

**An Ethnographic Content Analysis of Family Stories:
An Examination of the Process**

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Running Head: Family Stories

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Abstract

Although much has been written about qualitative methodology, fewer authors present a detailed description of data collection, decision making, and analysis processes unique to qualitative research. It is critical that process be presented and understood as qualitative researchers explain how they arrive at their findings and others attempt to replicate their methods. This paper describes how "family stories" were used to develop a schema of significant issues in family development. The methodology discussed in this paper was applied to data drawn from a larger study that explored the origin of children's self-perceptions and academic/activity choice. An initial look at the impact of home and school environment on the children's development suggested that it would be interesting to examine these patterns within families. Both the methods of data collection and content analysis discussed in this paper allowed the meanings that parents impart about family development to emerge from the data. The importance of a well-documented qualitative analysis process cannot be overstated. Such description provides the opportunity for other qualitative researchers to replicate the process, as well as facilitates future comparisons with related quantitative data.

An Ethnographic Content Analysis of Family Stories: An Examination of the Process

If quantitative methodology results in data that are hard and qualitative methodology results in data that are real and deep, how does one get data that are hard, real and deep (Fielding & Fielding, 1986)? Advocates for the cooperation and consolidation of these two methodologies have suggested a number of strategies to bring them together, one of which is triangulation. A concept borrowed from navigation, triangulation suggests that various methods can be brought to bear on a particular problem. By learning two sides and one angle, the triangle can be drawn, resulting in the calculation of what is not known (Gummesson, 1991). Similarly, in research, one can corroborate, elaborate or illuminate by bringing both qualitative and quantitative data to bear on a single question (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

The study that formed the basis for this paper began with a quantitative approach to a series of questions about the socialization of children by parents and teachers. Stimulated by the emerging complexity of family processes, questions arose about what the families themselves perceived as important in their family's development. The result was the addition of a qualitative component to the study with the intent of creating a data set that is hard, real, and deep.

Although much has been written about qualitative methodology (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Patton, 1980, 1982; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), fewer authors present a detailed description of data collection, decision making, and analysis processes unique to qualitative research (Emerson, 1983; Geertz, 1983; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). This paper

describes how "family stories" were used to develop a schema of significant issues in family development. The schema was then used to further analyze the stories themselves, and will be used to compare issues in the stories with other quantitative data from the larger study. It is expected that the method described here will be employed in other research or practice-related settings where it is important to ascertain the meanings individuals assign to certain phenomenon.

The methodology discussed in this paper was applied to data drawn from a larger study by Eccles and her colleagues (Eccles & Blumenfeld, 1984; Eccles, Blumenfeld, Harold, & Wigfield, 1990) who were interested in exploring the origin of children's self-perceptions and academic/ activity choice. To this end, a large-scale longitudinal study was conducted in 12 schools, in four primarily white, lower-middle to middle class school districts in a midwestern urban community. The study began with groups of children in kindergarten, first, and third grades, and followed them for four years at which time the cohorts were in third, fourth, and sixth grades, thus spanning the elementary school years. Approximately 900 students, two-thirds of their parents, and their teachers participated by completing questionnaires and interviews. The study examined many issues including children's achievement self-perceptions in various domains, how and why these beliefs are held, and the roles that parents and teachers play in socializing these beliefs.

A unique opportunity existed within the larger study of elementary school-aged children to examine sibling pairs. Because of the grades originally targeted for this study, i.e., kindergarten, first, and third, there were several naturally occurring sibling pairs in the sample. An initial look at the impact of home and school environments on the development of children's self-concepts, values, interests, and activity involvement suggested that it would be interesting to examine these patterns within families. During the third year of the project, a

decision was made to augment the sample with brothers or sisters of the participating children who were not in the targeted grades, but who were still in elementary school, thus limiting the age span of the children.

There were two areas of interest that motivated the collection of additional data from these families. First, it has been suggested that there are a number of differences between individuals within a family. Siblings, for example, are often quite different from each other in terms of personality, cognition, and psychopathology (Plomin & Fock, 1981; Scarr & Crajek, 1982). In fact, they are not substantially more similar to each other than randomly paired individuals (Plomin & Daniels, 1987). A lengthy interview, combining both closed and open-ended questions, was designed to gather information from the families on sibling similarities and differences.

The second area of interest was family development. It is the premise of the researchers that family process, dynamics, and relationships affect the ideas and beliefs of children and the choices they make (e.g., Eccles (Parsons), 1983). Hypotheses regarding the important dynamics of these relationships had been framed primarily in this theoretical perspective, and the data collection process was driven by this perspective. The addition of siblings into the study provided the opportunity to talk with parents about the family development and family process issues they thought were most important. The use of a "family story" approach was seen as a method to offer insights into questions about the phases of family life and the complexities and characteristics of this development.

Method

As with quantitative methodology, there are many qualitative methods that can be employed and method selection should be driven by the questions posed. Narratives, for example, are stories about a person's life told in his/her

own words, and have become increasingly popular tools for understanding human behavior and experience (e.g., Gergen & Gergen, 1984; McAdams, 1985). Direct questions may be useful in eliciting factual and historical information from individuals, but often are clouded by participants' concerns of self presentation and do little to explain how individuals organize their experiences or identify material that may be most salient to their lives. In story-telling, people make meaning out of their experiences and organize them in a way that is more representative of how they see themselves (Veroff, Sutherland, Chadiha, & Ortega, in press). To understand an individual, it is important to know their personal constructs, or how they interpret the events in their lives because the meaning of reality is invented differently by each individual. People create and shape constructs about their world and then make predictions about themselves and others based on these constructs (Kelly, 1955).

In an effort to study family development and process, it was felt that asking participants to tell stories about themselves and their families would allow them to describe their own reality. Parents in this study had already been asked many questions about parenting experiences and beliefs considered important by researchers. Using an adaptation of narrative and story-telling techniques, provided the opportunity for parents to talk about experiences and beliefs they thought were critical. In addition, the story format yielded data regarding parents' views of themselves as parents, changes in these views over time, and which events they found most salient in explaining these changes.

Sample

Families who had participated consistently in the larger study and who had more than one child of elementary-school age were asked if they would be interested in participating in the supplementary sibling study. Of the 106

families contacted, 88 families agreed to participate in the sibling interview, in addition to completing questionnaires as part of the larger project. The sibling interview for the parents consisted of two parts: an open-ended narrative relating the development of the family in story form and a structured interview asking them questions about each child's specific interests, abilities, and behaviors and then asking them to compare the siblings to each other on these dimensions. This paper examines the process of collecting and analyzing the open-ended stories that parents told about becoming a family.

For purposes of discussing the qualitative process, data from 59 families whose two targeted children were in the first and second birth order positions, were included. Of these families, there were stories from 38 sets of parents, 18 mothers only, and four fathers only. Thirty-seven pairs of parents were married while one set of parents was divorced at the time of the interview. Of the 18 mothers only, 14 were married but their spouses declined to participate, three were divorced and were custodial parents, and one was widowed. All four of the fathers only were married and their spouses chose not to participate. The mean ages of the fathers and mothers were 39.8 (range=28-48 years) and 34.4 (range=28-45 years), respectively.

There were 60 girls and 56 boys: 16 sibling pairs were both girls, 15 were both boys, 11 consisted of an older sister with a younger brother, and 16 consisted of an older brother with a younger sister. The mean age of first-born children was 10.3 (range=8-12 years). The mean age of second-born children was 7.9 (range=6-10 years).

Approximately 47% of the families were Catholic, approximately 34% identified themselves as some denomination of Protestant, while another 19% listed no preference for their religion. The average education level for mothers was some college education, while the average education level for fathers was

college graduate. About 60% of the mothers worked for pay, averaging between 21-30 hours of work per week, while 94% of the fathers worked for pay, averaging between 41-50 hours of work per week.

The Story-telling Method

The procedures adopted for the sibling study stories grew out of a method developed by Veroff and his colleagues (in press). The procedures for eliciting the stories in the sibling study were first piloted on several families who were not from the sample pool. Pilot interviews indicated that these stories would provide qualitative information from parents about their parenting, how it has been influenced by the characteristics of their two children, and how parents think they have adapted their parenting to the needs and temperaments of their two children.

For the study, each parent was interviewed separately in a private room of their home where there were few interruptions or distractions. All interviews were tape recorded, after receiving participant consent, and later transcribed verbatim. The following instructions were given to the parents:

When we began this project we had several pairs of brothers and/or sisters (siblings) in the study because of the grades that we targeted. We noticed that some of these sib pairs were quite alike in their interests and abilities, while others were not. This year, we have asked many other families who have more than one child in elementary school if they would be interested in participating and, as you know, the purpose of this interview is to take a more in depth look at how children within the same family are both similar and different to one another. The interview is divided into two sections; the first is more informal while the second asks you to respond to specific questions.

To begin, I'd like to take about 20 minutes and ask you to tell me in your own words the story of your family. I have no set questions to ask you. I'd just like you to tell me about your family as if it were a story with a beginning, a middle, and how things will look in the future. Most parents enjoy talking about their family, and there is no right or wrong way to tell the story. Just tell me in any way that is most comfortable.

Parents were then shown a story board (see Figure 1) and told:

To help you think of your story, we've put together this story board that seems to describe most people's storyline. You see that a storyline for the formation of a family includes each of these parts (interviewer points to parts of the story board): Your family relationships Prior to the Birth of Child A, Becoming the parent of Child A [birth experiences and complications], Living with Child A, Becoming the parent of Child B [birth experiences and complications], and Living with Children A and B [then and now].

Insert Figure 1 About Here

Interviewers also told parents that they were especially interested in changes parents had experienced in their family relationships, in their expectations of themselves as a parent, in their expectations for their children's development, as well as the differential impact of critical life events on everyone in the family. The specific examples for each of these categories were not read to the parents, but were available for the parents to read and use as a guide for their story. Finally, parents were told:

As you see, this is a very different way of getting a picture of the formation of a family. Everyone seems to come up with a different and interesting story. Please use the story line as a guide, a way to think of what to include in your story. Would you begin by talking about your family relationships prior to the birth of (first child's name)?

Interviewers were purposely chosen who would be sensitive to the importance of obtaining information of this nature that is not tainted by their own direct inquiry or biases. Interviewers were told that they were to keep this part of the interview as open-ended as possible. They were also told that what a

parent says spontaneously may reflect most accurately their thoughts and feelings about the formation of their family. Interviewers were given suggestions on how to keep the story moving along and how to effectively probe statements without eliciting a specific response, e.g., "Can you tell me more about that?" "And then what happened?".

Extensive training was done with each interviewer. During this training, each interviewer practiced the storytelling technique on non-participating families in preparation for beginning with the actual sample. After interviews with participants began, regular meetings were held with the interviewers as a group to give them an opportunity to discuss questions or problems and also to give feedback on the interviews they had completed. In keeping with the principles of qualitative data collection, these meetings encouraged an interactive relationship between data collection and data analysis (Altheide, 1987; Berg, 1989).

Using the story board and directing the parents in a linear progression of telling the story somewhat hinders the totally spontaneous production of a story. Nevertheless, as Veroff et al. (in press) explain, this kind of structure is necessary when this technique is used on a large scale with many interviewers. Standardizing the interviewing procedures helped control for interviewer bias, as well as allowed for ease of comparability among the stories.

Some parents, in telling their story, followed the story board quite closely, while others told their stories out of the prepared time sequence. The initial story board was reflective of the theoretically based schema brought to the study by the researchers. Additional analysis of the stories followed a more inductive approach, allowing the spontaneous concerns of the family to direct the coding process. Coding procedures (discussed below) were designed to allow for differences in sequencing. Regardless of where the particular

information fell in the family's story, it was coded conceptually in the appropriate class. The result was a process of constant comparison between the developmental and theoretical framework of the researchers and the issues and concerns that the families raised in their stories.

The Coding Process

The coding process for these family stories was developed utilizing several approaches to content analysis. As Lofland and Lofland (1984) indicate, content analyses can utilize both qualitative and quantitative techniques, concern themselves with latent or manifest meanings, and can be approached from an inductive or deductive framework. The best content analysis, however, incorporates elements of several techniques, consisting of the "interplay between experience, induction, and deduction" (Lofland & Lofland, 1984, p. 112). Altheide's (1987) Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) is an excellent example of this interplay, using continuous discovery and comparison. It was used as the second framework of the analysis described here. By initially approaching the data with a deductively derived theoretical frame, the process of interacting with the data was begun, alternating between a deductive and inductive approach. The resulting analysis process is outlined below.

The meanings that emerged from this interactive approach to the data were organized using a coding frame as suggested by Schatzman and Strauss (1973). It was decided that the initial approach to the data should be influenced by the design of the collection process and the theoretical assumptions of the researchers involved, taking a deductive perspective. Thus the data were first divided into the initial theoretical classes outlined on the storyboard (e.g., Prior to the Birth of A). However, it became clear that the families had attached their own meanings to these classes. These meanings were inductively derived by

examining the data, resulting in a set of categories for each class (e.g., Birth Decisions). The characteristics of the particular categories (e.g., planned or unplanned births) and their potential linkages or connecting themes have been the result of an interactive process between the deductive methods within the theoretical experience of the authors, and the inductively derived meanings of the various classes and categories to the participants in the study (see Figure 2).

Insert Figure 2 About Here

Level One Coding - Theoretical Classes

The initial coding scheme began with the guiding classes of the story board. These five developmental classes were **Prior to the Birth of Child A**, the **Birth of Child A**, **Living with Child A**, the **Birth of Child B**, and **Living with Children A and B**. Because of the developmental nature of the schema, the classes seemed to naturally organize the data into a chronological perspective. However, each contained a variety of other definitions and issues. The definition of each stage was based on the initial theoretical framework in designing the story board and included issues thought to be important in each developmental stage, issues identified in the literature, or issues found in previous research.

As illustrated in Figure 3, two of the classes were coded on Copy I of the family story by two of the coders. Each coder worked independently, using the definitions of the particular class outlined in the previous discussions. The other two coders coded three classes on Copy II of the family story, again working independently. Mothers and fathers stories were coded separately. Coders responsible for coding the mothers' stories for classes **Prior to the Birth of A**

and **Birth of B**, for instance, coded the corresponding father's stories for **Birth of A**, **Living with A**, and **Living with A and B**. This was to keep coders open to the content of the stories themselves, rather than the influences of other coders or other family members.

Insert Figure 3 About Here

Each coder included in a class those items that reflected that stage. For example, comments about dating, the influence of extended families on marriage decisions, and descriptions of how the couple met were coded in **Prior to the Birth of A**. This approach is referred to by Altheide (1987) as conceptual coding, and requires that coders identify a series of comments that reflect information about a particular concept.

Some families chose to tell their stories outside of the sequential outline of the story board, and the amount of information within each class varied. Consequently, each coder went through the stories in their entirety before making a decision to place a parent comment into a particular class.

Once each coder had completed the assignment of comments to each class, the coders compared their decisions. To accomplish this, the group read through each story, and each coder indicated which comments they had assigned to which classes. When the two primary coders were in agreement, the comment was placed in the class they indicated. In cases of disagreement between the two primary coders, input was solicited from the other group members to arrive at consensus. This consensus process increased the likelihood that a wide variety of meanings emerging from the story data could be included in the coding of the classes.

This coding process resulted in several important phenomena that would influence the analysis. First, it became clear that, as Altheide suggests, one item is frequently relevant for several purposes, in this case, for several classes (Altheide, 1987). This phenomenon was incorporated into the coding process during all of the stages. For example, statements regarding pregnancy experiences with the first child may have been coded in the class **Prior to the Birth of A** and the class **Birth of A**.

The second phenomenon was that the information presented by the participants in their description of the various theoretical classes, or developmental stages, elicited content that had not been primary to the researchers, but was significant to the parents who told their family stories. For example, while the researchers anticipated parents talking about planned or unplanned pregnancies, they had not identified some of the specific factors that parents felt precipitated the decision to have children, such as the purchase of a new home or celebration of holidays. Quantitative, closed-ended questions about decisions to have children, framed from a theoretical perspective, might not have tapped this rich and interesting data about birth decisions. This began an interplay between the deductive framework of the researchers and the topics, issues, and meanings that had been inductively derived from the participants themselves.

Level II Coding - Categories and Characteristics

Level I coding reduced the data to a more manageable size, and produced a framework that laid a path for the next level of analysis. In keeping with the commitment to utilize an interactive approach between deductive and inductive analyses, and because the foundation for the Level I classes was the theoretical frame of the researchers, Level II coding began with a return to the stories. Coders reviewed the stories, and recorded all topical areas discussed.

Some of these were present in the initial description of the class developed by the researchers, and others came from the participants' discussion of issues that were important for them in that particular class. This list of topics became the categories for Level II coding.

The Level II coding process outlined here is modeled, in part, after Glaser and Strauss' (1967) description of constant comparison. Qualitative analysis takes a grounded approach to the data, expecting ideas, concepts, and even theories to develop from the data. But perhaps even more importantly, the approach of this project reflects the interaction of induction, deduction, and verification (Strauss, 1987), and it demonstrates how concepts, issues, and hypotheses can be derived either from theory or from the data. Level II coding used a process of joint coding and analysis. Discussion and comparison were used to ground the theoretical classes to the data thereby creating data-driven categories (Berg, 1989; Lofland & Lofland, 1984).

After organizing the stories into the five classes, the coders independently read the material in each of the five classes for mothers and fathers to get an overall sense of that particular class. The coders then met as a group and reviewed the first class, **Prior to the Birth of A** - Mothers' stories. As this material was read aloud, each coder identified concepts, events, ideas, and/or feelings that emerged from within that class. This group review process allowed the coders to discuss and compare these issues, and develop a list. The interaction between the coders resulted in further clarification of several issues, and the addition of some that no individual coder had identified alone. This list of issues is contained in Figure 4.

Insert Figure 4 About Here

Once the issues were identified, the coders examined the list looking for ways in which the various ideas fit together or reflected similar categories. Using the issues that had been lifted from the stories, the coders organized the second level of the coding frame. Figure 5 takes the list of issues and illustrates how they were divided into the four categories: *Birth Issues, Family Life, Description or Expectations of the Children, and Work Life*. The coders then reviewed the other four classes, looking at the issues contained there. That review revealed that these same four categories were appropriate for organizing the issues in all five of the original classes in the coding frame.

Insert Figure 5 About Here

The next step was to continue coding the data to this further level of specificity, organizing the issues within each class by category. The coders met as a group to read each class of material, line by line, and describe the nature of the issues in the class. Decisions to place issues within certain categories were discussed among the coders until consensus was reached regarding the appropriate placement. These issues within each category became the characteristics that defined that category.

The categories and their various characteristics allowed for a logical coding of the data for the first four classes. When beginning the coding process on the class **Living with A and B**, however, it became clear to the coders that this particular class contained a large amount of varying information. The decision was made to divide the **Living with A and B** class into more than the four categories. It was the category of *Family Life* that seemed to hold the

largest amount of varying conceptual data. Consequently, the coders divided the category *Family Life* into three separate categories: *Family Relationships*, *Family Activities*, and *Family Goals and Beliefs*. These categories were defined and described using the same process that was outlined above. The coders then returned to the *Family Life* category in the other four classes and recoded the data into these three categories.

The only other difference for coding the class **Living with A and B**, is the addition of comparative data regarding the two children. This particular category is only appropriate for that particular class. There are now six categories for each class, with the exception of the class **Living with A and B**, which has seven. The final coding frame is depicted in Figure 6.

 Insert Figure 6 About Here

Conclusions: Linkages and Connecting Themes

The data are now divided, utilizing the entire coding frame, into the 31 categories depicted in Figure 6. The next step in the process is to examine meanings and connections between various sets of categories.

The 31 categories are being analyzed with a number of approaches. Relationships between the various categories are being explored, looking both vertically and horizontally. For example, looking at how the families describes birth decisions across the developmental cycle of the family may tell us something about how decisions to have children change as the needs and demands of the families change. Looking at the relationships between categories during the developmental stage of the **Birth of Child A**, on the other hand, could give us insight into the preparation families do before they begin to have their children.

The decision to have children has provided an interesting example of data analysis within a particular class around a specific process identified by the parents. Information about the decision to have child A were contained in the class **Prior to the Birth of A**. This class was read for mothers and fathers and coded for such comments, and the data were analyzed. Out of the 56 mothers, 26 indicated that their first pregnancy was planned, and 15 said it was unplanned. Four were unclear and 11 did not mention the decision. Among those families who planned their first birth, the precipitating factors fell into eight different areas:

| | *%Mothers (out of 26) | *% Fathers (out of 18) |
|--|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Like children | 15% | 6% |
| Death in family | 12% | 0% |
| Had resources | 31% | 17% |
| Pressure from family of origin | 8% | 0% |
| Work/career timing | 4% | 6% |
| Biological clock | 19% | 17% |
| Marital relationship ready for children | 8% | 22% |
| No factor identified | 19% | 33% |

*Percentages total more than 100% because categories are not mutually exclusive.

By exploring issues important to the families, and organizing them issues into a schema such as this, the researchers can, for example, look at reasons for having children in relationship to other beliefs and behaviors, measured, both qualitatively and quantitatively. This example demonstrates how a thick and richer picture of family development begins to emerge from the stories and can now be compared to the theoretical thoughts on the topic.

Another approach to the data is to explore information in the specific categories. By comparing and contrasting information within the category Expectations/Descriptions across all five of the classes, several questions and patterns begin to emerge. How have the characteristics of particular children

patterns begin to emerge. How have the characteristics of particular children changed over time? How do parents account for the differences between their children? Review of these data has found some dichotomous themes emerging, such as easy baby and fussy baby. By looking at these characteristics as described by parents, it will be possible to frame some tentative hypotheses about how parental expectations and perceptions change as the family develops.

It is also possible to analyze the data by examining an issue important to how the family relates to external people and/or institutions. Two such examples are work and health care. While the parents talk about the development of their family, they frequently refer to the interaction between that development and the rest of the social structure within which they live. For example, what has been the influences of various stages of family development on the work lives of men and women and vice versa. Is the impact different for men than for women? How do the experiences of this group of families compare to those of families in other studies? Further, many of the parents discuss medical issues involved in the birth of their children. An examination of the classes, **Birth of Child A** and **Birth of Child B**, for the purpose of exploring the birth experiences of the families and their relationship to the medical establishment, is another example of these environmental relationships and influences.

In sum, while both qualitative and quantitative methods produce data that are empirical, the data provide different pictures with different usefulness in analysis. Qualitative research looks to anthropological and sociological foundations. In the anthropological tradition, qualitative methods are represented by the *emic* approach (Emerson, 1985), seeking the framework of those being studied. Sociologically, qualitative methods seek the *verstehen*

(Weber, 1949), where the meaning of human behavior is most important. The qualitative approach to the world must be holistic, with an ideographic approach to its study (Babbie, 1983).

This paper describes a process for investigating the development of families as described by the parents themselves. Both the methods of data collection and analysis have allowed the meanings that parents impart about family development to emerge from the data. The large number of interviews conducted as well as the use of constant comparison between these meanings and the theoretical frame of the researchers provide a thick data set that will enable the investigation of many aspects of family life and development.

The importance of a well-documented qualitative analysis process cannot be overstated. Such description provides the opportunity for other qualitative researchers to replicate the process, as well as facilitates future comparisons with related quantitative data. The method outlined here is applicable to future analysis of these data, as well as other studies that look for an interaction between inductive and deductive approaches.

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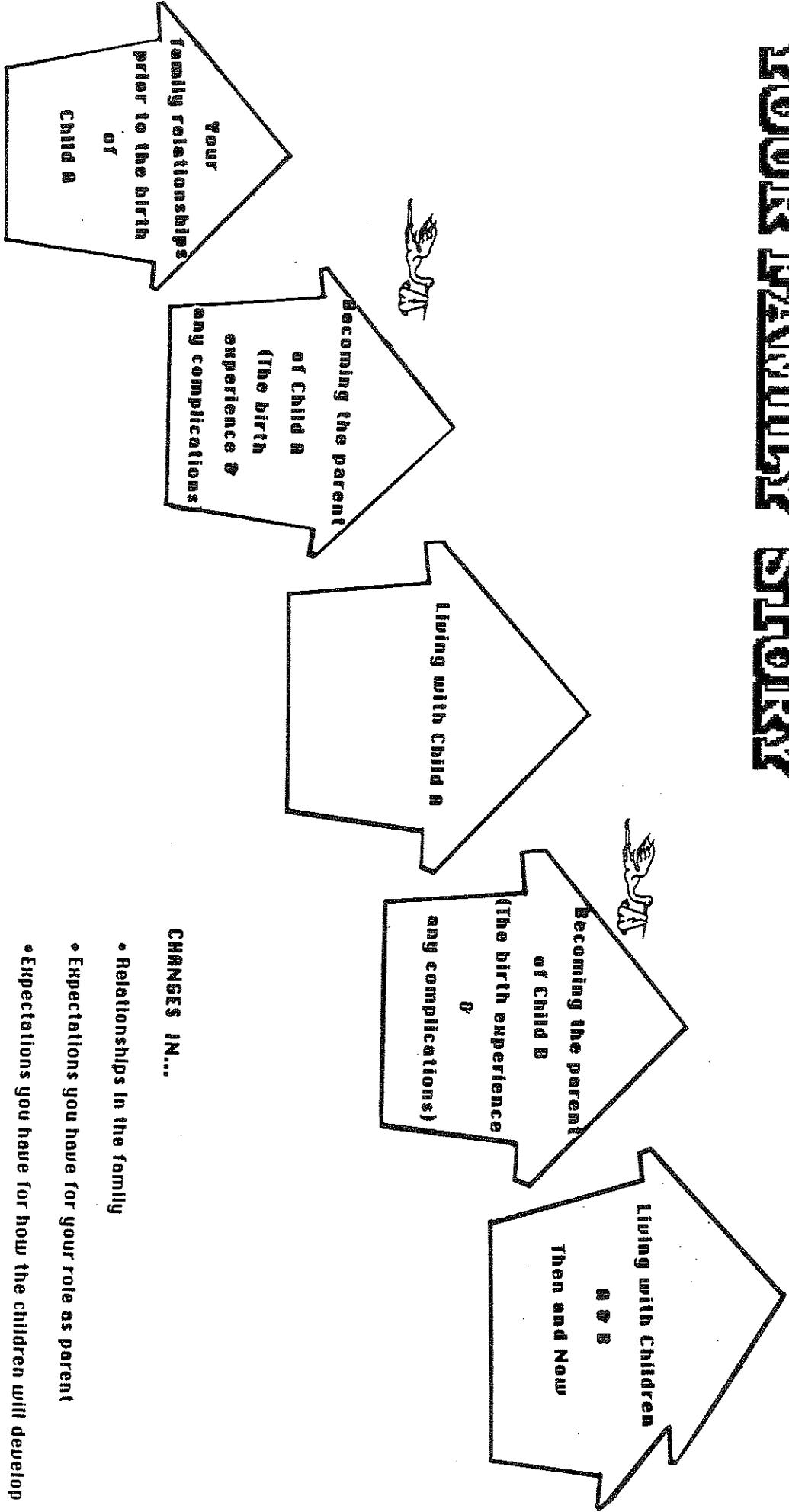
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Figure 1. Story board

YOUR PATNOLLY STORY



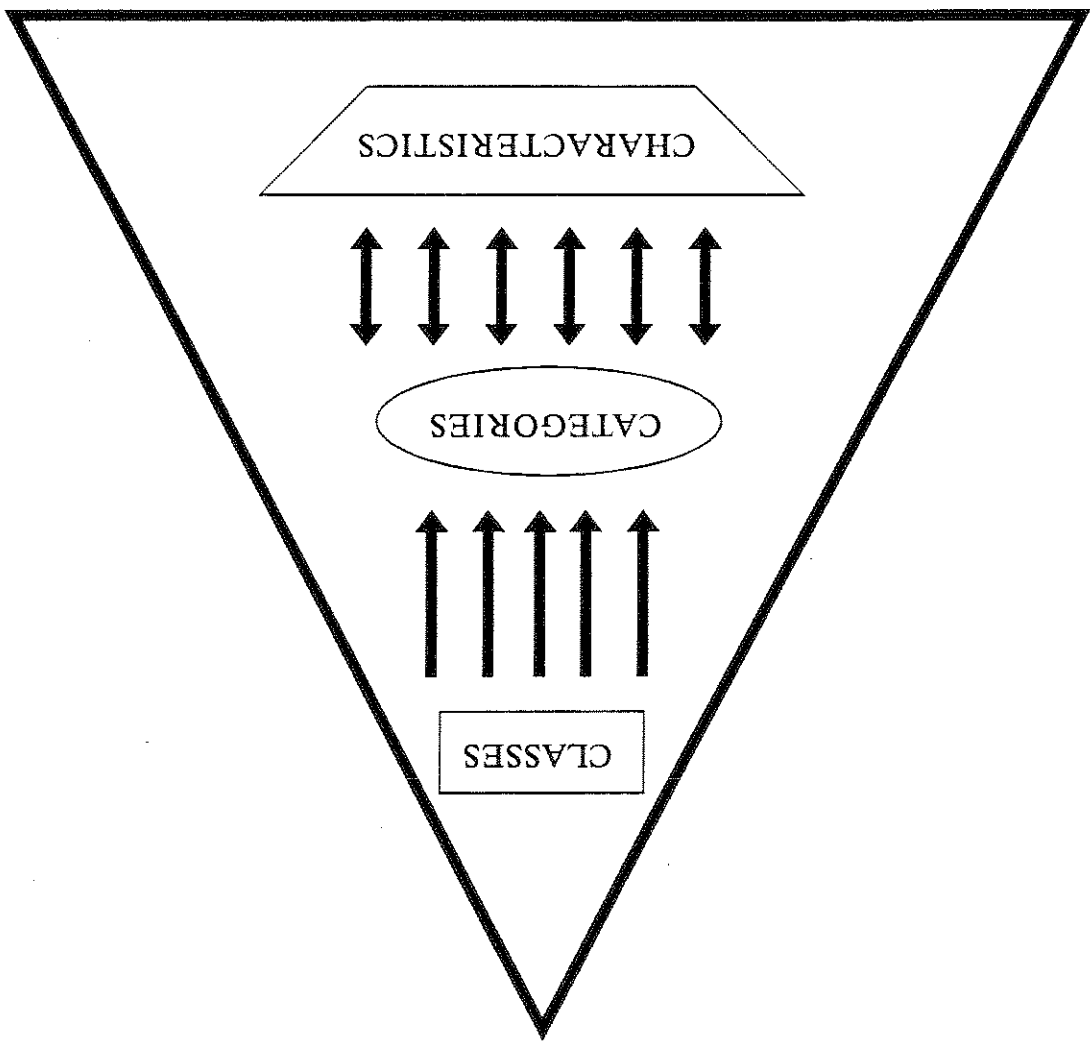


Figure 2. Coding frame: Classes are divided into categories that are described by characteristics.

Figure 3. Procedures for Level I coding.

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| COPY I | |
| CLASS | COLOR |
| PRIOR TO THE BIRTH OF CHILD A | Black Underline |
| BIRTH OF CHILD B | Yellow Highlight |
| LIVING WITH CHILDREN A & B | Blue Highlight |
| COPY II | |
| CLASS | COLOR |
| BIRTH OF CHILD A | Pink Highlight |
| LIVING WITH CHILD A | Green Highlight |

Figure 4. Issues contained in the class: Prior to the birth of child A.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|--|---------------|---|---|------------|
| - motivation for having children | - negative/positive pregnancy and birth issues | child him/herself | definitions of good/bad babies | - characteristics of birth/delivery | - characteristics of child | - interaction with medical system | - expectations | - extended family | roles/relationships | helpful/not helpful | - relationship with spouse | - compare first and second childbirth | - experiences | - work issues around pregnancy or birth | return to work or not | |
| - planned or unplanned pregnancy | - gender of child | - socially acceptable perceptions/ | selective memory | - understanding of change it will make | - initial feelings (in hospital) and then | at home | - post-partum depression | - liking of baby | - denial of problems | - delivery timing | - control of birth experience | - separation of physiological and life | - processes | - attachments and boundaries | - comparisons to stereotype of birthing | experience |

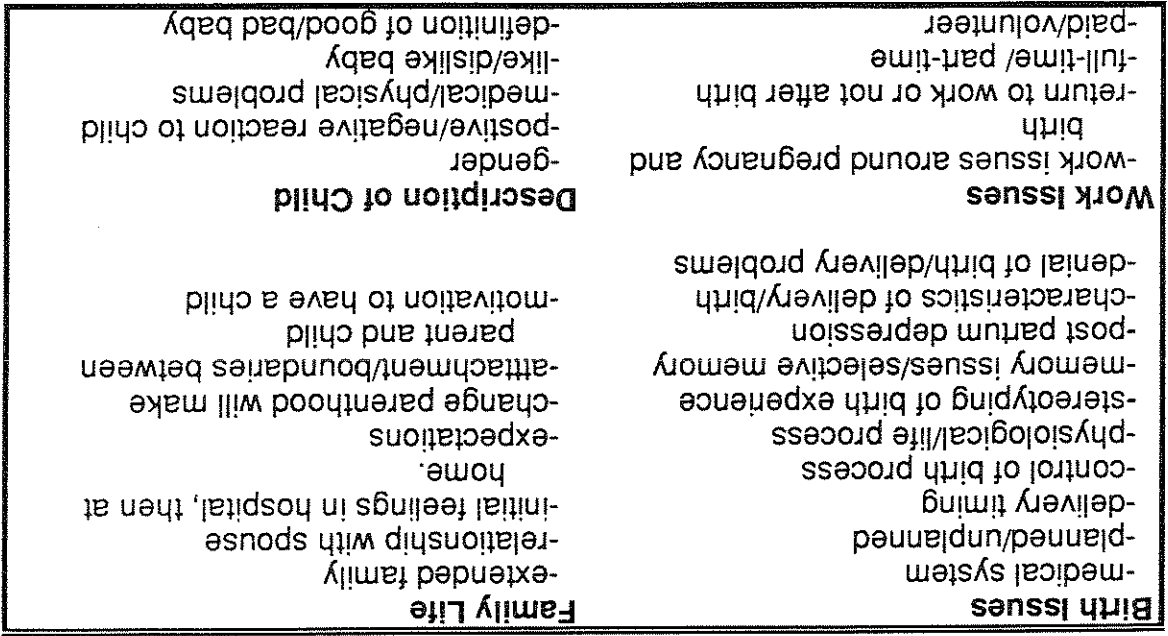


Figure 5. Division of issues into categories.

Figure 6. Final Coding Frame.

| LEVEL I: THEORETICAL CLASSES | PRIOR TO THE BIRTH OF CHILD A | BIRTH OF CHILD A | LIVING WITH CHILD A | BIRTH OF CHILD B | LIVING WITH CHILD A & B |
|--|--|---|--|--|---|
| LEVEL II: CATEGORIES - Characteristics | BIRTH DECISION - CHILD A - Information on birth decision choice or accident planned/unplanned - Precipitating factors | BIRTH PROCESS - Additional decision information - Birth itself - Pregnancy - Expectations of birth | BIRTH DECISION - CHILD B - Information on birth decision choice or accident planned/unplanned - Precipitating factors | BIRTH PROCESS - Additional decision information - Birth itself - Pregnancy - Expectations of birth | BIRTH DECISIONS - Additional children? - Overview information on having children |
| | FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS - Extended family descriptive - Marital relationship - Living situation | FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS - Extended family descriptive - Marital relationship - Living situation | FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS - Extended family descriptive - Marital relationship - Living situation | FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS - Extended family descriptive - Marital relationship - Living situation | FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS - Extended family descriptive - Marital relationship - Living situation |
| | FAMILY ACTIVITIES - Events and activities - Tips - School involvement | FAMILY ACTIVITIES - Events and activities - Tips - School involvement | FAMILY ACTIVITIES - Events and activities - Tips - School involvement | FAMILY ACTIVITIES - Events and activities - Tips - School involvement | FAMILY ACTIVITIES - Events and activities - Tips - School involvement |
| | FAMILY GOALS AND BELIEFS - School involvement: goals/beliefs - Future goals - Parenting beliefs | FAMILY GOALS AND BELIEFS - School involvement: goals/beliefs - Future goals - Parenting beliefs | FAMILY GOALS AND BELIEFS - School involvement: goals/beliefs - Future goals - Parenting beliefs | FAMILY GOALS AND BELIEFS - School involvement: goals/beliefs - Future goals - Parenting beliefs | FAMILY GOALS AND BELIEFS - School involvement: goals/beliefs - Future goals - Parenting beliefs |
| | EXPECTATIONS/CHARACTERISTICS - Expectations or characteristics of: pregnancy parental role child | EXPECTATIONS/CHARACTERISTICS - Physical problems - Personality of child - Looks of child - Initial impressions - Gender preferences | EXPECTATIONS/CHARACTERISTICS - Personality - Skill - Physical issues or problems - Achievement issues | EXPECTATIONS/CHARACTERISTICS - Physical problems - Personality of child - Looks of child - Initial impressions - Gender preferences - Expectations of two | EXPECTATIONS/CHARACTERISTICS Child B - Personality - Skill - Physical issues - Achievement issues Child A and B - Comparisons child a and b - Life with two children |
| | WORK LIFE - Mother's work life - Father's work life - Before children work life - Changes expected? | WORK LIFE - Mother's work life - Father's work life - Effect of birth on parents' work - Financial issues | WORK LIFE - Mother's work life - Father's work life - Work and child rearing | WORK LIFE - Mother's work life - Father's work life - Effect of birth on parents' work - Financial issues | WORK LIFE - Mother's work life - Father's work life - Work and raising a family - Work life with two children |