analyzed which led to identification of the core concept which reflects the central phenomena in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Thus, the data provided the base from which theory emerged, rather than being analyzed in light of existing theo-ries for the purpose of their verification. The grounded theory achieved relevance because it emerged from the data which it then explains, predicts and interprets (Glaser, 1978, p. 5).

The method of constant comparative analysis began with identifica-tion of two "local concepts" which established as partial framework for the study. They were based on a preliminary literature review and the

researcher's experience with families' responses to the arrival of the first member of the new generation. These local concepts were based on two general observations of family interaction when anticipating and interacting with a new baby. First, members acknowledge new relationships with the baby and each other. Second, the family structure undergoes reorganization to incorporate a new member. Thus, two local concepts were identified; namely, <u>claiming</u> <u>behavior</u> which reflects acknowledgement of new relationships; and <u>family</u> <u>reorganization</u> which indicates the occurrence of structural change within the family system.

These two concepts were used to put together an initial framework for beginning the research, which was conducted among three families over a period of 15 months. Theoretical sampling spanned 18 family interviews which included these family subsystems: Parent-grandparent; parent; spouse; parent-infant; and in-law subsystems. Theoretical sampling occurred in the environmental contexts of parental and grandparental homes, a baptism ceremony in a Catholic church; and, a hospital maternity ward. The temporal spacing of the theoretical sampling included a 15 month period from the last trimester of the pregnancy to the baby's first birthday. Data collection methods included semi-structured interviews within the context of naturalistic observation of thef families in their usual living environments. The use of genograms circular questioning, and the researcher's assessment skills facilitated the collection of relational data in the study.

The core category of <u>making</u> <u>place</u> emerged from the data which identified the process through which an infant is included into family

membership. As an integrative process, it facilitates the creation of new relational connections within the family as well as gives new meaning to already existing ones. These relationship changes among existing family members and to the new baby reflect the evolution of two functions of the process of making place; namely, the development of intergenerational affiliation and continuity.

Theoretical properties in which the core category process of making place is demonstrated are claiming and spacing. These theoretical properties are evidence of activities of relational and spatial expansion in the family system by which intergenerational affiliative bonds develop. The indicators of each property were demonstrated in the data as follows:

Claiming is evidenced in naming and attributing behaviors which confirm affiliations among family members. Spacing occurs in nesting and welcoming actions which create physical or relational space among family members and the baby.

Two major transactional modes occur and influence the development of making place; that is, validation and negotiation. Validation is the acknowledgement of consensual reality and interpersonal worth. Negotiation is the collaborative exchange of responsibility and entitlement among family members. Both serve as essential communication processes from which energy for the process of making place is generated. As a morphogenetic process, making place involves evolution of the family system's organizational complexity.

Finally, making place can be understood as the creation of a "good enough environment" for the development of caring commitments. Making place reflects the creation of this context which permits emotional and physical survival, not only of the new baby, but also of the entire family system.

Conclusions

Making Place: Toward a Theory

of Normal Family Processes

In this section, the process of making place as it emerged from the research data will be discussed as a source of understanding of normal family processes. Concepts are illustrated as they were derived from the data of the study and densified from literature sources.

The research data pointed to a definition of the family as a relational field in constant transformation in which human existence is supported for growth. This relational field is the primary context or environment in which shared social reality is created through affiliations over time.

The developmental concepts of Winnicott's (1965) theory, grounded in relational empirical data, provided a fitting metaphor of the functional family context. Winnicott (1965) asserted that human growth and development require certain external conditions which are necessary if maturation potentials are to become actual. His notion of "good enough environment," without which development cannot take place, has

use in understanding normal family processes. Making place is the creation of this environment within the family.

Current family theories offer various paradigms of family processes, yet none offer the contextual focus reflected in making place. Developmental frameworks based on stage-related and membership configuration changes are described by Duvall (1974), Carter and McGoldrick (1982) among others. Minuchin (1974) pioneered structural analysis of family systems; Haley (1978) devised family interventions on a combined structural-developmental model of family processes. Theories on types and levels of family functioning have also been developed (Lewis et al., 1976; Beavers, 1977; McMasters, 1982; Kantor & Lehr, 1978; Olsen, Sprenkle & Russell, 1982; and Wynne, 1984). Intergenerational theories of family development have been advanced (Bowen, 1974; Nagy & Spark, 1973) but focus primarily on pathological processes. Theories of change have been important sources of understanding family processes, though these theories have largely been applied to therapeutic intervention within troubled families (Hoffman, 1981; Selvini-Palazolli, 1980; Andolfi, 1983).

The concept of making place provides a unique focus; that is, it emphasizes the importance of context and describes the development of the "good enough" relational environment in the family. The following characteristics of the "good enough" environment emerged from the research data:

A. The family system is morphogenetic; that is, transformation of energy contributes to the evolution of organizational complexity.

B. The family operates within caring commitments over time. Each of these aspects of a "good enough" family environment will be illustrated.

The family system is morphogenetic; that is, transformation of energy contributes to the evolution of organizational complexity. The communication processes of validation and negotiation facilitated the transformation of energy in the family system for growth. These modes made it possible for members to make the relational shifts neces- sary to move into new and more complex transactions experienced as expanded and intensified affiliations with the new baby and each other. As discussed in the previous section, validation provided consensual sense of reality and individual worth; negotiation made possible collaborative agreement on sharing of resources and responsibilities in the system. It is through the circular, interactive effects of these essential transactional modes that the family develops a shared social reality over time.

This point is illustrated in the following example from the data: The mother and grandmother of the Koski family described disagreement about the baby's needs at bedtime. During the Year-After interview they discussed the ways in which they came to a resolution of their discrepant views. Mother thought that the baby should be put down and allowed to cry as a way to relieve tension before sleep. Grandmother thought that the baby should be rocked to sleep and not allowed to cry. The women agreed that it had been a sore point between them. They discussed their respective points of view, validating each other and

acknowledging a consensual reality and then decided to see what the baby needed at the time when they were both present at bedtime and to operate on that decision (negotiation). The resolution of opposite positions into a new synthesis freed the family members to maintain their relationship while caring for the baby in a more complex way. This also demonstrates the continual creation of relational space in the system; new modes of relating among the members indicated that they had coordinated a new and more complex way of relating that enhanced their affiliations.

The family operates within caring commitments over time. That is, the family environment fostered affiliations through time which benefited the growth of all members. Commitment has been defined as "Awareness of mutual entitlement and accountability over time" (Appley & Winder, 1977, p. 286) and is related to caring transactions in the family. Both concepts of caring and commitment refer to the "good enough" relational environment of the family and are indicators that place has been made.

Commitment to the family and its members represent the "relational glue" which determines the strength of affiliation over time. The notion of commitment is similar to that of crescive bonds (Turner, 1970, p. 86); both are related to affiliative processes and emphasize the ethical dimension of human relationships. Nagy & Spark (1973) describe the intergenerational "ledger" of entitlements and indebtedness among members as the basis for relational commitment.

Care. It is in the presence of commitment that the primary
family resource of care is generated. Care is defined as accepting
responsibility for aspects of relatedness with another. Care occurs
in mutuality; it is relational phenomena and not simply what one person
"does for" another. Bowlby (1965) described it as a reciprocal response
in attachment behavior. Erikson (1964) asserted that mutual activation
is central to the notion of care. Nagy & Spark (1965) supported the
idea of care occurring within relational systems: "The mutuality of
care and concern is not only experienced by the participants, but it
transcends their psychology through entering the realm of action or
commitment to action" (p. 7). Caring and commitment are interdependent
and mutually reinforcing. They can be described as affiliation-in-
action through which human connectedness is maintained within inter-
generational continuity. Commitment was expressed among the research
families in both action and verbal communication. Grandparents said
that it was not only a joy but their "duty" to be available to the
new family for help. The families often shared resources: living
space, finances, time "because we're family." Commitment to each other
was reflected in the members' willingness to interact though in conflict
or disagreement: "She's my mother, so I put up with her funny habits."
Members were entitled to family resources simply by virtue of their
membership in the family, though negotiation of resources varied from
context to context.

An example of intergenerational responsibility and entitlement
expressed through care is illustrated by this example: The Koski family
had experienced the death of the maternal grandmother three years prior

to the baby's birth. The new mother felt the loss of her own mother and regretted her absence during the pregnancy and arrival of the baby. The grandfather expressed his concern for his daughter, stating that "Every woman should have her mother at a time like this." He, too had lost his mother three years prior to his daughter's birth and felt that she had been deprived of both grandmother and mother. He asserted that it was his job to "make it up to her" and he became as actively involved with infant care as the other set of grandparents combined! This example illustrates how the intergenerational ledger of merit; i.e., mother being deprived and therefore entitled to care became manifest in family interaction.

This example also illustrates an essential component of caring; that is, the capacity for concern (Winnicott, 1965). The Koski grandfather's caring response; i.e., assuming both grandparent roles for his daughter and grandaughter was based on his empathic response to his daughter. His ability to "put himself in his daughter's place" to ascertain her needs was based on his accrued development of the capacity for concern and was manifested in his ability to give her care. This empathic process of identification within the context of mutuality was also illustrated earlier by Feikema (1980). Making place provides the context in which the multigenerational transmission of care can occur. Making place for the new baby ensures entitlement to committed care, as other members have been cared for by virtue of their membership in the family.

Theoretical Model Related to Making Place

The process of making place can be explained within the theoretical paradigm of general systems theory. This model contains the parameters which help understand making place as a process evolving from the systemic nature of the family.

The birth of the first child-grandchild affects the entire family system; all members become involved in the event prior to and after the baby's birth. Making place, as the creation of an environmental context in which human growth can occur, was a reflection of systemic reorganization. The properties of claiming and spacing are examples of the structural change which occurs in the family during the process. Transfer of energy through the transactional modes of validation and negotiation contribute to the expansion of relational boundaries, the alteration of hierarchies and the eventual reorganization of the family around the inclusion of a new member--generation. Alliances were reorganized and intensified during the process. The entire family was transformed in the process of making place.

In conclusion, the process of making place was described in this research as a contribution to substantive theory; that is, theory developed for an empirical area of inquiry (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 32). Grounded theory proved to be valuable in developing an understanding of intergenerational processes when the first child-grandchild is born. The core category of making place describes the creation of the context in which the family expands its relational field to include the new member.

The advantage of this theoretical formulation is its basis in the real experience of families. The work of other family theorists support the notion generated by this research data.

Terkelson (1980) has also used elements of Winnicott's concept of "good enough environment" in describing family processes and inter-locking roles, emphasizing the mutuality between parents and child in the attainment of developmental needs. The centrality of the notion of the family as a context that supports need attainment for all of its members (Terkelson, 1980, p. 25) is congruent with the data in this study. The grounded theory method in this study has specified the processes involved in shaping this context at the time of the birth of the first child-grandchild and advances understanding of this develop-mental period as one of expansion of the "good enough" environment.

The notion of "good enough" must not be misunderstood as an absolute standard of normal family functioning. Rather, the term implies a relative facilitation of need-attainment. The significance of the notion lies in the implication that contexts of normal family functioning cannot be assessed in static, absolute standards. It is more useful to regard the adequacy of the family as context-in-process, and will vary in response to multiple influences.

The morphogenetic quality of family processes was demonstrated in the data, most obviously in the structural reorganization within the three generations. As such, the changes which occur during the process of making place are those described by Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch (1974) and Hoffman (1981) as "second order change" which is change in

the system itself. Terkelson (1980) has applied these concepts of change to that of development and described it: First order developments involve increments of mastery and adaptation; second order developments involve transformation of status and meaning (p. 39). That is, first order developmental change is change made by individuals within the family system; second order developmental change is the family system's response to changes in individuals and the evolution of new elements of structure (Combrinck-Graham, 1985, p. 141). The nature of first and second order change as interactive and co-determinous among individuals and the family system is central.

Implications for understanding normal family processes through the process of making place. Structural changes evident in the process of making place were physical and relational room made to incorporate the new baby; the reorganization of hierarchical relationships with the new parents receiving centrality in parenting functions, and the acquisition of new reciprocal responsibilities and entitlements among all family members. The family who has made place as a "good enough environment" has room for each member, who by virtue of family membership is entitled to caring and commitment.

Critique of the Research Method

Two major aspects of this research design are discussed in this section; namely, the effects of the research on the family processes described and weaknesses in the theoretical sampling. Two changes in

the research design would have improved the efficacy of the study. Both changes are related to improving the reliability and validity of the results.

First, the research interviews may have been too structured in terms of local concepts such that the results were biased in their direction. This possible effect could have reduced data validity and could have been remedied by conducting data collection in a more observer-oriented manner. This could have been accomplished by increasing observation time with the participating families and following up with questions related to them, while decreasing topic-oriented questioning.

Second, reliability could have been enhanced if research interviews had been conducted with a more diverse theoretical sampling of family subsystems. Interviewing various family subsystem dyads, triads and individuals increased the "slices of data" or the variety of information available for saturation and densification of the core category. Specifically, more contacts with grandparent-pairs, father-child and in-law subsystem interactions would have increased the density of the core category and therefore the reliability of the results.

The research effects may have had the unintended effect of facilitating change in the family by virtue of encouraging discussion of family interaction. The families were asked if the research interviews had any effect on them; all replied that the interviews had given them a chance to talk to each other in an enjoyable way. None

could determine any other effects. Thus, it is most likely that
untoward effects on the subjects were negligible and positive results
were centered on an enjoyable experience.

Application to Family Therapy

This study has implications for understanding normal family pro-
cess and developmental life cycle theories which inform treatment of
troubled families. Contemporary family theory and practice corrobor-
ate the findings of this study. The art and science of family therapy
has included emphasis on structural organization patterns of families
as a central assessment and intervention parameter (Minuchin, 1974;
Haley, 1976 & 1980). In addition, principles of second order change
have been applied to treatment of families (Hoffman, 1981;
Watzlawick et al., 1974; Andolfi et al., 1982). Also, the importance
of clear, congruent communication has been postulated as a character-
istic of family health and an important point of therapeutic attention
(Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967; Singer & Wynne, 1978; Terkelsen,
1980; Wynne, 1984). However, the concept of making place offers a
new emphasis which has implications for treatment; namely, the creation
of relational context which fostershealth. As development of context,
making place sets up the conditions for functional relational systems;
that is, systems in which care and commitment can develop to facilitate
human growth. It could be argued that, without making place for a new
member, that his/her survival and potential for growth within the family

is seriously threatened. If so, assessment and intervention should be focused on how the family has organized relational place.

The important emphases that this study offers to the treatment and research in family therapy is threefold: First, the ongoing evolution of family context; second, the primacy of affiliative processes and third; the importance of validation and negotiation in the development of a growth-supporting family context. The results of this study raise new questions for inclusion into family assessment and intervention:

1. How is each person addressed? How do patterns of names in the family reflect their affiliations?

2. What kind of attributions are made among family members? Do members identify with each other? Do they acknowledge similarities and differences? Are attributions complimentary or derogatory?

3. What is the actual physical home environment like? How does the family's physical space reflect members place in the family? What changes in physical space might facilitate a more growth-supporting environment?

4. How do family members welcome the therapist and acknowledge each other's presence? Are all members of the family included in the welcoming process?

5. How does the family organize to include or exclude members within affiliations?

6. How does the family define competence among members? How do family rules reflect who may be competent and in what ways?

7. How does the family communicate its values of commitment to care for its members? Who receives what kind of care? How does the family describe the members' entitlements to care? Are all members involved in the giving and receiving of care?

8. Are members validated in their view of reality and in their individual worth as a family member?

9. How do members participate in responsibility-sharing in the family? How is the family organized to decide among whom and how family commitments are negotiated?

10. What is the family's place in the larger community? Are family members able to involve themselves in human systems outside the family for work, play and community involvement which provides physical and relational resources for the family?

These and other questions are raised by the theory generated from this research. In addition, the research results point to the centrality of intergenerational relationships in family processes. The impact of family members remain powerful even after death, as observed in the Koski family, and in spite of physical distance, as observed among the Gonzalez family. The importance of historical data in family assessment is emphasized by these results. The presence of the entire three-generation family in the research sessions was a setting the families used to engage in change-stimulating transactions. As a grandmother of

the Marceau family stated, "These times when we're all together give us a chance to talk about things in a way we usually do not have the time to do." The results suggest that it is useful to include all generations at some time in family treatment to not only gather assessment data, but also to include all relations in validated and negotiated system transformation.

This study has implications for family treatment over the span of the developmental life cycle. The research results suggest that human growth is dependent upon a "good enough" context and that, if developmental maturation is to proceed throughout the life cycle, then place, once created, needs to be maintained and to be responsive to the changing needs of family members. Questions need to be raised about processes of making place during other times of family transition; i.e., marriage, remarriage, adoption, etc. Also, it would be important to discover, through grounded research, modifications which occur in place when membership is reduced rather than increased in the family, as in the case of death, divorce, or the maturation of the child into adolescence and adulthood.

In conclusion, the concept of making place highlights three areas of assessment and intervention in family treatment, as summarized below:

Evolution of family context. Family assessment and sessions in the home can provide a wealth of spatial information not easily accessible in office visit interviews. Family's descriptions of space-making could provide important data about its current level of functioning and how the family sees itself changing within their view of themselves as a group with continuity.

Primacy of affiliative processes. In addition to structural assessment of family alliances and coalitions, the development of affiliations among family members would add an important dimension to understanding the family. Questions regarding the development of bonds; i.e., how members have come to be close or distant within the family throughout their years together and their view of what influenced these bonds could help illuminate contextual aspects of relational place.

The importance of validation and negotiation. Parameters useful in assessment and treatment along these dimensions are: Clarity of communication; patterns of mutual confirmation through attributing messages; patterns of welcoming in the family; perceptions of "fair play" expectations of equitable treatment and collaborative responsibility sharing over time. This information can shed light on place-making processes and thus assist in planning effective treatment intervention aimed at helping families create more facilitative contexts for growth.

Recommendations for Further Research

The results of this study can provide the basis for further research. Recommendations for further research are discussed in terms of continued research on the concept of making place. First, the usefulness of the grounded theory method in describing family processes is evident. Family theory development would benefit from broader

application of this method. Second, a continuation of this study

within other family contexts would develop further understanding of

making place. Potential contexts for further research are:

A. Families beyond the first year of the baby's birth. This

focus would make it possible to observe the process over a longer

period of time.

B. Families having their second or later child. How place is

made for subsequent children would be an important point for compara-

tive analysis.

C. Adoptive families. The involvement of a social service agency

in the process could be explored.

D. Divorced or remarried families. How place is made in family

systems which have reorganized in these ways could provide important

data for understanding this process in this rapidly growing population.

E. Single-parent families. How the larger social field becomes

involved in the process could be an important aspect of the phenomena.

F. Adolescent unmarried mothers. How place is made for a child

of a dependent teenager within the extended family system could reveal

data related to developmental issues of both mother and child.

G. Families of culturally diverse backgrounds. Cultural var-

iables affecting the process need further exploration.

H. Families incorporating members other than babies; i.e.,

spouses through marriage, etc. Whether the process is central only to

inclusion by birth could be examined.

I. Groups other than families in the process of including new members. Whether _making_ _place_ is an intergenerational family process or a basic social process which is related to other areas of human interaction could be studied.

J. Families at risk for development of pathology. How families with active psychotic or other severely dysfunctional patterns include the baby into the family would contribute to knowledge of "healthy-dysfunctional" assessments of families.

These varied groups could be sampled theoretically and the data used to add density to the concept of _making_ _place_. Densification of the concept would enhance its descriptive and predictive power.

The centrality of the transactional modes of _validation_ and _negotiation_ in normal family processes was demonstrated in this data and would benefit from further inquiry. Grounded theory research could be conducted to develop the transactional modes as core categories from which new data and thus new theory are derived.

Another potential core category which emerged from the data was related to _naming_ and "renaming" phenomena. The processes of _naming_ the new infant and "renaming" the other family members (i.e., spouse to parent) are central to _making_ _place_. Both _naming_ and "renaming" are part of the development of identity and identification in families which were observed as part of both affiliation and continuity development. However, the category of _making_ _place_ was determined as the core process and so theoretical sampling was directed towards its saturation and densification rather than toward other related phenomena. Nevertheless, the category of identity-identification processes within

families is a potentially fruitful one for further research. The fact
that there is almost no research on intergenerational naming processes
is an invitation to explore this basic human behavior for its rele-
vance to family theory.

An assumption of family "health" or "normalcy" was made about
the families in this research. The data confirmed that indeed these
families were functional. The family members perceived and described
themselves as normal. The researcher observed that each family showed
a vitality reflected in the group and in individual members. These
members had life problems, conflicts among members and subsystems and
other signs that they experienced life in "ups and downs." This
observation illustrates that "normalcy" is by no means an ideal,
trouble-free state. Health in these families was reflected in their
individual members, in the quality and effectiveness of their relation-
ships within the family and their functioning and satisfactions within
the larger social context. Making place is a process which creates the
environmental context in which human growth can occur. It is reflected
in the expansion of physical and relational space in preparation for
the new baby. It reflects the systems phenomena of morphogenesis and
results in reorganization of the entire family system. Making place
creates a "good enough" environment in which family members engage in
caring commitments over time which result in affiliation and continuity.

Making place is the process central to normal family functioning
around the event of the birth of the first child-grandchild which
creates the context for human growth and maturation which is health.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

<u>Introductory Letter</u>
<u>To Potential Research Subjects</u>

Hills South
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003

Dear Expectant Parents:

I am a researcher who is interested in family relationships, and am studying how families experience the birth of the first baby. I would like to have the opportunity to talk with you and your family about this special event in your family life.

May I call you at home to tell you about the research? If you are interested and willing to talk with me about your experiences, we can plan a time that I can come to your home at your convenience.

Though I would greatly appreciate your allowing me to call and introduce myself and my study, you are under no obligation to do so. If you do agree to my calling you and then decide that you are not interested, you are under no obligation to continue. However, I hope that you will be kind enough to give me the time to talk with you about this exciting event that is special in the life of your family.

Very truly yours,

Mary Anne Stanitis
Home phone: 253-5855

Please write your name and phone number if I may call you.

Name _____

Phone _____

APPENDIX B

Initial Phone Call Guide

"Hello Expectant Mother." I'm Mary Anne Stanitis, the researcher that Midwife/Obstetrician mentioned. Thank you for signing the Introductory Letter. I appreciate your willingness to hear about my research. As the letter of introduction mentioned, I'm interested in family relationships, particularly how parents and grandparents experience the birth of the first child-grandchild.

If you and your parents are willing, I would like to meet with you, and then with them to talk about what it is like for all of you to share the arrival of your first baby.

I would like to meet with you and your husband and with both sets of your parents before and after the baby is born. And with your permission, I would like to visit you in the first days after the baby's birth while you and your husband and your parents are together with the baby.

How does all this sound to you?

Do you have any questions?

As I mentioned in the Introductory Letter, all information that you share with me will remain confidential, and everyone in the family will remain anonymous in all reports. You are free to stop being in the study at any time, for any reason without question.

Would you like me to call back after you have discussed all this with your husband and parents?

May I ask you a few questions?

1. When is your baby due?
2. Are your parents living? Where?
3. Is the baby that you are expecting your first?
4. Is this you and your husband's parents' first grandchild?

Do you have any other questions for me?

When may I call to make an appointment to begin talking with you and your husband?

Thank you for agreeing to help me out in this research. I'm looking forward to meeting you.

My phone number is 253-5855 if you need to reach me.

Goodbye.

APPENDIX C

Initial and Intergenerational Interviews

Conduct of the Interview: The research study will be described again, all questions answered, and informed consent obtained. The researcher will spend a few minutes "joining" with the parent and grandparent pairs who are being interviewed. The interview will be partially structured, with the following topics being introduced by the researcher over the course of the interview, in no pre-planned order or wording:

A. Pertinent Historical and Structural Data of each parent and grandparent.

1. Names, ages, residences and birthplaces, occupations, education, religion and health status.
2. Length of marriages; birth order and important experiences with childbearing issues.
3. Memories of grandparent-parent-grandchild relationships.
4. Present relationships with living grandparents and grandchildren.
5. Status of inlaw relationships:
    a. How is the parental marriage regarded by both families of origin?
    b. How do the 2 sets of expectant grandparents interact? How are they different/similar in customs, attitudes, etc.?

B. Experiences of the First Pregnancy of each parent and grandparent.

1. How has the pregnancy been experienced by each member?
2. Any preference or expectations that the expected baby will be a girl or boy?
3. What are expectations about life with the new baby?
4. Have names been selected? How chosen? What are each member's preferences for a name? If names have been chosen, what are other family members' opinions of them? Is the baby named after family members? Who will decide on the name? How is this process conducted in the family?

APPENDIX D

Informed Consent Form:

Agreement to Participate in the Study

     I agree to participate in the research study conducted by Mary Anne Stanitis, M.S., R.N., a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. I understand that the research is proposed to study the event of the birth of the first child/grandchild and resulting family changes.

     I understand that I will be interviewed by the researcher and that I can choose to answer or refuse to answer any questions at my discretion. The researcher has discussed the possible effects of my participation in this study, which might be increased understanding and appreciation of my family relationships, and perhaps increased awareness of the difficulties that may arise among family members in response to the birth. I understand that I can end participation in this study at my discretion at any time without question.

     I have been assured that what is discussed in each interview will be kept confidential among the persons involved in the interview. I have been informed that all information collected in this study will be held confidential, and that my privacy will be protected in all reports by the researcher's disguising my name and identifying characteristics.

     Ms. Stanitis has answered all my questions about the study. I understand that a report of the results of the study will be made available to me upon request.

_____
Signature of Participant

_____
Researcher

_____
Date

APPENDIX E

Informed Consent Form

Use of Audiotapes

I consent to the audiotape recording of research interviews conducted by Mary Anne Stanitis. I understand that these recordings will be used only by Mary Anne Stanitis for the purposes of the research. She has informed me that the contents of the recordings will remain confidential, and that my identity will remain anonymous in all written transcripts of the recordings in the research report.

_____

Signature of Participant

_____

Researcher

_____

Date

APPENDIX F

Informed Consent Form

Use of Videotapes

I consent to the videotape recording of the research interview of August 16, 1984 by Mary Anne Stanitis. I understand that this recording will be used only for the purposes of Ms. Stanitis' dissertation research, and will be erased at the conclusion of the project. I have been informed that the recording will remain confidential, and that my identity will remain anonymous in all written transcripts of the recordings in the research report.

Researcher: _____   Signatures of Participants:

Date: _____   _____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX G

Postpartum and Year-After Interview Guide

A. Claiming Behaviors (Naming and Attributing)

1. Naming

- How was the baby's name chosen?
- Who, if anyone is the baby named after?
- How has the choice of name been received in the family?

2. Attributing

- What is the baby like?
- Who does the baby resemble, in both physical and behavioral characteristics?
- What is special about this baby?
- What future expectations does the family have for this child?
- What worries does the family have about this child?

B. Changes in Parent-Grandparent Relationships

1. Patterns of Contact

- How often do grandparents see baby? Where? On what occasion? For how long?
- Who initiates grandparent-baby contact?
- What does grandparent do for baby?
  Babysit? Change diapers? Feed? Play? Gifts?
- Do parents and grandparents see each other for purposes other than visiting with grandchild? When? How often? Purpose?
- Are the parents and their respective families of origin financially independent of each other?

2. Reorganization of Parenting Functions in the Family

- With whom do the parents discuss child care issues?
- From whom is advice requested?
- Who offers unsolicited advice to whom? How is it received? What kind of advice is requested and offered?
- Is praise or criticism shared among family members about child care issues? Who praises? Who criticizes?
- What is life like for you with the baby/grandchild?
- How are things the same/different with your parents/ children now that the baby is born?

APPENDIX H

Postpartum and Year-After Observation Guide

Verbal and nonverbal components of interactions will be noted and recorded.

1. Family members present:

2. Holding Interactions and Claiming Behaviors:

    - Who holds the baby? For how long?
    - How does the baby get handed from one person to another?
    - Who determines who will hold the baby?
    - What are the reactions/behaviors of the members who are not holding the baby?

3. Attributing Behaviors:

    - How is the baby talked about and described, and by whom?
    - How do other family members respond to each other's attributing behaviors?

4. Parent-Grandparent interactions:

    - What topics are discussed?
    - What interactions occur among the parents and grandparents? Grandfather and grandmother? Paternal and maternal grandparents? Mother and Father?

APPENDIX I

Examples of Circular Questioning

1. How has the baby's presence changed things in the family? Changed things between parent and grandparent? Spouse and spouse? Grandparent and parent in-laws? In-laws and in-laws?

2. How does the baby resemble (each family member)?

3. To parents: How have your parents been helpful to you since the baby's birth?

4. How are (parents' and grandparents') parenting styles similar or different?

5. To grandparent: How have (the parents) changed since the baby's birth?

6. How will the life of the family be similar or different a year from now?

APPENDIX J

Examples of Memoing

Grandfather and Grandmother: Grandfather speaks for her and helps her remember. Much cueing each other.

Grandfather and Grandmother: Agreement seems important. When I asked if they agreed on the observation that they were each closer to their Moms than their Dads, Grandmother said emphatically, oh yes.

Mother and her father cued each other in the same way that the paternal grandparents did. Mother did more cueing.

Both grandparents talked about the same idea--the benefit of being extended and close in location. They were able to complement each other on the same idea.

Mother said "We're family"--she speaks to a positive group identity.

(This family's presentation to the outside world is in unison--a united front with the family.)

Mother mentioned her mother's attribute of stubborness when I asked about similarities between her and her parents. Her father attributed the stubborness positively to her being like her mother.

So even negative attributes can be positively connoted if the persons involved accept/include each other.

I think of the family and the most extended member, maternal grandmother, who's behavior was connoted negatively within the family session by _____. If pressed, Mother would agree, in an accepting way, that she was like that--she would not deny that her mother possessed this undesirable characteristics, but she did not gang up against her with father/husband. She did not defend her, either, interestingly enough she kept the balance by neutral alliance--by continuing to engage with both parents, and parent and husband while most disengaged--as a reality confirmer, but in a way that prevented unbalance, escalation to denigrate her mother, with whom she's also allied.

The attribution process is more than simply more than the assigning of a characteristic. There are rules of permission:

APPENDIX J (Continued)

Who attributes; who directs the attribution process. How are
    attributions received, confirmed, denied, transformed?

What is attributed? Do people attribute similarities to
    themselves or others? Is this process different?

Are the attributes positive/negative?

Are the attributes contained in a relationship of acceptance
    or rejection?

Affirming is an active healthy family process (although I elicited
the affirming response by asking questions that allowed people to
evaluate each other and comment on differences).

I did affirming as well--a process parallel to that of the family.

Names: Father's and Grandma's nickname for Baby is Punkin--the name
        Father called her "since before she was born."

Appearance seems to be a hot topic in this family. The mom and
maternal grandfather spoke first--set the pace for the discussion.

Affiliation--Maternal Grandfather actively associates Baby's appear-
ance with him. The family tolerates and supports it (Paternal
grandmother agreed and gave examples of physical similarities).
I think the baby looks just like Father!

Mother attributes stubborness to the baby--"she's stubborn like me!"
In addition, Mother's Mom was stubborn and she is like her! In the
PR interview, Mother referred to the baby as possibly carrying her
Mom's spirit--intergenerational role/ledger theory applicable here.

There's little competition in this family for having to define the
baby's attributes--when one person begins to speak, they determine the
direction of the conversation and are not disagreed with or
contradicted.

Ex: Maternal Grandfather is discussing physical similarities
        between him and Baby.
     Paternal Grandmother is describing the baby's "different"
        characteristics.

Naming--Occurs with grandparents to . . . each has to be given or asked
for a certain name - Gramps, Gamma, etc. Both sides are different and
bound to FOO rules. Gramps is a more familiar name than Grandma and
Grandpa. Mother "took charge" of naming the grandparents. And ascribed
a more affectionate intimate name to her father--bonding within her
own family of origin. Social kinship theory is corroborated here.