

**GRANDPARENT-GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP: AN
IN-DEPTH CASE STUDY**



**By
ANUM SARFRAZ**

A Research Report Submitted to

Dr. Muhammad Ajmal
National Institute of Psychology
Centre of Excellence
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

**In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the
DEGREE OF MASTERS OF PSYCHOLOGY**

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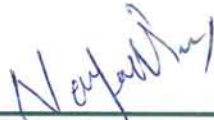
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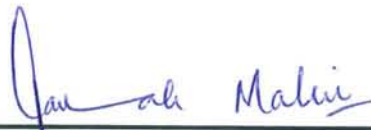
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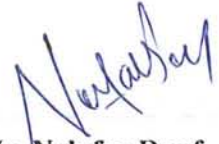
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**GRANDPARENT-GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP: AN
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ABSTRACT

The present study aimed at exploring the grandparent-grandchild relationship employing the case study method of a single extended family. The in-depth exploration was aimed at studying the relationship in a family system's theory perspective, the views of grandparents and grandchildren regarding this relationship and the difference in grandparent's relationship quality with individual grandchildren. The tools employed were semi-structured interviews, along with participant observation and personal documentation. . The analysis technique included thematic analysis. The results through the enumeration system included the strength of each theme in each unit and the sum of all the themes in all units. The major themes regarding the family systems theory were found in order of their correspondent strength as i) Family roles ii) Multigenerational transmission process iii) Family rules iv) Distancer-pursuer dyad v) Triangulation vi) Distribution of power vii) Communication and viii) Differentiation of self. The sub themes within each theme were also generated and enumerated following the same rules. The themes in grandparents' views about the relationship were generated in their correspondent strength as i) Achievement ii) Commitment iii) & iv) Happiness and Quality time v) & vi) Affiliation and Love vii) Respect and care. The themes in grandchildren's views about the relationship were generated in their correspondent strength as i) Friendship ii) Help iii) Saviors iv) Love and care and v) Quality time. Though the quality of grandparent relationship was found to be same with all grandchildren yet there was some difference in the perceptions of individual grandchildren and grandparents regarding the quality of the relationship. The themes and other results along with verbatim elaborations were discussed in light of cultural salience, evident literature and family systems theory. Being a qualitative research the present study can serve as a substantial foundation for future work in this area.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Relationships form the essence of one's life, bringing a certain joy, purpose and encouragement that enriches one's whole being with love and hope. Though diverse in their nature and intensity, the most important and primary relationship of all is the one most commonly known as the "family". The package of family brings with it a lot of bonuses that are to be cherished and held dear for one's well-being and positive growth. Within the family several relationships exist, each holding its own place in one's life, such as the husband-wife relationship, the parent-child relationship, the siblings relationship, and so on. All these relationships clearly speak of what they revolve around, that is, the needs, desires and the feelings of one another.

According to Olson and Defrain (1997) the significance of these relationships is beautifully highlighted as they state that the relationships we experience growing up in our families stay with us all our lives, strongly influencing the kinds of families we create as adults and how we respond in our day to day activities. Having said so much about family relationships, there is one such relationship that has no boundaries or limits to its intensity, as it grows and propels further resulting in the development of those bound in it. It is a relationship that is formed not by chance, or by choice, rather it is a relationship that is there because it was destined to be that way. Though, like any other relationship it has its pitfalls, yet it remains a source of positive enrichment. The relationship is the one flourishing between grandparents and grandchildren. Stravinsky (2007) states that "It's one of nature's ways that we often feel closer to distant generations than to the generation immediately preceding us".

The word "grandparents" can bring forth different feelings and images in one's mind; being funny, loving, cooperative, supportive, compassionate, and enjoyable on one side while they may also arouse certain feelings of being authoritative, restrictive, not very playful, complaining and bothersome on the other side. The same is the case with "grandchildren" the word arouses mixed feelings depending on one's experiences, past knowledge and stereotypes. For some it may denote feelings of worth, affiliation and pride while for others it might symbolize rude, rowdy, bothersome, and ungrateful.

The role of grandparents in a society like ours cannot be denied, from the perspective of child growth, family stability as well as family dynamics. Though the phenomenon is particularly vast, and intricate, yet it holds an eminent place in the life of a child. This relationship has been explored in the West, with reference to grandparents living away from their grandchildren, and yet the results show significant results with respect to the role each has to play in the other's lives, both emotionally as well as socially. In Pakistani culture the joint family system is quite prevalent, which nevertheless leads to certain eye opening issues, both positive and negative.

Among the negative issues a phenomenon that is rapidly developing these days is that of a certain distance between these two generations. A possible reason for the present distance can be the varying expectations and the cognitive aspects of the relationship as viewed by the generations (grandparent and grandchild). Both view the relationship from different perspectives thus weighing some elements as being more important and primary in the relationship than the other does. Block (2000) determined that a significant difference existed between the perceptions of grandparents and grandchildren regarding their relationship, thus affecting the nature of the relationship.

In order to make a firm foundation for this study's progression, it is necessary to highlight the important concepts behind the main work. The base for the focal interest of this research is grounded in the establishment, maintenance and further nurturance of relationships.

Relationships

A relationship is a bond between two people. The people may be friends, family members, or people that are known but not that close. The bond may include shared interests, an exchange of information, or shared feelings. Some relationships never grow beyond a casual conversation, others become deep and lasting, such relationships are the ones that develop, usually over time (Plate & Eubanks, 1997).

Quality relationships are capable of making differences in one's life. Such relationships allow an individual room for sharing his feelings, thoughts and ideas, thus propagating support when needed. The interest in life, the active functioning in life and

the enthusiasm of approaching life are all traits attained by the one who has good relationships at home, school, job and so on.

According to Plate and Eubanks (1997) the important aspects of a healthy and a successful relationship are as follows

Communication- the exchange of information, facts, opinions and feelings. Exchanging information employs sending and receiving messages depending on what and how they are conveyed. It includes both verbal and non-verbal messages (body language). Other aspects include *showing care, empathizing with others, cooperating, being accepting and patient and showing respect along with courtesy.*

The barriers to communication and consequently to relationships include *Lies and accusations, nagging and preaching, insults and threats, a "know-it-all" attitude, sarcasm and stereotypes and prejudice.*

Family relationships

Being a dynamic social structure, family has been defined variously, with slight variations regarding the relationships it builds and the functions it plays in the lives of those who are a part of it. American Association of Family and Consumer Sciences states that "A family is defined as two or more persons who share resources, share responsibility for decisions, share values and goals, and have a commitment to one another over time" (Olson & Defrain, 1997).

Though families hold an important place in every individual's life, yet our culture particularly, derives a lot more from the family network. Hence, the present study emphasizes families and their role in one's development and further nourishment. A family not only provides ground for physical and financial growth but it also provides sufficient substance for emotional, social and personal growth of an individual. This social growth is promoted when adult members of the family teach younger ones how to behave in different settings and how to get along with others while emotional growth consists of a loving and caring environment. Children learn how to express feelings and give, as well as receive support. Also they learn respect and responsibility.

A definition much closer to the relationship framework is provided by the Family Service of America which states that “Families provide emotional, physical, and economic mutual aid to their members. Ideally such families are characterized by intimacy, intensity, continuity, and commitment among their members” (Olson & Defrain, 1997).

The closeness and the bond experienced by family members can be explained as an “intimate relationship”, for all the relationships developing in the realm of a family are much more than just casual associations as those of friends, colleagues etc. According to Miller, Perlman and Brehm (2007) the major distinguishing aspects of intimate relationships are: *knowledge* about each other, sharing information about preferences, feelings and desires that are not revealed to every other person. *Caring* about each other, which increases the closeness felt towards each other. *Interdependence* between the members bound in a relationship, the extent to which they need and influence each other is frequent, strong diverse and enduring. High degree of *mutuality* is present; as they recognize the overlap between their lives and think themselves as “us” instead of “me”. The quality of *trust* makes these relationships tolerable; the expectation that one is treated fairly and that no undue harm will result from the specific relationship. The last aspect is that of *commitment* to the relationship. These are the particular aspects that highlight the significance of family relationships, thus marking them with a unique unrelenting force that speaks of their special nature.

Plate and Eubanks (1997) identified certain aspects that could act as the stepping stones towards building a stronger family. These include:

Spending time together, observing traditions, communicating frequently and effectively, working together to solve problems, sharing the work load, respecting the privacy of others, showing consideration, putting family needs first, sharing beliefs, sharing love and appreciation for each other, being tolerant and patient and having a positive attitude.

Types of Families

Several different types of families have been identified, each having its own unique pattern of lifestyle along with a communication pattern as well as a relational bond. The importance of family type cannot be denied as according to Craig, Kermis and Digdon (2002), the type of family in which a child is born can dramatically affect the expectations, roles, beliefs, and interrelationships that the child will experience throughout life. Before moving on to the specific family type of interest and focus, it is necessary to mention some of the prevalent family styles in order to form a complete picture. These are as follows:

Nuclear Family-Traditionally referred to as a biological family, consisting of a husband, wife, and their unmarried children, all of whom live as a unit apart from relatives, neighbors, and friends. In such families the family composition is less important than other factors, including family well-being and the types of relationships that family members have with one another (Craig et al, 2002). Thus in such families the family cohesion is the strongest, uniting the family as one. But the social skills of children brought up in these families are not as diverse and open as in other family types where the interactional individuals are greater in number.

Single-Parent Family- A family headed by one parent, who has never married, or who has been left alone after a death, divorce or desertion. Such children on one hand face a lot of negative criticism from outsiders as well as insensitive adults, due to which they have to be strong in themselves, while on the other hand the family is free of the tensions faced by other families headed by both parents, and as a result the child's needs are the primary focus. And a certain internal collaboration exists between the parent and the child.

Blended Family- A form of the stepfamily in which both the spouses have children from a previous relationship along with children of their own (biological children of that couple). Such families are also increasing and at a greater risk of adversities as the compatibility and acceptance among the stepchildren, and half-brothers and sisters along with the stepparents is a challenging task. Also relationship with former partners can be a serious hindrance in establishing a worthwhile relationship (Hildebrand, 1997).

Foster Family-A family that cares for children, in a family setting, who are not their own and are directed to them through special government agencies. These may be nuclear, single - parent, or blended (The Nemours Foundation, 2008).

Adoptive Family-A family in which the child may not be blood related to the parents but has been legally adopted by them. (May be nuclear, single - parent, or blended).

Step Family-These families are generally created by divorce and remarriage, rather than by the death of the mother or father. In stepfamilies, biologically unrelated children often live in the same household (Olsen, 1996).

Extended Families

Extended family is a familiar term related to our society and culture for it illustrates the frequently and commonly practiced family system here. In an extended family (one having many relatives and several generations close by), children may be cared for by a variety of people, uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, or older siblings, as well as parents (Craig et al.,2002).

In the past, the extended family had been responsible for the care of the grandparents, thus, including them as a respected and accepted member of the family. Most often the word “kin” is used in anthropological studies to demonstrate the extended families (Bell, 1981).

Though the extended family has its advantages both for the grandparents as well as other members of the family, yet it implies certain problems or issues as well. Often the grandparents turn to their kin to look after them in a social and psychological sense rather than a physical way. Kinship carries with it special demands .When the ties of kinship are the strongest they are based on positive concern, which is a function of its permanence, love and obligation. Implied is a sense of duty and very often there is no guarantee of positive rewards or satisfaction for the kin (Bell, 1981). Thus living with the grandparents and accommodating them in a family is an important decision which can lead to certain problems if not dealt with care and considerable thought.

The extended family, in our society has been one of the most primary family systems to be practiced. It is also known as the joint family system. Though some changes in the family styles are occurring yet, the extended family is considered to be one of the popular ones. This significance can be established by a very common observation that though some families don't practice the extended family system yet they accept the merits and positive aspects of it that appear missing in their nuclear families. The care and love received by children along with the respect and a feeling of generativity and belongingness experienced by the grandparents has remarkable consequences which keep them united as one big family; the extended family. There do exist certain problems but they are dealt on a daily basis, especially since Pakistan advocates a collectivistic culture therefore, the need for personal space and individuation is not as immense as in the West. If in some cases such issues do arise, they are tackled by maintaining a balance between individual needs for independence and grandparental needs for closeness and affiliation. Usually this is achieved by teaching children to respect grandparents and tolerate them with patience and obedience. Along with this grandparents also tend to regard for their grandchildren's likes and dislikes. The love the grandchildren receive from grandparents usually brings them closer to them, compelling them to spend their free time with grandparents rather than wanting to distance from them. Since in our society extended family system is practiced in those families which have a history of such family systems in their past. Therefore the grandparents are aware of the issues and dilemmas that are prone to arise if care is not exercised. Therefore they tend not to interfere much in the family's internal matters, instead letting the younger generation come to them for consultation. In this way they neither become interfering and imposing nor do they lose their connection and feelings of bonding with the family. Thus a harmony and balance is maintained from both sides. This particularly leads to the healthy accommodation and prosperity of the extended family system in Pakistan.

Grandparent-Grandchild Relationship

The grandparent-grandchild relationship has been extensively studied in the West from different aspects and viewpoints, bringing a vast amount of knowledge ready to be probed and analyzed. But unfortunately, work in this area is very scarce in Pakistan. One reason why it has not yet been focused could be the developmental nature

of this country, for there are other issues that need to be targeted rather than the grandparents and grandchildren. Also because the extended family has been a system being practiced so far with no sudden changes, it is now that the changes have started arising, being in both directions, that is the increasing number of extended as well nuclear families. Therefore, researches and literature most relevant to our society, regarding this topic, are being quoted here.

It is truly astounding to find that the West has started appreciating and practicing the extended family system to some extent in recent decades. Though it is not the extended family, as practiced in our society with uncles, aunts and grandparents, yet a certain amount of acceptance has arisen regarding the accommodation of grandparents (usually single due to death or divorce) in the family. This is one of the major reasons why such studies encompassing grandparents have taken their toll, as issues related to this change have become significant. According to a research by Peterson (2001), the census data for 2000 revealed that 5 to 6 million grandparents lived with their grandchildren (as cited in Schaefer, 2004). Another reason for this relationship's significance and coming to light is the increase in life expectancy which has not only increased the chances of children having living grandparents but also increased the grandparenting years along with changing the picture of the traditional grandparent (Cox & Canada, 1994).

According to Schaie & Geiwitz (1982), in general five different styles of grandparenting have been identified:

Formal style-the grandparents separate themselves from the child-rearing role and offer no advice.

Fun-seeking style- the grandparents play with their grandchildren, enjoying them as a source of leisure activity, and cultivate an informal relationship.

Distant- the grandparents act benevolent but remote.

Surrogate parent- a style when mother works and grandmother (usually) becomes the primary caregiver.

Reservoir of family wisdom- the grandfather (usually) dispenses skills or resources and the parents play a subordinate role.

The grandparent-grandchild relationship also holds its significance due to the emotional gains it provides for both grandparents and grandchildren simultaneously. This aspect of the relationship is supported by a research carried out by Bengston (2005) that indicated high level of emotional bonding across generations. At the same time, not all intergenerational relationships display such high levels of emotional closeness. It was established by Clarke and his colleagues (1999) that one in five relationships is characterized by either significant conflict or detachment (as cited in Cherlin, 2005). Thus the grandparent-grandchild relationship has its darker side to it as well, along with the brighter side of the picture.

Significance of grandparent-grandchild relationship. The significance of grandparents in the lives of their grandchildren cannot be denied, neither from the standpoint of grandchildren nor from that of the entire family's well-being and growth. According to Silverstein and Ruiz (2006), grandparents have a significant role in family's well being for they are consequential family actors, who by conditioning parent-child dynamics, influence the long-term emotional well-being of their grandchildren. Thus from a family systems perspective a strong cohesion between grandparents and grandchildren can lead to better prospects for the grandchild's development in adverse circumstances. For the grandparents tend to neutralize the day to day tensions existing within the family, usually between parents or the ones experienced in families with working mothers. Research suggests that children find unique acceptance in their relationships with grandparents, which benefits them emotionally as well as mentally (Duncan & Beebe, n.d). Thus the grandparent-grandchild relationship has far-reaching benefits for grandchildren.

The intergenerational contact reflects high value for family connection along with reduced fear of old age and the elderly among children exposed to such contact (Dehaan & Brotherson, 2006). Thus grandparents evoke feelings of connection with family roots among children. Along with this the stereotype of old age being frail and deadly is also broken to some extent as the children directly face and live with such people. In this way they get to learn to the contrary, through direct experience. The results of a research conducted by Hodgson (1992) revealed that the grandparent-

grandchild relationship also establishes family norms of reciprocity and strengthens links between generations (as cited in Quadagno, 2005).

Studies also indicate that adolescents tend to feel closer to their mother's parents than to their father's parents; and closer to grandmothers than to grandfathers (Children, Youth and Family Consortium, 2002). Since the research has been conducted in the West it can be hypothesized that such results emerge due to the greater involvement of maternal grandparents in the grandchild's life as compared to paternal grandparents, keeping their issues of teenage pregnancies, divorce and single mothers in mind. On the other hand in our society grandchildren tend to be closer to their paternal grandparents. This is an important reason why the present research focused on paternal grandparents which is a common practice with whom the entire family lives. Papalia, Olds and Feldman (2007) have also identified through their work that in general, grandmothers have closer, warmer, and more affectionate relationships with their grandchildren, especially with granddaughters than grandfathers do.

Grandchildrens' Perceptions of their Relationship with Grandparents

Grandchildrens' perceptions of their relationships with grandparents have not been extensively explored. The work that has been done provides significant information about the relationship from grandchildrens' perspective.

An important research by Rani and Sharma (2004), carried out on adolescents' attitudes towards their grandparents, has brought forth the results indicating that females tend to be more protective, loving and involved with their grandparents as compared to males who tend to be more rejective, demanding and disobeying of the rules of their grandparents. This clearly indicates that grandparents are perceived more favorably by girls than boys which, as indicated by the mentioned research, has direct consequences on the grandparent-grandchild relationship. In another research by Jenkins, Papalia and Lopez (2005) the perceived significance of grandparents in the lives of grandchildren was explored. The results revealed that grandchildren had positive feelings for their grandparents and enjoyed their company. Ross, Hill, Sweeting and Burley (2005) clustered the findings of their research regarding grandchildren's perception about the relationship as follows:

Kinship-family; to be respected, as elders; less disciplining than parents.

Positive characteristics/behaviors- unconditional love; spoil you; give you treats, gifts and money; look after you; always there for you; confidante; kind; nice and funny.

Negative characteristics/behaviors- stubborn; annoying; embarrassing; moaning and interfering.

Age-related issues- old; need care and support; traditional.

Associated activities- knitting; cooking; sedentary lifestyles.

According to Schaie & Geiwitz (1982) grandchildren feel positively towards their grandparents and expect little from them except an emotional relationship. Thus the relationship is perceived more in terms of emotional, psychological assets rather than any material, physical demands. Similarly, family members, especially grandchildren draw support and feelings of well-being just by knowing that their grandparents are alive and available (Cox, 2006). In other words “just being there” is an important aspect of grandparents that triggers feelings of love, affection and satisfaction in grandchildren evoking favorable perceptions of their relationship with grandparents.

Grandparents’ Perception of their Relationship with Grandchildren

Grandparents’ perceptions of the grandparent-grandchild relationship are of importance as well, for it is these perceptions and beliefs that shape their behavior and attitude toward their grandchildren.

Harwood and Lin (2000) identified the themes of affiliation, pride, exchange (primarily of advice and information), and feeling distance from their grandchildren while studying the place of the grandparent-grandchild relationship in the grandparents’ lives and their general orientation to their grandchildren. This research indicates that the relationship is seen in a positive light from the standpoint of grandparents as they have an “intergenerational stake” to maintain. The proposition narrates that each generation’s stake reflects the way in which the bond enables the person to attain personal goals. Parents, who often see their children as perpetuating parental ideals and valued institutions, have a stake in close relationship, and so they tend to deny differences. Children who need to see themselves as distinct from their parents, have a stake in autonomy, and so they tend to magnify existing differences (Schaie & Geiwitz, 1982).

This is the reason why grandparents appear to be more invested in their grandparent-grandchild relationships than their grandchildren. Consequently, grandparents may feel gratitude when their investment in the relationship is reciprocated by their grandchildren (Quadagno,2005). In such cases they tend to minimize the effects of negative interactions with grandchildren or try to ignore them and exaggerate and remember only those that leave them feeling happy and worthwhile. In a research it was indicated that grandparents tend to prize their children's and grandchildren's affection and respect, valuing them more than they value assistance or other negative setbacks taking place within the family (Schaie & Geiwitz, 1982). Though both generations; grandparents and grandchildren, express high levels of positive sentiment, but grandparents consistently rated the relationship somewhat more positively than did their grandchildren (Schaie & Geiwitz, 1982). Along with these results the research by Barer (2002), includes the grandparents' perception of receiving expressive rewards from their role and from close, loving supportive relationships with their grandchildren. Grandparents perception of support derived from the grandparent-grandchild relationship has also been reported by Cox (2006), which is often viewed as a family strength by them. Thus the grandparent-grandchild relationship provides them with a venue to express themselves and exhibit their emotions and feelings without any restrains. Also they are capable of freely enacting what they usually can't in their own age-related roles. According to Schaie & Geiwitz (1982) grandchildren provide an outlet for the grandparents to deviate from their age-appropriate norms of being calm and sophisticated, instead they can be "foolish", giggling and playing games that their age and dignity would normally forbid. Research indicates that grandmothers percieve the relationship in terms of "love", "enjoyment" and "happiness" while both grandmothers and grandfathers characterize the grandparent-grandchild relationship with talking, giving advice and supporting their grandchildren (Ross et al, 2005). For some grandparents fulfilling the roles of grandparents can bring back many of the joys and satisfaction of their own early family life (Cox,2006). Grandparents also percieve feelings of having a new purpose in life through the grandparent-grandchild relationship (Jendrek, 1993). Other indicators toward grandchildren percieved as a new purpose in life are mentioned by Cox (2006) that for grandparents, grandchildren can mean companionship, renewal of intimate contact and a sense of being needed and useful.

Blackburn (2000) concluded from his study on 121 grandparents that there also exist conflicting emotions in grandparents' perceptions about the relationship for they reported enjoyment along with disruption of their life circling around the grandchildren (As cited in Knox & Schacht, 2002). Other aspects highlighted from grandparents' standpoint that lead to their dissatisfied perception of the relationship include exhaustion, having no time for self, responsibility without authority and increased conflict with own children (Trafton, 1985 as cited in Knox & Schacht, 2002).

Quality of Grandparent Relationship with Individual Grandchildren

The kinds of relationships grandparents have with their grandchildren vary considerably.

Grandparents often have "selective investment" in grandchildren. Grandparents may only relate to one or two of many grandchildren, remaining detached or passive with others (Cox, 2006). This clearly shows that grandparents have different relationships with different grandchildren. Grandparents tend to have a more close and involved relationship with the grandchild whom they rate and perceive positively on his attributes (Mueller & Elder, (2003). Grandparents develop distinct relationships with different grandchildren as Fingerman (1998) studied the effect these distinct relationships have on the well-being of grandparents. His participants also provided descriptions of a grandchild who is particularly special, one about whom they worry, and a subset of grandparents described a grandchild who irritated them. The characteristics that render a grandchild emotionally salient to a grandparent included the attributes of the grandchild along with his age.

Theoretical Perspectives

Several family theories have been proposed, attempting to explain family dynamics and relationships from different perspectives focusing on varying aspects of the family. Before moving on to the theory of focus, it is necessary to mention some of the salient theories describing families. These are summarized below:

Family Developmental Theory- This theory, organized and developed by Paul Glick, Evelyn Duvall, Reuben Hill, and Rachel Ann Edwards, is an approach to studying families, useful in explaining patterned change, the dynamic nature of the

family, and how change occurs in the family life cycle. The theory circles around the family life cycle and the developmental tasks to be faced at each stage, by each and every individual of the family. The family life cycle divides the family experiences into stages over the life span and describes changes in family structure and roles during each stage. Developmental tasks are the growth responsibilities that arise at certain stages in the life of the family (Plunkett, n.d). The eight stages of the family include; Married couples stage, Childbearing families stage, Families with pre-school children stage, Families with schoolchildren stage, Families with teenagers stage, Families as launching centers stage, Middle-age parents stage, and Aging family members stage. Each stage has its own transitions and issues to deal with which determines the nature of relationships and interactions within the family.

Symbolic Interactionism- Symbolic interactionism has been an important theoretical perspective in family studies emphasizing the processes of role-making, role definition, role negotiation, and role identity within the family. For example, how the roles of husband and wife are defined during stages of family life; how gender role conceptions affect the definitions of spousal roles; how external events (e.g., parental employment, natural disasters, migration) and internal events (e.g., births, deaths, divorces) affect role definitions, performance, stress, or conflict; and how these role-specific variables affect the attitudes, dispositions, and self-conceptions of family members. The perspective also deals with socialization (the processes through which personalities and self-concepts are formed, values and attitudes are transmitted, and the culture of one generation is passed to the next.), but with a different point of emphasis. The emphasis being on some aspect of the development of self such as , self-esteem, gender, and filial identities (Marriage and Family Encyclopedia, 2008). Thus the basic area of concern for symbolic interactionsism is self and identity originating as a reciprocal process through interaction.

Structural Functionalism- Structural functionalism is a theoretical approach to focusing on the structures of society and their functional significance for other structures; the society being made up of different parts such as economy, education, family, religion, and legal system and each part has its own function. Family is considered to be a productive unit carrying out the function of moral education. As a result of industrialization and modernization, the school comes into play as an important institute for the child's socialization but even then according to the perspective family

still performs an important function of child socialization. Parents act as socializing agents in the family. They teach their children how to act and communicate with each other. Another important aspect of the perspective is the four functions that each system has to perform in order to survive and fulfill its needs, including the family. The four functions are Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration and Latency (AGIL). Thus according to the structural functionalist vision of society, each part of society performs its functions smoothly and each of them is interdependent with one another. Social order and coherence of society are maintained by value consensus and social control. Therefore, this approach portrays society as stable, balanced being in equilibrium and harmony (Yin, 2003).

Family Systems Theory

The family systems theory, also known as the family systems framework was first proposed by Murray Bowen in 1954. This approach to describing the family as a system has become very popular in both theory and practice, particularly with therapists working with families who have problems. Family therapist Carl Whitaker (1979) commented that in a metaphorical sense “there are no individuals in the world- only fragments of families” (Olson & Defrain, 1997). Family systems theory is a philosophy that searches for the causes of behavior, not in the individual alone, but in the interactions among the members of a group (Child Welfare Manual, 2007).

Jenkins et al (2005) conducted a research on adolescents’ view of their grandparents, producing results that suggested that they expressed positive feelings about spending leisure time with grandparents. Another important implication of this research’s findings was to view the family as a system and explore the role parents play in determining the quality of adolescents' relations with grandparents. This indicates that recent work being done on grandparent-grandchild relationship has started hinting towards a holistic, complete and a systems approach that encompasses the family in deriving the significance and nature of the particular relationship.

According to the theory, everything that happens to any family member has an impact on everyone else in the family because family members are interconnected and operate as a group or a “family system”, and no member or relationship in the family

can be studied in isolation from the rest of the family (Olson & Defrain, 1997). Further, the family has properties of its own that can be known only by looking at the relationships and interactions among all members (Child Welfare Manual, 2007). Bowen, the developer of the theory, conceptualized the family as an emotional unit, a network of interlocking relationships, best understood when analyzed within a multigenerational or historical framework (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000).

The Family Systems Theory derives its postulates from General Systems Theory. West and Turner (2006) have outlined the salient properties around which the entire Family Systems Theory operates. These are briefly described below:

Wholeness-A system cannot be understood by taking each of its parts in isolation from one another. The relationship between people is like a third entity, which extends beyond each of the people individually. Each person's reactions, contributions and perceptions of the other make a difference in how they behave. Also the way the relationship is perceived by each of them makes a difference.

Interdependence-The members of a system depend on each other and are affected by one another.

Hierarchy-It relates to complex relationships within the family, that is, the shifts and accommodations within the system don't exist in a vacuum, rather these complex relationships form the basis and the environment for the family dynamic and its functioning. Families are organized into numerous interpersonal subsystems, made up of two or more persons and the relationships between or among them (Galvin, Dickson & Marrow, 2006). For example the three-person subsystem: that has three dyads (mother-son, grandmother-grandson, mother daughter).

Boundaries or openness- Hierarchy is formed by creating boundaries around each separate system. However, human systems are inherently open.

Calibration-How the systems check on themselves and self-correct. If a problem occurs and the grandchild, provides feedback to his grandmother for some alteration in her behavior then they are recalibrating by change, it's a result of positive feedback.

Equifinality- Family systems are considered goal oriented entities that a particular final state or goal may be accomplished in different ways from different starting points (Galvin et al, 2006). Goals can be "creating a happy family", "instilling

family values in children” and these may be achieved in various ways across various families.

The mentioned postulates form the crux of the theory, that every aspect of the family is to be considered as a subsystem of the main system; the family. The underlying notion states that no matter what is being considered within the family, it is to be explained and understood in collaboration with the entire family’s framework for everything is interconnected and affects the other.

After forming the main crux of the theory as derived from its roots (General Systems Theory), now we move to the basic assumptions of Family Systems Theory. These assumptions provide a picture of how the family is perceived and viewed in light of this particular theory.

Assumptions of Family Systems Theory

According to the Child Welfare Manual (2007), the basic assumptions, components and the relationships within a Family Systems Theory are described below, followed by an illustration.

Family structure- It consists of the descriptive characteristics of the family defining the nature of the members along with the cultural and ideological styles that consequently shape and govern the interactions of the family members. This acts as the input of the system.

Family interaction- The process of interaction among family members that determines the rules by which the family is governed, thus marking the family's level of cohesion, adaptability, and its communication style. Finally, these interactions work together to serve individual members along with collective family needs. This acts as the hub of the system.

*Family function-*Utilizing the resources available through its structure (input), the family interacts to produce responses that fulfill its needs. This acts as the output of the interactional system.

Family life cycle- As the family moves through time, developmental and non-developmental changes alter the family structure and/or the family's needs. These, in turn,

produce change in the way the family interacts. This introduces the element of change into the family system.

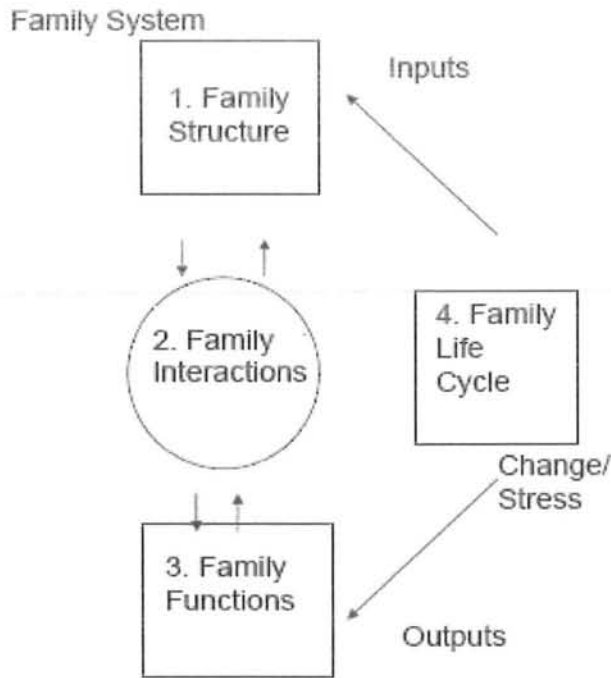


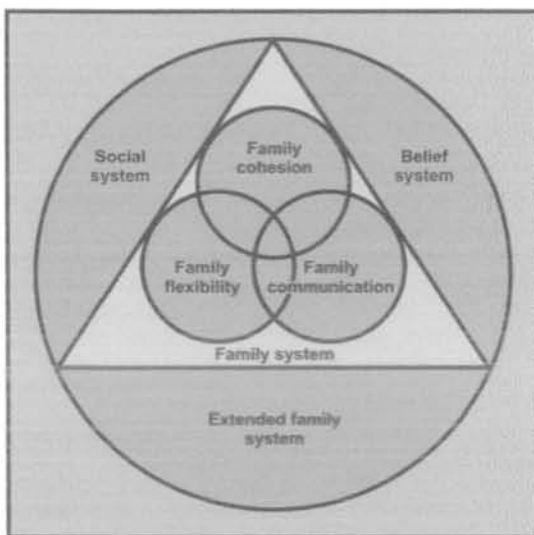
Figure 1- Flow Chart of Family Systems Theory

The flow chart depicts the nature of interdependability of the salient components and interactions working within the family, which on the whole form a complete system. The basic component is the family structure which is affected by the family interactions and vice versa. In turn the family functions, the ultimate goal achievements, of the family which contribute into the output of the family working as a system affect the family interactions and vice versa. Besides these three components operating in coalition with one another there is another factor; the family life cycle, which brings change within the family system by governing the developmental or non-developmental transitions taking place within the family in time. Thus fueling the input (family structure) as well as shaping the output (family function).

The Family Systems Theory is practically implemented into the family's dynamics as a unitary whole through the Family Circumplex Model. The reason why this model is being used is that it clearly combines all the aspects as used in the research, thus formulating a complete picture of how the theory operates in a family.

Family Circumplex Model

After forming the foundations of the family systems theory it is necessary to explore the three basic tenants of the theory that form the basis of family interaction; cohesion (togetherness), adaptability (flexibility) and communication (Olson & Defrain, 1997). These are best explained via the Family Circumplex Model which is a relationship map built on the Family Systems Theory. The basic features of the Circumplex Model are illustrated in the figure 2, emphasizing the nature of their interaction and interdependence.



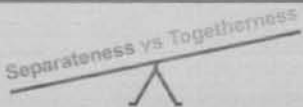



Belief system- of families includes spiritual beliefs and a certainty that family members on their own and as a unit can deal with the challenges that confront them.

Social system is an important resource for families because it includes economic resources and educational and related opportunities

Note: From Marriage and the family: Diversity and strengths (p. 55), by D.H. Olson and J. Defrain, 1997, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Figure 2 – Family system characteristics –Family Circumplex model


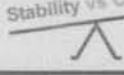
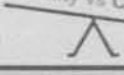

Family cohesion is defined as a feeling of emotional closeness with another person. It includes commitment and time together. Commitment to the family includes trust, honesty, dependability, and faithfulness. Time together means spending a considerable amount of quality time together, sharing activities, feelings, and ideas, and enjoying each other's company. The four levels of family cohesion and their respective balance in the family are illustrated in the figure 3 on the following page:

DISENGAGED System		Unbalanced
CONNECTED System		Balanced
COHESIVE System		Balanced
ENMESHED System		Unbalanced

Note: From *Marriage and the family: Diversity and strengths* (p. 86), by D.H. Olson and J. Defrain, 1997, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Figure 3- Four Levels of Family Cohesion

Family flexibility is the amount of change that occurs in leadership, role relationships, and relationship rules. There must be a balance between stability and change. It includes the ability to deal with stress and having helpful spiritual beliefs. Coping abilities include using personal and family resources; helping each other; seeing crises as challenges, not denying them; and growing together by working through crises. Spiritual well-being includes happiness, optimism, hope, faith, and a set of shared ethical values that guide family members through life's challenges. The four levels of family flexibility given by the Family Circumplex Model are illustrated in figure 4 (See Annexure A for dimensions along which these levels operate).

RIGID System	Stability vs Change 	Unbalanced
STRUCTURED System	Stability vs Change 	Balanced
FLEXIBLE System	Stability vs Change 	Balanced
CHAOTIC System	Stability vs Change 	Unbalanced

Note: From *Marriage and the family: Diversity and strengths* (p. 90), by D.H. Olson and J. Defrain, 1997, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Figure 4. Four Levels of Family Flexibility.

Family communication focuses on positive communication and on appreciating and having affection for family members. Positive communication includes open, straightforward discussion, being cooperative rather than competitive and sharing feelings with one another. Appreciation and affection include kindness, caring for each other, respect for individuality, and a feeling of security.

Research focusing on the Circumplex model and family communication also indicates that mutual influence among family subsystems highlights the issues of interdependence as central (Galvin et al, 2006). For example it is common for problems in parent-child relationship to be associated with the child's functioning across the family dynamics (See Annexure B for the six dimensions of family communication given by the Family Circumplex Model).

Postulates Focused In This Research

Apart from the basic assumptions and tenants of the theory the main postulates/forces of the Family Systems Theory that are being focused in this particular

research study are now discussed with special reference to the grandparent-grandchild relationship .The supporting research background is also mentioned.

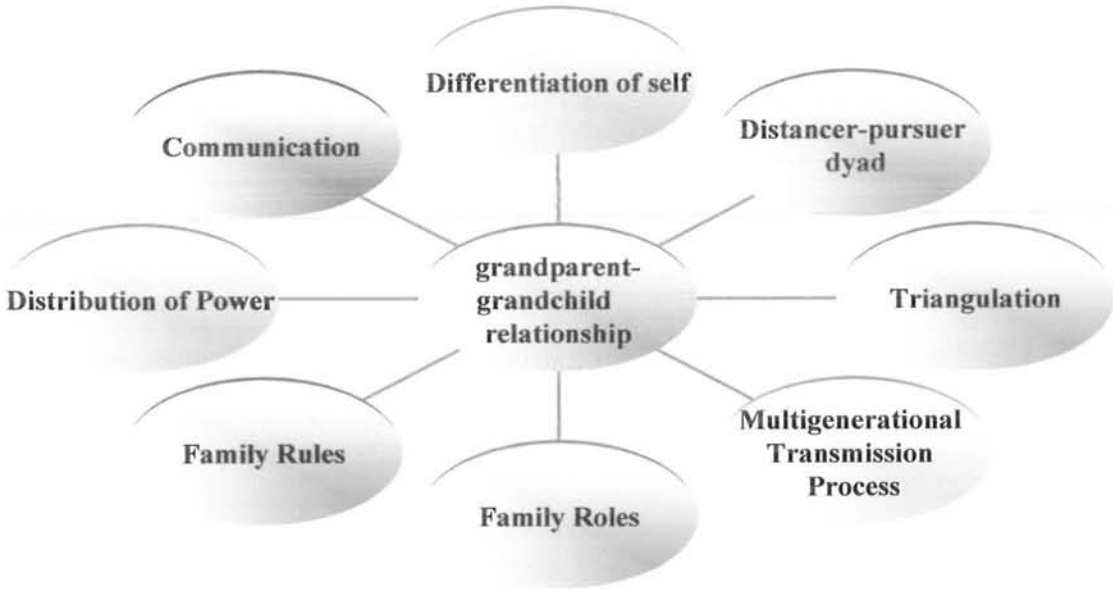


Figure 5. The Postulates Focused in this Research

Differentiation of self

The process by which children develop a balance of independence (autonomy) and connection with their families of origin and with other important social-emotional systems (Hanna & Brown, 2004). In other words, the theory stresses that each family, as a system needs to find a balance between seperatedness and connectedness. Family members are individuals and must develop their individuality, but they must be able to function together. The degree to which differentiation of self occurs in an individual reflects the extent to which that person is able to distinguish between the intellectual process and the feeling process he or she is experiencing, that is, he avoids being driven by emotion. The degree to which one can separate emotionally from parents in growing up is the key element of the theory. Thus individuals should not be driven by emotions they do not understand (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000). In other words, if children act

towards their grandparents driven by emotions reverberated from their parents, such as animosity or hatred, then they would be having poor differentiation of self. Thus differentiation closely relates to the degree of family cohesion

Family Roles

Families are organized in terms of roles. Role is defined as what is expected of each family member. Every family has to work out such things as who cares for the children, who does what work around the house, who makes what decisions, and who handles the money. To function well, a family must have some clarity and agreement about these roles. However, roles need not be so rigid and narrowly defined that there cannot be changes. The most basic types of roles are “father,” “mother,” “aunt,” “daughter,” “son,” “grandmother,” etc. What is expected from people in each of these roles is what is outlined and made clear, either through overt instructions or through indirect behaviors and cues. There are also roles beyond this most basic level.

For example, one person may be the “clown” of the family. Another person may be the “responsible one.” One person may be the “emotional one.” There are a lot of different roles in families.

One role established for grandparents is that of “pleasure without responsibility”; they can enjoy the grandchildren without the obligation and responsibilities they had to shoulder for their own children (Cox & Canada, 1994). Bengston (2001) carried out a longitudinal study of generations on 200 members of three generation families. The results highlighted that the way a person enacts the “grandparent role” is not only a product of his/her personal definition of the role, but a result of how the interconnected family members permit and support intergenerational interactions (as cited in Newman & Newman, 2003). Thus the grandparent role is strongly associated with how the family members define it and allow it to be enacted and practiced. The family roles pertaining to caretaking, authority and decision-making are also associated with grandparents (King & Markus, 2000). This reveals that these roles are often assigned to grandparents within a

family. Other roles commonly assigned to grandparents include "stress buffers," "family watchdogs," "roots," "arbitrators," and "supporters" (Duncan & Beebe, n.d). Other roles identified by the media for grandparents include "silent saviors", "safety net" and the "second line of defense" (Cox, 2006).

Family roles can also act as a source of conflict and tension within the family. Usually problems occur when members of the family do not agree on what a role should be. Reaching agreement on these role-related questions requires effort, understanding and compromise (Plate & Eubanks, 1997).

Family rules

Over a period of time, family members develop rules about how they relate to each other and to the external environment. The interaction of family members typically follows organized, established patterns, based on the family structure; these patterns enable each person to learn what is permitted or expected of him or her as well as others in family transactions (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000).

Rules may be *descriptive* (metaphors describing patterns of interchange) or *prescriptive* (directing what can or cannot occur between members). Many of these rules are "silent contracts," not openly stated. That is they are inferences that all family members draw from the repetitive patterns in the relationships they observe at home. There are rules about communication, such as "children don't argue with their grandparents." There are rules about how decisions are made, how problems are solved, and about how people are supposed to think, feel, and behave. For example when people are angry at each other, do they express this or keep it to themselves? How affectionate or emotional are family members expected or allowed to be with each other? How do decisions get made in the family? Who has input and who is expected to "just go along"? How is the final decision made? Are there limits on "how much" or in what ways kids can argue with their parents? These are some of the questions that are answered in the rule formation process which ultimately influence and determine the interactional process between different relationships existing within the family.

To understand family relationships it is important to learn about the operating rules and the behavioral patterns that maintain them. The rules that are developed by the family system ensure its stability, promote cohesiveness, and help to establish the identity of a family as distinct from other families. A family's rules reveal its values, help set up family roles consistent with these values, and in the process provide dependability and regularity to relationships within the family system. If you understand a family's rules-in some cases rigid, in others loose and vaguely defined- you begin to understand how a family defines its internal relationships (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000).

In an extensive study on the social structure of grandparenthood Apple (1956) established that friendly equality between grandparents and grandchildren appears only when social structure of the family permits it. In other words the family rules allow the relationship to develop with reference to its cohesiveness and closeness. This research signifies the salience of family rules in context of the current study, that is, the grandparent-grandchild relationship; the role they play in the nurturance, development and nature of this relationship.

Distribution of Power

All families must have ways to make decisions and to resolve conflicts. In most families all members have, and need to have, a certain amount of power and influence in some areas. As Aponte (1976) has pointed out, "Family members must have enough power in the family to be able to protect their personal interests in the family at all times, while keeping the well-being of the other members, and of the family as a whole, in mind" (Child Welfare Manual, 2007). Normally, one thinks of power and decision-making as being vested primarily in adult members of the family. However, there can be a great variation in how power is distributed and used in families.

Some families strive for equality and permit everyone to participate in decision-making. Others have a clear and rigidly defined system in which one member of the family holds most of the power. The distribution of power can shift over time as the children grow and exercise autonomy.

The most important consideration is that the family should have an orderly pattern of power distribution. They need one that is reliable, permits the family group to carry out its operations in a reliable fashion, and yet is flexible enough to change as circumstances change. Overly concentrated power in one member of the family, or an arrangement that is so diffuse in distribution that members assume no responsibility, can hinder family operations, and individual growth (Child Welfare Manual, 2007).

In many developing societies such as those in Latin America and Asia , extended family households predominate where the grandparents usually have an important role in child raising and decision-making (Papalia et al, 2007).This clearly demonstrates the distribution of power phenomenon.

Communication

Communication is a foremost property of any family system as a family works out its role organization, its rules of operation and all of its activities, through a process of communication. The communication system parallels the relationship system, since it is through communication that relationships are defined.

Communication patterns express what is going on in relationships in a family. If there is a kind of power struggle occurring between two people, it can be seen in a high level of disagreements. In an extreme situation, the competition between the participants makes decision-making almost impossible. Children in a family in which the parents are in a power struggle with grandparents can often get caught in the cross-fire, getting conflicting messages from the adults. At the other extreme is a situation in which one person is always in the power position, while the other person is always "one-down." Both types of communication patterns are usually present in most relationships.

Families could be located on a scale ranging from "open" to "closed" kinds of communications. On one end would be those in which messages are clear and unambiguous. Individuals can reveal their needs, requests, and desires in a relatively free

manner. Expectations are clear and well-defined. On the other end would be those in which messages are distorted and ambiguous. Individuals do not freely reveal their needs, and there is little congruence between what is felt, said, and done.

Distancer-Pursuer Dyad

Often the roles that various family members take on are related to one another. The distancer-pursuer dyad is one such example in which dyad refers to a relationship between two people only. In such a relationship, one person seeks out closeness with the other person (the pursuer) while his/her partner (the distancer) wants more space or independence and pulls back from the relationship. This relationship might exist in the parent-child relationship, the mother-father relationship or the grandparent-grandchild relationship. For example the grandmother attempts to be close to her granddaughter spending large amount of time with her while the granddaughter tries to avoid such interactions. This process culminates into a vicious cycle as the pursuer (grandmother) pushes for closeness while the distancer (granddaughter) pulls back. The pursuer then feels “abandoned” and thus experiences a greater need for connection and so pushes harder to connect and bond. As a result, the distancer feels “smothered” and pulls away even more. And so the cycle goes on. This phenomenon is referred to as “circular causality”; in family systems, each family member’s behavior is caused by and causes the other family members’ behaviors. They are each impacting the other, in a circular manner.

Multigenerational Transmission Process

There exists a transmission of values, beliefs, emotions and attitudes through generations. The extent of emotionality and stability in the relationship of grandparents and grandchildren is passed on by parents, that is, the level of emotional expression and stability of relationship exercised within the parents’ relationship is transferred to other relationships the child forms. The transmission is more active depending on the sensitivity of the child to his parents’ emotional patterns, how much he’s involved in parental over focusing.

The parents not only transmit their values and attitudes about their own parents (their children's grandparents) into children, but they also transmit their values and attitudes about their grandparents as well. Even grandparents play an active role regarding their behaviors in relation to their experiences. King and Elder (1997) established through two longitudinal studies that the degree to which grandparents are involved in playing their role and the type of involvement they have with grandchildren are significantly influenced by knowing their own grandparents and having experienced a similar relation with them. Thus past experience with grandparents is passed on to the current experience with grandchildren, which shapes and governs the relationship accordingly.

The quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship is mediated by the parents' relationship with their own parents. Research supports this idea for, when parents viewed the grandparent generation as uncaring; the quality of relationships was poorer across all three generations. In other words, grandchildren whose parents had poor relationships with their own parents rated the quality of the relationship lower than those whose parents recalled caring relationships (Quadagno, 2005). This indicates that the nature and intensity of relationships is transferred through generations and no relationship at present exists in isolation from similar relationships in the past. A teenage girl's views about her relationship with her grandmother reflect the influence this conflict has on the current relationship between grandparent and grandchild.

Grandma and I have always been strangers. Ever since I was a child, she was suspicious of me and loathed me. This was due to the animosity between my mother and her. She always checked my pockets to see if I was stealing things from the house. I have never had a single pleasant memory of Grandma pampering me with toys and chocolates. I remember her shouting at me and sending me to a dark room for playing with the other grandchildren. I have hated her while I was growing up; I still have memories of her scolding Mama and torturing her in front of other members of the family. Now she doesn't really figure anywhere in my life (Tianwala, 2003).

The dialogue on the preceding page reflects the intensity of influence the grandparent-parent relationship has on the subsequent relationship between the grandparents and grandchildren. In another research it was identified that some grandchildren live with parents who don't get along with their parents (the grandparents) as a result there may be little or no relationship (Cox, 2006).

Triangulation

The concept of triangulation refers to the emotional tension within an individual and his relationships within the family. For example, a certain amount of anxiety exists within either grandmother or mother or both, as they attempt to balance their needs for closeness and respect respectively with their needs for individuation is diffused. According to Bowen one way to diffuse such an anxious two-person relationship within a family is to *triangulate*-draw an insignificant family member to form a three-person interaction (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000). This third person could be the grandchild as he might be forced to take sides, thus affecting his own relationship with either of the two, his mother or grandmother. The higher the degree of family fusion, the more intense and insistent the triangulation efforts will be; the least well differentiated person in the family is particularly vulnerable to being drawn in to reduce tension. The vulnerable person can be a child as well as the grandparent, for both are going through a phase of transition and emotional instability (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000). This phenomenon of triangulation can be healthy and fruitful as well. Ross et al. (2005) found out that grandchildren who had close relationship with their grandparents reported the mediating role grandparents played between them and their parents, particularly when there were disagreements. This consequence of triangulation led to strengthening of the grandparent-grandchild relationship along with settlement of the parent-child disagreement.

However research also shows that grandparents perceive that not interfering in the way parents' parent their grandchildren and not taking sides in family disputes as important to maintain good relations across the generations. (Ross et al, 2005).

Grandparent-Parent Relationship. The significance of the grandparents' relationship with the grandchild's parents is of prime importance here, as it directly influences the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The term 'gatekeepers' has been used to describe parents who regulate grandparental access to grandchildren (Bridges, Roe, Dunn & O'Connor, 2007). The positive grandparent-parent relationship not only increases the emotional and psychological well being of the two but also the emotional environment of the entire family is stabilized and productive. Despite this fact, the conflict between these two generations is pervasive and a natural part of family interactions. As Quadagno (2005) identified the following basic issues that generate conflicts:

- Communication between the two generations is strained and at times nonexistent. Neither of them opens up and expresses completely.
- A difference in lifestyles and personal habits is an important conflict raising issue.
- Disagreements exist over child-rearing practices, religion, politics and work habits.

An important reason behind this stress and conflict lies in the *role reversal*; as the parent who had always been there as a guide now becomes the dependent one. This can be illustrated by an adult son's interview:

My mom does not accept the fact, hey, we might know what might be good for her now as compared to when we were growing up.....so she has trouble think accepting that, and that creates conflicts because we're looking out for her better and she doesn't accept that fact (as cited in Quadagno, 2005).

Whitbeck, Hoyt and Huck, (1993) concluded from their research that the quality of grandparent-parent relationship is consistently related to the grandparent-grandchild relationship quality across a sample of 1,138 dyads of grandparents and grandchildren. Thus even across a varied sample the results indicated that the parents significantly mediated the grandparent-grandchild relationship, particularly by their own relationship qualities with their parents.

Although studies of the grandparent-grandchild relationship are important in their own right, future research may need to adopt a more trigenerational perspective, examining more closely the mediating role of the middle generation, that is the parents (Harwood & Lin, 2000). This shows that even though researches have been conducted on this issue yet they emphasize the inclusion of family context in this regard for more fruitful and complete results. This also indicates the current trend and direction of research concerning the phenomenon chosen for research.

Rationale of the Study

The main purpose of this research circles around the significance of the grandparent-grandchild relationship in our societal context. The role of earlier generations in the existence and future nurturance of the present generations has always been cherished and given admittance. The particular role of grandparents in the life of a child and vice versa is most eloquently studied in the dynamic two-way relationship; the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The significance of this relationship has been highlighted from varying angles in different researches as a strong bond between grandparents and grandchildren can protect the child against adverse conditions (Silverstein & Ruiz, 2006) and the relationship strengthens links between generations (Quadagno, 2006). Though vast amount of research has been done on this phenomenon, yet it does not correspond to our culture directly, for most of the researches have been done on Western samples.

Though this relationship has been studied but the main purpose and focus of this study is to explore the relationship in the perspective of a complete unit, considered as a part of a bigger system, for which the family systems theory is incorporated. The reason why this approach is highlighted and made the focus of this study is the joint-family culture also known as the extended family in the West, prevalent in our society. Thus child, or any part of the family, cannot be studied in isolation from his parents and rest of the family members (Olson & Defrain, 1997; Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000; Mueller & Elder, 2003; Jenkins et al, 2005). Present research data base speaks of this relationship in quantitative terms or at the most surveys and interviews, in qualitative realms, which does not do justice to this relationships dynamics. This awareness of lack of qualitative data regarding this phenomenon

has also been pointed out by recent work being done in this field (Ross et al, 2005). This is the reason case study method has been employed in this research plan so as to extensively study the dynamics of this relationship within the family context from each and every angle possible. Thus in the end providing a complete picture, encompassing the family environment while focusing on the grandparent-grandchild relationship.

Pakistani society being an advocate of collectivistic culture, clearly speaks of a strong family system that is driven by values, norms and beliefs that govern its credibility and sustenance. Though generally speaking grandparents are seen as a source of wisdom, power and emotional support for children as well as the entire family, yet very little work has been done in this area to uncover the dynamics of this unique and strongly held family system thus creating a hindrance in its way towards more scientific and measurable realms. Within this context the relationship between the two generations; grandparents and grandchildren, seemingly quite apart and separated from each other hold within them a bond that cannot be shared or experienced by any other relationship for it is a unique relationship as it unites the old and the young in a cherishable bond.

An important element that distinguishes and further enhances the interest in the exploration of this study lies in the context of its practice in an individualistic culture and a collectivistic culture. In an individualistic culture, like that of the West, where individual needs and desires are emphasized with the individual being the centre of focus, this bonding is more of a mutual preference and choice, thus emerging as a bonding that is not sustained as a result of any cultural obligations or pressures. On the other hand, in a collectivistic culture like the one prevalent in Pakistan, where the society as a whole is focused and its needs and benefits are highlighted at all times, this relationship is seen as a way of life rather than a choice of the two generations interacting in this relational bond. For in this culture taking care of the grandparents and consequently grandchildren living with them, exercising obedience is a norm and a belief that comes from the society. Thus this difference also enlightens the significance of this study's exploration as the West is also starting to appreciate the significance of this relationship. And studying the dynamics of a generational

relationship that exists due to factors other than preference and choice tends to highlight important aspects of the relationship.

Another aspect of the study is to explore the credibility of Western themes so far deduced within the realms of this relationship, in our society. The themes already available speak of the Western culture, though some might hold true for our culture and society as well, yet the aspect of cross cultural applicability and relevance regarding this particular domain has been emphasized here.

Another area where the cross cultural relevance has been employed is in the establishment of the applicability of a western theory, the family systems theory, in an Eastern culture. In other words to determine those dimensions and varying aspects of it that define our culture as sufficiently as they do the Western.

METHOD

METHOD

Objectives

The current research study focused on the following objectives:

- To explore the grandparent-grandchild relationship in context of the family systems theory.
- To explore the themes in grandparents' views about their relationship with grandchildren.
- To explore the themes in grandchildren's views about their relationship with grandparents.
- To explore the difference in quality of grandparents' relationship with individual grandchildren.

Research Design

The research design most appropriate for this study and the one employed was the qualitative research design. The need for qualitative research in the field of psychology has strongly been emphasized for better understanding varying phenomenon (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992; Rosiek, 2003). The nature of the study and the objectives of the study require an exploratory and a much open research design, not restricting the collection of data and the information flow. Another reason for the selection of this design is that firstly this area has scarcely been researched upon in the present culture of Pakistan, and secondly there is very few data base relating to Asian cultures which could be employed to pursue a quantitative research design.

The research method employed was the case study method. Case study methods involve systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions. The case study is not actually a data-gathering technique but a methodological approach that incorporates a number of data-gathering measures (Berg, 2004). While some

case studies use quantitative research methods that generate statistical evidence, it is more common to use qualitative ethnographic methods, including observations, semi-structured interviewing, photographs and other documentations (Roberts, 2004). Also according to Smith (2003) very diverse materials (interviews, transcripts of meetings, field observations, other documents like diaries and letters) provide indispensable data for social research. These aspects of the method well suit the requirements of the present research's objectives and rationale, as information is required from diverse sources and extensive exploration is needed to better understand the phenomenon. Another reason why the case study method was employed in the current research was its peculiar nature of studying the relationships as a whole. In case study, the researchers do not analyze the relationships between variables; instead, they try to make sense of the cases as a whole (Adler & Clarke, 2003).

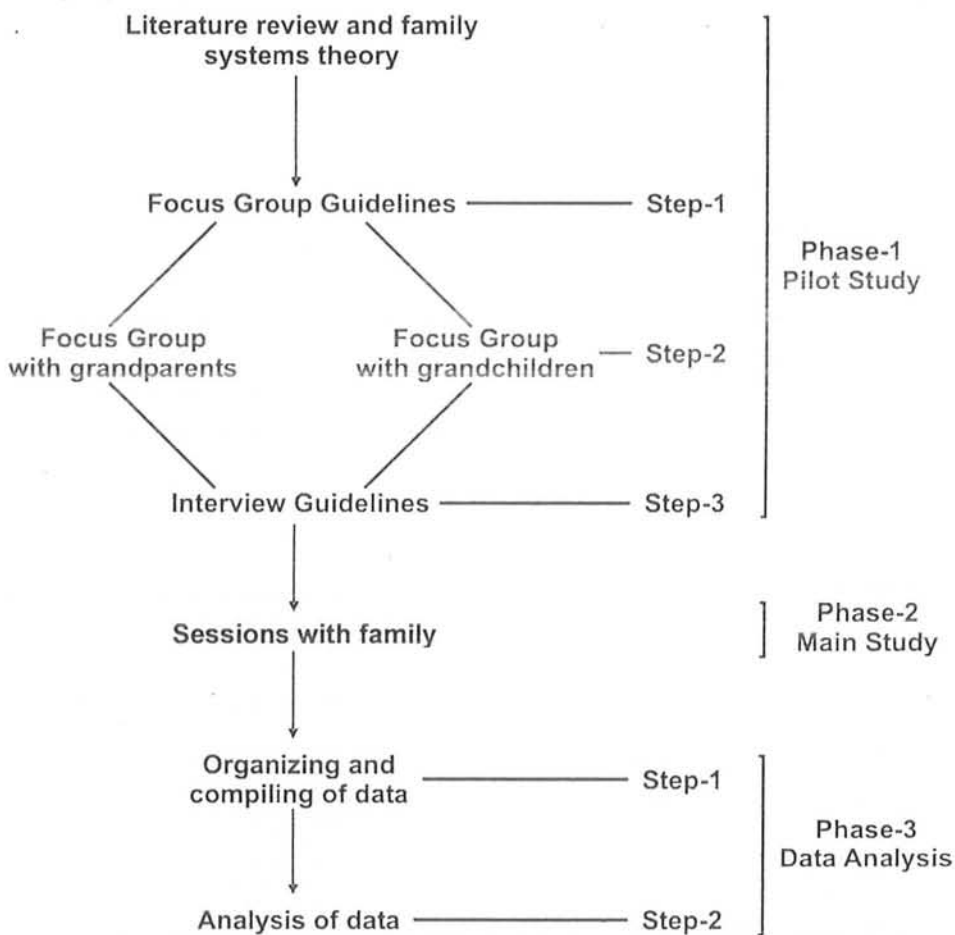


Figure 6: Flow Chart for the Research Plan

Selection of a Case

In the present research, the Case is taken as an entire extended family that fulfills the set criteria for participation in the research, since the grandparent-grandchild relationship is being studied in a broader family context. Several reasons may make it necessary for a broader, more sweeping investigation of a particular case of interest. First the research may itself focus on a broad area such as the subject's relationships in a particular group, necessitating that the group also be examined. A second reason for broadening a case study is the realization that all the aspects of an individual's social life are interconnected and often one of them cannot be adequately understood without consideration of others (Berg, 2004). These reasons adequately explain the present research's purpose and need for employing the case study method as well as the selection of a larger group rather than an individual.

Sample

The sample defined for this study includes the grandparents, grandchildren and their parents. The entire sampling was done through non-probability sampling technique, that is purposive sampling, as the individuals constituting the sample both for the focus group and the main case study were selected on the basis of a set criteria befitting the requirements of the research study.

The sample for focus groups included only grandparents and grandchildren. The criteria for grandparents was that they should be living with their grandchildren's families and have grandchildren ranging in age from middle childhood to adolescence, that is 9 years to 20 years. According to Craig et al. (2002), adolescent period terminates around the age of 20. The same was the criteria for the grandchildren, who were recruited for the focus group, they should be falling in this age range and be living with paternal grandparents. The reason why this age range is taken regarding grandchildren is that various important issues start emerging at this stage as the child is going through a state of transition. Research also indicates that the bond appears to be closest until grandchildren are about 10 years old, after that certain issues originate (Schaie & Geiwitz, 1982).

The sample for the main case study included, one extended family having children representing the two age groups; middle childhood 9-11 yrs and adolescence 12-20 yrs. There were three grandchildren; eldest granddaughter 19 years old, grandson 15 years old and youngest granddaughter 11 years old. They currently lived with their paternal grandparents while they had frequent contact with maternal grandparents. The family represented middle socioeconomic class, with the father being the earning source and the mother taking the role of a housewife. The grandfather was a retired army officer, while the grandmother did not have any formal education. The father of the children was an ex-army officer currently employed in a firm while the mother's qualification was graduation. The grandfather had two other sons as well but was currently living with the family under consideration. The age of the grandfather was 60 years, while that of the grandmother was 55 years and both were healthy with no disability or a physically or mentally rendering slow disease. This was an additional requirement that the grandparents should be healthy, that is they shouldn't be having some fatal or terminal disease that renders their functioning substantially slow than what is normally expected of their age and role. Research also indicates that poor health of grandparents has direct influences on the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Good health on the part of the aging grandparents tends to increase feelings of warmth between generations (Schaie & Geiwitz, 1982). A similar research from the standpoint of grandparents concluded that unwell grandparents are usually unsatisfied with their relationships with their children and lack close relationships with their grandchildren (Block, Davidson & Grambs, 1981).

Instruments

Three types of sources or instruments were used to collect information in the present study. According to Creswell (1994), the backbone of qualitative research is extensive data collection, typically from multiple sources of information. The following instruments were used for data collection:

Interviews. Semi-structured interviews also known as qualitative interviews, in-depth interviews and intensive interviews were employed in the present study. As the names

indicate this type of interview involves the implementation of a number of predetermined open ended questions and topics contained in an interview guide that can be modified for each interview (Adler & Clarke,2003).The interviewers are allowed freedom to probe far beyond the answers to their prepared questions (Berg, 2004). In other words open ended questions are used that frequently modify the order and wording of questions and typically ask respondents to elaborate or clarify their answers. Adler and Clarke (2003) have neatly outlined the functions of semi-structured interviews that qualify them to be best suited for the current study:

- Provide information about the interviewee's life and activities
- Provide opportunity for participants to tell their stories or construct narratives.

In the present study also questions as well as identified areas or topics were prepared which were then implemented and probed further, molding according to each case.

Observations. Participant observation involves the active interaction of the observer with participants. In a sense becoming “one of them” (Mitchell & Jolley, 2001).Although this research method has been criticized yet the advocates of participant observation claim that one gets more “inside” information by employing this method. Observations can be a powerful tool for finding out how people interact and what they do.

The affectivity of this method has been established through the work of psychologists in different fields; the most nearest to our present concern is that of developmental psychologists who employ this method to study parent-child interactions (Mitchell & Jolley, 2001).This indicates the significance of this technique in exploring family relationships.

The two main strategies given by Mitchell and Jolley (2001) for minimizing the degree to which the observer may change the behavior by observing it include:

- The observer participates unobtrusively for example by using one way mirrors.
- The observer becomes less noticeable-this can be achieved by
 - observing the participants from a distance, hoping they will ignore the observer.

-letting the participants become familiar with the observer, hoping they will get used to the observer eventually. Once they are used to the observer, they may forget that he is there and revert back to normal behavior.

In the current research the second strategy has been employed; the observer becoming less noticeable by becoming familiar with the participants. Also an observation guideline was used to support the observations (See Annexure C).

Personal Documentation. Personal documents involve any written record created by the subject that concerns his or her experiences. The types of documents that have been reported positively as research tools include written accounts, personal diaries, letters and family photographs (Berg, 2004). In the present study family photographs were used as personal documentations.

Procedure

The research was carried out in three phases, each consisting of further steps. Each phase along with its objectives and procedure is described below:

Phase 1-Pilot Study. The first three steps concern focus groups thus constituting the first phase in which two focus groups were conducted. Research shows that focus groups are a particularly suited method for obtaining several views on the same subject (Motlib, 2005), thus serving our purpose. One focus group was conducted with grandparents and the other with grandchildren.

Objectives

The objectives of this phase are:

- To gather information and data relevant to our society and culture, so that the proceedings of the case study could be much smoother.
- To develop an interview guideline to be used in the main study.

Step 1

For the commencement of these focus groups two focus group guidelines were prepared: a “focus group guideline for grandparents” (See Annexure d (i)) and a “focus group guideline for grandchildren” (See Annexure d (ii)). These were developed in light of the family systems theory along with literature review supporting the theory.

Step 2

In the second step focus groups were conducted. Grandchildren were recruited from a school by approaching school authorities and seeking permission. (See Annexure E for the permission letter). The purpose of the research and brief implications of the results were explained so as to increase the motivation of the authorities and for rapport building. Classes 5th-12th were identified as falling in age range and “information forms” (See Annexure F) were given to the teachers who got them filled by the children. In this way children were screened for the set criteria and six children were recruited for the focus group. The focus group lasted for 1 and a half hour. This focus group was voice recorded.

Grandparents were recruited through the grandchildren who participated in the “information form” completion. Their families were contacted (See Annexure G) and focus group was conducted with those who were willing. In order to provide incentive and motivation the selected grandchildren (whose grandparents were to be invited) were given gifts as a token of appreciation for their participation and valuable time. It consisted of eight grandparents, both grandmothers and grandfathers. Ideally there should be a mixture of ages, ethnicity, gender and conditions where possible to ensure the group

is representative of the population as a whole (Motlib, 2005). In the present study gender was mixed to make the sample representative, that is both grandfathers and grandmothers were recruited for the same focus group. The focus group lasted for 1 and a half hour. This focus group was also voice recorded.

Findings of Focus Groups. The findings from the focus group conducted with grandchildren reveal significant information forming a family environment conducive of a healthy and nurturing grandparent-grandchild relationship. The eight postulates from the family systems theory were taken as the major themes; differentiation of self, triangulation, multigenerational transmission process, distancer-pursuer dyad, family roles, family rules, distribution of power and communication. The information categorized in each major theme highlights the salient aspects and issues that are prevalent in our culture and that need to be looked into.

The information falling in the category of “differentiation of self” relating to the self-reasoning of emotions is significant. Similarly the concept of “triangulation” revealed either a complete absence of the phenomenon or the positive involvement of another person. The “multigenerational transmission process” shows a positive, loving attitude and behavior of parents and grandparents towards each other, which helps in the further development of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The grandchildren seem to be so overwhelmed by the respect they must give to their grandparents that the concept of “distancer-pursuer dyad” seems to be much diminished in their lives that constantly circle around grandparents. The other categories of “family roles”, “family rules”, “distribution of power” and “communication” all speak eloquently of the respect, regard, care and love that have to be practiced by grandchildren when dealing with their grandparents.

The findings from the focus group conducted with grandparents revealed more or less similar information to that of grandchildren’s focus group. The focus group revealed an overall picture of respect, concern and regard for grandparents as well as for grandchildren and their parents as exercised by grandparents. This phenomenon is

particularly highlighted in the category of “distancer-pursuer dyad” as both the generations tend to show mutual respect for each others need for personal space. There is an absence of the concept of “triangulation”. Healthy relations are reported in the “multigenerational transmission process”. These aspects need to be further probed into during the case study, so as to form a complete picture of what goes on in the family’s circumstances and dynamics. The other categories of “family roles”, “family rules”, “distribution of power” and “communication” all portray the respect and value given to grandparents as the elders of the family.

Thus the information obtained from the focus groups revealed important information both with respect to the Western theory and its implication in our culture as well as new areas to be looked into. These focus group findings added into the interview guideline to be used for the final case study.

Step 3

In the third step of the first phase interview guidelines were prepared from the thematic analysis of focus groups. Content analysis is commonly used approach to analyzing qualitative data, including focus groups (Smith, 2003). Separate interview guidelines were prepared for interviewing grandchildren (See Annexure h (i)), grandparents (See Annexure h (ii)) and parents (See Annexure h (iii)).

Phase 2-Main Study. The second phase, constituting the main study consisted of the case study.

Objectives

The objective of the second phase was:

- To implement the developed interview guideline and other instruments on the selected case.

Step 1

For the attainment of this phase's objective the family was identified through purposive sampling. The family was briefed about the purpose of the research and its nature (See Annexure I, for informed consent form). A few initial meetings were set for rapport building after which the interview guidelines along with other instruments were implemented. The case study was completed in eight visits.

Phase 3-Data Analysis. This phase consisted of the gathered data and its interpretation. It consisted of two steps.

Objectives

- To organize and compile the data gathered from the case study.
- To analyze and interpret the data compiled.

Step 1

In this step the entire data gathered from the family was organized and assembled, which included the transcribing of the interviews which were voice recorded. In other words this step included the reporting of the data from multiple sources that is interviews, observations and personal documentations.

Step 2

This was the last step of the study in which the entire data collected and organized was interpreted and analyzed from four standpoints according to the objectives. For the first three objectives themes were generated and content analysis was used but the purpose and the content was different. The first objective was analyzed in light of the family systems theory. The second objective was analyzed in light of the grandparents' views about their grandparent-grandchild relationship. The third objective was analyzed in light of the grandchildren's views about their grandparent-grandchild relationship. For

the last objective descriptive analysis was used as each grandchild and each grandparent's perspective was to be identified in detail and individually, in order to study the difference in the quality of grandparent-grandchild relationship with individual grandchildren. According to Creswell (1998) within a case study apart from other techniques used for analysis one significant method involves a detailed description of the various aspects of the case being studied from the aspects under consideration.

Thematic analysis is a subtype of the technique of content analysis. *Thematic analysis* focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living, behavior and/or relationships (Aronson, 1994). According to the first objective it was used to analyze the interview content in light of the various concepts of family systems theory. It involves coding participants' open-ended talk into closed categories, which summarize the data (Smith, 2003). Thus the "top down" approach was used initially as the major themes were taken from family systems theory. After the interview had been categorized into these major themes further sub themes were identified which employed the "bottom up" approach as these themes were not taken from prior literature.

The thematic analysis was also employed for generating the themes in the grandparent-grandchild relationship from each generation's perspective of their relationship (the second and third objective). Thus thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes the data set in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Content analysis allows the conversion of qualitative data into quantitative form. Content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic; objective and quantitative manner. It is a way of observing and measuring the content of interviews (Kerlinger, 1983). The researcher is required to take three important steps in order to content analyze the data. The three steps have been identified as categories of analysis, units of analysis and system of enumeration (Kerlinger, 1983; Shaugnessy, Zechmeister & Zechmeister, 2006). The reason why both thematic and content analysis have been employed is that conventional content analysis uses "hard-edged" categories

for coding qualitative data (e.g., content themes), and this practice not only loses valuable information but also restricts the ways in which such data may be analyzed while employing thematic analysis makes it more flexible thus more suitable for exploratory data analysis (Scherl & Smithson, 2004).

The first step pertains to the selection of *categories of analysis* also known as *themes*. In the current study eight themes have been taken from the family systems theory namely, family roles, family rules, distribution of power, communication, triangulation, multigenerational transmission process, distancer-pursuer dyad and differentiation of self. The quantification of the data is done on the basis of the entire sub themes (that are used as the categories of analysis) identified for each of these themes. Initially the major themes were selected with the help of the supervisor and later on the categories for analysis within each major theme were identified under the supervision of supervisor and the names were finalized by a panel of four experts. The name that scored majority's votes was selected. The detailed tables for each category of analysis with illustrating sample responses are present in Annexure J.

The second step pertains to the selection of *units of analysis*. In this current study each family member is considered as a single Unit. Thus the study has a total of seven units of analysis; the grandfather, grandmother, eldest granddaughter, grandson, youngest granddaughter, father and mother. The above mentioned categories of analysis were applied to each of these units separately that is each unit was analyzed according to these categories.

The final step pertains to the selection of *system of enumeration*. In order to quantify the content assigned to different categories various modes are used, to enumerate it such as finding frequencies, intensity, space, ranking, rating etc (Kerlinger, 1983; Shaugnessy et al., 2006). In the current study the frequency of each category of analysis in every unit of analysis was calculated.

In both these steps the constant guidance of supervisor was present.

According to the second and the third objectives “bottom up” approach was utilized to determine themes within the interview contents of grandparents and grandchildren.

In relation to the first step the selection of *categories of analysis* was different for both grandparents and grandchildren’s views as defined below. The procedure was the same as for the first objective. The detailed tables with illustrating sample responses for grandparents and grandchildren views are present in Annexure k (i) and Annexure k (ii) respectively.

The second step pertaining to the selection of *units of analysis* was made by having two units of analysis for the second objective, that is, grandfather and grandmother. While for the third objective there were three units of analysis that is eldest granddaughter, grandson and youngest granddaughter.

The third step regarding the selection of *system of enumeration* was the same as for the first objective that is frequencies were calculated for each category of analysis within each unit of analysis.

In all these decisions the researcher was under constant supervision of the supervisor along with a panel of four experts for the selection of categories of analysis.

RESULTS

RESULTS

The results of the main study are being presented according to the objectives of the study followed by the findings acquired from the tools used to study them. Thus the findings of each objective are presented in accordance with the tools used for that purpose.

Objective 1: To explore the grandparent-grandchild relationship in context of the family systems theory.

The grandparent-grandchild relationship was probed and explored through

- In depth semi-structured interviews conducted individually with all family members.
- Observations
- Personal documentation

Interview Findings:

After a thorough analysis of the interviews the results obtained are being presented.

The categories of analysis for each major theme of family systems theory are defined below according to each major theme.

Major theme -Family Roles: The categories of analysis within the theme are:

- Central Role- The grandparents are given a pivotal role in the family, considered and regarded as the most important individuals in the family. Also meaning that they are at the centre of every aspect related to the family. Grandparents are involved in every thing that goes on within the family including decision-making having a say in everything. Their advice is taken in all important matters of the family, whether they be trivial or

serious issues. For example from grandchildren's education to what is to be cooked for lunch.

- The Helping Hand-Grandparents are considered as always being there to help and guide through in difficult situations, including their grandchildren's studies and other activities. They are also involved in sharing parents' responsibilities by taking care of certain activities concerning children such as picking and dropping them at bus stop for school.
- Reservoir of Wisdom and Experience-They are considered as being an institution within themselves, sharing and imparting knowledge that cannot be attained from anywhere else. The knowledge that neither comes from parents nor from any other source but solely from grandparents.
- Love and affection providers- A role that defines grandparents as primarily being in the family to bestow their love and affection on everyone, especially grandchildren. They care for the slightest of their grandchildren's needs and comfort, thus expressing their love by making sure they have enough to eat, and that there is no noise while they are studying.
- Well wishers- Grandparents are considered to desire the best for their families. Whatever they say and want their grandchildren to do is for their own good. They can never desire anything bad or negative for their grandchildren.
- Saviors- In times of turmoil when grandchildren are having a tough time with parents, grandparents usually emerge as the third party that saves them the nagging and scolding, for parents never speak in front of them and resign to what they say. In this way they are seen as the "saviors" of grandchildren from their parents scolding.
- Life enriching- Grandparents' existence in the family brings life and joy to the individual members. They enlighten the atmosphere of the house by their very presence.

- The rigid one- Grandparents are very particular in activities concerning their daily routine to the point of being rigid. For example if they have tea at 4:00 pm then they won't tolerate it being served a minute late or early.
- Early risers- Grandparents are the first to wake up in the morning, consequently waking up others as well.
- The concerned one- Grandparents are concerned with the slightest of activities as well as the well being of every member of the family. Every member is important for them and they never let their thoughts slip their minds, thus always thinking about them and their activities.
- Not the imposing one-Though grandparents are involved in all activities yet they do not interfere in matters on their own nor do they impose their thoughts and feelings onto others.
- Pleasure without responsibility- Grandparents don't have any obligations, duties or fundamental responsibilities .Whatever they do is according to their own desires and what they can do conveniently. Therefore they are relieved from all stresses and can enjoy what little they do. They are at home all the time.

Major theme -Family Rules: The categories of analysis within the theme are:

- Caring and spending time with grandparents within limits- Grandchildren are advised and expected to care for their grandparents and spend quality time with them. This aspect is reinforced by their parents but they are not stressed as their hectic routines are catered for and hence are advised to spend time within their own study and available time constraints.
- Never express anger towards grandparents- Grandchildren as well as parents are not allowed to express their anger, resentment or bad feelings towards grandparents. They can express it to their parents but not to grandparents.
- Tolerate and accommodate others- A general rule holding true for all the three generations, regarding all the relationships within the family. At

difficult times everyone should exhibit tolerance for others and try to accommodate their feelings. This is exercised by becoming silent in such situations and showing patience.

- Grandparents intervene in stressful situations later on- Grandparents are allowed to intervene in difficult or conflicting situations only after the atmosphere has relatively calmed down. During such situations they are expected to remain silent but afterwards they do intervene by helping out, giving solutions or explaining to either side of the conflicting parties.
- Respect elders- A general rule governs the family. Younger generation is expected to respect their elders, including grandparents and parents under all circumstances. They are not allowed to misbehave with them or speak loudly to them or argue or refuse what they are asked to do by grandparents. These are ways of showing their respect for them.
- Treat children with love and care- Children should be given as much love and care as possible which positively nourishes them and their relationships as well. The more love they are given the more close they get to their grandparents.
- Never say anything to daughter-in-law- Grandparents, if have to say something they should explain it to their son rather than reprimanding their daughter-in-law.

Major theme – Distribution of Power: The categories of analysis within the theme are:

- Equal participation of all members- All members of the family exercise some amount of power and influence regarding their interests .Everyone is listened to and taken opinion from .The final decision is reached through discussions and mutual consensus .This includes children as well as grandparents.
- Considerable flexibility- The phenomenon is flexible. There is no hard and fast rule that what is said is said. Negotiations can take place. In case some

decisions are final, they are not imposed rather processes of discussions and convincing take place.

- Grandparents are consulted extensively- No matter what the situation is, grandparents are always consulted and taken advice from. They are always involved in the decision-making process. Though they are consulted extensively yet they tend to take the sidelines.
- Grandfather-the final authority- If grandfather says something that is considered final and everyone respects that.
- Grandfather and father-the final authority- All decisions are taken by mutual decision of father and grandfather.

Major theme -Communication: The categories of analysis within the theme are:

- Collective discussions-All issues are openly discussed within the family, concerning any individual member. Simultaneously decisions are reached through these group discussions.
- Everyone is listened to- Every member of the family is given room to speak and is completely allowed to express his feelings and views.
- Clear messages- The various messages sent by elders are clear with no ambiguity in them. And they are consistent over time depending on the nature of issue .For example parents' messages sent to children about how to behave with grandparents are clear and consistent over time.
- Rules for speaking- Certain rules of respect are exercised in communication like elders speak first, never interrupt when someone is speaking, talk politely and don't raise your voice.

Major theme -Triangulation: The categories of analysis within the theme are:

- Direct effect of pleasant mood on grandparents- Parents' pleasant mood with grandchildren leads to pleasant mood with grandparents.
- Indirect effect of unpleasant mood on grandparents- If the grandchild or parent's mood is not pleasant because of each other, the sourness of the

mood will not be directly reflected in their behavior with grandparents. Though indirect indicators of bad mood may be visible, such as slamming the door or staying quiet.

- Mediating role of grandparents- Grandparents sense a stressful situation and tend to mediate the situation by intervening at the right time. This situation can exist between parent and child or between both parents.
- Direct effect of unpleasant mood on grandchildren- If parents are in a bad mood because of grandparents, it will be expressed on grandchildren. But nothing will be conveyed to grandparents whatsoever,.
- Third person is never involved- Majority of the times, third person is never involved. The situation is handled within the dyad. third person entry increases the problem, creating an issue. Also there exists no conflict in the child rearing practices of parents and grandparents, therefore tussles do not arise.

Major theme –Distancer-pursuer dyad: The categories of analysis within the theme are:

- Consciously maintaining personal space- Both grandparents and grandchildren have been provided with their own rooms, thus determining their privacies .As a result grandchildren feel more inclined to go and spend time with them at their own pace, rather as an obligation.
- Grandparents give grandchildren their personal space- At times grandparents feel their grandchildren distancing and they understand the situation, thus respecting grandchildren's need for personal space and so they adjust themselves. Grandparents mingle with grandchildren, only to the extent that is comfortable for grandchildren. They don't pressurize them into spending more time with them.
- Grandparents are always happy and welcoming- Grandparents are always available for their grandchildren's company. They appreciate and enjoy their company whenever they come at their own ease.

- Grandparents are never left waiting- No matter what grandchildren respect grandparents and move according to grandparents' moods, not avoiding them. Parents also inculcate grandchildren to spend time with grandparents from time to time.
- Grandchildren as distancers- Though rare yet, there come times when grandchildren feel overwhelmed by grandparents presence and feel like being alone. They may neglect their duties towards grandparents at such times. This happens when grandchildren are tired or grandparents talk about something they don't want to discuss at that moment.

Major theme –Multigenerational Transmission Process: The categories of analysis within the theme are:

- Parental beliefs about grandparents' significance- Grandparents hold a certain degree of importance in the eyes of parents. They consider them their strength and weakness, thus compelled to give them due consideration.
- Parental idealization of grandparents- Parents consider grandparents as their role models, due to all they have achieved and constantly are still achieving. Parents turn to grandparents in every matter and concern no matter what due to their experience.
- Loving and caring relation with grandparents- Parents see grandparents as nurturing, loving and caring. And they also reciprocate this love and care.
- Parental gratitude for grandparents- Parents feel themselves showered by grandparents sacrifices and all they have done for them throughout their lives; including their education, practical life and grooming. From birth to the present day they are looking after them.
- Parental healthy relations with their grandparents-Parents exercised good relations with their own grandparents. Thus cherishing loving memories of them

- Parental desire for family attachment- Parents want their children to remain connected to their roots, for they have always been with them, so close and have spent so much time together. Therefore they don't want that bond to break.
- Parental beliefs about grandparents- How parents perceive and view grandparents is also important. These beliefs may include seeing grandparents as someone to be looked after, respected and given love and care just like a child.

Major theme –Differentiation of self: The categories of analysis within the theme are:

- Loving nature of grandparents- Grandchildren feel for their grandparents the way they do because of the love and care they get from them. Grandparents' love brings them close to grandchildren.
- More close to grandparents- Grandchildren have a closer bonding with their grandparents as compared to their parents. They share with them what they feel hesitant to share with parents. Grandchildren care for their grandparents because they are living with them and are considered as a part of the family and as a result bonding has developed bringing the two generations close.
- Always there to help us- The constant availability in times of need makes grandparents important in the eyes of grandchildren.

The frequency of each sub theme in all the 7 units of analysis was calculated. The following eight tables depict the respective sub themes of the major themes along with their frequencies in each unit of analysis.

Table 1*Frequencies of Sub Themes for Family Roles in the Seven Units of Analysis*

Categories of Analysis	Units of Analysis f							Total
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	
Theme 1	1	6	5	5	2	2	7	28
Theme 2	3	3	5	4	1	3	4	23
Theme 3	1	2	2	2	3	9	1	20
Theme 4	3	4	4	2	2	3	2	20
Theme 5	2	3	2	2	3	4	2	18
Theme 6	2	3	6	2	1	1	5	20
Theme 7	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	12
Theme 8	1	2	6	2	3	2	3	19
Theme 9	1	2	3	4	3	1	3	17
Theme 10	3	2	1	3	2	4	1	16
Theme 11	2	3	5	2	3	4	3	22
Theme 12	2	3	2	1	1	4	1	14

*Note:**Categories of Analysis*

- 1- Central Role
- 2- The helping hand
- 3- Reservoir of Wisdom and Experience
- 4- Love and affection providers
- 5- Well-wishers
- 6- Savors
- 7- Life enriching
- 8- The rigid one
- 9- Early risers
- 10- The concerned one
- 11- Not the imposing one
- 12- Pleasure without responsibility

Units of Analysis

- 1-Grandfather
- 2- Grandmother
- 3- Eldest Granddaughter
- 4- Grandson
- 5- Youngest Granddaughter
- 6- Father
- 7- Mother

Table 1 outlines a summary of the sub themes identified within the major theme of Family Roles, which has been taken from the Family Systems Theory. Along with this the frequency of each sub theme has also been calculated, so as to give a clear picture of the most prominent family role procured by grandparents as viewed by all members,

including the grandparents. The “central role” is the most common role for grandparents within the family ($n=28$). The “helping hand role” is the second most common role ($n=23$). The grandparental role of “not the imposing one” is the third most important and prevalent role ($n=22$). The subsequent roles of “Reservoir of Wisdom and Experience” , “Love and affection providers’ and “saviors” all are at the fourth number in their prevalence within the family as grandparental family roles ($n=20$). “The rigid one” is the fifth most common role ($n=19$). “Well wishers” is the sixth ($n=18$), “early risers is the seventh ($n=17$), “the concerned one” is the eighth ($n=16$) and “pleasure without responsibility is the ninth ($n=14$) most common role expected of grandparents as members of the family. Another important finding depicted in this table is that no matter what the frequency but each sub theme is present in every unit of analysis that is every member of the family observes each family role to some extent.

Table 2

Frequencies of Sub Themes for Family Rules in the Seven Units of Analysis

Categories of Analysis	Units of Analysis							Total
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	
Theme 1	1	3	5	3	3	7	2	24
Theme 2	1	2	3	3	2	6	4	21
Theme 3	3	6	2	1	1	5	5	23
Theme 4	2	3	2	1	1	4	5	18
Theme 5	1	3	4	4	3	3	2	20
Theme 6	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	6
Theme 7	2	1	-	-	-	3	2	8

Note:

Categories of analysis

- 1-Caring and spending time with grandparents within limits
- 2-Never express anger towards grandparents
- 3- Tolerate and accommodate others
- 4-Grandparents intervene in stressful situations later on

Units of analysis

- 1- Grandfather
- 2- Grandmother
- 3- Eldest Granddaughter
- 4- Grandson
- 5- Youngest Granddaughter
- 6- Father
- 7- Mother

- 5-Respect elders
- 6- Treat children with love and care
- 7-Never say anything to daughter-in-law

Table 2 outlines a summary of the sub themes identified within the major theme of Family Rules, which has been taken from the Family Systems Theory. The frequencies given for each theme within all the seven units of analysis clearly depicts the most eloquently practiced and strongly held rule pertaining to relational interactions and how individual members are supposed to behave towards each other within the family. The most firmly held family rule is “Caring and spending time with grandparents within limits” ($n= 26$). The family rule “accommodate and tolerate others” is the second most firmly practiced rule within the family ($n=25$). “Never express anger towards grandparents” and “Respect elders” both are the third most firmly practiced rules within the family ($n=22$). “Grandparents intervene in stressful situations later on” is the fourth ($n=18$), “Never say anything to daughter-in-law” is the fifth ($n=8$) and “Treat children with love and care” is the sixth ($n= 7$) most firmly held family rule pertaining to relationships within the family. The table also shows that some of the family rules are not evident in the interviews of some of the family members. The “treat children with love and care” rule is observed in only two units of analysis (grandfather and grandmother) while the rule of “do not say anything to daughter-in-law” is not observed in three units of analysis (eldest granddaughter, grandson and youngest granddaughter).

Table 3

Frequencies of Sub Themes for Distribution of Power in the Seven Units of Analysis

Categories of Analysis	Units of Analysis							Total
	f							
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	
Theme 1	2	2	1	2	1	6	3	17
Theme 2	-	-	4	1	-	3	-	8
Theme 3	2	4	3	1	1	4	1	16
Theme 4	3	5	1	1	-	-	-	10
Theme 5	-	1	2	2	1	1	1	8

Note:

Categories of Analysis:

- 1- Equal participation of all family members
- 2- Considerable flexibility
- 3- Grandparents are consulted extensively
- 4- Grandfather –the final authority
- 5- Grandfather and father-the final authority

Units of analysis

- 1- Grandfather
- 2- Grandmother
- 3- Eldest granddaughter
- 4- Grandson
- 5- Youngest granddaughter
- 6- Father
- 7- Mother

Table 3 outlines a summary of the sub themes identified within the major theme of Distribution of Power, which has been taken from the Family Systems Theory. The table also elicits that which theme is most popular among all family members regarding the distribution of power as actually exercised. Thus revealing what each member views as being practiced within the family. “Equal participation of all family members” is the most popular sub theme ($n=17$). “Grandparents are consulted extensively” is the second ($n=16$) sub theme that bears consensus of each family member in relation the exercise of power distribution within family members. The sub theme “Grandfather –the final authority” is the third most frequent theme ($n=10$). “Grandfather and father-the final authority” is the fourth frequent theme ($n=8$). The table also depicts that two of the sub themes are not observed in some of the units of analysis. The sub theme “Grandfather – the final authority” is not evident in three units of analysis (youngest granddaughter, father and mother) while the sub theme “Grandfather and father-the final authority” is not observed in one unit of analysis (grandfather).

Table 4

Frequencies of Sub Themes for Communication in the Seven Units of Analysis

Categories of Analysis	Units of Analysis							Total
	f							
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	
Theme 1	4	2	1	2	1	2	1	13
Theme 2	2	1	1	4	1	2	2	13
Theme 3	1	2	1	2	2	1	3	12
Theme 4	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	12

Note:

Categories of analysis

- 1-Collective discussions
- 2-Everyone is listened to
- 3-Clear messages
- 4-Rules for speaking

Units of Analysis

- 1-Grandfather
- 2-Grandmother
- 3-Eldest granddaughter
- 4-Grandson
- 5-Youngest granddaughter
- 6-Father
- 7-Mother

Table 4 outlines a summary of the sub themes identified within the major theme of Communication, which has been taken from the Family Systems Theory. The two sub themes “Collective discussions” and “Everyone is listened to” are the most prevalent ones ($n=13$) while the two sub themes “Clear messages” and “Rules for speaking” are second most frequent communication aspect within this particular family ($n=12$). The table also shows that no matter what the frequency all the aspects of communication stated are covered and mentioned by each member of the family. Thus emphasizing that the communication pattern is known to all members and they are aware of the communication patterns prevalent and practiced within their family; nothing is ambiguous.

Table 5

Frequencies of Sub Themes for Triangulation in the Seven Units of Analysis

Categories of Analysis	Units of Analysis							Total
	f							
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	
Theme 1	-	-	1	2	1	2	1	7
Theme 2	-	-	2	2	1	6	4	15
Theme 3	4	5	5	1	2	3	1	21
Theme 4	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
Theme 5	5	3	1	3	4	1	1	18

Note:

Categories of Analysis

- 1- Direct effect of pleasant mood on grandparents
- 2- Indirect effect of unpleasant mood on grandparents
- 3- Mediating role of grandparents
- 4- Direct effect of unpleasant mood on grandchildren
- 5- Third person is not involved

Units of Analysis

- 1-Grandfather
- 2-Grandmother
- 3-Eldest granddaughter
- 4-Grandson
- 5-Youngest granddaughter
- 6-Father
- 7-Mother

Table 5 outlines a summary of the sub themes identified within the major theme of Triangulation, which has been taken from the Family Systems Theory. The table shows that the sub theme “Mediating role of grandparents” is the most common ($n=21$) and agreed upon aspect within the family, pertaining to triangulation. The second sub theme is “third person is not involved” ($n=18$). “Indirect effect of unpleasant mood on grandparents” is the third ($n=15$) most popular sub theme within the family. “Direct effect of pleasant mood on grandparents” is the fourth ($n=7$) sub theme in the family and “Direct effect of unpleasant mood on grandchildren” is the fifth ($n=4$) popular sub theme within the family pertaining to triangulation. The two sub themes “Direct effect of pleasant mood on grandparents” and “Indirect effect of unpleasant mood on grandparents” are not observed in the two units of analysis: grandfather and grandmother while the sub theme “Direct effect of unpleasant mood on grandchildren” is only observed in the two units of analysis; father and mother.

Table 6

Frequencies of Sub Themes for Multigenerational Transmission Process in the Seven Units of Analysis

Categories of Analysis	Units of Analysis							Total
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	
Theme 1	2	1	2	3	2	3	2	15
Theme 2	5	2	1	2	1	6	4	21
Theme 3	3	7	2	5	2	2	3	24
Theme 4	-	-	2	2	3	5	2	14
Theme 5	1	1	2	1	2	8	6	21
Theme 6	2	1	2	1	2	4	2	14
Theme 7	2	2	4	2	3	2	2	17

Note:

Categories of Analysis

1-Parental beliefs about grandparents' significance

2-Parental idealization of grandparents

3-Loving and caring relation with grandparents

4-Parental gratitude for grandparents

5-Parental healthy relations with their grandparents

6-Parental desire for family attachment

7-Parental beliefs about grandparents

Units of Analysis

1-Grandfather

2-Grandmother

3-Eldest granddaughter

4-Grandson

5-Youngest granddaughter

6-Father

7-Mother

Table 6 outlines a summary of the sub themes identified within the major theme of Multigenerational Transmission Process, which has been taken from the Family Systems Theory. The table indicates that the sub theme "Loving and caring relation with grandparents" has is the most frequently observed within the family by each member ($n=24$). The sub themes "Parental idealization of grandparents" and "Parental healthy relations with their grandparents" are the second most popular sub themes identified within the realms of multigenerational transmission process ($n= 21$). The sub theme "Parental beliefs about grandparents' is the third ($n=17$), "Parental beliefs about

grandparents' significance" is the fourth ($n=15$) while "Parental gratitude for grandparents" and "Parental desire for family attachment" are the fifth ($n=14$) frequent ones within the family. The table also shows that two units of analysis (grandfather and grandmother) did not mention the sub theme "Parental gratitude for grandparents".

Table 7

Frequencies of Sub Themes for Distancer-Pursuer Dyad in the Seven Units of Analysis

Categories of Analysis	Units of Analysis							Total
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	
Theme 1	1	1	1	1	4	5	2	15
Theme 2	4	2	7	-	4	4	2	23
Theme 3	2	3	3	2	1	3	1	15
Theme 4	2	2	3	1	2	1	3	14
Theme 5	2	1	7	5	2	-	-	17

Note:

Categories of Analysis
 1-Consciously maintaining personal space
 2-Grandparents give grandchildren their personal space
 3-Grandparents are always happy and welcoming
 4- Grandparents are never left waiting-
 5- Grandchildren as distancers

Units of Analysis
 1-Grandfather
 2-Grandmother
 3-Eldest granddaughter
 4-Grandson
 5-Youngest granddaughter
 6-Father
 7-Mother

Table 7 outlines a summary of the sub themes identified within the major theme of Distancer-Pursuer Dyad, which has been taken from the Family Systems Theory. The table indicates that the most frequent sub theme is "Grandparents give grandchildren their personal space" ($n=23$). The sub theme "Grandchildren as distancers" is the second ($n=17$) most prominent one under the major theme of distancer-pursuer dyad. While the sub themes "Consciously maintaining personal

space” and “Grandparents are always happy and welcoming” are the third ($n=15$) most commonly practiced sub themes. “Grandparents are never left waiting” is the fourth ($n=14$) sub theme in the family. The table also indicates that the sub theme “Grandparents give grandchildren their personal space” is not observed in the unit of analysis; grandson. The sub theme “Grandchildren as distancers” is not observed in two units of analysis; father and mother.

Table 8
Frequencies of Sub Themes for Differentiation of Self in Three Units of Analysis

Categories of Analysis	Units of Analysis			Total
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	
Theme 1	2	2	2	6
Theme 2	3	1	2	6
Theme 3	1	2	2	5

Note:
Categories of Analysis
 1-Loving nature of grandparents
 2-More close to grandparents
 3- Always there to help us
Units of Analysis
 1-Eldest granddaughter
 2-Grandson
 3- Youngest granddaughter

Table 8 outlines a summary of the sub themes identified within the major theme of Differentiation of self, which has been taken from the Family Systems Theory. The table clearly shows that there are only three units of analysis for this theme that is only the three grandchildren because differentiation of self pertains to them only, their level of individuation and rationalization of their own feelings and emotions apart from what their parents tell them to do. The table indicates that the two sub themes “Loving nature of grandparents” and “More close to grandparents” are the most common one ($n=6$) while the sub theme “Always there to help us” is the second ($n=5$) most common one among the three grandchildren (eldest granddaughter, grandson and youngest granddaughter). Each sub theme is observed in all the units of analysis.

Table 9*The Sum of All the Major Themes of Family Systems Theory in All Units*

Major Themes	Units of Analysis							Total
	f							
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	
Family Roles	22	34	42	31	26	39	35	229
Family Rules	13	21	16	12	10	28	20	120
Distribution of Power	7	12	11	7	3	14	5	59
Communication	9	8	4	10	6	6	8	51
Triangulation	9	8	9	8	8	14	9	65
Multigenerational Transmission Process	15	14	15	16	15	30	21	126
Distancer- Pursuer dyad	11	9	21	9	13	13	8	84
Differentiation of Self	-	-	6	5	6	-	-	17

*Note:**Units of Analysis*

1-Grandfather

2-Grandmother

3-Eldest granddaughter

4-Grandson

5-Youngest granddaughter

6-Father

7-Mother

Table 9 shows the relevant frequency of each major theme within the family by summing up its occurrence in each unit and then summing up each unit. The information in the table is graphically represented below

Graphical representation of the family systems theory's themes:

The graph illustrates the prevalence and the popularity of each theme (of family systems theory) within the present family.

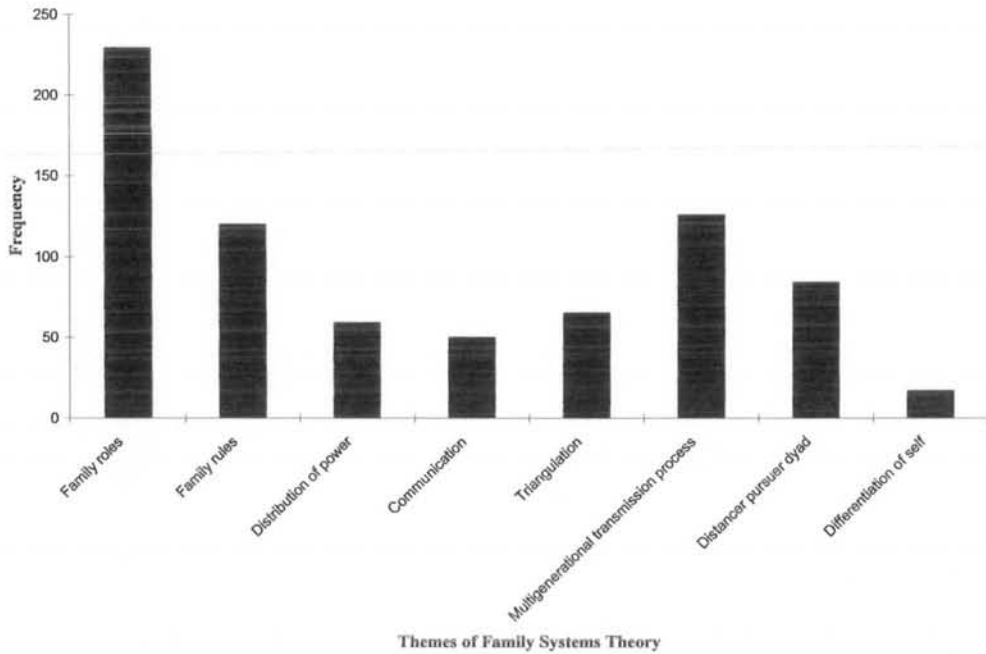


Figure 7. Graph showing the frequency of each theme of family systems theory

The above graph signifies the importance and value given to each theme within the family. This graph presents a holistic summary of the practical application of family systems theory within the present family's dynamics. According to the graphical representation the family roles ($n=229$) are the most prevalent and significant among all the themes of family systems theory. Multigenerational transmission process is on the second position ($n=126$). Family rules are the third most significant theme ($n=120$). Distancer-pursuer dyad is the fourth prevalent theme ($n=84$). Triangulation ($n=65$), Distribution of power ($n=59$), Communication ($n=50$) and Differentiation of self ($n=17$) are the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth most prevalent themes respectively. Thus the graph portrays an overall summed up picture of the family systems theory in the family.

Observational findings:

During the research period participant observation was also carried out in all the visits to the family for interviews. Since the researcher had been visiting the family for

three months, therefore the family had become familiar and acquainted to the presence of the researcher, consequently forgetting to behave formally in her presence. As a result the researcher gained sufficient information about the behavioral interactions taking place within the family among varying dyads; grandparents-grandchildren, mother-daughter. As in each visit the researcher spent a maximum of three hours with the family therefore, the family members tended to reveal their inner feelings for each other as well.

The salient findings from these observations are being mentioned below:

- The slightest of problems related to all individuals within the family are referred to grandparents. As the mother had a sprain in her ankle and no one could understand the reason behind it, but it was the grandmother who found the solution and remembered as to what had been the cause for it, which appeared to have taken place a week ago yet the grandmother remembered it and solved their tension. Thus the family members look up to grandparents for solving their queries as they are expected to remember everything concerning their grandchildren as well as their parents. In other words they occupy the central role within the family, having their contribution in the slightest matters related to the family.
- During the researcher's visit light went out. And within five minutes the grandfather came and switched on the gas lamp. Besides this during all the visits the grandfather kept coming into the room just to see everything was going well and in order and making sure that nothing was needed. Also when the grandchildren went out, grandparents frequently called them, thus remaining in contact with them and waiting for them to come back. Thus the grandparents are concerned with everything going on in the house, especially grandchildren and they never let anything related to their home slip their minds.
- It was the grandfather who arranged all the visits. The researcher contacted him before going over to their house. Thus he exercised sufficient amount of power within the family to make decisions regarding what his grandchildren and their parents should do. He had the final authority.

- Though at times he arranged the meetings keeping in mind the comfort and schedule of his grandchildren and their parents' availability. But he also tended to act strict and rigid, when he had given the researcher a specific date and his grandchildren planned to go somewhere at the last moment. Thus though grandparents tend to look out for their grandchildren's comfort yet they also expect them to follow what has once been decided, in other words they tend to be rigid in their activity timing schedules. Thus they are not imposing and interfering yet once something has been decided through consent, then there is no compromise and it has to be done the way initially decided. A set routine cannot be changed.
- During one visit the eldest granddaughter came home late in the evening and got hostile with her parents. When her younger sister asked her to sit with her mother and talk she burst out saying:

"جو انتظار کریگا، پیار کریگا اور خیال رکھے گا اسی کے پاس بیٹھوں گی نا"

It was then that she revealed that when she came home late no one was waiting only grandfather was there for her and she got angry but when she went to sleep everyone woke her up thus disturbing her. Thus grandchildren feel more close to grandparents because of the love, care and concern they provide also the grandparents tend to share certain responsibilities of parents like this one. This observation also shows that parents feel relieved of certain obligations and daily activities since the grandparents take over them. The mother gave a reason for her not being there for her daughter that she had been busy all day and had other chores to do as well while the grandparents were free and had no rigid obligations as to do something, they could do anything they wanted within their own constraints, therefore it isn't difficult or hectic for them to look out for such issues pertaining to grandchildren. And they can enjoy their grandchildren's daily routines and look after them without having to bother about other serious issues; they exercise pleasure without responsibility.

- Parents feel a lot of gratitude towards grandparents due to their current position, their achievements, what they have done for them in the past and are still doing. Grandfather never lets his daughter-in-law do any errands concerning bill submission, fee submission of children. But once by chance she had to submit the

house bills and children's school fees .Though she was afraid of doing such a big thing yet, due to grandfather's connections and regards that everyone in the neighborhood holds for him her work was made easy and the bankers didn't let her stand in line and received the money from her at the doorstep. Also grandfather has never refused her anything. She just mentions once what she wants and she gets it the next instant.

- Another important finding is that though the mother knows that her every wish shall be granted yet she avoids making undue demands. She knows that she just has to mention that she wants to have a mobile but she doesn't because she says that she doesn't need it so why burden them. Thus the grandparent-parent relations are that of mutual love, care and regard for each other.

Thus these observational findings support the interview findings pertaining to the sub themes identified within the family. The sub themes relating to the grandparental role within the family are highlighted here (central role, the concerned one, the rigid one, pleasure without responsibility, the helping hand, not the imposing one). Also the sub themes pertaining to distribution of power are also highlighted (grandfather-the final authority).Also the sub theme relating to the differentiation of self has also been supported here (more close to grandparents).Along with these the sub themes pertaining to the multigenerational transmission process are also evident here (parents feel gratitude towards grandparents and loving and caring relation with grandparents).

Personal documentation findings:

The personal documents used to explore and support the interview findings relating to the family systems theory were "family photographs". The family albums of important occasions were used, such as birthdays, weddings, family get togethers and group shots.

The salient findings are being reported:

- In a grandchild's birthday photograph the grandfather was cutting the cake with the grandchild. He was at the centre of a major event and was equally participating in the happiness of the family.

- Similarly it was the grandson's "Ameen" (a celebration when a child finishes his Quran for the first time). And the grandfather was the one who was honored to recite the prayers and blessings for his grandson. Thus grandparents are involved in everything concerning grandchildren. They are given importance and due respect.
- There were random family get together photographs in which grandmother and grandfather were surrounded by grandchildren, again showing the love and care they reciprocate as all were smiling and embracing each other.
- In all the photographs grandparents were usually in the centre of the scene, that is they were not sitting in a corner or sulking in their chairs but they were surrounded by others and everyone was happy and smiling, appearing satisfied and contented with each other.

Thus the photographs provide an overall picture of the entire family dynamics as outlined by the family systems theory. The general message obtained through these documents is that of love and affection prevalent between grandparents and grandchildren, equally reciprocated. Along with this the parental acceptance of grandparents, as an important member of the family, someone to be respected and involved in family matters, is also visible through these documents.

Illustrative Representation of Findings Emerging From the Three Tools of Measurement:

The sub themes emerging from interviews, observations and personal documentations can be illustrated in a single picture that sums up the common sub themes in these three tools of measurement. The figure illustrating these sub themes is on the following page.

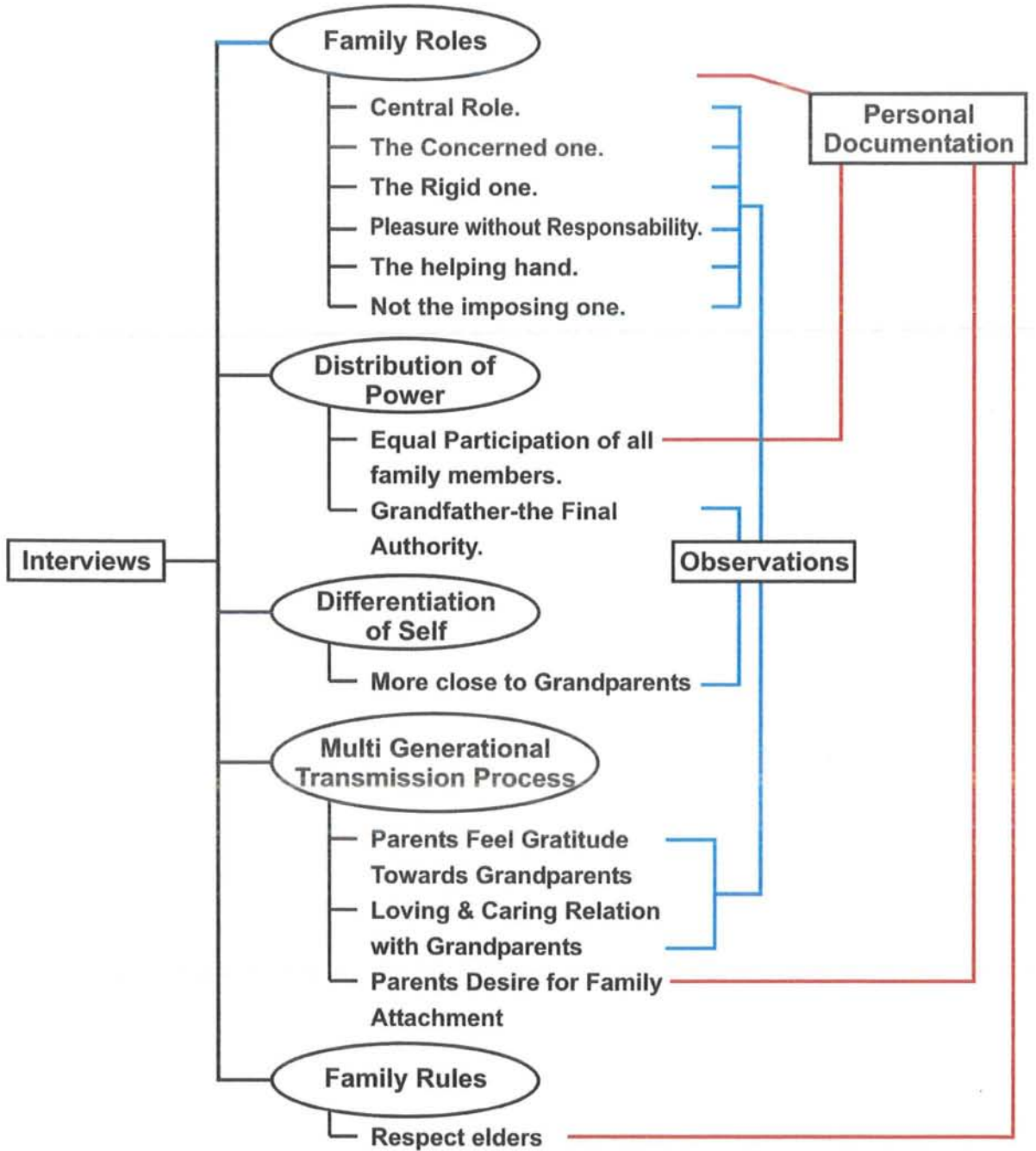


Figure 8. Sub Themes Evident in the Three Tools of Measurement

Objective 2: To explore the themes in grandparents' views about their relationship with grandchildren.

In order to acquire the grandparents' perspective about their relationship with grandchildren only interviews were used. They were asked to talk about their relationship and whatever they find important in it and so on. The analysis of their interviews revealed the following information.

Categories of analysis in grandparents' interviews:

- Affiliation- A sense of belongingness and being owned by grandchildren appearing in the interviews of grandparents.
- Love- The love grandchildren express towards their grandparents through different means.
- Quality time- The amount of time spent with grandchildren is special, cherished and precious for the grandparents. They derive a lot from this time spent and consider an important aspect of their relationship with grandchildren.
- Respect and care- The respect and care grandchildren show towards their grandparents by taking care of their needs and daily requirements, listening to them never arguing with them and so on.
- Happiness- Grandparents derive happiness from this relationship .They feel happy and a certain joy to be with their grandchildren and having a bond with them. A special way with which they relate to them.
- Achievements-An important aspect of the relationship that holds significance for grandparents is the sense of achievement and fulfillment they procure from doing whatever they can for their grandchildren. Fulfilling their wishes and meeting their demands. They feel happy and worthwhile when grandchildren make certain demands and wishes from them. Also being a part of their daily activities brings a sense of achievement for them.
- Commitment- Grandparents being free most of the time feel committed by the presence of their grandchildren. Grandchildren keep a constant activity around the house which makes grandparents feel committed and busy.

The frequencies of these themes (categories of analysis) in each of the two units of analysis are given Table 10.

Table 10*Themes in the Grandparents' Views about Grandparent-Grandchild Relationship*

Units of Analysis	Categories of Analysis						
	Theme 1	Theme 2	Theme 3	Theme 4	Theme 5	Theme 6	Theme 7
Unit 1	1	2	2	2	3	6	2
Unit 2	3	2	4	1	3	5	6
Total	4	4	6	3	6	11	8

*Note:**Categories of analysis*

- 1-Affiliation
- 2-Love
- 3-Quality time
- 4- Respect and care
- 5- Happiness
- 6-Achievement
- 7-Commitment

Units of analysis

- 1- Grandfather
- 2- Grandmother

Table 10 shows the themes emerging from the interviews with grandparents relating to their views about their relationship with grandchildren. The table also shows the frequency of each theme thus indicating its importance for the grandparents. The most frequent theme is that of “achievement” ($n=11$) derived from the relationship. The themes of “Commitment” is second ($n=8$), “happiness” and “quality time” are both third ($n=6$), while the themes of “affiliation” and “love” are both fourth ($n=4$). The theme “respect and care” is fifth ($n=3$).

Objective 3: To explore the themes in grandchildren’s views about their relationship with grandparents.

In order to acquire the grandchildren’s perspective about their relationship with grandparents, individual interviews were used, in which they were asked to talk about their relationship and whatever they find important in it and so on. The analysis of their interviews revealed the following information.

Categories of analysis in grandchildren's interviews:

- Friendship- Grandchildren derive a feeling of friendship from their relationship with grandparents. They feel they can be with them just like friends, sharing everything they want to and being close to them experiencing a special bond.
- Quality time- The time spent with grandparents is special for grandchildren. Their presence in the house makes the atmosphere lighten up.
- Savivors- an important aspect derived from this relationship is that grandparents act as their saviors from parental scolding and nagging.
- Love and care-Grandchildren also cherish the unique, special love and unending care they attain from their grandparents. This love and care cannot be attained from any other relationship.
- Help- Grandparents also help grandchildren in their daily activities, such as studies as well as other issues that they find difficult to do on their own. Grandparents are there to help them out of all difficult situations where they feel stranded.

The frequencies of these themes (categories of analysis) in each of the three units of analysis are given in Table 11.

Table 11

Themes in the Grandchildren's Views about Grandparent-Grandchild Relationship

Units of Analysis	Categories of Analysis				
	Theme 1	Theme 2	Theme 3	Theme 4	Theme 5
Unit 1	8	1	6	3	4
Unit 2	3	1	2	2	3
Unit 3	3	2	1	3	4
Total	14	4	9	8	11

Note:

Categories of analysis

- 1- Friendship
- 2- Quality time
- 3- Savivors

Units of analysis

- 1- Eldest granddaughter
- 2- Grandson
- 3- Youngest granddaughter

- 4- Love and care
- 5- Help

Table 11 shows the themes emerging from the interviews with grandchildren relating to their views about their relationship with grandparents. The table also shows the frequency of each theme thus indicating its importance for the grandchildren. The most frequent theme is that of “friendship” ($n=14$). The theme “help” is second ($n=11$), “saviors” is third ($n=9$), “love and care” is fourth ($n=8$) and “quality time” is fifth ($n=4$).

Objective 4: To explore the difference in quality of grandparent relationship with individual grandchildren.

The closeness of grandparents and grandchildren with each other varies with every grandchild. This objective was explored through

- Interviews conducted individually with the three grandchildren and both grandparents.
- Observations

Interview findings:

The following findings were obtained:

- All the grandchildren believed they were the closest to their grandparents.

Table 12*Reasons for Being the Favorite Grandchild as Considered by the Three Grandchildren*

	Eldest granddaughter (19 yrs)	Grandson (15 yrs)	Youngest granddaughter (11 yrs)
	I am the first grandchild	I am the only son	I am the youngest
Reasons for being favorite grandchild	I have spent maximum time with them An association has been built between us	They fulfill my every wish and demand I am more precious being the only son	

Table 12 shows the reasons each grandchild has for believing that he/she is the favorite grandchild. It is clearly evident that all of them believe themselves to be special in the eyes of their grandparents. This could be a clue towards the unconditional love provided by grandparents that makes every grandchild feel special thus further strengthening their relationship.

- Both the grandparents rated their eldest granddaughter as being most close to them and relatively more favorite as compared to other two. The reasons they gave for this are:
 - The first born and the eldest
 - They had spent maximum time with her
 - Her different nature being the eldest, as she was considered more loving, caring and respectful.

Observational findings:

The observations reveal that grandparents love each grandchild equally and never leave any loop hole in caring for any of them. No discriminatory behavior was observed during the visits.

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION

The results of the present study have uncovered a great deal of information regarding the grandparent-grandchild relationship within the larger context of family. The analysis of interviews, observations and personal documentation clearly portray a picture of grandparent-grandchild relationship that is though independent in some respects yet surrounded and influenced by a stronger family network. Thus the assumption of family systems theory that any relationship existing within the family cannot be studied in isolation (Olson & Defrain, 1997; Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000; Jenkins et al, 2005) has been revealed through the current study as well. It is particularly interesting to note that the entire family's interrelated relations, feelings and reactions combine together to produce a holistic picture which consequently affects the grandparent-grandchild relationship, since that is a major part of the family.

The present case reveals a complete family structure with well defined roles for each member along with a glimpse of cultural and societal norms governing the operations and functioning of these roles. Norms like, the elder generation is to be respected in all aspects, never refusing them any favors and not showing tantrums to them, instead being obedient and polite. As the father mentioned:

"اب ہماری سوسائٹی میں کرنا پڑتا ہے۔ کیونکہ یہاں پر دادا/دادی کا بہت احترام و عزت ہے۔ اس لیے جب ایک چیز آپ کو معاشرے کی طرف سے مل رہی ہو تو وہ خود بخود آپ کی زندگی کا حصہ بن جاتی ہے۔ اسی وجہ سے ہم سوچ بھی نہیں سکتے کہ ان سے بدتمیزی کریں یا ان کی کسی بات سے انکار کریں۔"

Thus the roles of grandparents being the "respected one" and grandchildren being the "obedient one" have been provided by the society which has been ingrained by parents into the family. The aspect of society and culture providing the varying ideological styles, beliefs and value systems exercised within a family, has been highlighted in the assumptions of family systems theory as being the input of the system; family structure (Child Welfare Manual, 2007). The same aspect is also illustrated in

Figure 2 on page 19. Along with this, grandchildren also learn from what they see being practiced in the house around them as the youngest granddaughter mentioned:

"ہم دادا/دادی کی عزت کرتے ہیں، خیال رکھتے ہیں۔ امی ابو بھی ایسے ہی کرتے ہیں نہ ان کے ساتھ۔ تو ہم انہیں بھی تو ہر وقت دیکھتے ہیں نہ کہ وہ آپس میں کیسے behave کر رہے ہیں۔"

It is also interesting to note that the family forms a "connected system" as all the members share a balanced level of emotional closeness with togetherness being the fundamental element (as illustrated in figure 3 on page 20). Though they tend to maintain their individuality and separateness yet the benefits of other members and their feelings are given high priority within family dynamics thus uniting them all. As mentioned by eldest granddaughter:

"دادا/دادی ہمیشہ ہمارا آرام دیکھتے ہیں۔ مطلب اگر میرا کالج چل رہا ہے اور Schedule میں دقت نہیں ہے تو disturb نہیں کر سگے۔"

There exists a certain level of harmony and balance as both the generations are looking out for each others feelings, thus forming a connected system with togetherness in picture. As mentioned by grandson:

"ہم تو ہمیشہ وقت دیتے ہیں انہیں اور کوشش کرتے ہیں کہ انہیں کبھی ہماری کوئی بات بری نہ لگے۔"

This togetherness is also established through the quality time spent together and the mutual sharing of feelings and ideas among family members. These quality times also referred to as "family times" and "quality times" by grandchildren and grandparents usually include discussions ranging from serious issues regarding each individual to more random aspects of life, including politics or television shows and so on. One such quality time mentioned by the grandmother is:

"ہم ابھی تبصرہ کر رہے تھے کہ اپنے گاؤں جانا چاہیے تو یہ باتیں بچوں سے ہوتی رہتی ہیں۔ تو وہ بھی اپنی مطلب کی بات کرتے رہتے ہیں کہ آپ کیا پیچھے پیچھے کی بات کرتے ہیں ادھر کی کیا کریں۔ یہ بھی تو آپ کا گھر ہے۔ وہ ایسے مطالبے کرتے رہتے ہیں اور میں اپنی سوچ کے مطابق انہیں کچھ نہ کچھ بتاتی رہتی ہوں۔"

It is such discussions and exchange of views that brings the two generations together and close to each other. These findings are supported by the aspects listed in the literature on page 3 that act as the stepping stones towards building a stronger family (Plate & Eubanks, 1997). The closeness expressed by the youngest granddaughter circling around these discussions and frequent quality times speaks clearly of this aspect:

"ہم سب ایک ہی تو ہیں۔ بہت close ہیں دادا/دادی کے۔ ساری باتیں بھی کرتے ہیں۔ وقت بھی گزارتے ہیں۔"

Exercising a balanced pattern of flexibility between stability and change, the family exhibits a "structured system" (as illustrated in figure 4 on page 21). The leadership, the power to make decisions, within the family is sometimes shared between the father and grandfather and at times the entire family. As expressed by the father:

"Wife اور بچوں کے ساتھ تو کرنا ہوتا ہے۔ پر میں اپنے parents کو بھی uprise کرتا ہوں۔ اور انکی timely advice مجھے مدد دیتی ہے۔ خاص طور پر ان کے دادا کے ساتھ۔"

A helpful spiritual belief system is predominating which governs everyday stresses and difficult situations. This finding is supported by the model provided by Olson and Defrain (1997). It includes ethical values such as staying quiet and relaxing oneself in times of conflict and trying to dissolve the anger thus avoiding any hard feelings. As expressed by the grandfather:

"اگر کوئی ایسی بات ہو جو مجھے پسند نہیں تو میں چپ ہو جاتا ہوں۔ ہم غصہ پی جاتے ہیں۔ جیسے اللہ کا بھی یہی حکم ہے۔"

Similar views are held by father, mother, granddaughters and grandson. The coping strategies of the family also reveal considerable flexibility as all the family member tend to help each other in times of crises becoming one and facing the challenges instead of denying them. Though they are one yet they also keep the ethical values of giving others space, not interfering and showing patience, in view as stated by the mother:

"ہم نے بڑی پوتی کا میڈیکل میں داخلہ کرانا تھا تو ابا جی (ان کے دادا) نہیں بول رہے تھے۔ حالانکہ ان کا دل کرتا تھا کہ کرائیں۔ اب انہوں نے بات میں دخل بھی نہیں دینا تھا اس لیے روز چپ کر کے دیکھ رہے ہوتے تھے کہ امی ابو کیا کریں گے اور اب کوئی چیز decide نہیں کر پار ہے۔ دو دن بحث میں گزر گئے۔ ان کے ابو کہہ رہے ہیں کہ نہیں کرانا میں کہہ رہی ہوں کرانا ہے۔ صبح اس نے interview کے لیے جانا تھا تو اس کے ابو کی wah میں نوکری تھی تو دادا لے

کے گئے۔ اور واپس آ کے بتایا کہ میں دیکھ رہا تھا کہ آپ fees کی وجہ سے نہیں کر رہے یا ویسے ہی سمجھ نہیں آرہی۔ تو جب آپ لوگوں نے کہا کہ کرانا ہے تو اسی وقت میں نے دل میں کہہ دیا تھا کہ یہ fees دیں نہ دیں میں خود ہی دے دوں گا۔"

The family's communication pattern speaks of a positive and nurturing edge to it, as frequent open straightforward discussions are practiced with cooperation and mutual sharing of each others feelings also regarding for everyone's individuality as well (See Annexure B). The father clearly mentioned these aspects of communication prevalent in the family as he stated that

"بچوں کو بھی accomodate کرتے ہیں۔ اب وہ زمانہ بھی نہیں رہا کہ انکی مرضی کے خلاف کچھ کر لیا جائے۔ تو ان کو consult کر کے opinion لے کر، advise کرتے ہیں۔ اگر ان کی مرضی کے خلاف بھی کرنا ہو تو ان کو convince کرتے ہیں۔ زبردستی پھر بھی نہیں کرتے۔"

Briefly summarizing the holistic picture of the family's dynamics reveals that the culturally pre-ordained family roles, strictly inculcated by parents drive the family towards a harmonious and balanced family life cycle. As a result the respect and regard shown by grandchildren is reciprocated by the love, care and regard for personal space by the grandparents. The structured democratic system helps the family members to remain in their boundaries along with speaking up for themselves and voicing their feelings and viewpoints. This appears to be helpful as all members experience a feeling of security and importance within the family. As a result of this the grandparent-grandchild relationship is also strengthened because whatever is being practiced in general within the family is reflected in the balanced relationship between the two generations. They both have equal regard and respect for each other along with feelings of bonding and association which bring them closer to each other. As stated by the eldest granddaughter:

"میرا کافی strong رشتہ ہے۔ ایک strong bonding ہے۔ کافی زیادہ close ہیں ہم۔ وہ ہمیشہ ہماری ease دیکھتے ہیں۔ کبھی force نہیں کرتے۔ اور ہم بھی ان کا خیال رکھتے ہیں۔"

Since nothing is imposed on either of them therefore each feels personally compelled to be good and get close to one another.

As the basic picture of the family has been formed, now the individual themes for the first objective will be discussed.

Family Roles

The involvement of grandparents in every aspect of the family especially concerned with grandchildren is a noticeable element emerging from the themes. Though grandparents are considered and taken advice from in all matters yet on their own they never impose any of their wishes or feelings onto their grandchildren and their parents as well. As the grandmother stated:

"میں کوئی بات ہو تو ان کو بتا دیتی ہوں۔ مشورہ دے دیتی ہوں مگر ضد نہیں کرتی کہ یہ تم نے لازمی کرنی ہے۔ دباؤ نہیں ڈالتی ان پر۔"

This role of grandparents serves two purposes, it gives grandparents a feeling of importance as they are consulted in all matters and at the same time it leaves grandchildren and their parents satisfied that they have given due regard to grandparents without overburdening themselves and feeling pressurized. This aspect of positive affects of grandparents not imposing themselves has been supported by the findings of Perlmutter (2008). Thus it evokes positive and healthy feelings between both the generations. As stated by the father:

"مشورہ دے دیتے ہیں۔ ہر چیز میں involved بھی ہوتے ہیں۔ مگر ایک جس سے بچوں کو executive feeling ہو وہ role نہیں ہے دادا/دادی کا۔"
"یہ تو bare minimum دہل دیتے ہیں۔"

As a result grandchildren listen to their grandparents on their own without any obligations and consider them as the major source of consultation as well as the most important individuals in the family. As stated by the eldest granddaughter

"دادا/دادی کی بہت say ہے گھر میں۔"
"امی ابو کو مشورے دیتے ہیں۔ بہت اہم کردار ہے دادا/دادی کا۔"

Also referred to by the grandson:

"ہر بات میں دادا/دادی کا ہی role ہوتا ہے۔"

"پہلے ان سے پوچھتے ہیں پھر ہوتا ہے۔"

"ہر چیز میں وہ بھی آگے ہوتے ہیں۔"

Grandparents are consulted in all matters due to another important role defined for them that is concerned to their past experiences and vast treasure of wisdom and knowledge they possess. As stated by the grandson:

"اگر دادا/دادی زندگی میں نہ ہوں تو کافی ساری باتیں تو پتہ نہ چل سکیں جو صرف یہی بتا سکتے ہیں۔"

This role is also evident in father's statement:

"وہ ایک institution ہیں۔ مطلب ان کی ایک personal life ہے۔ ان کے efforts ہیں۔ ان کی hardships ہیں۔ ان کا ماضی ہے۔ ان کی زندگی سے اگر کوئی سبق سیکھے تو بہت اچھی بات ہے۔ اور یہی ان کا role ہے۔"

This theme for grandparent's role is similar to the theme of "Exchange" identified by Harwood and Lin (2000). Grandparents have also been referred to as the "gold mines of knowledge" by Beebe, (2005). According to Rimm (2000) sharing past experiences and stories with grandchildren increases grandchildren's appreciation of the past thus having a better sense of history. Along with this it also brings the grandparents more close to their grandchildren. These findings have been depicted in the present study as well, through interview statements of grandchildren along with observations for grandchildren feel happy and cherish a special bond with grandparents regarding the great stories they have to share with them. The admiration and respect they have for the past is also noticeable.

Another important role of grandparents that has been mentioned frequently in every family member's interview is that of "Saviors". The grandparents are seen as there to help out grandchildren when in a difficult situation with parents. As stated by the eldest granddaughter:

"امی ابو کا کپڑوں کے معاملے میں بھی ہو جاتا ہے کہ ایسے نہیں ایسے کپڑے کیوں ہیں۔ ایسے سلواؤ۔ تو میری دادی میری

favor کر رہی ہوتی ہیں کہ یہ color ہونا چاہیے۔ اس طرح کا fashion چل رہا ہے۔"

Also mentioned by the grandson

"کافی دفعہ ابو سے ڈانٹ پڑ رہی ہو تو بچا بھی لیتے ہیں۔ جان بچ جاتی ہے۔"

Also stated by father

"If I want to be tough with them for their studies, their discipline, in routine life then at times they do say that keep a soft corner".

This theme has also been reported in the work of Duncan and Beebe (n.d) as "supporters" and as "silent saviors", safety nets and the "second line of defense in the work of Cox (2006). This role of grandparents also tends to increase the bonding between the grandparent and the grandchild (Silverstein & Ruiz, 2006).

The grandparents are also seen as always being there to help every member of the family. Research supports this role of grandparents being seen as someone always there to help family members in times of need (Beebe, 2005). Along with this they tend to take care of grandchildren in the absence of their parents thus sharing their burden and acting useful around the house. As stated by Mother:

"میں باہر جاؤں تو مطمئن ہوتی ہوں کہ گھر میں بچوں کے پاس دادا/دادی ہیں۔ جو کمی ہم سے رہ جاتی ہے وہ یہ پوری کر دیتے ہیں۔"

This theme relates to the "caretaking" role identified by Whitbourne (2000). As stated by the grandmother:

"میں سب کے لیے کھانا تیار کرتی ہوں۔"

Also stated by grandfather:

"میں پوتے پوتیوں کو خود صبح گاڑی میں بٹھاتا ہوں اور واپسی پر لاتا بھی ہوں۔"

This helps in establishing a healthy relation between parents and grandparents along with a close bond with grandchildren. Similar to this the role of pleasure without responsibility has also been identified in previous researches (Cox & Canada, 1994).

An interesting role of grandparents is that of being the "the rigid one". As stated by the eldest granddaughter:

"دادا/دادی ٹائم کے معاملے میں، اپنی routine کے معاملے میں بہت rigid ہیں۔ اگر چائے چارج نہیں ملی تو اب دوبارہ نہیں پینیں گے کسی اور ٹائم پہ۔"

An important aspect of this role is that though grandparents are always accommodated with love and patience yet, this nature of theirs or this role that they acquire creates certain problems for grandchildren as they do have their own responsibilities as well and being busy they can't always be on time. As stated by the mother:

"بس ایک ٹائم والی بات بری لگتی ہے۔ وہ کہتی ہیں کہ مجھے عمر ہوگئی اس گھڑی کو دیکھتے۔ ان کی اس rigidity کی ایک وجہ یہ ہے کہ اب ایک بندہ سارا دن گھر میں ہے۔ اس کے پاس کوئی کام نہیں تو اس نے گھڑی ہی دیکھنی ہے نا۔ اور ایک بندہ ہے اس نے اور بھی کام کرنے میں تو وہ اس طرح نہیں کر سکتا پھر۔"

This also shows that though grandparents have their own timings and their own rules and principles and grandchildren and parents have their own yet the element of accommodation is present on part of grandparents. They tend to adjust themselves and if at times they do complain then grandchildren accommodate them. Thus the harmony and balance is maintained in all circumstances.

The roles pertaining to the love, care and concern showered by grandparents onto their grandchildren is quite prominent in the themes of "love and affection providers", "well-wishers" and "the concerned one". Since they are viewed as always wanting what's good and beneficial for grandchildren therefore they are listened to and regarded considerably. As stated by the youngest granddaughter

"وہ اچھا کام ہی بتاتے ہیں ہمیشہ۔ کبھی انہوں نے ہمارا برا نہیں چاہا ہوگا۔"

The concern they show for their grandchildren brings them more close to them. As stated by the eldest granddaughter

"اگر میں کبھی بتائے بغیر چلی جاؤں تو وہ واپس آؤں گی تو پوچھیں گے کیوں بتا کے نہیں گئی۔"

This act of grandparents evokes feelings of being taken care of and thought of .A feeling that their grandparents are always thinking of them and are concerned about their routine, their lives and everything related to grandchildren.

Thus the family roles acquired by grandparents are mutually accepted and defined for them amongst the family members. This is evident by the fact that all these roles have been identified in the interviews of each member which indicates that they are accepted and as a result harmony prevails in the family regarding roles. Research shows that if a tension exists in the role acceptance and assignment then the family dynamics can be strained ((Plate & Eubanks, 1997). And since there is no such tension evident in this case therefore the family dynamics are balanced.

Family Rules

The rules prevalent within the family are in consistence with the roles identifying the family's structure thus developing a cohesiveness and stability within the family. This phenomenon of rules consistent with roles leading to stability within the family has also been observed by Goldenberg and Goldenberg (2000). The rules of "never express anger towards grandparents" and "respect elders" define how grandchildren are supposed to behave towards grandparents and how they are supposed to think and feel about them. As stated by the eldest granddaughter

"امی ابو کا فی سختی کرتے ہیں کہ دادا دادی کے ساتھ اچھی طرح behave کیا کرو۔ بد تمیزی نہیں کرنی۔ تو اس طرح ذہن میں ہوتا ہے کہ ہر طرح سے ان کا خیال رکھنا ہے۔"

Research suggests that when parents encourage a favorable relation between grandparents and grandchildren, the grandchildren tend to act more receptive and loving towards their grandparents (Beebe, 2005). The harmony and consistency in the messages sent by parents, pertaining to the rules for respect and care of grandparents, is evident via the personal documents as well as observations. The photographs reveal a central place assigned to grandparents thus speaking of the care and regard bestowed on them, Also the politeness with which grandchildren as well as parents communicate with

grandparents and the respect they show by standing up when grandparents enter a room clearly support these rules.

Another important rule observed is that of accommodating and tolerating others. As stated by grandmother

"کچھ اختلاف ہو جاتے ہیں۔ کوئی غلط نہیں ہے تو بڑوں کو صبر کرنا چاہیے۔ چھوٹوں کو بھی احساس کرنا چاہیے۔ تبھی رشتہ قائم رہتا ہے۔"

This rule has especially been emphasized for elders of the family that is grandparents and parents which reveals that since grandchildren are prone to act stubborn due to their age therefore elders should show patience and give them time hence not create a fuss out of little issues. This helps in building relations as well as the proper grooming of children. As stated by father

"اگر بڑے accommodate اور tolerate کریں تو بچوں کو خود ہی احساس ہو جاتا ہے کہ انہوں نے غلط کیا ہے۔ زیادہ بحث کرنے اور زبردستی ڈانٹ کے کام کرانے سے مسئلہ بڑھ جاتا ہے اور رشتے بھی خراب ہوتے ہیں۔"

In accordance with this rule is that of treating children with love and care. This also indicates that there has to be a greater amount of investment by elders in maintaining a relationship with the younger generation. As stated by grandmother

"جب بڑے بچوں سے پیار کرتے ہیں تو سب ٹھیک رہتا ہے۔ اور بڑوں کا پیار بچوں کو ان کی طرف کھینچتا ہے۔"

An important rule that signifies the boundaries and limitations exercised by each member of the two generations is that of "caring and spending time with grandparents within limits". Thus the grandchildren are not forced to spend time other than that is available and convenient for them simultaneously grandparents are also aware of their hectic routines involving school time, study time play time and so on that they don't have any high expectations from their grandchildren and they feel contented with whatever time they spend with them hence making it quality time for them. As stated by grandfather

"اتنا busy schedule ہے ان کا کہ وہ جتنا کرتے ہیں ہم اس میں خوش ہیں۔ آتے جاتے سلام کرتے ہیں۔ مل کر جاتے ہیں باہر۔ یہی بہت ہے ہمارے لیے۔"

Along with this, grandchildren also feel like spending time with grandparents this way because they are not over burdened or stressed with undue demands either by their grandparents or parents to spend more time with grandparents. As stated by father

"باقی ان کی education ہے میں زیادہ stress نہیں کرتا کہ اپنا کام چھوڑ کے دادا/دادی کے پاس بیٹھو۔ لیکن جو وقت ہوتا ہے اس میں چھوٹی چھوٹی چیزوں کے ذریعے خیال رکھ لیں تو بہت ہے۔ مثلاً TV Channel ہے تو دادا/دادی کا مذاکرے والا ہے اور بچوں والا کوئی اور ہے تو دادا/دادی کی مرضی کا لگا دیں۔ کیونکہ یہ زبردستی نہیں کی ہم نے اس لیے پھر ان کا خود دل کرتا ہے کہ دادا/دادی کے پاس جائیں، کام سے تھک کر فریض ہونے کے لیے۔ دادا/دادی کے پاس چلے جاتے ہیں۔"

Also it is noticed that it is not big things that matter but little gestures that can mean a lot in the maintenance and further nurturance of a relationship .As stated by grandmother

"بچے سب سے پہلے صبح سلام کر کے جاتے ہیں۔ مل کے جاتے ہیں۔ میرا اس طرح کا پیار ہے ان سے۔"

Also stated by the father

آتے جاتے انہیں hello, hi کہنا، wish کرنا، شام کو پاس بیٹھنا، کبھی کسی ایک کے پاؤں دبا دیے، ٹانگ دبا دی۔

"-This is al

These findings are supported by research that grandparents feel happy when their investment in the relation is reciprocated by grandchildren (Quadagno, 2005).

Another rule that is noteworthy regards the relation of grandparents with the mother. They try not to say anything directly to her rather if they need to say something from their side they only suggest it to the father. This is helpful in building and calming down the relation between grandparents and their daughter-in-law as they avoid all conflicts with daughter-in-law. This phenomenon is evident through research as well (Quadagno, 2005).The grandmother stated that

"ہمیشہ بیٹے کو سمجھاتے ہیں۔ اس سے کہتے ہیں کیونکہ بہو کو کہنے سے بات بگڑ جاتی ہے۔ اور وہ کہے گی کہ مجھے ہر وقت کہتے رہتے ہیں۔"

This positive act of grandparents helps in establishing their relation with grandchildren as also mentioned in a research by Whitbeck et al (1993).

An important finding in these rules is that though grandparents advise and speak in daily matters yet they tend to take their position once the heat of the moment has cleared. As stated by the mother

"بس ان کے دادا/دادی کی ایک بات اچھی ہے وہ شاید شروع میں انہوں نے note کر لی تھی کہ جب بھی ماں باپ ان سے کر رہے ہوتے ہیں نہ جیسے پڑھائی کی بات یا کپڑوں وغیرہ کے بنانے کی بات تو اس وقت جب ہم خود لگے ہوں گے تو کبھی نہیں بولتے بیچ میں۔ لیکن بعد میں favor دی ہے انہوں نے کہ بیٹا تم یہ پہن لو اچھا ہے۔ مگر اس وقت کچھ نہیں بولیں گے۔ جو مرضی ماں باپ کو کہیں۔ اب بنا کہ تو میں نے ہی دیا ہے نا۔ لیکن اس وقت نہیں بولے۔"

In this way the parents are given their space for exercising independence in bringing up their children and grandparents also don't have to face the humiliation or get in a fight and conflict with parents. Hence everyone feels contented fulfilling their designated roles. Research also supports this finding that grandparents perceive that not interfering in the way parents' parent their grandchildren and not taking sides during heated family disputes as important to maintain good relations across generations (Rimm, 2000; Ross et al, 2005).

The rules speak of the investment grandparents have to make in building the relationship with grandchildren by providing love and affection, showing tolerance and accommodation along with respect for personal space. While all that is demanded from grandchildren is respect and regard for grandparents. The phenomenon of "intergenerational stake" is evident here, which highlights that grandparents have a greater generational stake in their relationship with grandchildren therefore they tend to accommodate and adjust themselves, ignoring the slight ups and downs taking place in daily routine(Harwood & Lin, 2000). Thus grandparents tend to see the relationship in a slightly more positive light than grandchildren. Though scarcely, yet grandchildren do mention some disturbing aspects of the relationship such as early awakening of grandfather and a rigid routine exercised by them. This phenomenon of grandparents

seeing the relation in a more positive way has been supported by the work of Schaie and Geiwitz (1982). Another aspect highlighted is the one concerned with the love and care given to grandchildren which is especially observed and present in this study for it is practiced in our society where children are given unconditional love and in return only respect is expected from them which brings them closer to grandparents. Research indicates that grandparents are a source of providing unconditional love for their grandchildren (Beebe, 2005). Another dominant theme running through the family roles as well as rules is that of minimum imposing interference of grandparents in family matters which helps every individual.

Distribution of Power

The family exercises a flexible yet stable pattern of power distribution. The themes that originate from the interviews of all family members reveal that equal participation of all members is given prime importance and everyone's debate and point of view is catered for thus a consultative process takes place which leads to the ultimate decisions. As stated by the father

"final decision جو ہے، مل کر مشورے سے اور mutual consent پر ہوتا ہے۔"

Though in most matters the final authority is usually exercised by either the grandfather alone or both grandfather and father mutually yet a considerable flexibility still exists. As stated by the father himself

"کوئی hard & fast rule نہیں ہے کہ ایسے ہی کرنا ہے اور اسی کی سننی ہے۔"

This shows that the family is not driven by rigid rules and regulations that bound everyone to follow strict principles. This can be one of the reasons why the family functions in harmony for research states that overly concentrated power in one member of the family can hinder family operations and relationships (Child Welfare Manual, 2007). In cases of conflict the family goes for discussions and avoids taking any decision until everyone has been convinced. Thus every individual member has enough power to voice his interests while keeping the mutual interest of the family in view.

Another important finding is that grandparents are extensively consulted in all decision making processes. As stated by the youngest granddaughter

"کافی strong hold ہے دادا/دادی کا اور کافی say ہے ان کی ہر معاملے میں۔"

This finding has been established by previous researches stating that in developing countries like in Asia ,extended family households grandparents usually have an important role in decision-making (Papalia et al, 2007; Putney & Bengtson, 2004). Related to grandparents role in decision making an important finding developed during the interviews as the father stated that

"میں ہر معاملے میں ان سے پوچھتا ہوں مشورہ لیتا ہوں۔ مگر دادا/دادی ہمیشہ یہی کہتے ہیں کہ ہمیں تو یہ یوں لگتا ہے اب آگے آپ وہ کرو جو آپ کو ٹھیک لگتا ہے۔"

Thus the grandparents never impose their decisions on family members which increase their respect in the eyes of the grandchildren as well as parents. For if they see them as interfering they would start getting rebellious towards their ideas. Rimm (2000), supports these findings that grandparents should share some information (not too much) based on their many years of parenting but must leave it up to the parents as to whether they wish to follow their advice or not consequently improving relationships.

In short the distribution of power reveals flexibility and stability with a positive role on the grandparental part which brings them close to their grandchildren.

Communication

The communication pattern, which is assumed by literature to reveal a lot about family dynamics and ho relationships operate, appears to be stable and "open" type where individual members are allowed to express themselves openly and directly. The family portrays a system in which all individuals of the family are listened to, and every member's daily issues no matter how trivial they are, are listened to and given importance in family discussions. In this way everyone gets to say what they want and at the same time others get to know what he/she is going through thus evoking feelings of love and help. As stated by the grandson

"سب کی سنی جاتی ہے اور کوئی left out نہیں محسوس کرتا۔ آپس میں مل کر بات چیت ہوتی ہے۔ کھانے کے بعد شام کو اکٹھے ہو جاتے ہیں اور سب ہی involve ہوتے ہیں۔"

Another interesting finding is that the messages sent to everyone are clear with no ambiguity, that is there is a consistency and whatever is to be said is said clearly with no complications. This is also supported researcher's observations and interpretation of personal documentations. For what is stated has been further strengthened and backed up by other sources as well. As stated by the mother

"ہم نے کبھی vague یا مختلف باتیں بچوں سے نہیں کیں۔ جو بات ہے وہ انہیں پتہ ہے۔"

There are also certain rules for speaking such as elders speak first, never interrupt anyone while talking, talk politely and so on. Another important thing is that grandchildren learn these rules from their parents as well as grandparents for they themselves are practicing them in their communications as a result again the grandchildren are getting clear and consistent messages from their elders. Research supports that grandchildren learn good morals and values by observing what grandparents and parents say as well as how they act (Beebe, 2005).

Triangulation

The most interesting finding from the family systems theory regarding the grandparent-grandchild relationship embedded within the entire family's dynamics is that related to triangulation. The most recurrent aspect in all the sub themes is that though the phenomenon is not that evident yet its presence has no negative markers on grandparents or their relationship with grandchildren. This does not mean that if such a situation occurs that grandchildren have been scolded by their parents they will keep the resentment within them, because if such a case happens then that would be more destructive for the grandchildren and parent's relationship. Thus expression is required and it is this expression which is so subtle and indirect that the grandparents are never involved in it and thus the grandparent-grandchild relationship is kept secure and apart from all this turmoil and tension, which again is short-lived. As stated by the father

"ایک resentment ہوتی ہے اور after effects ہوتے ہیں کہ اگر میرے سے بچوں کو ڈانٹ پڑی ہے تو دادا/ دادی سے بھی mood خراب ہو جائے ان کا مگر"

they may not be conveying but gesturing it so mildly that grandparents don't even feel that something has happened regarding them

جیسے دروازہ پینچ دیں گے۔ لیکن دادا/دادی کے ساتھ directly نہیں۔"

This also goes in consistence with the family rule of "never express anger towards grandparents". Also stated by the mother

"اگر بچوں کا میرے ساتھ کوئی مسئلہ ہو بھی تو یہ دادا/دادی کا اتنا کرتے ہیں کہ ان کے ساتھ کچھ نہیں کریں گے۔"

This aspect holds true for parents as well and their anger on grandchildren is also not reflected on grandparents as stated by father

"اگر میں بچوں کے ساتھ سخت ہوں اور mood خراب ہے تو ان کے ساتھ بھی but ایک distance رکھنا پڑتا ہے۔ کیونکہ دادا/دادی کے ساتھ treatment اور ہے اور ان کو express نہیں کرنا۔"

Thus it is a conscious effort not to drag grandparents into such petty matters of the family and so protecting the grandparent-grandchild relationship. On the contrary the effects of pleasant mood are naturally not suppressed and they do bear consequences on grandparents as well as grandchildren. As stated by the father

"اگر میں بچوں کے ساتھ cordial mood میں خوش ہوں تو وہ parents کے ساتھ بھی ہوتا ہے۔"

Another important finding from the interviews of mother and father reveal that though nothing is said to grandparents what so ever, yet a temporary bad mood because of them may be vented out on grandchildren, which again does not have far reaching consequences so as to effect the grandparent-grandchild relationship. As stated by the mother

"کبھی ان کی کوئی ایسی بات بچوں کے حوالے سے جو مجھے نہیں پسند اور میں نہیں چاہ رہی کہ میرے بچے وہ کریں تو میں سارا غصہ بچوں پہ جھاڑوں گی۔ انہیں پھر بھی کچھ نہیں کہہ رہی ہوتی۔"

In relation to this concept of triangulation the grandparents' role is usually seen as that of the mediating one. As stated by the father

"stressful situation میں دادا/دادی آ بھی جاتے ہیں، ان کو محسوس بھی ہو جاتا ہے اور وہ mediate بھی کر جاتے ہیں۔"

Also stated by the mother

"اب اگر ہم نے کل کہیں جانا ہے تو ان کی پوتی کے تین جوڑے سلائے ہیں۔ میں ایک پہ اسرار کر رہی ہوں کہ یہ پہن لو۔ تو اس کا دل نہیں ہے یہ تو وہ دادی کے پاس لے جائے گی کہ آپ بتائیں اور وہ اس پہ ہاتھ رکھیں گی جو اس کا پسند کا تھا۔ تو

اب دادی نے کہہ دیا تو میں چپ ہو جاتی ہوں اور پوتی بھی خوش ہو گئی ہے کہ اب دادی نے کہہ دیا ہے تو امی نہیں بولیں گی۔"

Thus the results reveal that though the grandparents are kept out of all such issues in which they could become a part of a tussle, yet they have a positive role during stressful situations. The individuals usually involved in day to day situations both positive and negative are grandparents (positive healthy, pleasurable situations) and grandchildren (both pleasant and unpleasant situations). This has been cited by research as well that both grandparents and grandchildren are usually drawn into such situations, being the vulnerable ones as they are both going through a phase of transition. (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2000). Even then the dragging in is not that drastic so as to hinder the relationships. As quoted by the eldest granddaughter

"مسئلے تو ہر جگہ ہوتے ہیں مگر ہماری family میں کوئی مسئلہ اتنا نہیں بڑھتا کہ کوئی اور رشتہ اس سے effect ہو۔ ہاں وقتی بول کے چپ ہو جاتے ہیں۔ پر اس سے زیادہ tension نہیں بڑھتی۔"

Multigenerational Transmission Process

The results reveal strong bonding and association of parents, both father and mother, with the grandparents. It has also been indicated through research that the person in the middle generation, that is the mother and the father, functions as a gatekeeper, either encouraging or discouraging the relationship between the child and the grandparents. The better the relationship with the parent, the more likely the grandchild is to promote the grandparent-grandchild relationship (Uhlenberg & Mueller, 2004; Beebe, 2005).

The parents' view their parents (children's grandparents) as playing an important and significant role in their lives. They are viewed with gratitude for always being there for them and now for their grandchildren as well. As stated by the father

"انہوں نے ہمارے لیے sacrifices دیے۔ ہمیں یہاں adjust کرانے میں ہماری پڑھائی میں جیسے جیسے آگے practical life ہمیں groom کیا اور اب ہمارے بچوں کے لیے بھی بہت کچھ کر رہے ہیں۔"

Parents experience a loving and caring relation with their grandparents which leads to a strong desire for their children to bond with them as well. This finding has been supported by research as well, for the parents who see their parents as caring and loving tend to have children who have strong relations with grandparents (Quadagno, 2005). Parents also tend to idealize their parents, looking up to them in all matters and taking them as their role models. As stated by the father

"میرے نزدیک میرے parents ایک role model ہیں۔ اور اگر میرے بچے انہیں follow کرتے ہیں تو یہ

ایک exemplary role, legendary ہے۔"

Research also supports this finding that parents view grandparents as important role models in the socialization and upbringing of grandchildren (Putney & Bengtson, 2004; Beebe, 2005). Another interesting finding is that the mother also feels the same way about her children's grandparents. As she stated

"میں ہمیشہ انہی کی طرف دیکھتی ہوں۔ انہوں نے اتنا کچھ کیا اور اتنا پیار دیا مجھے۔ بہت دفعہ مجھے کچھ باتیں سمجھ نہیں آتیں تو میں انہی کے پاس جاتی ہوں اور پھر ان کی بتائی ہوئی بات پر غور کرتی ہوں۔"

This desire to bond with grandparents is a way of maintaining a link to one's roots. This finding has also been mentioned in the work of Deehan and Brotherson (2006). The same findings have been narrated in the work of Quadagno (2005) as the establishment of family norms of reciprocity and strengthening of links between generations. Grandparents are also seen as a strong connection between the present and the past, thus a means of carrying on what they have achieved and seen through their grandchildren (Perlmutter, 2008). The parents' strong desire for a constant attachment and bond with parents is seen in the grandfather's statements

"میں چھوٹے بیٹے کے پاس جانا چاہتا تھا انہوں نے خود مجھے رکھا ہے۔ اور دونوں میاں بیوی رو پڑے تھے کہ آپ الگ نہیں ہو سکتے ہم سے۔"

Along with this both the parents had healthy relations with their own grandparents as well. The father had seen a joint family system since his birth therefore he has loving

memories of his grandparents. In fact he misses those days when the bond between grandparents and grandchildren was much stronger than the present day for the children were not that committed and were considerably free. As stated by the father

"ہم گاؤں میں تھے۔ دادا/دادی کے ساتھ۔ وہ ایک conductive environment تھا۔ اور اب کے مقابلے

میں تب زیادہ تھا ان کا۔ ان کو وقت دینا، خیال رکھنا، ان کی چھوٹی چھوٹی باتوں کے لیے ہمارا volunteer کرنا۔"

The grandparents also experienced a joint family system since their childhood therefore they also cherish their memories with their grandparents. For them grandparents were more than their parents. As stated by the grandmother

"joint family میں رہے۔ بہت اچھے تعلقات تھے دادا/دادی سے۔ بہت پیار ملا۔ بہت کچھ سیکھا ان سے۔ اور اب

وہی ماحول ہم یہاں practice کر رہے ہیں۔ اسی طرح پیار اور ایک دوسرے کا خیال کرنا۔"

This finding has also been supported by research that grandparents having good relations with their grandparents reciprocate a healthy relation with their grandchildren (King & Elder, 1997).

The grandchildren have been passed on with loving memories of healthy relations, both from their parents as well as grandparents. As a result since they have always seen the relation of grandparents as sacred and enriching in their lives therefore they experience the same loving, caring and joyful relationship with their grandparents. As stated by the eldest granddaughter

"میں بہت حیران ہوتی ہوں جب دوستیں اپنے دادا/دادی سے تنگ ہوتی ہیں یا کہتی ہیں کہ ان کی وجہ سے مسئلہ ہوا گھر میں،

کیونکہ ہمارے دادا/دادی تو بہت accomodative اور پیار کرنے والے ہیں۔ اور ہمارے تو امی ابو بھی ہمیشہ

positive اور پیار سے ہی بات کرتے ہیں ان کے بارے میں۔"

Distancer-Pursuer Dyad

The results reveal that grandparents are neither the distancers nor the pursuers in the grandparent-grandchild relationship while the grandchildren at times tend to distance slightly. An interesting finding that speaks of the organization and well planning within the family dynamics is that of conscious efforts for the maintenance of personal space for

both the grandparents as well as the grandchildren. Since they have their own physical space (in the form of rooms and specific time for different activities) therefore their privacy is not hindered and as a result the question of one wanting to distance or the other pursuing closeness in the relationship becomes non-existent, for the interference has been minimized and personal space has already been provided. This is so because the distancer-pursuer dyad exists in cases where the personal space of an individual starts being threatened and questioned by the other individual's undue closeness and pressurizing within the relationship. As stated by the youngest granddaughter

"ہمارا الگ ٹائم ہے ہر کام کا۔ play time, study time اور فارغ time میں دادا/دادی سے باتیں کرتے ہیں۔ اور پھر کمرے بھی ہیں تو جب باہر آتے ہیں تو دادا/دادی lounge میں ہوتے ہیں۔ مطلب time-time سے ہر کام کرتے ہیں۔"

Along with the provision of personal space a lot of understanding exists on the grandparents' as well as grandchildren's part. The grandparents respect their grandchildren's hectic routine and tend not to disturb them at odd hours. They find alternate solutions and ways to experience closeness with them thus adjusting themselves to their grandchildren's routine. As stated by the grandfather

"میں ان کی routine کے ساتھ adjust کرتا ہوں۔"

"ایسا موقع نہیں آنے دیتا کہ میرا دل کرے اور وہ مصروف ہوں۔"

"جو ان کی routine میں بیچ بیچ میں مواقع آتے ہیں میں ان میں ان کے ساتھ جو تھوڑا بہت وقت گزارتا ہوں میرے لیے وہی کافی ہے۔"

"صبح سکول جاتے ہیں میں خود گاڑی میں بٹھاتا ہوں پھر انتظار کرتا ہوں اور شاپ سے گھر لے کر آتا ہوں۔"

A particularly interesting finding regarding the mutual understanding exists in the fact that grandparents are always available and happy to accompany their grandchildren while on the other hand grandchildren also try not to keep their grandparents waiting. That is they try to adjust their grandparents within their hectic daily routines. As stated by the grandson

"ہمارے پاس جب وقت ہوتا ہے تو ان ہی کے پاس ہوتے ہیں۔ اس طرح ان کو شکایت بھی نہیں ہوتی اور وہ خوش بھی ہوتے ہیں۔"

Though nothing obvious is done regarding the grandchildren distancing from their grandparents yet at times they do feel like being alone and not disturbed. But these feelings are not conveyed to grandparents for during that time they remain in their rooms. Also the grandparents understand grandchildren's situation and never persuade them to sit with them against the grandchildren's desire or moods. As stated by the eldest granddaughter

"ہمارا ہو جاتا ہے کبھی کے busy routine ہو، یا تھکے ہوں تو دل نہ کرے پاس بیٹھنے کو۔ کبھی اکیلے رہنے کو دل کر رہا ہو۔ لیکن اس میں پھر ہم کمرے میں ہوتے ہیں اور اس میں بھی دادا/دادی سمجھتے ہیں اور کبھی force نہیں کرتے کہ باہر آؤ یا ہمارے ساتھ بیٹھو۔"

Differentiation of Self

The results regarding this phenomenon reveal that the grandchildren have a high degree of differentiation of self as they have established a balance between the separateness and connectedness with the family. They have a clear distinction between their intellectual processes and emotional aspects. Thus they have a clear sense of why they respect and care for their grandparents and why they love them, which shows that they are not driven by emotions that they do not understand. This aspect has also been highlighted by Goldenberg and Goldenberg (2000). The reasons and rationalizations they have for their emotions and feelings towards grandparents revolve around the investment grandparents have put in them. The most recurrent theme is that of the loving nature of grandparents. The love they receive from their grandparents brings them closer to them. Research supports this finding (Rimm, 2000). As stated by the grandson

"کیونکہ وہ ہمیں اتنا پیار کرتے ہیں۔ ہر چیز میں ہمارا خیال رکھتے ہیں۔"

Also the material aspect of this relationship is important for the help the grandparents provide to their grandchildren in daily activities also symbolizes the relations strengthening in the eyes of the grandchildren.

An interesting aspect relates to the fact that grandchildren view themselves being closer and attached to grandparents than their own parents experiencing a friendly and a

more bonding relation with grandparents. This finding is also supported by the work of Rimm (2000) and Perlumtter (2008). As stated by the eldest granddaughter

" کیونکہ بہت زیادہ association ہے ان کے ساتھ۔ ہر بات کر سکتی ہوں ان کے ساتھ امی ابو کے مقابلے میں۔ "

Summing up the findings regarding the applicability of the family systems theory pertaining to the grandparent-grandchild relationship, it is evident that the theory holds true. The family roles play an important part in structuring the family's system thus defining what is expected of each member, so that no confusion exists within members. Along with this, the next most important and significant theme within the family is that of multigenerational transmission process which indicates that the parents and their beliefs and values about life and grandparents play a significant role in establishing and developing the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The third prevalent theme is family rules, which circles around the family roles and the value system of parents. Thus once the roles have been identified and the parental beliefs have been inculcated and practiced within the family the family rules are established, either directly or through indirect observation and nonverbal cues of family members. The distancer-pursuer dyad is the fourth most prevalent theme of the family systems theory. This signifies the importance of individuality and personal space esteemed within the family keeping the element of togetherness and unity intact. The fifth prevalent theme of triangulation shows that this concept is not that evident in the family and its presence is more towards the positive side regarding the grandparents' position and behavior of grandchildren towards them. Distribution of power is the sixth theme, which signifies that this aspect is not very rigidly held within the family thus exercising a stable amount of flexibility. Communication and Differentiation of self are the seventh and eighth themes within the family (See Figure 7 on page 65 for the prevalence of each theme).

From the present findings the important aspects necessary for a healthy and a successful relationship mentioned by Plate and Eubanks (1997) have also been supported. The aspects include the presence of strong communication, showing care, cooperating with one another, being accepting, patient, showing respect and courtesy while avoiding nagging, preaching and a "know-it-all" attitude.

In relation to the second and third objectives of this study the themes regarding the perception of grandparents and grandchildren about this relationship reveal a great deal from the standpoint of both the generations. They eloquently tell about the aspects that are looked for, cherished and given prime importance in the grandparent-grandchild relationship, by grandparents as well as grandchildren.

The theme most recurrent and prevalent in the grandparents' conversation about the grandparent-grandchild relationship centers around the sense of achievement they derive from it. This feeling of achievement is reflected in their statements about how they cherish the moments when their grandchildren make "demands" or "wishes", which they are capable of fulfilling. This theme is similar to the grandparents' perception of deriving a sense of being needed and helpful in a research by Cox (2006). According to the grandmother

"مجھے بہت اچھا لگتا ہے جب وہ کچھ مانگتے ہیں اور میں ان کی خواہش پوری کرتی ہوں۔ میری بڑی پوتی نے medical میں داخلہ لینا تھا۔ پر اس کے ابو نہیں مان رہے تھے۔ تو اس نے مجھے کہا کہ میری help کریں اور پھر میں نے اس کے ابو سے بات کی تھی۔"

A new theme has been generated in this research is the feeling of being committed and busy derived from this relationship. As stated by the Grandmother

"پوتے پوتیاں مصروف رکھتے ہیں۔ گہما گہمی میں دن گزر جاتا ہے۔"

Since grandparents are free at home with no obligations and duties therefore the grandchildren keep them busy and as a result they feel themselves being committed to something, though at times the grandchildren are busy in their own activities yet just watching them makes their time fly.

Other themes of "love", "happiness" and "respect and care" have also been generated. This indicates that grandparents also experience an emotional bond with their grandchildren. These themes have been identified in previous literature as well (Schaie & Geiwitz, 1982; Ross et al, 2005). Grandparents also derive a sense of affiliation and belongingness by the little gestures their grandchildren express in daily life. This theme is

similar to the affiliation theme identified by Harwood and Lin (2000). As stated by the grandmother

"جب میں آواز دیتی ہوں تو ایسا پیارا" امی جی " کہہ کر قریب آتے ہیں کہ دل خوش ہو جاتا ہے اور اپنا ایت محسوس ہوتی ہے۔"

And according to the grandfather

"مجھے" ابا جی " کہتے ہیں۔"

Another theme identified in this respect is that of "Quality time". The grandparents cherish the time spent with their grandchildren; every moment they are with them is special for them. This theme is similar to the aspects of talking and giving advice to grandchildren that are seen as important for grandparents (Ross et al, 2005). The work of Cox (2006) revealing that grandparents see grandchildren as a form of companionship and spending good time with, also supports this theme. As stated by grandfather

"ہم باتیں کرتے ہیں۔ ساتھ بیٹھتے ہیں۔ family discussions ہوتی ہیں اور یہ وقت دن کا سب سے بہترین وقت ہوتا ہے۔"

In an overall view the results in (Table 10 on page 72) show that grandmother holds the happiness, love, affiliation and quality time spent with her grandchildren more dear as compared to the grandfather. The grandfather values the sense of achievement attained from the relation, in terms of giving advice and helping grandchildren. These findings regarding the preferences of grandmother and grandfather have been supported by the work of Ross et al. (2005).

The most prevalent and highly ranked theme in the grandchildren's views about the grandparent-grandchild relationship is that of "friendship". They feel themselves more close to them and capable of sharing everything with them. They refer to them as their friends. This theme is similar to the positive characteristic of grandparents identified as a "confidante" by grandchildren that brings them close in a research (Ross et al, 2005).

It is this aspect of friendship and sharing that consequently breaks the generational barriers between the two generations thus bringing them close. This finding is also supported by the work of Rimm (2000). As stated by the eldest granddaughter

"ان کے ساتھ دوستی کا element ہے۔ ہر بات کھل کے بغیر سوچے سمجھے share کر لیتی ہوں ان سے۔ بالکل friends ہیں وہ میرے۔"

Other themes evident in grandchildren's perceptions about their relationship with grandparents include love, care and help they receive from them. These themes have been derived in previous researches as "grandparents are always there for you", "look after you", "unconditional love" (Ross et al, 2005). They also derive the happiness and enjoyment from the time they spend together. As identified in previous researches as "enjoying their company" (Jenkins et al, 2005).

Grandchildren also see them as their "saviors" as they support them in difficult times and whenever grandchildren need someone to second their opinions. Previous researches identified similar results as grandchildren deriving support from grandparents (Cox, 2006) As stated by the eldest granddaughter

"اگر کبھی کوئی مسئلہ ہو امی ابو کے ساتھ تو favor دادا/دادی سے مجھے مل جاتا ہے۔ چاہے میں غلط ہی کیوں نہ ہوں۔ وہ ہمیشہ مجھے ہی support کرتے ہیں۔"

Thus from the present findings it is clear that both grandparents and grandchildren prize the emotional bonding and gains from this relationship more as compared to material gains. This aspect has also been highlighted in previous researches (Barer, 2002; Schaie & Geiwitz, 1982). Also the findings indicate that the perceptions that speak of the expectations of each generation from this relationship tend to be moving in the same direction with considerable harmony. Since there is no misbalance or a clash of perceptions and expectations therefore the relationship seems to be enriching and strengthening for each generation. As mentioned by Block (2000), that the existence of a difference in the perceptions of grandparents and grandchildren regarding the relationship leads to certain problems that tend to negatively affect the quality of the relationship ultimately leading to generational gap.

The findings regarding the last objective; the difference in quality of grandparents' relationship with individual grandchildren, are particularly interesting. The grandchildren's views on this aspect of their relationship reveal that each grandchild perceives himself to be the closest to grandparents. An important reason behind this thinking and perception of grandchildren is the collectivistic culture practiced in our society where the love provided to every child is equal, especially from grandparents. They love each grandchild and for them each grandchild is important and special as a result the love and care they provide to each grandchild makes him feel special in the eyes of grandparents.

A further interesting finding is that though each grandchild believes himself to be the closest the rationalizations they provide for this belief are based on their age. The eldest granddaughter believes herself to be closest due to her being the first grandchild, as a result of which she developed a stronger bonding and association with her grandparents. Since she has spent major time with them therefore the grandparents love her the most. The youngest granddaughter finds herself as the special grandchild because of her being the youngest in the family. The grandson's perception circles around his being the only male grandchild. Due to which all his wishes and demands are fulfilled.

Another important finding is that the youngest granddaughter (11 yrs) expressed feelings of love, fun and cherishing sentiments for her relationship with grandparents. Interestingly, research supports this phenomenon that children in the ages of 8- 11 years see the relationship in terms of mutual fun and this is a time when spending time with grandparents means the most (Beebe, 2005). On the other hand both the eldest granddaughter (19 yrs) and grandson (15 yrs) expressed feelings of friendship and help they receive from grandparents. Again research supports this phenomenon mentioning that adolescents find in grandparents a sympathetic ear, someone willing to listen without passing judgments and someone they can trust (Beebe, 2005).

The grandparents on the other hand unanimously consider their eldest granddaughter as the closest one due to her being the first born. Another salient reason they provided for their special likeness for the eldest granddaughter was her specific attributes and her nature for the grandfather stated that

"اس کی طبیعت بھی سب سے الگ ہے۔"

The research findings of Mueller and Elder (2003) also revealed that grandparents tend to have a more close and involved relationship with the grandchild whom they rate and perceive positively on his attributes. This closeness felt by grandparents is similar to the concept of "selective investment" (Cox, 2006). But a slight variation exists that though grandparents prize one grandchild more yet their behavior does not tend to be drastically discriminatory or passive towards other grandchildren. As a result though grandparents have a special likeness for the eldest granddaughter yet they do not exercise and practice any favoritism or special treatment that might create any doubts about their love to other grandchildren. This attitude of grandparents is supported by research, for a discriminatory behavior and obvious constant reminders of considering one grandchild special than others can, make other grandchildren feel less favored. This can also have a negative effect on the favored grandchild for he might feel pressurized and obligated to fulfill his grandparents' expectations or become dependent on praise and attention (Rimm, 2000).

In light of all the findings an important aspect is also highlighted. Though the three grandchildren fall in the transitory age range, which is prone to originate issues hindering the grandparent-grandchild relationship (Schaie & Geiwitz, 1982), yet there are no major issues evident. On the contrary, this relationship particularly seems stable and healthy, as the grandchildren's relationships with other members (mother, father and siblings) tend to get slightly effected at times. One reason could be the supportive family environment, conducive value system, intense cooperative parental role along with accommodative, understanding grandparental role as well as that of grandchildren's, which collectively support and nourish the relationship. This is also an aspect distinct to our collectivistic culture, where the family and especially elderly individuals are given prime importance.

Conclusion

The present research proved fruitful in a thorough exploration of the grandparent-grandchild relationship from different aspects. Firstly, this relationship completely befits the family systems theory regarding our collectivistic culture where no individual can be studied regardless of his family and roots. It has been established that the family rules, roles and the way parents perceive their relations with grandparents are all an interesting, salient factor in defining the kind of relationship grandchildren have with their grandparents. Another important finding describes the balance and harmony exercised, as though grandchildren are sent constant messages about how to behave and view their grandparents yet they also have their own sense of emotional reasoning as well. As a result they do not tend to blindly follow their parent's emotional patterns and beliefs about grandparents rather they have their own intellectual input as well. Viewing at amore individual and personal level the grandparents and grandchildren's views about the relationship also speak of a harmony in their thoughts and feelings. Thus no discrepancy has been observed. The effect of grandchild's age on relationship quality with grandparents also revealed a significant amount of information. Though grandparents view the eldest granddaughter as more close and special to them yet they treat all grandchildren equally which leads to a satisfying relation for all and making every grandchild believe himself to be the special one. Hence no discriminatory behavior is exercised.

Limitations

Being a qualitative study limits the validity of a research; therefore the objectivity is a major question regarding the results of this research. And as such the results cannot be generalized to a larger population since it is a case study of a single family. Since every family is unique and only certain areas are capable of being explored in depth within a single family therefore not all the phenomena as mentioned in various researches could be highlighted in this single case study.

Future Suggestions

Since this research is providing a vast amount of qualitative data therefore future research in this domain can focus on quantitative studies. The research can be conducted on a larger sample by studying various aspects highlighted by the current study individually. Also in future the role of gender of both the grandparents and grandchildren in the grandparent-grandchild relationship can be studied. Since a holistic picture has been provided in the current study therefore in future the effect of the relationship on both grandparents and grandchildren can also be studied, which would be a worthwhile extension of the current study. Because it is clear from these findings that the role of both grandparents and grandchildren in each other's lives is immense. Also multiple case studies can be incorporated in a research design either individually or collectively, in future to gain more diverse data and information. Since the data has also been quantified therefore further researches in this area can be conducted in order to produce comparative results within our culture as well as with other cultures.

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ANNEXURES

Dimensions and Levels of Family Flexibility

Characteristics	Rigid (Unbalanced)	Structured (Balanced)	Flexible (Balanced)	Chaotic (Unbalanced)
Leadership	Authoritarianism	Sometimes shared	Often shared	Lack of leadership
Discipline	Strict discipline	Somewhat democratic	Democratic	Lenient
Negotiation	Limited discussion	Organized discussion	Open discussion	Endless discussion
Roles	Roles very stable	Roles stable	Role sharing	Dramatic role
Rules	Rules very clear, stable	Rules clear and stable	Rules clear, flexible	Rules unclear, chaotic
Change	Very little change	Some change	Moderate change	Considerable change

Note: From Marriage and the family: Diversity and strengths (p. 90), by D.H. Olson and J. Defrain, 1997, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Dimensions of Family Communication

Characteristic	Poor	Good	Very Good
Listening skills	Poor listening skills	Appear to listen, but feedback is limited	Give feedback, indicating good listening skills
Speaking skills	Often speak for other	Speak for self more than for others	Speak mainly for self rather than for others
Self-disclosure	Low sharing of feelings	Moderate sharing of feelings	High sharing of feelings
Clarity	Inconsistent messages	Clear messages	Very clear messages
Staying on topic	Seldom stay on topic	Often stay on topic	Mainly stay on topic
Respect and regard	Low to moderate	Moderate to high	High

Note: From *Marriage and the family: Diversity and strengths* (p. 92), by D.H. Olson and J. Defrain, 1997, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Dr. Muhammad Ajmal

National Institute of Psychology

CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE, QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN

Dated: 23.10.07

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Subject: Permission to Collection of Data for Research Purpose

Dear Sir,

It is certified that Ms. Anum Sarfraz is an MSe student at National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. She has undertaken a research project on "Grandparent-Grandchild Relationship" as partial fulfillment of her MSe degree.

In reference to her research, she requires to conduct focus groups. Participants shall be recruited from the institute. The focus groups concern grandparents and grandchildren. Approximately 12 grandparents and grandchildren will be required to participate. The tentative dates for conducting the focus groups are 29-10-07 to 3-11-07.

For this purpose she needs your cooperation and support. Kindly allow her to collect data and information from your institute. I ensure that the information collected from your institute will be used only for research purpose and will remain strictly confidential.

Your cooperation in this regard will be highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,


(Dr. Yuseem Tariq)
Director.

INFORMATION FORM

You are required to provide this information as an initial step towards the participation in focus groups. These focus groups are being conducted solely for research purpose and the information will be kept confidential. It will be used without disclosing the identity of the participants.

Name: _____

Age: _____

Contact no: _____

Address: _____

Father's occupation: _____

Mother's occupation: _____

Monthly income (Approx): _____

Siblings: _____

- Brother(s) _____ Age(s) _____
- Sister(s) _____ Age(s) _____

Living with Paternal grandparents (father's parents):

- Yes
- No

Both paternal grandfather and grandmother are living:

- Yes
- No
- Only one is living

Both paternal grandfather and grandmother are

- Healthy
- Bed-ridden
- Only one is healthy

In frequent contact with maternal grandparents (mother's parents):

- Yes
- No

LUCKY TO LIVE WITH GRANDCHILDREN

You are invited to share your experiences of living with your grandchildren, how you cherish this lovely relationship and the importance of this relationship in your lives. This is a platform for you to express yourself openly.



Date: 15th Feb, 08

Time:

Venue: Rainbow
Foundation School



Organizer: Anum Sarfraz

Note: This event is being organized in order to supplement an individual research project by Ms Anum Sarfraz, a certified student of National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. All information gained will be kept confidential and used for educational research purpose.