

TRANSMISSION OF VALUES BETWEEN A GROUP OF GRANDMOTHERS AND
ADULT-GRANDDAUGHTERS: A BI-DIRECTOINAL APPROACH

by

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(Under the Direction of Denise C. Lewis)

ABSTRACT

This generative study, informed by grounded theory, examines the transmission of values between grandmothers and adult-granddaughters, including how these values are transmitted bi-directionally and which values are age salient. Past research has been restricted to a unidirectional approach of transmission of values from older generation to younger generation. The majority of past studies support that youth look to elders for guidance on life, values, and moral development. Few studies have ventured to consider a bi-directional process, where the elder also benefits from the relationship. Data gathering for this study began with a focus group to pilot the interview guide followed by semi-structured interviews with four grandmother-granddaughter dyads. Data indicate that grandmothers and adult-granddaughters experience a change in their relationship when the granddaughter reaches adulthood, that the relationship is mutually beneficial, that both generations learn from exchanges within the relationship, and that both grandmothers and granddaughters influence one another's personal identity.

INDEX WORDS: transmission of values, grandmothers, adult-granddaughter, bi-directional, mutual, friendship, Developmental Contextualism, co-learning

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the grandmothers and granddaughters who participated in this study, and to my own grandmothers who inspire my research. Thank you all, for sharing your time, memories, and values with me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study proposes that co-learning and intergenerational exchange between generations can be applied in the personal realm to the transmission of values between adolescent granddaughters and their grandmothers surrounding sexuality development, gender development, spirituality, and balance between work and family. Past research on transmission of values from older generation to younger generation has been restricted to a unidirectional approach. The majority of studies support that youth look to elders for guidance on life, values, and moral development, and also gain insight on aging through these intergenerational relationships. Yet, few studies have ventured to consider a bi-directional process, where the elder also benefits from the relationship. Data from outcome measures of service-learning projects and intergenerational programs indicate that older generations do, in fact, learn from the younger generation. These interactions are generally positive, with the elders attaining a higher self-esteem, self-worth and more positive view of their own adolescent family members. The support and evidence that co-learning occurs during service-learning projects and intergenerational programs creates endless opportunities for bridging the generational gap.

Based on these previous findings, the research questions for this thesis are as follows:

- How are values transmitted between grandmothers and granddaughters (i.e. verbally, through family tradition, etc.)?
- Is the transmission viewed as bi-directional from the participant's perspective?
- Are there values that are more salient or age specific?

- What could be done to improve the grandmother-granddaughter relationship and the transmission of values?
- How would this potential improvement affect the lives of grandmothers/granddaughters, in general?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Recent popular press reflects the idea that intergenerational value transmission is occurring with gender role and sexuality development. In November 2005 *Redbook*, Dahl conducted a semi-structured interview with three generations of women, a grandmother age 83, a mother age 60, and a daughter age 26. The group's narratives revealed a clear difference between generations in both gender roles and sexuality. The younger generations lost their virginity at an earlier age, had more partners, and spoke more freely about sex. When asked if they talk to their men or friends about sex, the following answers were given:

Grandmother: "We didn't need to talk about it, we just had it!"

Mother: "I've become more comfortable talking about sex with my husband over time."

Granddaughter: "We talk about it—maybe we talk too much!" (p. 168)

In particular, the level of mother-daughter communication about sexuality parallels the age of one's sexual development. The grandmother noted her parents never talked to her about sex, so she learned about it at age 13 from friends; the mother received a sex talk at age 10 from her parents; the daughter recalled learning about sex at age 3 from books and feminine products her mother had placed around the house for educational purposes. Ironically, articles like this one demonstrate that popular press is evolving to conduct informative, narrative interviews, while research remains slow in considering the bi-directional transmission of values.

Hing Ai (2004) conducted a study of granddaughters in Singapore who, as a result of an industrial revolution, are rejecting patriarchal traditions for new experiences as working women and sexual beings. This includes acting as the primary wage earner, opting to remain

single, and “coming out” as lesbians. As a result, the status of the grandmother is put into jeopardy: in Singaporean culture, when the father dies, the mother or mother-in-law is honored by the younger generations, and the family becomes matriarchical. Thus, grandmothers vehemently cling to old traditions, and caution their sons and grandsons to avoid women who reject formal tradition. Hing Ai (2004) noted that,

While first-generation women are absolutely identified with the family and have no concept whatsoever of the self, those of the second generation display an emerging self-concept that asserts itself only when faced with extreme suffering. Young women of the third generation, however, can build on experiences of previous generations and have benefited from universally available educational opportunities and globalization of local cultures (p. 381).

Although not directly stated, this study exemplifies developmental contextualism in the grandmother-granddaughter transmission of values. Granddaughters have accepted new values acquired within the context and behaved accordingly, their grandmothers rejected the behaviors, granddaughters resented this rejection, and the cycle spirals between the grandmothers and granddaughters.

Transmission of Gender Values

Similar to Hing Ai's (2004) study during Singapore's industrial revolution Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain (1997) studied transmission of gender attitudes between mothers and daughters in America during the women's movement (1950s-1980s). The study used a life course perspective, in light of socialization and status attainment theories, which propose that children learn from parent's behaviors and attitudes, social structures they encounter due to parents' social status, and political and global changes encountered during development. In a longitudinal study, mothers were interviewed in 1956 and 1986, and daughters in 1988, regarding gender role identity and work role identity (demographic information included education, SES, number of children, and marital status).

Results showed that mothers' attitudes changed over time, with less traditional gender roles in 1986 and more work identity in 1986. Daughters, when interviewed in 1988, were less traditional in gender role and work identity than their mothers (in comparison to both the 1956 and 1986 interviews with mothers). Mothers of the older cohort had less change in work role identity than the younger cohort, suggesting that younger mothers may have experienced the women's movement more similarly to their daughters. "The gender role ideology of the mothers of the older cohort of daughters, however, changed just as much as those of the mothers of the younger daughters, suggesting that, regardless of age, women's normative beliefs about gender roles have been transformed in the second half of this century" (Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997, p. 287). It was demonstrated that mothers' 1956 gender role beliefs significantly predicted daughters' beliefs in 1988, yet did not predict work experiences, which "suggests that mothers' attitudes, not role-modeling behavior, are more important in shaping their daughters' gender role beliefs" (p. 288).

Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain (1997) suggested that daughters' own experiences are most influential on their gender and work identity, and that "daughters' experiences and exhortations may have shaped the mothers' own thinking regarding women's place in society" (p. 291) This support of children influencing their parents, and vice versa, aligns with the theory of developmental contextualism. Applying this idea that children are shaped by their mother's gender role belief, and that mothers are also influenced by their daughter's gender attitudes, this study proposes a congruent pattern between granddaughters and their grandmothers.

Positive Grandmother-Granddaughter Relationships

Research has also demonstrated the opportunity for positive reactions to bi-directional value transmission between grandmothers and adult-granddaughters. Kemp (2005) studied grandparent-adult grandchild relationships and the significance to both generations. It was supported that the grandparent-grandchild relationship begins with unconditional love and spoiling, grows into a mutual friendship that increases with age, and becomes a bond of reflective dialogue and companionship. Grandparent- adult grandchild relationships serve “as mutual latent reserves of unconditional support” (p.166), where adult-grandchildren find self-identity and existential meaning. For grandparents, “adult grandchildren symbolize the future, simultaneously representing and affirming the culmination of their lifelong efforts and contributions to family life” (p. 166).

Other mutual benefits of grandparent-adult grandchild relationships include positive influences in the lives of the family members, unique family relationships with less conflict and tension than parent-child relationships, catalysts for development of personal identity, self-hood and self-discovery, respect for grandparents as role models who have survived life’s challenges, “reciprocal support”, and a bond growing with the passage of time (Kemp, 2005). Adult grandchildren highly value these close, intimate relationships with their grandmothers, and recognize the lessons, attitudes, beliefs, (Alley, 2004), goals, and life choices (Franks, Hughes, Phelps, & Williams, 1993) that their grandmothers have helped shape.

In particular, adult grandchildren recognize their grandmother’s active roles as caregiver, indulger, promoter of family entity and continuity, teacher, role model, transmitter of values (Hyde & Gibbs, 1993), surrogate parent, buddy, storyteller, and confidant (Franks, Hughes, Phelps, & Williams, 1993). This relationship provides the granddaughter with a role model

(Ally, 2004), and “a thread of intergenerational continuity...a sense of self, family history, tradition, and roots” (Franks, Hughes, Phelps, & Williams, 1993, p. 265). Adult grandchildren perceive the grandmother’s role as unique from their grandfather’s role, feel that her influence is greater than his and that they have a closer relationship with their grandmother (Roberto & Stroes, 1992). In particular, grandmothers have a greater impact on religious beliefs, sexual beliefs, family ideals, educational beliefs, moral beliefs, and personal identity (Roberto & Stroes, 1992). For example, King, Burgess, Akinyela, Counts-Spriggs, Young, and Parker (2006) found that, in the religious context, African American grandparents give religious instruction and guidance, role-model religious actions and behaviors, participate in intercessory prayer, and encourage the religious significance of family members (p. 75).

Intergenerational Exchanges

As previously stated, studies on transmission of values between grandparents and grandchildren are rare, especially when considering reciprocal relations. Of almost equal pittance is research on mutually beneficial intergenerational relationships, in general. When the transmission of values was studied, the area of focus was primarily on sexuality and ignored other salient issues. Thus, this study utilizes data from intergenerational service learning projects to exemplify bi-directional transmission of values.

One example, an intergenerational program conducted by Dellman-Jenkins and Fowler (1994), explored how young adults’ (aged 19-23 years) attitudes and behaviors change after participating in a three-month intergenerational program with elders (ages 60 and older). In particular, the seminars explored the two generations’ understandings of “values, life-styles, and perspectives on the past, present, and future” (p. 581) through a 30 minute lecture and 30 minute discussion group each session. Dellman-Jenkins and Fowler (1994) found that, after the seminar:

(1) young adults were more willing to interact with older people (socially), (2) young adults were more comfortable working on a classroom project with an older adult, and (3) young adults were more likely to strike a conversation with older adults. They also found that elders reported that participation in the outreach program had greatly increased their understanding of the other generation and also increased positive perceptions of their own family members. Overall, their program provided evidence that intergenerational learning programs benefit both young adults and older adults.

A similar intergenerational learning program, Project PIER (Plan, Implement, Evaluate, and Reflect), provided “hands-on” learning for students and elders in Louisiana communities, homes, long-term facilities, and schools (Foret, Carter, Nezey & Ozene, 1998). Students created social and leisure activities, with a strong emphasis on networking between the two generations, which “included blood pressure screenings, oral history interviews, map study and map making, demonstrations of community history by older adults....weekly home visits and nursing home visits”(Foret, et al., 1998, p. 117). Feedback was obtained from the aging adults, community partners, and students through debriefing. Results supported the commonly found results of positive change in student attitudes and behaviors, and extended to indicate that “through meaningful youth exchanges, ageing adults experienced improved access to community services, strengthened self-esteem, increased socialization, and affirmation of self-worth” (p. 117)

Foret, Carter, Nezey and Ozene’s (1998) results are similar to other findings. Meshel and McGlynn (2004) conducted a 6-week intergenerational program on the contact hypothesis between elders and adolescents. The study supported that, while elders generally viewed youth positively, the elders exhibited even more positive attitudes toward participants and children in general, and had an increase in life satisfaction after the program. Adolescents also showed

more positive attitudes toward elders. Overall, studies, such as those discussed here, found that a mutual relationship exists between generations and that increased interaction promotes positive attitudes about the other generation.

Theory

Historically, developmentalists have failed to venture beyond the realm of parental influence to consider contextual and environmental influences on transmission of values across generations. In studying intergenerational transmission of values, many researchers claim to use bi-directional approaches similar to developmental contextualism (Lerner, 2002), yet narrow their study to focus on one aspect of development. For example, in their study on transmission of values between parent and child, Kuczynski and Grusec (1997) aim to use a “comprehensive approach” (p. 399) by identifying socializing agents such as the Internet, childcare, schools, the educational system, peers, and the children themselves. However, after recognizing and explaining the potential influence of these agents and the global community, Kuczynski and Grusec (1997) return to a more traditional uni-level, uni-directional methodology, by stressing that parents still have the greatest influence on children, and are therefore highlighted in the study.

The transmission of values is examined in the current overview in light of the theory of developmental contextualism. Lerner (2002) articulated that “the central idea in developmental contextualism is that changing, reciprocal relations (or dynamic interactions) between individuals and the multiple contexts within which they live comprise the essential process of human development” (p. 195). Three significant principles of developmental contextualism are presented.

First, each individual has a unique paradigm through which the world is interpreted. Within their environment, “individuals are self-organizing and self-constructing...proactive as well as reactive,” (Lerner, 2002, p.184) in that the individual is not only influenced by the environment, but takes an active part in shaping the surroundings. According to Lerner (2002), these “person-context dynamics result from circular functions,” (p. 184) where the environment influences the individual, the individual produces feedback which shapes the environment, and the process continually oscillates with varying content.

Second, each individual has boundaries and pathways that are constructed by unique genetic composition and contextual background, which promote development while restricting infinite opportunities (Lerner, 2002). Furthermore, individuals do not have a predetermined set course because, according to Lerner (2002), “both organism and context constrain (or limit) the other...The processes that give humans their individuality and plasticity are the same ones that provide their commonality and constancy” (p. 196).

Third, developmental contextualism is not reductionistic (Lerner, 2002). As bi-directional, multi-variable, multi-level changes occur dynamically, both the individual and context continually change and influence the other, and the individual develops into more than the sum of its parts and experiences. Hence, development is not mechanistic, and cannot be reduced to simple cause and effect.

Summarized in terms of intergenerational transmission of values, developmental contextualism suggests that change is occurring at the interface of the individual and the context, with both generations learning and changing as a result of the exchange. This change is individualized by personal experience and may be re-defined by the individual during processing. Thus, according to developmental contextualism, transmission of values is more than

grandmothers teaching granddaughters about gender roles and sexuality—it is a continuing cycle of grandmothers and granddaughters influencing and teaching one another, reacting to the others' knowledge, and re-defining their own knowledge within the context of the relationship, the environment, and society.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Grounded theory is a qualitative *methodology* for “developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273). Substantive theory is developed (or generated) through doing research, specifically “through continuous interplay between analysis and data” (p. 273). This method of comparison is the *constant comparative* method (Strauss & Corbin, 1994), in which the researcher is comparing and analyzing the data while still collecting data. This constant comparison allows the researcher to hone-in on specific questions in future data collection to solidify the theory. Thus, the theory is “grounded” in the data from the participants, whether it is their interactions, processes, or experiences (Creswell, 2007, p. 63). Grounded theory is interpretive work, meaning that it gives light to the perspectives and voices of the participants, takes history and culture into context, and that the researcher interprets the voice of the participants (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 274). This study is informed by grounded theory methods as described by Strauss and Corbin (1990).

Epistemology and Theoretical Perspective

Objectivism and Postpositivism

Through their writing style, use of systematic methods of getting data *from* the participant, quest for truth, and theory creation and verification, it can be deduced that Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994) employ the epistemological view of objectivism (Charmaz, 2001). In the objectivist view, meaning exists independent of consciousness or experience, and the object has knowledge, meaning, and truth within and independent of the observer (Crotty, 1998).

Objectivism is closely related to their ontological perspective, realism, which views reality as existing outside of the human mind (Crotty, 1998, p. 10)

Strauss and Corbin state that “truth is enacted...theories are interpretations made from given perspectives as adopted or researched by researchers...” (1994, p. 279). Thus, Creswell (2007) asserts that Strauss and Corbin are postpositivist, especially due to their systematic procedures, scientific approach, emphasis on empirical data collection, and rigorous data collection and analysis. Postpositivism is the theoretical stance that reality and truth can be studied and found, but that it is based on one’s values’ historical context, and culture (Crotty, 1998).

Subjectivity Statement

My personal interest in this study of grandmothers and adult-granddaughters comes from the fact that I am an adult-granddaughter who has six grandmothers (through biological family, marriage, remarriage, and my own marriage). My relationships with my grandmothers vary from very close, open, and intimate, to loving, but only visiting and talking during family holidays. Some of these women have been very influential in my life, and I have been told that I also have influenced them.

The present study is relevant to my personal life, as I have shared the experience of having a grandmother adult-granddaughter relationship. As a result, I pushed myself to uncover and examine my own experiences and expectations during the research process, especially when interviewing and analyzing the data.

I have considered my experiences with my own grandmothers and have sought to understand my own biases during the conceptualization of this study and during the research process. They were noted in the memos of the researcher, and also discussed with another

member of the research team. Memos are notes that the researcher wrote during the analysis, which included ideas about the categories, preliminary hypotheses, and possible story lines (Creswell, 2007). The research team included the main researcher, a doctoral student in the Marriage and Family Therapy program, her major professor, an experienced researcher, and a transcriptionist, a doctoral student in statistics.

Researcher's Expectations

Given the past research, I expected that grandmothers and adult granddaughters would have a friendly, although not intimate, relationship. Within this relationship, I expected the grandmother to pass on family values and traditions, and the granddaughter to at least *appear* to accept these values and traditions in the face of the grandmother.

Based on the theory of Developmental Contextualism, I expected that grandmothers and granddaughters would be mutually influential, in which they would both shape their relationship. In addition, I expected that both would learn and grow from the relationship. Specifically, I expected that the grandmother would contribute wisdom (due to her life experiences), the granddaughter would contribute more data-based information (due to her college experiences), and the grandmother would be less influenceable (due to plasticity).

Methods

The methods of this study are based on grounded theory. There are many methods that can be used to collect data in a grounded theory study, including interviews, field observations, diaries, letters, autobiographies, biographies, historical accounts, videotapes, and many other media types (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). The flexibility to choose from multiple methods allows the researcher to ask a wide-range of questions surrounding the development of theory and the redefining of existing theories. Because grounded theorists are constantly making comparisons,

once the initial data are collected, the researcher re-creates questions based on needs from the data. The researcher is constantly refining the theory and therefore refining the questions they are asking as the study progresses (Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

Participants

The participant selection criteria consisted of women 18 years and older who were in a grandmother-adult granddaughter relationship, living in the local community, and not cognitively impaired (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This procedure allows the researcher to obtain a discriminate (theoretical) sample by choosing the participants that will best develop the theory (Creswell, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Males were excluded because the study is about female relationships. Faculty, staff, graduate and undergraduate students, and community members were recruited from a large southeastern university and surrounding area using Internet postings and flyers (see Appendix A).

Because the study was conducted in two formats, a focus group and dyad interviews, participants were assigned according to their availability and interest. An initial group of three grandmother-granddaughter pairs comprised the focus group. One of the dyads from the focus group also participated in the dyad interviews, giving a total of four dyad interviews. Dyad interviews are rarely used due to the western culture's focus on the individual, the difficulty in analyzing the data, and the field of psychology's dominant influence of focusing on the individual rather than the family (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006, p. 2-3). Yet, because the relationship is not uni-lateral and both grandmothers and granddaughters interact in the relationship, dyad interviews were utilized in this study to reflect both the grandmother's and the granddaughter's views (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006). The number of participants was six grandmothers and six granddaughters, for a total of twelve participants. Table 3.1 provides a

description of the participants in the focus group and the dyad interviews. Participants received a complementary parking pass and a \$25.00 gift certificate to an area mall for participating in the study.

Procedure

Once participants expressed an interest in participating in this study, the researcher provided the granddaughters with a summary of this study and verified that the granddaughters and their grandmothers were available in the local area for the focus group and for the dyad interviews. The granddaughters were asked to provide study information to their grandmothers and to seek permission from their grandmothers for us to telephone. Granddaughters, whose grandmothers agreed to allow us to telephone, were asked to provide grandmothers' telephone information to us by email. Those grandmothers who expressed an interest in participating were contacted by telephone and, after explaining the study and answering any questions, were invited to participate.

A focus group was utilized to help the researchers develop their own interview guides for the dyad interviews (Morgan, 2001). The focus group approach is a group interview that encourages members to interact with each other and to discuss the central topic (Morgan, 2001). This group approach allows the researcher to test the interview guides, compare responses, explore the group's common knowledge of the topics of interest in the study, and for the other participants to agree with or refute what is being said (Morgan, 2001). Participants were recruited and accepted because of their interest and experiences relevant to the topic (all were grandmothers and granddaughters) (Morgan, 2001). Next, the researchers created questions based on the previous literature (see Appendix B) (Morgan, 2001).

Table 3.1
Descriptions of Grandmothers and Granddaughters

Role	Last Name	Age	Education Level	Race	Religion	Co-residence
Granddaughter		23	Some college	White	Christian	No
Grandmother	*Halloway	68	High School	White	Christian	No
Granddaughter		19	In college	White	Christian	No
Grandmother	*Madison	79	Some college	White	Baptist	No
Granddaughter		22	In college	White	Christian	
Grandmother	Morris	69	High School	White	Wesleyan	Yes, for 6 months
Granddaughter		19	In college	White	Christian	
Grandmother	**Cassidy	77	Business College	White	Baptist	Yes, for 5 years
Granddaughter		21	In college	White	Catholic	
Grandmother	Lester	76	Masters Degree	White	Episcopalian	No
Granddaughter		21	In college	White	Christian	
Grandmother	Bobson	81	Masters Degree	White	Episcopalian	Will in future

Note. Names preceded by (*) indicate that the dyad participated in the focus group only. Names preceded by (**) indicate that the dyad participated in both the focus group and dyad interviews.

The focus group was held at the university, in a comfortable room with dinner and drinks to create a relaxed atmosphere (Morgan, 2001). Researchers and participants introduced themselves, and the researchers gave a general explanation of the focus group. During the focus group, I served as a moderator, while the other researcher, Dr. Denise Lewis, was present to take notes of conversations and information on environment, mood, tones, gestures, and other contextual information (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Morgan, 2001). The moderator chose to use a more structured approach in which she was an active part of the group, presented questions surrounding the central topic, answered members questions, directed discussion toward the questions, “refocused” the conversation when needed, and clarified when she had questions (Morgan, 2001). This approach was chosen, as opposed to a less structured approach, because the purpose of the focus group was to test the content of the interview guide. In addition, a brief form for demographic information was distributed and collected by the researchers (see Appendix C). The time for the focus group was 2.5 hours.

The data from the focus group were analyzed by listening to the tape, reading over the notes, and identifying words or questions that were confusing to the members. Both the moderator and note-taker agreed upon questions and words that should be changed for future interviews. From feedback on interview guide wording and data gathered through the focus group (Fontana & Frey, 1994), a more focused semi-structured interview guide was created for the dyad interviews (Morgan, 2001), which are the focus of this study (see Appendix D). Data from the focus group were not further analyzed in the grounded theory section of this study.

Four grandmother/granddaughter pairs participated in in-depth, semi-structured dyad interviews (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Semi-structured interviewing provides the interviewer with an interview guide to follow and cover, but allows the interviewer to deviate from the original

question to follow-up and probe the participant on their leads (Bernard, 1995). This is essential in generating a grounded theory because the researcher must be able to deviate from the original question, if needed, to gain in-depth information and achieve theoretical saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

A consent process identical to the process used in the focus group session was performed (see Appendix E). The grandmother/granddaughter pairs were interviewed in the location of their choice (their home or a location on campus). To establish rapport and build trust, the interviewer introduced herself, answered questions, spent time “chatting” with the dyads, and took the approach of “learner,” while maintaining a professional, academic manner (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Taking this type of approach recognizes the power of the interviewer as “academic”, attempts to empower the participant as “teacher” and knowledgeable, and encourages the participant to share their valuable experience as opposed to trying to “correctly” answer the researcher’s questions (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Wenger, 2001). The times for the dyad interview ranged between 30 minutes to 1.5 hours, depending on the length of the individual's answers. A brief form for demographic information was distributed and collected by the researchers. All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder. Field notes, which are notes about observations, the environment, and participant behaviors (Bernard, 1995), were taken discreetly during the interviews. Memos, as previously described, were made following the interviews.

Trustworthiness

To increase the trustworthiness of the study, Creswell (2007) suggests that the researcher engage in at least two procedures. In the previous sections, I have discussed the researcher’s biases and expectations, which are each procedures themselves. To further increase the

trustworthiness, the researcher engaged in member checking, peer debriefing, (Creswell, 2007) and validation of and verification against the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These processes provided a total of five procedures, three over and above the number suggested by Creswell (2007).

Member checking is the process by which the researcher checks the accuracy of the participants' responses and the researcher's interpretation of the response. According to Gale (personal communication, September, 27, 2007), this can be done during the interview. This was the method used by the interviewer in this study: After the participant gave her response, the interviewer would clarify any confusion, give her immediate interpretation, and check with the participant to promote an accurate portrayal of her voice. In addition, the participants were encouraged to review the analyses and conclusions of their accounts (Creswell, 2007). No participants have accepted this invitation at this time.

Peer reviewing is similar to inter-rater reliability, in that it checks the research process with a peer debriefer (Creswell, 2007). In this study, the second researcher, Dr. Denise C. Lewis, was the peer reviewer. Both the researcher and Dr. Lewis coded sections of the transcripts and compared notes to ensure coding validity (Creswell, 2007). In addition, Dr. Lewis challenged the researcher with questions regarding methods, literature review, and interview guide simplicity and understandability (Creswell, 2007).

Finally, this study adhered to Strauss and Corbin's (1990) procedures for validating for and against the data. In this step of analysis, the researcher moved back and forth between the categories and the participants' response, examining which data supported the theory being generated and which refuted the theory being generated (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Examining

situations where the theory is refuted encourages the researcher to gather more data or to explain the discrepancies (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Ethics

During qualitative interviews, participants often discuss very personal information (Creswell, 2007). Some participants even describe the process of telling their story as “therapeutic” (Gale, Odell, & Nagireddy, 1995). Therefore, the researcher was mindful of the purpose of the study (research as opposed to therapy), maintaining confidentiality, and of her role as the researcher. The research team included the main researcher, a doctoral student in the Marriage and Family Therapy program, her major professor, an experienced researcher, and a transcriptionist, a doctoral student in statistics.

In their present study, there was no more risk in participating than might be expected for a person describing personal thoughts and experiences. To minimize psychological stress, questions were presented in a semi-structured format, where the participant was able to answer as they so chose and to direct their response. All interviews were conducted in such a way that (1) the participant was able to proceed at her own pace, and (2) the participant was able to withdraw at any time.

It was expected that some participants gained positive psychological benefit by talking about their experiences. To our knowledge, no participants experienced social, legal, economic, physical discomfort, or stress. Should a participant have experienced moderate to extreme amounts of stress, she would have been referred to the University of Georgia McPhaul Family Therapy Clinic.

Confidentiality

All personal and place names were changed to pseudonyms and identifying characteristics were removed from any data that may be seen by anyone other than the research team. Only the research team had access to data containing identifiers. Reports or presentations of these data will primarily be in aggregate form. Individual identities were obscured through composite descriptions of individuals when any report or presentation contained direct quotes. Each participant was offered the opportunity to review data the researchers acquired from her, the phone number and address of the principal-investigator and co-investigator were provided during the consent process, and the participant was encouraged to contact either to review the data. The researchers were willing to correct any information that the participant believes is a misrepresentation of her information. Notes containing identifying characteristics were kept under lock and key, and a list of pseudonyms was kept in a separate, secure location. In addition, the audiotapes were kept under double lock and key. Tapes were fully erased after coding and no later than the completion of the study. No one other than the research team had access to the tapes.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

This study is the first step towards a larger qualitative and quantitative study that will be completed as part of my doctoral studies. This phase of the study utilized initial generative qualitative data gathering and analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), which informs, and will be followed by, a larger multi-method qualitative study, a subsequent confirmatory quantitative data gathering and analysis phase, and a final integrative phase whereby qualitative and quantitative data and analysis are compared and combined. A generative study is important because it allows the researcher to ask broad questions surrounding transmission of values, sexuality development, gender development, spirituality, balance between work and family, and demographics to determine the meanings the participants, themselves, assigned to these topics (Creswell, 2003). Based on participants' answers, questions were re-constructed during the constant comparison analysis as necessary (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The constant comparison method and question re-structuring allows the researched to ask questions to reach *theoretical saturation* (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), which is when additional data do not add depth or additional meaning in explaining the phenomenon. It was unlikely that theoretical saturation was reached in this study due to the small sample size.

All interviews were conducted solely by the researcher, were recorded via digital recorder, transcribed verbatim by a team member, reviewed by the interviewer to insure accuracy, and were matched to notes taken during the interviews. Memos regarding the environment, including mood, tones, and gestures were added to transcribed pages (Emerson,

Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Matching narratives to interview notes helped preserve affective, temporal, and spatial environmental characteristics (Emerson et al., 1995).

The analysis, which follows the structured procedures of Strauss and Corbin (1990), began with a thorough read-through of the transcripts, with note taking in the margins (Creswell, 2007). The first step of analysis was *open coding*, in which the researcher labeled concepts that were salient in the text (Creswell, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Constant analysis proceeded to uncover trends, patterns, and topics in need of further exploration in the proceeding interviews. In this open coding phase, data were reviewed line by line to identify the maximum number of possible topics covered in narratives and in interview notes (Emerson et al., 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The identification of topics lead to more focused scrutiny whereby trends and themes emerged into *categories* (Emerson et al., 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Using the categories from open coding, the researcher identified a central phenomenon (Creswell, 2007), and then began the second stage, axial coding. *Axial coding* involves relating the other categories to the central phenomenon, and finding ways explaining the central phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). Next, the researcher completed *selective coding*, which is a more abstract level of axial coding in which a story line is created (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Table 4.1 provides an example of opening coding and thematic and category development from the raw data. After the story was created, the data were entered into a conditional matrix (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994), specifically the conceptually clustered matrix (see Miles & Huberman, 1994), which allows for the comparison between responses and participants to explain the central phenomenon (Miles et al., 1994).

Table 4.1
Coding and Thematic Generation Matrix

Raw Data	Open Coding	Focused Coding and Pattern Development	Thematic Coding
<p>M: We're, you're with two chatties. D: Yeah, I was about to say. D: Yes, we like to talk. M: 'Cause I told [her], I said, "If I get too chatty, give me the sign." (D laughs) [??] D: That's funny. She did tell me that, earlier. So. M: She's funny because when, sometimes when I'm around, you know, my daughters or and, and their children and whatnot, I'm inclined to want to offer advice, and [she] will turn around and she'll say... D: Well, see, I have to keep D: If I don't do that, then my mom and her, your other daughters will yell at her, so I'm like "Grandma, just be quiet." Me and Grandma have to monitor each other and then she tells me the same. M: [She] doesn't want me to get in trouble and she'll just turn around and do that you know so I'll— D: 'Cause they'll start yelling at her 'cause they're all going through menopause and stuff and I'm just like, don't make them mad! (Laughter) So it's funny.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chatty ▪ Confirming ▪ Chatty ▪ Helps her ▪ Be quiet ▪ Secret signal ▪ Fun ▪ Confirming ▪ Fun ▪ Family ▪ Grandchildren ▪ Advice giving ▪ Signals ▪ Monitors ▪ Secret signal ▪ Control ▪ Monitor ▪ Help ▪ Protect from 2nd generation ▪ Caring ▪ Monitor ▪ Protect ▪ Secret signal ▪ Respond ▪ Avoid 2nd generation ▪ Protect ▪ Safety ▪ Fun 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Friendship ▪ Caretaker ▪ Advice-giver ▪ Mutual caregiving ▪ Mutual caregiving ▪ Mutual monitoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mutual benefit ▪ Mutual benefit

Table 4.2 provides one conceptually clustered matrix to demonstrate how the categories, themes, and patterns were related. Usually in grounded theory, theoretical saturation is met, and the emergent theory is “grounded” in the data. The theory is “grounded” in the data because it has been generated from the participants’ experiences of the phenomenon. However, it was unlikely that theoretical saturation was reached in this study due to the small sample size. The information that does emerge gives direction to a developing theory that co-learning and mutual exchanges do occur in the grandmother and adult-granddaughter relationship. Additional participants would further refine this theory.

Table 4.2
Conceptually Clustered Matrix: Relationship Status, Co-residence, and Pivotal Change

Last Name	Role	Relationship Status	Co-residence	Pivotal change
Bobson	Granddaughter	<u>Friends</u> <u>Closer than other grandparent relationship</u> I think, I dunno, I guess, Grandma, I talk to her more about personal things than I do my other grandparents, and I, I dunno if that just has to do with me just being closer to her and you know.	Will next academic semester	Granddaughter coming to college
	Grandmother	<u>Friends</u> <u>Closer than other grandchild relationships</u> I think it's just the fact that you're nearer [that we are closer than with other family members].	Will next academic semester	Granddaughter coming to college
Lester	Granddaughter	<u>Adults</u> <u>Friends</u> <u>Depend on each other</u> Yeah, 'cause then it was, like, I could call on her if I needed something or come over here.	Never	Granddaughter moving closer, and granddaughter going to college
	Grandmother	<u>Adults</u> We go shopping, we go to lunch and it's like adults.	Never	Granddaughter getting older.
Cassidy	Granddaughter	<u>Adults</u> <u>Grandmother as caregiver and role model</u> I would definitely say that Grandma's the most definite role model.	5 years as a child	Living with her grandmother
	Grandmother	<u>Grandmother (Caregiver)</u> I guess I have to be a grandma now [as opposed to mother]...I wish I could be with her more, but I know I can't, so that's it. <u>Adults</u> I think in my mind that's [college] where she really became an adult. But during high school she really did a lot of adult things. I mean, made a lot of decisions and acted maturely, you know, driving and organizing her schoolwork.	Served as mother for granddaughter for 5 years	Granddaughter living with her. Granddaughter going to college.
Morris	Granddaughter	<u>Friends</u> I've always felt like Grandma had it open that we always were friends in the sense that I could tell her anything, like, you know, dealing with a boy or anything, <u>Grandmother Caregiver</u> I still see you, I think, as very much as a caregiver role in my life. Like if I ever need you,	6 months with family and grandparents	When they lived together. As the granddaughter got older.
	Grandmother	<u>Caregiver</u> <u>Friends</u> I think, it was so different, every, all my friends they just, have always been amazed when I would talk to about [my granddaughter and grandson], the older two, you know, "[My grandson] came over and was telling me about his girlfriend... "and what am I supposed to do grandma? What am I supposed to do about this?"	6 months, but always lived close	Has stayed similar. As the granddaughter got older.

CHAPTER 5

DATA AND DISCUSSION

From the data analysis, one main central phenomenon emerged, reciprocity between generations. Within this main phenomenon, four categories emerged, a change in relational status, co-learning between generations, a mutually beneficial relationship, and identity development. Each of these categories is linked to the main phenomenon by the pattern of mutuality and reciprocity. Many themes and patterns comprise each of the categories and will be discussed in the following section. Table 5.1 provides a visual representation of the categories, themes, and patterns.

A Change in Relationship Status

In general, when the granddaughter was a child, the grandmother was caregiver, babysat the girl, took her to play, and attended many of her extra curricular activities. The grandmothers shared many memories of taking their granddaughters on vacations and family outings, and most of the granddaughters could add details from their own memory. Granddaughter Morris describes her memories of her grandmother as caregiver.

I still see you, I think, as very much as a caregiver role in my life. Like if I ever need you, or if I don't know how to make anything, or I put pen on my clothes, I always know you're there. I think ... all my childhood is much of you always being there and like taking care of me [speaking directly to her grandmother], so now I know that she is there and she could take care of me...[speaking to the researcher]

Similar to the results of Hyde and Gibb's (1993) study where granddaughters described their grandmothers as caregiver and indulger, granddaughters in this study described their grandmothers as fun, stable, loving, caregivers who were always there for them.

Table 5.1
Reciprocity between Generations: Emerging Phenomenon, Categories, Themes and Patterns

Main Categories	Themes	Patterns
A change in relational status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Grandmother as caregiver ▪ Grandmother and granddaughter as adults 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Role reversal ▪ Granddaughter aging and moving closer
Co-learning between generations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Grandmothers teaching granddaughters about history ▪ Granddaughters sharing information learned in school ▪ Value transmission between the dyad ▪ Both exploring and learning from the differences in their generation's experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Overt discussion of the topic ▪ Just knowing ▪ Learning through behavior
A mutually beneficial relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Caregiving ▪ Being Friends ▪ Shopping together ▪ Supporting each other during bad health ▪ Providing family support ▪ Feeling appreciated ▪ Having fun 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Friendship yet formal ▪ Intimate friendship
Identity development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Grandmothers embracing the role of grandmother ▪ Grandmothers and granddaughters affirming one another ▪ Grandmothers and granddaughters encouraging each other to embrace their true self ▪ Granddaughters learning from their grandmother's experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Patterns of respect

Two of the grandmothers played the extra role of “mother” when their granddaughter lived with them—one for five years and one for 6 months. When asked about her role as mother and grandmother, Grandmother Cassidy, who had served as the mother for five years, stated:

I was a really only, only mom at the time, for the first few years...Actually, she, at times, would call me “Mom.” But not regularly. I guess I never really thought, you know, it being any, being one or the other [grandmother or mother], it was just taking care of the needs that needed to be done.

However, when her granddaughter moved back with her parents and she reversed back into the grandmother role, she realized the difference between being a mother and being a grandmother:

At first I felt that nobody could take care of her the way I did... I remember something that hurt me real bad at first, ‘cause she used to like to suck her thumb...And her dad didn’t want her to suck her thumb. And she would cry, and I didn’t see any harm in, I never said anything to him, I mean, he did what he would do in his house...

For Grandmother Cassidy, a pivotal moment in the relationship was when Granddaughter Cassidy moved back home, and she became “grandma” as opposed to “mom”. In the role of “grandma” she lost authority as “mom” but regained her status as “grandma” and “fun”.

Grandmother Cassidy describes this new role, saying:

When I couldn’t be with her then it seemed more like a grandma. Could just do grandma things, kind of visit, or buy toys or something... I think it was more fun being a mother to her than a grandma, but both of ‘em are fun...I guess I have to be a grandma now...I wish I could be with her more, but I know I can’t, so that’s it.

Similar to Kemp’s (2005)’s findings, for the other grandparents, a major transition came later, when the granddaughter reached adulthood. This transition included a change from caregiver/care-receiver to a relationship based more on mutual respect and friendship. Consistent with the findings of the intergenerational service-learning programs, which suggest that increased interactions promote closer relationships (Dellman-Jenkins & Fowler, 1994; Foret, Carter, Nezey, & Ozene, 1998), this transition stemmed from a combination of the

granddaughter getting older, going to college, and moving closer to their grandmother. The

Bobson's describe the change in their relationship:

Granddaughter Bobson: I think definitely, when I came to college, we have grown closer just for being five minutes down the road. And freshman year is rough at times, so I'd come over here and just, you know, be with her. As far as becoming closer... do you think it's been since I've been in college?

Grandmother Bobson: Well, I'm sure it has...

Granddaughter Bobson: Well ...I've matured, too, and I'm out of, getting out of that adolescent stage. I mean, I'm still technically in it as far as our adolescence book says but, I mean, you know getting out of it and growing as a person, myself, so that makes it easier to have to deal with.

The Lester's further explained that living closer and this new, more adult-like, friendship allows them to interact more, go shopping, and visit regularly, where they haven't been able to do these things in the past. Grandmother Lester used to just see her granddaughter at birthday parties and school activities. As suggested by Kemp (2005), the pair now sees each other as adults, friends, and people they can depend on, but still have fun together.

In some cases, the grandparent and grandchild had a difficult time pinpointing a transition time, perhaps because the moving closer, granddaughter aging, and the role changes are so interwoven.

Granddaughter Morris: I've always felt like Grandma [and I] had it open that we always were friends in the sense that I could tell her anything, like, you know, dealing with a boy or anything...she always was a caregiver, but she was always my friend at the same time, so I don't really know that for me specifically. I think we got closer as older kids, when we did live together temporarily.

It may even be the case that some families, such as the Morrises, who have always lived close to one another, do not experience one distinct transition. Families like the Bobsons and the Lesters have experience more pivotal moments after the move.

In general, both the grandmothers and granddaughters agreed that living closer to one

another helped to develop a closer relationship than to their other grandmothers or granddaughters. Grandmother Cassidy explained that raising and living near her granddaughter has created a special bond that she doesn't have with other grandchildren:

Well... the others are all far apart. She's been with me the last few years. And we had her, for a few years, taking care of her. So, that makes a whole lot of difference in knowing her and relating to her.

Likewise, Granddaughter Bobson identified the convenience in living close to her grandmother, and the difficulty in becoming close to grandparents who live far away. She saw both sets of grandparents equally, as a child. But the move has brought her nearer to her grandmother, and created a closer bond. For her, this causes some guilt in being emotionally close to one grandmother and not the other.

Well...just 'cause I've been liven' closer to her now, I get to see her more and I talk to her more, which sometimes makes me feel bad 'cause I, I love my other grandparents, too. But I just don't see them as much, and 'cause they're two hours away, and I just don't have the time.

Similar to the difficulty in remaining close when separated by distance, it can also be difficult to remain close when grandparents are institutionalized. This is the case for one granddaughter, who explained that she isn't close one grandmother who is in a nursing home near her hometown. This could be because it isn't as easy to "drop by", because her grandmother no longer hosts family get-togethers since she doesn't own her own home, or because of ageist attitudes on behalf of the granddaughter who seemed "uneasy" with visiting in the nursing home.

Summary

This category, a change in relational status, helps to answer the following research questions:

- What could be done to improve the granddaughter-grandmother relationship and the transmission of values?

- How would this potential improvement affect the lives of grandmothers and granddaughters?

The data from this study support previous findings that spending more time together creates positive relations between generations (Dellman-Jenkins & Fowler, 1994; Foret, Carter, Nezey, & Ozene, 1998) and, furthermore, suggests that families living close together or moving near is one thing that could be done to improve the relationship. When the granddaughter was closer in proximity to the grandmother, they became closer and saw each other in new lights. Supporting Kemp's (2005) findings, when the grandmother recognized the granddaughter as an adult, they were able to have a more intimate friendship and mutually beneficial relationship, providing both parties with someone they could confide in and depend on. In this study, both living closer and seeing each other as competent adults were necessary in reaping the benefits of the other emergent categories. These mutual benefits will be further described in the next category.

A Mutually Beneficial Relationship

All of the grandmothers and granddaughters described their relationship in terms of being mutually beneficial. No pair stated that it was a simple "give-and-take" relationship, but their description of their relationship and things they do together indicated that they were both satisfied in the relationship and felt that it was rewarding. Two patterns emerged, friendship yet formal and intimate friendship. Comparable to the findings of Franks, Hughes, Phelps, and Williams (1993) and Alley (2004), many themes emerged within this category, including caregiving, being friends, shopping together, supporting each other during bad health, providing family support, feeling appreciated, and having fun. These patterns and themes will be further discussed.

Friendship

As discussed in the category a change in relational status, grandmothers and granddaughters felt that their relationship had merged into a friendship-like relationship. One granddaughter, Lester, was surprised at the friendship with her grandmother, explaining that

...I kind of feel like she is my grandmother, but since I see her a lot and she lives here, she is also like a friend...I feel like [for] a lot of people, their grandmother is just...someone you see at Christmas. But, like, I see her all the time....

Granddaughter Lester expected a friendship yet formal relationship, where she would be cordial and loving on holidays, yet less friend-like on a daily basis than she would be with her peer-friends. In this pattern, there is still a hierarchy within the relationship.

On the other hand, Granddaughter Morris felt that the friendship was natural and second nature: "...That's weird. I dunno, like I've always felt like Grandma had it open that we always were friends in the sense that I could tell her anything, like, you know, dealing with a boy or anything..." In this case, Granddaughter Morris was in the intimate friendship pattern, similar to that suggested by Kemp (2005) and Alley (2004), where her grandmother was equal to a peer-friend in whom she would confide and seek advice.

Advice Seeking and Giving

Advice seeking and giving occurred in both directions for the grandmothers and granddaughters. In intimate friendships, Granddaughters were more likely to request personal advice on relationships with friends and family. Grandmother Morris explains her unique relationship with her granddaughter as "...so different... All my friends have always been amazed when I would talk to her ... you know, "She came over and was telling me about her boyfriend..." [and would say] "What am I supposed to do grandma? What am I supposed to do

about this?” This indicates that the Morrises recognize that they have an intimate relationship unlike most other grandmothers and granddaughters.

Granddaughters felt so confident in their grandmother’s trust and ability to give advice that they preferred to talk with them over their parents about many things. In addition, they felt that their grandmother was less judgmental and more accepting. Yet, this was not the case for all of their grandparents, just the one with whom they were the closest. For example, Granddaughter Bobson explained, “Grandma, I talk to her more about personal things than I do my other grandparents, and I, I dunno if that just has to do with me just being closer to her and you know.” When Grandmother Bobson suggested it was because she lived nearer, Granddaughter Bobson further explained that she just feels more comfortable talking to her, especially because of all of her unique life experiences and because they are closer. Kemp (2005) suggests that the granddaughter seeking advice and learning from her grandmother’s wisdom not only benefits the granddaughter, but also affirms the grandmother’s life experiences.

In friendship yet formal patterns, the grandmothers and granddaughters were more likely to seek advice on data-based problems—for example, a recipe for chocolate cake. This did not diminish the importance of the advice or the exchange. For example, Granddaughter Lester exclaimed, “So I know she’s just, like, someone I can just, like, call and be, like “Oh, where do I get my car washed?” And Grandmother Lester gratefully added “And I call her for directions. Because I’m just horrible at directions.” These exchanges were less intimate in the sense that they did not exchange personal information, but seemed equally valuable to the pair in that they received necessary information.

Lending a Helping Hand

Similar to calling each other for directions and recipes, both grandmothers and granddaughters described “depending” on each other when in need. This theme of lending a helping hand is unique to this study, as no previous research has discussed grandmothers and granddaughters helping and depending on each other in these circumstances. Depending on each other occurred in emergency situations, as well as daily chores. For example, Grandmother Lester explained that she was in the hospital and didn’t have anyone to pick her up. When her granddaughter, who was hurt and exasperated, said she could have called her, she explained “...That’s something I hadn’t thought about... She doesn’t have a car, she was going to borrow one... She’s an adult! Of course I should have called! ...I was really touched when she said, “Why didn’t you call me?” It was important for the granddaughter to be seen as an adult on whom her grandmother could depend, and it was surprising to the grandmother that she could do so.

Other grandmas describe similar situations for daily needs, such as Grandmother Bobson: “I know she’s there to help me out ‘cause I can call on her. And it’s nice having her in town because there’s sometimes where like when I’ve had car trouble, I’ve needed her to pick me up at the car place, to bring me home and that kind of thing, when I drop my car off... she’s been there to help me out.” Having help with smaller tasks helped the grandmothers a lot.

Granddaughters also express their appreciation for the grandmother’s help. They spend time doing laundry at their grandmother’s house, as opposed to paying on campus.

Granddaughter Lester, after expressing her desire to help her grandmother, explains that they help each other out: “Yeah, ‘cause then it was, like, I could call on her if I needed something or come over here.”

Family Support

Grandmothers and granddaughters who followed the intimate friendship pattern also displayed tendencies to support each other with difficulties with family issues. The emerging themes provide an in-depth description of how grandmothers and granddaughters support each other, which has not been done in other studies. This included supporting each other with their own health problems, mourning the deaths of family members together, calling when fighting with another family member, or discussing issues that worried them about their family. The Bobsons explained:

Grandmother Bobson: "...if I'm concerned about, you know, a certain family member or something, I feel free to talk things over with her, because she knows them and we do.

Granddaughter Bobson: We communicate very well... We always seem to make sure we're keeping each other up to date about things.

Grandmother Bobson: ... I know things have happened that we needed to discuss... if we didn't agree with something somebody in some family was doing, it's nice to be able to talk to her about it because she knows the situation... And I see both sides of it and you help me work through that in the end...

The pair was able to confide in each other and work out issues within the family in a supportive manner.

Both grandmothers and granddaughters in intimate friendships also describe supporting each other during loss, and that they appreciate the other's sympathetic gestures. Grandmother Bobson told the story of her sister's funeral. Her sister had been sick for a long time, and her granddaughter decided to travel to the funeral to support her. It was hard for Granddaughter Bobson to see her grandmother so sad, and she ended up being the one weeping! Laughing, Grandmother Bobson explained: "My granddaughter just started weeping, you know, and then, then I had to put my arm around her and console her, and she says, "Grandma, I'm here to

console you and you're having to console me!" In this case, the newly *adult* granddaughter was testing the role of being the consoler for her grandmother, as opposed to the one usually being consoled. However, she was not able to do so in the moment, but that was not important for the grandmother. Just the granddaughter being there mattered most.

At times, the granddaughter and grandmother protected each other from other family members. This act was exemplified during the interview, when the grandmother and granddaughter enacted the signal in front of the interviewer. In this case, the grandmother instructed the granddaughter to give her a signal by cutting her hand across her throat if the grandmother was being "too chatty". The pair explained they are monitoring and watching out for each other when they are around other family members:

Grandmother Bobson: She's funny because when, sometimes when I'm around my daughters and their children, I'm inclined to want to offer advice, and my granddaughter will turn around and she'll say... [gives her the signal]

Granddaughter Bobson: If I don't do that, then my mom and her other daughters will yell at her. So I'm like "Grandma, just be quiet." Me and Grandma have to monitor each other and then she tells me the same.... 'Cause they'll start yelling at her...

Overall, the grandmothers and granddaughters both appreciated the others support during difficult times. This is exemplified by Grandmother Lester, who noted "...I hope that we keep this up forever. And that we can support each other. Bad things happen and... So far we've been, this family's been, incredibly lucky."

Companionship

Grandmothers also described a sense of gratefulness for their granddaughter's companionship and respite from living alone. This falls into the friendship yet formal pattern, as it is more keeping company than intimate discussion. One grandmother described the pleasure

she took in her granddaughter having friends over “just to hear them talking”. Grandmother Bobson explained that it helps with her loneliness,

...it has been nice having time, because you know, ‘cause I do live alone and even though there’re a lot worse things than living alone, I don’t object to living alone, but it’s nice to have someone dropped in and keep you company...

Grandmother Lester, who has lost many close friends, shares the same feelings: “Yeah, we really do have good conversations now and that means a lot to me because all my friends have left.

They’ve either died or gone, you know? So she is a real help for me!”

In some cases, thinking of the granddaughter and knowing that she was right around the corner helped the grandmother through lonely times, as described by Grandmother Lester: “It just makes me feel good to think about her, you know. Sometimes when I’m sad, or something, I’ll think of my granddaughter. And I talk about her to my friends...” In this case, just knowing that her granddaughter was nearby and able to drop by eased some of the grandmother’s sadness.

Summary

The mutually beneficial relationship category helps to further answer the following research question:

- How would this potential improvement [in the relationship] affect the lives of grandmothers and granddaughters?

Themes and patterns in this category align with past studies which suggest that a mutual friendship develops as the granddaughter ages (Kemp, 2005), that adult-granddaughters are grateful for the relationship with their grandmothers (Alley, 2004), and that they value lessons from their grandmothers (Franks, Hughes, Phelps, & Williams, 1993). Furthermore, this data suggest that when grandmothers and granddaughters have positive relationships, they are able to support each other in many ways, including being a good friend, shopping together, supporting each other during bad health, and providing support during family difficulties. It is also

important to recognize that the grandmothers and granddaughters know they can depend on one another for anything from emergencies to menial tasks. And perhaps most importantly, in positive relationships both grandmothers and granddaughters report appreciating the other and feeling appreciated for what they do.

Co-learning between Generations

This category, co-learning between generations, comprises situations in which both grandmothers and granddaughter act as teacher and learner and grapple with each other's ideas and opinions. Similar to previous findings that grandmothers are storytellers (Franks, Hughes, Phelps, & Williams, 1993), and transmitters of family values (Hyde & Gibbs, 1993), themes from this study include the grandmothers teaching the granddaughters facts and history, the granddaughters sharing information learned in school, value transmission between the dyad, and both exploring and learning from the differences in their generation's experiences. These themes extend previous finding to demonstrate the contribution of the granddaughter. Patterns that emerged in this category include overt discussion of the topic, just knowing, and learning through behavior. These themes and patterns will be discussed.

Grandmother as Teacher

As described in the category, a change in relationship status, when the granddaughters were children, the grandmothers took a caregiver role. In this role, they taught their granddaughters how to do crafts; when on vacation, they taught them about the statues and landmarks; they would take the granddaughters around town and teach them about how things used to be.

For example, Grandmother Bobson told of driving the grandchildren around the university campus where she worked. She would teach them about the buildings, the campus

layout, and took them to athletic events. Her granddaughter now attends that same university and is active in the sports she used to watch as a child. The granddaughter attributes her attendance at the university, her love of football, and her participation in gymnastics to the trips with her grandmother around campus. In these teaching situations, the grandmothers engaged in the pattern of overt discussion, where they verbally communicated about topics the felt their granddaughter needed to know. According to Roberto & Stroes (1992), it is common for grandmothers to impact their granddaughter's educational beliefs. Likewise, the granddaughters in this study benefited from the lessons by acquiring needed skills and knowledge—and in one case, a college education.

With adult granddaughters, the grandmothers have changed their lessons plans. The grandmothers are more likely to be more encouraging rather than all knowing. And, granddaughters are more likely to call and request information from their grandmothers, as opposed to the grandmother giving unsolicited information or advice. Granddaughter Morris explained, “Yeah...I'll call her if I don't know how to do something or what to do with something.” For this family, it could be as simple as how to make curtains or do something handy around the house. Or, it could be something more personal. Granddaughter Morris further explained that her grandmother teaches her what makes relationships work. One lesson that Granddaughter Morris hears often is that “You need to love him more than you love yourself, and that will make a lasting marriage.” She notes that lesson “has stuck with me forever.”

One reason that she is willing to listen to her grandmother is because she feels that her grandmother can understand her, “I'm very rambunctious and outgoing and make friends and Grandma's similar.... so she always encourages me.” The granddaughters in these situations are

also engaging in the pattern of overt discussion of the topic when they call their grandmothers for information or seek advice.

Granddaughter as Teacher

With their new adult status and some college education, granddaughters also feel they have valuable information to share. Following the pattern of overt discussion of the topic, granddaughters teach their grandmothers information they learn in school, including things the grandmothers can use with their family, within their interpersonal relationships, and with health issues. This theme is unique to this study, as previous research has failed to include ways that granddaughters teach their grandmothers.

Granddaughter Lester, who recently participated in an intergenerational service-learning program with her grandmother, had experiences similar to other service-learning program participants in that she is now closer to her elder participant—in this case, her grandmother (Dellman-Jenkins & Fowler, 1994; Foret, Carter, Nezey, & Ozene, 1998; Meshel & McGlynn, 2004). She explains her excitement in living closer and visiting her grandmother as part of the program,

...it's different now because I feel like now I'm just much older and I believe more things and have stuff [to talk about]...So it's interesting to talk to her now because our conversations aren't 'Oh, I read this in a magazine.' It's like, 'Oh, I heard this today about the world' ...

As discussed in the category, a change in relationship status, the granddaughter's change in age and going to college encouraged the pair to interact as adults, where the granddaughter's views and ideas are seen as credible and important. The granddaughters expressed excitement in moving the conversation from more trivial chatter to substantial issues.

Granddaughter Morris explained that she often tells her grandmother things that she is learning in her Child Development classes, and that they observe the younger grandchildren to

check the accuracy of her textbook. She explains, "...it's cool because Grandma's interested [in my class material], and she'll be like, 'No, I don't think that's right', or 'Yeah, I can see that...'" So, in this case, the granddaughter is sharing what she learned in school, and the pair compares it to grandmother's life experiences.

Granddaughters are also teaching their grandmothers things they are learning in their newly acquired domestic life. Granddaughter Cassidy explains that, while her grandmother originally taught her to cook, she now brings home recipes and nutrition information to share. Sometimes, her grandmother has never even heard of the food, such as homemade pretzels. Granddaughter Cassidy notes pride in bringing home new recipes, foods ideas from a Nutritional Food Class, and being able to teach her grandmother crafts. Her grandmother finds it both surprising and enjoyable "Usually I show her, [now] she showed me!"

Also reaping the benefits of her granddaughter's education, Grandmother Lester says she is extremely thankful for her granddaughter's degree in nursing. To her, this is important because she has never had even a basic biology course. Now, she is able to call her granddaughter for information, and her granddaughter calls her when she learns something new, such information on Staph Infections. After Grandmother Lester learns these new things, she calls to tell her friends who may not already know.

Transmission of Values

When grandmothers and granddaughters were asked how they taught and shared their values with each other, and how they knew if the other agreed with their values two patterns emerged: either just knowing, or learning through behavior. They explained that this is different from when the granddaughters were children, and the grandmother took them to Bible school, read them books on morals, and simply told them what was "good or bad". Now, the

grandmothers felt that the granddaughters are adults, and that their actions indicated whether they adhered to the values their grandmothers had taught them.

Granddaughters and grandmothers explained that they casually discuss what they value in a marriage, their personal religious values, or politics. And while many said they did choose to bring the topic up randomly, an interaction and discussion between the Lesters indicated that they do talk about it when issues arise:

Granddaughter: I mean, we don't really talk about religious values, but I think that things will come up that might be religious that we'll say something, like about abortion or something like that. But I don't think we ever just sit and talk about god.

Grandmother: Politics, we don't talk politics much...No, we don't discuss it a lot.

Granddaughter: Um, we, we discuss it with people who are, like, the same.

The key to the just knowing pattern is the last statement of the granddaughter, who points out that they "discuss it with people who are the same". This was similar for all of the grandmothers and granddaughters in that they assumed they had the same beliefs and were therefore willing to discuss touchy subjects. This is further exemplified in their subsequent conversation:

Granddaughter: I mean, we do randomly, if we hear something on the news, like something about a woman being discriminated against or something...

Grandmother: Yeah, we talk about things like that. She has very definite ideas about stuff...

Granddaughter: Yeah we'll talk about that *because we both think* that women should be equal to men and stuff like that. [emphasis added by author]

The grandmothers and granddaughters did not choose to bring up touchy issues on personal values or beliefs, but were willing to discuss them when they arose with the assumption that they had similar values.

When the interviewer asked how they knew the other had similar values, most felt it was shown through the other's behaviors or that it was just known. Unlike the grandmothers who gave direct instruction and guidance to their granddaughters (King, et al., 2006), no grandmother or granddaughter reported ever sitting down with the intention of hashing out their values. Grandmother Morris explained, "I never remember sitting and telling my girls, 'Don't you go to bed with somebody,' ...*they just knew what we expected out of 'em.* [emphasis added]" Therefore, her granddaughter was expected to know what the family valued and to adhere to those values.

Consequently, and an example of learning (or knowing) through behavior, Grandmother Morris felt she knew her granddaughter practiced values based on her granddaughter's behavior in wearing a promise ring (which represents virginity until marriage). For her granddaughter, it was not the pressure or expectations from the family that lead her to embrace the values, but her grandmothers pride in her and encouragement for "doing good".

This silent expectation is similar to what the Bobsons value on education and how Cassidy's describe on their values on drinking alcohol. The Cassidys explain,

Grandmother: I mean, she knows, we don't drink. And so, I would hope that they don't go and drink, I've never said anything to them about it. But I just hope that she realizes that, we don't do it, we don't think it's good. So. I don't know if they have or not, but. I don't think they do.

Granddaughter: I guess in my family it's more, my parents and grandparents setting examples, not really saying, "Don't do this," or "Don't do that," just modeling behavior on what to do

Grandmother: Yeah, I don't remember telling her anything, "Don't do this, don't do that."

This example fits both the just knowing category and the learning through behavior, as the grandmother expects the granddaughter to know her values without being overt and the granddaughter learns the values through the family modeling the behavior.

The most salient value for the grandmothers and granddaughters in this study was that of religion, specifically Christianity. There were patterns of just knowing, and learning through behavior. Unlike King et al.'s (2006) study which found that African American grandparents give religious instruction and guidance, role-model religious actions and behaviors, participate in intercessory prayer, and encourage the religious significance of family members, overt discussions occurred in this study only when the granddaughters were young, and the grandmothers read them the Bible and bought them books.

Both the grandmothers and granddaughters agreed that the granddaughters now demonstrate their beliefs through their behaviors and church attendance. When asked how she knew her granddaughter's beliefs were the same as hers, Grandmother Morris said it was because they went to the same church, and therefore had the same ideas. Furthermore, she explained, it is evident in

...just the way she lives. ... I mean the way she's always been involved in working and helping other people... she was a peer leader, always helping the younger people and caring about other people and... trying to teach them the values that she's been taught.

Again, the grandmother feels that she knows her granddaughters values through her behaviors.

The granddaughters explained that they learned what their grandmother valued through her behavior. Parallel to previous findings that grandmothers role-model positive behaviors (Kemp, 2005; Alley, 2004; Hyde & Gibbs, 1993), the granddaughters have formed their own values by watching her grandmother and her parents. This was the case for many granddaughters in forming their views of marriage, women's education, and religion. For example,

Granddaughter Cassidy told of her grandmother working hard, volunteering, doing community service, and participating in Operation Christmas child. Now, Granddaughter Cassidy herself gives fruit donations, visits in nursing homes, works hard like her grandmother, and plans to pursue a master's degree. She attributes these characteristics to her grandmother being her role model.

Exploring the Differences in Generations

The pattern of overt discussion revealed itself most prevalently when the grandmothers and granddaughters were comparing their life experiences, and the grandmother took the role of storyteller (Hyde & Gibbs, 1993). The grandmothers seemed excited to tell stories that the granddaughter couldn't fathom, and the granddaughter openly asked for more details of her grandmother's life experiences. These discussion topics included technology, dating, and roles as wives. For example, in one interview, when the digital recorder was brought out, the grandmother told her granddaughter about using a Dictaphone and women learning shorthand. This pair reported that they enjoy discussing the differences in technology, especially surrounding cell phone and computers.

For Grandmother Morris, this difference in technology played a difference in the ways the generations communicate as well as how they date. When she was a teenager, they didn't date as early. She explains that in the past,

they did a lot of things with boys and girls, but they did things as a group and not as [a couple]...it was a totally different world when we grew up, because you had to get in the car and drive off, way off. You didn't even live close to nobody. I mean everybody didn't even have a phone so you couldn't just sit on the phone and talk, you didn't have a computer to E-mail...

The Morrises explained that because of her personal experiences, it has been difficult for the grandmother to understand her granddaughter's dating habits. At the same time, it has been

interesting for her to learn how things are now. In addition, as suggested by Franks, Hughes, Phelps, and Williams (1993), this storytelling provided a sense of continuity and linkage between generations.

Along the same lines, the grandmothers noted a change in attitudes and confidence in their granddaughter's generation. The granddaughters dress more liberally, have more liberal political attitudes, and aren't afraid to express their opinions. Grandmother Morris explained that her granddaughter's "free" personality has rubbed off on her,

She has taught me that you can bring a lot of joy into people's lives by being free, not being restricted more, which I have always been more...My husband's always been very jealous of me, you know as far as being free to go out and talk to people and things, he never cared for that, so I never did it because I didn't want to make him angry.

In this case, the grandmother is embracing some of the values held by her granddaughter's younger generation, even at the risk of breaking the boundaries of her own generation and marital roles. One granddaughter even encouraged her grandmother to push aside her ideas of age-appropriate behaviors, and encouraged her grandmother to get her college degree. The grandmother is considering taking a course.

Grandmother Lester also describes embracing some of her granddaughter's up-to-date values. She often calls her granddaughter for ideas on clothes, fashion, and party etiquette. In fact, the grandmother asked for help on what to wear to her class reunion during the interview.

Summary

This category helps answer the following research questions:

- How are the values transmitted between grandmothers and granddaughters (i.e. verbally, through family tradition)?
- Is the transmission viewed as bi-directional from the participant's perspective?

- Are there values that are more salient or age specific?

Co-learning occurs in the grandmother-granddaughter relationship where both serve as teacher and learner. Both individuals respect each other's ideas and opinions. Most often, grandmothers overtly teach their granddaughters about facts and history. More often than not, the granddaughters overtly share information learned in school. In general, both generations report influencing and being influenced by the other.

The values are most often transmitted through behavior modeling or the granddaughter just knowing what is expected. When the granddaughters were children, the values were discussed overtly in all cases. Now, the most salient value is religion and spirituality. But, with adult-granddaughters, the grandmother feels that this transmission is successful if she observes the granddaughter behaviorally embracing it. And finally, both grandmothers and granddaughters enjoy exploring and learning the differences in their generational experiences.

Identity Development

This category, identify development, comprises situations in which both grandmothers and granddaughter influence each other's self-identity. Similar to previous findings which suggest that the relationship provides the granddaughter with a sense of self (Franks et al., 1993) and the grandmother with affirmation of her life efforts (Kemp, 2005), themes in this study include grandmothers embracing the role as grandmother, grandmothers and granddaughters affirming one another, grandmothers and granddaughters encouraging each other to embrace their true self, and granddaughters learning from their grandmother's experiences. These themes were tied together by a pattern of respect.

Embracing their Role

In general, grandmothers described embracing and loving their role as a grandmother. One grandmother said that having grandchildren “makes me feel younger”. Another grandmother explained that she has loved children all her life, and has worked hard to let her grandchildren know she loved them and that they were always welcome at her house. Grandmothers exemplified the role of “indulger” (Hyde & Gibbs, 1993), and showed pride in providing a pantry full of snacks, taking the children on vacations to the beach, and pampering them in ways that their parents did not.

Grandmother Morris said she actually learned her grand-parenting skills from her grandmother—and did the exact opposite. She recalls her grandmother being a busy woman, always working, cooking, cleaning, and entertaining the adults. Because she never felt wanted and could never even eat from her grandmothers candy jar, she swore her grandchildren would never feel that way. Granddaughter Morris explains that her grandmother is nothing like that--she always feels loved and never refrains from taking a piece of candy from her grandmother’s many dishes.

As a result of their grandmother’s role modeling, all of the granddaughters reported wanting to be a grandmother “just like her”. For some, it was her willingness to be so giving, and for others it was her stability when the parents were not.

Learning from the Past

All grandmothers took on the role of family storyteller, as suggested by previous studies (Franks, et al., 1993). They would tell the granddaughter stories of previous generations, of her birth, and of family events she was too young to remember. These stories were told to connect the granddaughter to the past, a part of herself, as described by Franks et al. (1993). After they

finished telling family stories, the interviewer asked the grandmothers what they would like their granddaughter to remember about them. All grandmothers reported wanting their granddaughters to learn from their mistakes. For example, one grandmother wanted her granddaughter to get an education, because she had not and now works low-paying jobs. Another grandmother wanted her granddaughter to “go with the flow”, because she was highly anxious and uptight.

Fortunately for the grandmother’s, their desires were met, as all granddaughters reported watching their grandmothers, listening to their grandmother’s stories, and learning from her life experiences. Two granddaughters, whose grandmothers had little education, were pursuing a graduate degree. Another granddaughter, whose grandmother had to work and was unable to stay home with her children, says she will stay home and go back to work when her children are grown. Similar to previous findings (Alley, 2004; Franks et al., 1993; Kemp, 2005), the granddaughters in this study are shaping their choices and identities around what they have learned from their grandmother.

Affirmations and More Affirmations

One of the clearest themes in this study was the mutual respect between the grandmothers and granddaughters and their genuine affirmations of one another. Each explained that they were moved by the other’s praise of them, and that they appreciated the kind words. Granddaughter Lester explained that, in regards to her grandma, “everything she says is a compliment. So, it not like she says anything negative about me...so it helps...” These free-flowing of compliments was exemplified during the interview, where grandmothers were proud to talk about their granddaughter’s accomplishments, beauty, and personality during the interview. The granddaughters appeared embarrassed to be hearing so many kind words of flattery, but relished in it nonetheless.

Just as grandmothers expressed their pride in their granddaughters, granddaughters expressed their love in tokens of appreciation. Showing their appreciation of their grandmother, as described by Alley (2004), every granddaughter in the study told stories of making crafts, poems, or scrapbooks for their grandmother. The grandmothers all offered to share the stories, photos, and other tokens after the interview ended. One grandmother had even gathered the items prior to the interview. Their excitement and pride in showing the items indicated that they were especially sacred and meaningful to the grandmothers.

One granddaughter, Granddaughter Bobson, had made her grandmother many tokens of appreciation including poems, a family photo collage, and a family quilt. The frame of the poem was decorated with a Christian cross and the words “caring” and “loving”, and one line read “Grandmother Blessing: a smile is the shortest distance between two people...” Next to this poem, the grandmother said her favorite thing was when the granddaughter threw her a birthday party. She explained, “She’s always been a very thoughtful, attentive granddaughter, and she does go down to see [her grandparents].”

Granddaughter Lester also wrote a poem for her Grandmother Lester. This poem, especially, seemed to sum up the way granddaughters feel about their grandmothers. It describes the grandmother as a loving, caregiving, special, stable person in the granddaughter’s life who serves as a fun-loving family member who is also a role model. She admires her grandmother not only for what she does for her, but also for volunteering and serving the poor. This was a common admiration in the granddaughters.

Being One’s True Self

Along the same lines of affirming each other, grandmothers and granddaughters supported and encouraged each other to be their true self. According to granddaughters, their

grandmothers are always encouraging them to be themselves and pushing them to try new things. Granddaughter Lester said that “It just kind helps you--and so growing up and knowing her, she tries to help you with knowing you are...” Instead of her grandmother forming her into a certain mold, the grandmother encouraged her to be her unique self.

Granddaughters were also proud of their grandmothers for their uniqueness. One granddaughter was especially proud of her grandmother who was among the first to teach in a desegregated school in the south. Another granddaughter, Granddaughter Morris, was proud that her grandmother was “tech-savvy” and able to work email, run photo programs, and install different computer parts. She explains that her grandmother taught her that she doesn’t need to call a man to work the computer or fix something around the house—she can do it herself! This is one part of her identity that she feels comes from her grandmother.

Summary

This category helps to further answer the following research questions:

- How are the values transmitted between grandmothers and granddaughters (i.e. verbally, through family tradition)?
- Is the transmission viewed as bi-directional from the participant’s perspective?

Grandmothers and granddaughters describe having an influence on each other’s self-identity. This includes grandmothers identifying “grandmother” as a major part of their life, grandmothers and granddaughters affirming one another, both encouraging each other to embrace their true self, and granddaughters learning from their grandmother’s experiences. This concept of grandmothers influencing their granddaughter’s identity confirms previous research with similar findings (Franks et al., 1993; Roberto & Stroes, 1992), and uniquely adds to the literature by revealing that the granddaughter also affirms and influences her grandmother’s identity.

Summary

Although theoretical saturation was not reached, this study provides valuable insight and a valuable first step toward an emerging theory which suggests relationships are bi-directional between grandmothers and granddaughters. Furthermore, this study demonstrated that intergenerational exchanges are beneficial for both younger and older populations. The grandmother adult-granddaughter relationship is mutually beneficial, as both find a unique friendship, are able to depend on one another, and are affirmed within the relationship. In addition, both grandmothers and adult-granddaughters are active participants in shaping their environments, which in turn shapes both their own individuality and their relationships as family members. Although theoretical saturation was not reached, this study provides valuable insight and indicates that a theory is emerging that suggests relationships are bi-directional between grandmothers and granddaughters.

Strengths and Limitations of This Study

Strengths

Like all studies, this study has strengths and limitations. The use of rigorous methodological procedures was one of the major strengths of this thesis. First, the use of member checking allowed the researcher to check the accuracy of the participants' responses and the researcher's interpretation of the response (Creswell, 2007; J. Gale, personal communication, September, 27, 2007). Second, peer reviewing was utilized to check the research process with a peer debriefer (Creswell, 2007). This comparison of transcriptions and coded notes ensured coding validity (Creswell, 2007). In addition, the peer debriefer challenged the researcher with questions regarding methods, literature review, and interview guide simplicity and understandability (Creswell, 2007). Third, I have considered and described my experiences,

biases, and expectations (Creswell, 2007). They were noted in the memos of the researcher, and also discussed with another member of the research team (Creswell, 2007). Fourth, a focus group was utilized to help the researchers develop their own interview guides and to check for understandability (Morgan, 2001). And finally, this study followed the rigorous procedures suggested by Strauss & Corbin (1990), which reputable and have been used in many studies (Creswell, 2003, 2007). These procedures include moving back and forth between the categories and the participants' response, examining which data supported the theory being generated and which refuted the theory being generated (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Examining situations where the theory is refuted encourages the researcher to gather more data or to explain the discrepancies (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In addition, these procedures include the use of theoretical sampling and a homogenous sample, which gives voice to participants with experience of the central phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Uniquely, this study utilized dyad interviews, which are rarely used in the social sciences due to the difficult analysis process (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006).

Limitations

One of the main limitations is the composition of the sample. Although theoretical sampling was used, (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), the sample contains only white, non-Hispanic women from the southeastern United States. In addition, all of the granddaughters had at least one semester of a college education. Therefore, this study may be ignoring other factors, such as race, class, education level, and ethnicity, which could influence the grandmother and adult-granddaughter relationships. This provides in-depth data for one small population, but future research that addresses other races, classes, education levels, and ethnicities may provide more generalizable results.

An additional limitation is that all of the grandmothers and granddaughters reported a close relationship, and had lived near each other at some time. Having grandmothers and granddaughters who had broken relationships would have enabled the researcher to test against the data for additional stressed or distant patterns and themes.

Future Research

This area of study on grandmothers and adult-granddaughters would further benefit from additional research on the intergenerational transmission of values. Specifically, research would address the grandmother's intentionality in the transmission of values and why some values are transmitted through over discussion and others through role modeling. Furthermore, the application of this study by family life educators could help develop healthy, strong role models and support systems for adolescent, young adult and elderly women. Case in point, women of all ages face unrealistic representations of beauty, sexuality, and femininity in society and the media (Wolf, 1991). Adolescent and young women are faced with hyper-feminized and overly sexual role models, which result in depression and body image disorders. On the other hand, elderly women experience depression in relation to role confusion and decreased sexuality. Often, this decrease in sexual activity is due to that stigma that they are too old, or that it is "gross" for elders in the nursing home to have sex or be sexual.

If women of both generations engaged in an intergenerational relationship, and learned from one another, perhaps a more realistic common ground could be found. Evidence from this study and past studies suggests that values are transmitted between the two groups, and re-constructed by the individual to fit personal contexts. As a result, the elder could attain a higher self-esteem and develop self-worth, and the youth could receive encouragement, values, and

morals they desire from elders. Co-learning would result in co-solving problems for both generations.

Finally, utilizing a more ethically, racially, and economically diverse population of grandmothers and granddaughters would enhance the clinical applicability for family therapists and researchers. When the preliminary themes of this study were discussed at a national therapy conference (Seponski & Lewis, 2007), therapists from other parts of the United States explained that these are not the themes they are seeing in the families with whom they work, and that additional research is needed for non-white populations.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

By examining the bi-directional process of grandmothers and adult-granddaughters, this study demonstrated that intergenerational exchanges can be beneficial for both younger and older populations. It is evident from the data that the grandmother adult-granddaughter relationship is mutually beneficial, as both find a unique friendship, are able to depend on one another, and are affirmed within the relationship. In addition, the study illuminated that grandmothers and adult-granddaughters are active participants in shaping their environments, which in turn shapes both their own individuality and their relationships as family members. It has also been supported that the relationships provide a forum for sharing and learning new ideas, beliefs, and knowledge. Summarized, this study supported that co-learning and intergenerational exchange between generations can be applied in the personal realm to the transmission of values between adult granddaughters and their grandmothers surrounding identity development, gender development, spirituality, and balance between work and family. This study provides a valuable first step toward an emerging theory which suggests relationships are bi-directional between grandmothers and granddaughters

This study has potential in helping many professionals, including researchers in the area, directors of intergenerational service-learning programs, and family therapists who work with multi-generational families. Uniquely, it fills a small space in the large gap of knowledge and literature on grandparents and adult-grandchildren. In addition, it provides information about the experiences of the older population in general, which is an important but unexplored niche in

marriage and family therapy. It provides support that intergenerational relationships are generally bi-directional and beneficial for both the young adult and the elder, particularly grandmothers and adult-granddaughters. This study suggests that grandmothers can be valuable resources for their granddaughters. Therapists could potentially utilize this information to help granddaughters in therapy by inviting grandmothers to participate or encouraging the granddaughters to look toward their grandmother as an untapped resource. The results of a mutually beneficial relationship and a unique bond could encourage grandmothers and granddaughters to work to strengthen and build their relationship. And finally, this study can be used by marriage and family therapists and family researchers to better understand the dynamics of grandmothers and granddaughters, and to further develop research in the area.

In closing it is important to share the participants' reactions to this study. Benefits for the participants included identifying family relationships in which the participants could serve as a catalyst for personal growth. In this situation, both grandmothers and granddaughters identified ways in which they influenced one another. Some reported their experience was so positive, they did not want to take the gift card for participation (all participants took the card at the end of the interview). One grandmother from the focus group passed away three days after the interview. The granddaughter called to thank the interviewer, stating that if the study had never been done, she would have "never had the chance to tell her grandmother all of those things" she had wanted to say. This exemplifies that studies on grandmothers and adult granddaughters not only pave the way for future research, but also provide a meaningful forum for grandmothers and granddaughters to discuss their relationship.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Recruitment Poster

Granddaughters are you
interested in participating in a study
with your grandmother?

Focus groups and grandmother-granddaughter interviews are being conducted on transmission of values between granddaughters and grandmothers, particularly surrounding gender development, sexuality, spirituality, and balance between home and work.

If interested, please contact
Desiree Paulin, or
Dr. Denise Lewis,

*Must be 18 years and older to participate. Both Grandmother and Granddaughter must agree to participate and be available in Athens-Clarke County area for focus group and interviews.

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Focus Group

Interview questions based off Kemp (2002) and adapted for our study.

1. Please tell me about your relationship with your grandmother or granddaughter, starting with the earliest memory.
2. Please tell me about any events or moments in your life or that of your grandmother/granddaughter that you think were pivotal moments in your relationship.
3. How does your relationship with your grandmother/granddaughter differ from other relationships? How are they similar?
4. *What do you hope your grandmother/granddaughter will get out of knowing you? Probe here: what it means to be a “woman”, relationships across the lifespan, spirituality, balance between work and home.*
5. How do you think that each of you getting older and maturing has influenced your relationship?

Appendix C: Demographic Form

Name: _____

1. Year of birth: _____**2. Family Role:** a. Grandmother b. Granddaughter**3. Ethnicity:**

- a. Caucasian/White b. African-American/Black
- c. Asian/Pacific Islander d. Hispanic/Latino
- e. American Indian/ Alaskan Native f. Other _____

4. Education (highest grade level):

- a. 8th grade or below b. Some high school c. High school/
GED
- d. Some college e. College graduate f. Some post
graduate
- g. Master's Degree or above

5. Marital status:

- a. Single b. Married c. Widowed
- d. Divorced/separated e. Non-married partner

6. Religion: _____**7. Current work status:**

- a. Full-time b. Part-time c. Homemaker d. Student
- e. Retired f. Disabled

8. Past work status:

- a. Full-time b. Part-time c. Homemaker d. Student
- e. Retired f. Disabled

Thank you very much for your time and assistance!

Appendix D: Interview Guide for Semi-Structured Interviews

Interview questions based off Kemp (2002) and adapted for our study.

1. Please tell me about your relationship with your grandmother or granddaughter, starting with the earliest memory.
2. Please tell me about any events or moments in your life or that of your grandmother/granddaughter that you think were changing or meaningful moments in your relationship.
3. How does your relationship with your grandmother/granddaughter differ from other relationships? How are they similar?
4. What do you hope your grandmother/granddaughter will get out of knowing you?
 - a. Probe here: what it means to be a “woman”, relationships across the lifespan, spirituality, balance between work and home.
5. How do you think that each of you getting older and maturing has influenced your relationship?

Appendix E: Consent Forms

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Grandmothers and Their Granddaughters: Defining Womanhood through Intergenerational Interactions

You are being asked to take part in a research study titled “Grandmothers and Their Granddaughters: Defining Womanhood through Intergenerational Interactions,” which is being conducted by professor Denise C. Lewis, Ph. D., Department of Child and Family Development, University of Georgia, , and Ms. Desiree Paulin, Department of Child and Family Development, University of Georgia. Your participation is voluntary; you can proceed at your own pace, refuse to participate, and can stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty. You can ask to have information related to you returned to you, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to better understand the co-learning and exchange of values between grandmothers and granddaughters. By doing this study, we hope to identify ways in which grandmothers and granddaughters influence one another, and how positive exchange can promote self-growth and transmission of family values. If you take part in this study, you will be one of about 32 people to do so.

You can expect Dr. Lewis or Ms. Paulin to ask questions about your experiences associated with family values, spirituality, balance between work and home, sexuality development, gender development, and demographics. In particular, Dr. Lewis or Ms. Paulin also will ask about your feelings and values surrounding your experiences as a grandmother or granddaughter. Researchers will audiotape and make written notes during your interviews. You may review these notes and can make corrections. After the completion of the study, all audiotapes will be erased.

To be included in this study, you must be at least 18 years old, be available in the Athens-Clarke County area, and you must be part of a grandmother-granddaughter pair, both of which agree to participate. You may be given a parking pass for complimentary parking on campus while participating in this study. You will receive a \$25.00 gift card to the Simon Mall Corporation for your participation. It will cost you nothing to participate in this research.

If you decide to take part in this study, the focus group will be held in 262 Dawson Hall, University of Georgia, and the interviews will be conducted in your home or at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education. Dr. Lewis or Ms. Paulin will interview you up to 3 times. The first interview will take about 2 hours. The remaining interview(s) will take about 1 hour. The total amount of time you will be asked to volunteer for this study is up to 4 hours over the next 12 months.

To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be talking about with us have no more risk of harm than you would experience when talking to some friend or family member about routine life and relationships with your granddaughter/grandmother.

You and/or your family member may benefit from taking part in this study. This may include identifying family relationships in which you can serve as a catalyst for personal growth. In this situation you will identify ways in which you and your family members influence one another, and how positive exchange can promote self-growth and transmission of family values. This study will illuminate ways that younger generations and older generations are active participants in shaping their environments, which in turn shapes both their own individuality and their relationships as family members.

Dr. Lewis or Ms. Paulin may need to take you off of the study. They may do this if you are not able to follow the directions they give you or if they find that your being in the study is more risk than benefit to you.

Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. Only Dr. Lewis and Ms. Paulin will have access to documents containing your name and personal information. When we write up the study to share it with other researchers, we will write about this combined information. You will not be identified in these written materials. Any information that is obtained in connection with this study that can be identified with you will remain confidential unless required by law.

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions about the study, you can contact the investigator, Denise C. Lewis, or you may contact Desiree M. Paulin.

Your signature below indicates that Dr. Lewis or Ms. Paulin have answered all of your questions to your satisfaction and that you consent to volunteer for this study. You have been given a copy of this form.

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

Denise C. Lewis, Ph.D.
Child and Family Development
University of Georgia

Signature

Date

Desiree M. Paulin
Child and Family Development
University of Georgia

Signature

Date

Printed name of Grandmother

Signature

Date

Printed name of Granddaughter

Signature

Date