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From the Editor

Those of us who mentor or supervise novice grounded theorists are often asked questions about addressing the literature in a GT study. Glaser has written extensively on the importance of remaining open and avoiding preconception through extensive engagement with extant and frequently ungrounded ("conjectured") theories. In this double issue of the Review, we offer a range of perspectives on this subject from members of our Peer Review Board. We begin the discussion with a reprint of Antoinette McCallin's (2003) paper, "Grappling with the Literature in a Grounded Theory Study", ***Contemporary Nurse, 15*(1-2), 61-69,** reprinted here with the permission of the publishers. Five of our Peer Review Editors have offered a response to McCallin's paper.

Tom Andrews attributes the "grappling" dilemma to methodological confusion resultant of the frequent remodelling of the classic methodology by qualitative researchers and suggests that adherence to the dictates of the classic methodology will enable most researchers to overcome the challenges to appropriately and effectively addressing the literature. Alvita Nathaniel draws inspiration from Plato's allegory of the cave in acknowledging the importance of theoretical sensitivity, the impossibility of any competent researcher attempting to undertake a study *tabula rasa* and yet also recognizing the potential for contaminating a grounded theory study with preconceived and ungrounded assumptions as may be garnered from a less than critical engagement with extant literature.

Hans Thulesius suggests that the grappling dilemma as addressed by McCallin is less an issue than she implies and easily resolved by following Glaser's advice to continually enhance one's theoretical sensitivity by reading widely (cross disciplines) and to avoid preconception by leaving the tunnelling down into the 'relevant' literature until after the theory has emerged. Helene Ekstrom offers a pragmatic perspective on McCallin's paper and, in so doing,

mirrors the concerns of many novice grounded theorists seeking practical advice on sourcing the relevant literature, particularly in disciplines where there is a paucity of good published grounded theories. She also acknowledges the challenges for novice researchers in moving beyond their discipline boundaries in sourcing appropriate literature to be constantly compared into an emerging theory.

In her response, Vivian Martin suggests that the issue of addressing the literature has become a bit of a red herring that can divert attention from the methodology's "subversive potential …to push pass disciplinary boundaries by broadening the 'relevant' literature". She offers a useful four phase-model for understanding the process of addressing the literature appropriately throughout one's engagement in a GT study.

Antoinette McCallin's paper, "Methodological Issues: Have we forgotten the place of thinking here?" concludes this exchange of views by responding to the various perspectives offered. In so doing, she raises the interesting question of thinking - both in terms of style and competence - in undertaking a grounded theory study. She suggests that the "true" grounded theorist's approach to thinking is creative, inquisitive, critical, analytical and comfortable with complexity – a style that is not necessarily inherent in all researchers and one that can be challenging to the novice. Glaser, of course, has noted the ability to think conceptually as fundamental to doing grounded theory and attributes the inability to do so for producing descriptive rather than conceptual theory.

This issue of the Review also offers an example of the enduring nature of a good grounded theory. Eleanor Krassen Covan's (1998) paper, "Caresharlng: Hiding frailty in a Florida retirement community" (previously published in **Health Care for Women International**, 19:423-439, and reprinted here with permission of the publisher, Taylor & Francis) offers us such an example. Building on her original theory, her new paper, "Revisiting Caresharing in the Context of Changes in a Florida Retirement Community", offers us an important modification to her original theory, achieved through the constant comparison of indicators in

additional data collected over the past decade. This second paper shows us how a good grounded theory lives on and continues to fit, work and remain relevant through its continual modification based on new data.

As in previous issues, we continue our commitment to encouraging novice grounded theorists to publish their work. In this issue, we are pleased to include a paper based on the doctoral thesis of Hans Moran. His grounded theory explains the decision-making process underlying the service response of De La Salle schools to youth at risk. Moran describes his theory of helping behaviour as enhancing extant theory, particularly the attribution model, by explaining the role of personal altruistic convictions as well as rational pragmatic deliberations in shaping a helping service response.

"Bookending" this issue of the Review are two papers that focus attention on the origins of classic grounded theory. In his paper, "The Roots of Grounded Theory", Dr. Glaser shares with us his thoughts on the four dimensions of sociology and how grounded theory emerged from his training along these dimensions. It's a fascinating account of the emergence of the methodology from his own experience as a doctoral student at Columbia University and serves as a testament to his perceptive intellect and his conceptual brilliance. It is an important reminder of his contribution to the science of sociology and particularly timely with next year marking the 40th anniversary of the publication of **The Discovery of Grounded Theory** (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Likewise, Vivian Martin's paper, "The Postmodern Turn: Shall classic grounded theory take that detour?" offers a timely critique of two recent publications (Charmaz, 2006; Clarke, 2005) each purporting to offer methodological advancements on grounded theory methodology. One should expect several papers and publications offering varying perspectives on the methodology as we approach its forty-year landmark on the research landscape. The old misunderstandings and remodellings will no doubt prevail in much of this rhetoric. It is hoped that The Grounded Theory Review can continue to offer a perspective that

honours the original contribution of Barney Glaser – one that has stood the test of time and the embrace of the many who have endeavoured to emulate its achievements whether or not they have fully appreciated and employed the scholarship from which the methodology emerged.

- Judith Holton

Submissions

All papers submitted are peer reviewed and comments provided back to the authors. Papers accepted for publication will be good examples or practical applications of grounded theory and classic grounded theory methodology.

Comments on papers published are also welcomed, will be shared with the authors and may be published in subsequent issues of the Review. See our website www.groundetheoryreview.com for full submission guidelines.

Forward submissions as Word documents to Judith Holton at judith@groundedtheoryreview.com

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The Roots of Grounded Theory[1]

Barney G Glaser, Ph.D.; Hon Ph.D.

I studied sociology at Stanford 1948 to 1952, which was partially fine but limited in those days. But then I knew I wanted to be a sociologist. Returning to the USA from the army in 1955 to study sociology at Columbia confirmed my goals. I bought the program 100% on doing sociology as my life work. All I do is sociology in every facet of life; work, recreation, family etc. My life is sociology driven and directed.

Now let me give you a quote from Barton's (1955, p.246) article of Paul F. Lazarsfeld [PFL], "Analyzing the logic of research operations to clarify concepts remained a key to PFL's life". It has been the key to my life also.

"All is data" – that now sloganized tenet of Grounded Theory [GT] - clearly came from PFL per Barton's words. Robert K. Merton's [RKM] brief flicker of light - to admit to emergence (see Barton, p. 255) - became the key to GT's theoretical stance.

The Four Dimensions of being a Sociologist

In buying the program 100%, I bought the four dimensions of doing sociology - autonomy, originality, contribution and the power of sociology. All dimensions are interrelated; they became a part of my sociological identity and led eventually to my originating GT. Now let's consider each of these dimensions of my training, how they affected me, subsequently found their way into GT and how they may serve as food for thought in your training.

Autonomy

PhD training is a training for autonomy. One becomes the doctor, so to speak. One claims one's own pacing. One claims one's own ideas and the connections between

[1] From a keynote presentation given to the 3rd International Qualitative Research Convention, Johor Bahru, Malaysia 23rd August 2005

them. One becomes the theorist and/or research author. Therefore, one must stand on what one has said and achieved.

This puts a call on one's seniors, on faculty and the social structure of departments to allow the PhD candidate to do his own thing, irrespective of faculty and supervisor desires to have the candidate work on their ideas. It puts a call on author idol worship of "grand theorists"; it puts a call on theoretical capitalism; it puts a call on supervisor control and ownership of the candidate's work in favour of giving him/her full freedom and license. It is a claim that the candidate must stand for irrespective of senior or supervisor obstruction and efforts to the contrary. Try it; you will like it.

Please remember, I did my dissertation totally on my own on secondary data from the survey research center at the University of Michigan. It passed easily. My supervisor Hans Zetterberg was delighted. PFL was overjoyed by the core variable and the development of new method analytic techniques. RKM was confounded since it cast grave doubt on his famous paper; "Recognition in Science". My dissertation was published immediately, given the recalcitrant forces of action. It was requested, not sold by me – since I did not have a clue.

Throughout my whole training I resisted the efforts of both PFL and RKM to co-opt me to work for them and those who did were not very smart. I had no time for them personally, just their ideas. It was clear in RKM's writings on the sociology of science that the key to creativity was to study ideas with autonomous freedom in order to put them together by seeing the connections at will, hopefully, for maximum yield and creativity.

This PhD stance, of course, fed into my origination of GT. GT gives total autonomy, by the nature of emergent discovery and more PhD candidates can claim this autonomy through GT than do at this point. More can than do through other methods and consequent subservience to supervisor demands based on social structural power. As GT spreads through out the world, researchers are

discovering this autonomy in their own departments. They are in demand for lectures and consulting. Supervisors become humbled, often with delight.

Originality

PhD candidates are supposed to produce original research with originality of ideas and methods. RKM clearly delineated the composition of originality. He said quoting the literature, "There is seldom an idea that hasn't been said before somewhere else. Originality comes with the putting together of ideas into new connections." Yes, I studied the sociology of science and wrote the famous paper on comparative failure in science. See my reader (Glaser, 1993).

RKM implicitly put a call on relevance with the new connections idea. I saw clearly that my research for a dissertation was generating a whole new and very relevant set of connections leading to a theory of recognition in science that was relevant, worked and fit. Probably that is why it was published so quickly. Virtually 75% of the chapters were published as papers. Earned relevance became a strong requirement of GT analysis.

This of course, fed into the origination of GT: It had to be field-wide with fit, relevance and workability (explaining what's going on). GT provides new (valid) categories and a theoretical interrelation between then based on theoretical codes (Glaser, 2005). I was the originator of GT as a discovery method; Anselm Strauss did not have a clue about these ideas on emergence (Glaser, 1992).

PFL of course seeded me with four important methodological beginnings. Firstly, the index formation model based on accumulation and summing of indicators from survey data to generate indexes or concepts is fundamental in GT. GT is just a simple index formation, inductive method based on using any type of data. That's all. Sorry qualitative researchers!

Second, PFL's discovery of the interchangeability of indicators used to generate concepts was major. No matter what indicators were used in multiples of three, the

generated concept had the same relationship to other concepts. Based on this, he confessed to me one day in privacy, that crude indexes gave the same findings as elegant, perfected indexes based on latent structure analysis. So the latter was a waste and expensive.

With this notion I was off and running and further developed the analytic techniques of consistency analysis that I used with his elaboration analysis model and mine of theoretical saturation. The interchangeability of indicators and theoretical saturation subsequently became prime ingredients of GT procedures for generating substantive theory. These two procedures led to essential delimiting of research content, data collection and time for generating theory with completeness, depth and scope. It allowed dissertations to go very quickly, rather than take the laborious long time exhaustion always heard expressed by candidates (Glaser, 1978).

Third, PFL missed this one. So near and yet so far. He missed the constant comparative analysis approach (Glaser, 1978, chapter 9). It is so simple. At the time, in order to do a survey, a researcher from the Bureau for Applied Social Research would go into the field to do qualitative research on what to ask as questions in a survey; that is, as indicators. They summed the indicators with Likert scales into an index to get the concept. It never occurred to them to systematically and carefully compare the indicators' meanings to generate conceptual properties of the soon to become index or concept. The power of this procedure to generate theory is phenomenal. What a theoretical yield of discovery. What a miss! The constant comparison technique became the influential analytic procedure of GT to generate and discover theory.

Lastly, PFL showed clearly in the academic mind that core variable analysis explained so much of what is going on and resolved the main concern of the participants. Lazarsfeld and Thielens (1958) proved the core variable analysis model has great yield. I used it in my dissertation with the recognition index and it literally opened up the data to a plethora of findings about the quest and

consequences of recognition. I transferred the analytic notion of core variable to qualitative data and did the book on the core variable "awareness of dying" (Glaser & Strauss, 1965). This book was a big hit. It became a classic and was subsequently published in several languages. Thus I made core variable analysis the key to generating GT. The core variable, as you know, is the category that all other categories and their properties are related to, and by these relationships explain what is going on to continually resolve a main concern (Glaser,1978, chapters 4 and 6). Connecting these methodological ideas, of course produces the originality emergent in the GT method. All this was beyond Anselm Strauss because he was an expert in qualitative analysis – which means mostly description.

Truth is stranger than fiction, yet fictions rule the world as they are built into and are a part of vested social structures. Thus socially structured vested fictions are a functional requirement of formal organization and the social organization of life. The effect of these fictions often leads to a miss of what is really going on in a social arena. Thus these fictions usually lead to preconceived professional problems upon which to do research despite their non-existence.

I cannot count the number of PhD candidates, using the GT method, that have called me to ask what to do about researching for a professional problem that is just not there. I always recount the story about RKM when he had a large grant to study his theory of professions. He hired six PhD candidates to do the research. None got their degree since what they were to study, his theory of professions, yielded only independent correlations [no findings and no data]. What a tragedy!

To discover what is going on using GT is first to discover the problem or main concern in a social area - to discover it conceptually, which is not necessarily in the participant's view. Preconceived problems seldom, if ever work, unless fictions are needed; but not to worry, the discovered problem will, in the end, relate back to the

professional one in some way. Again GT ensures originality on this dimension: the problem. What one is supposed to study does not often produce a study! Thus GT is exciting, motivating and fast as discovery emerges. Product proof is in the making. Discovering the problem is just the beginning of the originality in GT generation; subsequent to which is the discovery of new concepts and their connections which are then modeled by a theoretical code (amplifying causal looping, basic social process, typology, continuum, etc.).

Could I have done originality or origination of GT without my claiming my freedom and autonomy? No, I would have just been a pleaser of seniors. PhD candidates bring problems of autonomy to me constantly and I always answer the same thing. "Get the degree and you will be autonomous after if not before". See chapter six in the Grounded Theory Perspective (Glaser, 2003).

Contribution

PhD candidates are in training to contribute to science. They are supposed to innovate and to contribute to their field. I bought this aspect of the program hook, line and sinker immediately when entering the sociology department at Columbia University. I have, of course, by now succeeded in producing a series of about 20 books – both monographs and methodology. I have published many papers in peer review journals – too many to count. Two of my books have been translated into four different languages. As I have said, my dissertation was published immediately. Discovery (1967) has sold thousands of copies and still sells 39 years later. These publications have fostered the use of GT; correctly or not. I started Sociology Press to keep my books perpetually in print and to satisfy demand since typically publishers drop books after a few years. It also keeps me in touch with those doing GT throughout the world.

Thus the mandate to publish and therefore to contribute to the field at large worked in my case. Keep in mind, however, that I discovered in my dissertation that one achieves the most recognition not by publishing and

peer reviews, BUT by being subsequently referred to, used and footnoted. The noted take the cake.

So the problem I confronted as a PhD candidate and you do too is how to get into print as fast as possible. Careers hang on it! Let me give you a few ideas.

First: you write papers for your Professor. Give me a break! What difference does it make what he or she says or how they grade it. For the autonomous PhD candidate, this is too particularistic and holds little or no career prospect – as yet. Better to send the paper to a journal for peer review and possible publication. Peer review notes will give the author knowledge of how the field will receive his work and what needs to be done to improve it. These are the true gatekeepers for a career in the "publish or perish" academic world. Why wait? Readiness is in the hands of peer review not a particularistic professor. Make every paper count and send it out there for the "test". Submit, submit, submit! I required all my students to write papers for submission, NOT for me. It takes a clear view of one's autonomy and originality to do this with hope of success, but many are pleasantly surprised. Remember, in the final analysis, you are being tested by the field, not your professors with their immediate social structural power.

Also, if your lectures are good enough to take your time, then take notes carefully, as you probably do, and write them up into a paper to submit. See if the class is worth it. I did it and was amazed at what others thought anonymously of RKM's role theory, which I wrote up and submitted the American Sociological Review. It made me realize how important it was to ground concepts systematically from systematic research. I was told it was reified gibberish, by whom, I do not know. And don't worry about intellectual capital; it is over-rated in the academic professions where one gives to the field as much as it can and will take. This is not heresy.

Also, two more grounded items to remember. First, when circulating a working paper for comments, never put on "citations only permitted with the permission of author"

or "no parts of this paper can be used without permission of author". Rather, say "when using parts of this paper please give proper citation and help yourself". Be delighted if someone wants to quote you.

Second, there is no such thing as full coverage in GT, there are no misses. It is what you do that you offer as contribution - not what you did not do. Full coverage is impossible. Thus any senior colleague who points out misses is just wrong or off track, since he missed the fact that a GT fosters flooding out in all directions with general implications and research possibilities and new ideas. GT is very stimulating to what is next, not what is missed.

Built into the GT rigorous procedures package is the goal of ending the research – the generated theory – as a publishable product. It is a carefully delineated set of procedures for doing so. Otherwise why do it? And GT produces contributions to the field. So many PhD students using GT are being published; it amazes me. It is practically a sure thing to see one's originality as fostered by GT reaching a wide public in whatever the field.

Power

The power of GT is phenomenal. Sociology itself is very powerful and GT, by discovering and conceptualizing latent patterns, potentiates that power. It is the mandate of the PhD candidate to use this power humanely, morally, as often as possible. It was my mandate. I use it everyday in every facet of my life, using GT studies I know of and doing GT all the time by keeping notes.

GT potentiates the power of sociology through its conceptual categories and their properties integrated into theory to explain the continual resolving of what is going on in an action area. The discovered categories have earned relevance with tremendous grab and endurance. They are remembered decades after their discovery.

This conceptual relevance provides high impact dependent variables to explain and vary a theory. GT's discovered in vivo substantive categories have great meaning to people reading and using GT. They fit the

action scene so that people can virtually see the GT in action and application. GT has much general implication; that is, one can see the application of a GT in many other substantive quarters. And with conceptual modification through constant comparison, one can use the GT in areas different than that in which it was initially grounded. See for instance, Wendy Guthrie's mystiquing and pseudo friending in her study of client control (Guthrie, 2000). She found this in a veterinarian practice but it is seen everywhere.

GT grab can be favourably compared with immaculate conjecture of concepts generated by 'grand old men'. Deductive, immaculate conjecture, usually from logical deduction, often has little or no power since it is not grounded in data with earned relevance. Its use is preconceived and doomed to little or no relevance unless forced on the data. Witness again the professions study as featured in Glaser (1998, chapter 6). In order to avoid the miss of preconceived problems and concepts, PFL would always suggest running all items against all items to discover the patterns that emerged from multi-relationships and then write up the patterns.

GT conceptualization has tremendous grab. Its endurance and power overwhelms the power of description. Description is stale-dated soon after the research whereas conception goes on forever. The grab of GT is also found in its jargon. Many now give it lip service to justify and "OK" otherwise ungrounded qualitative research. It is powerful even at this rather "empty" level. As I have said it draws people from all over the world, by its excitement of discovery and its truth and its quest of appropriateness to the task. This worldwide use indicates both its power and adds to it. GT is powerful also in its ability to use all data and in its procedural pacing which allows the flex time we all need in PhD work. And, GT is powerful in its sure approach to achieving by doing its lock-step procedures for getting a research project finished. Finishing is necessary and very fateful for the PhD candidate.

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Grappling with the literature in a grounded theory study[1]

Antoinette McCallin, Ph.D., RN

Abstract

Student researchers often struggle to understand how to use literature in a grounded theory study where timing and knowing what to read are critical. Despite substantive theoretical documentation on this topic the reality of working through abstract ideas is more challenging. There is a fine line between not doing a literature review in the area of study and being informed so that a study is focused. In this paper a practical example will be presented illustrating how the student can integrate literature yet stay away from preconceived notions. The topic is interprofessional practice.

Key Words
Grounded theory, Interprofessional practice, Qualitative literature integration

Introduction

Over and over again student researchers grapple to understand the place of the literature review in a grounded theory study. While the theoretical ideas are well documented in texts on research methodology (Chenitz, 1986; Glaser, 1978, 1992, 1998; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) integrating abstract concepts in practice is sometimes more challenging. Glaser (1998) recognises that reading the literature is problematic while Strauss and Corbin (1998) expect most professionals are familiar with the literature in the field. Misunderstandings arise from the

[1] This paper was originally published in **Contemporary Nurse** (**www.contemporarynurse.com**) and is reprinted here with the kind permission of the publisher. **Reference:** McCallin, A. M. (2003). Grappling with the literature in a grounded theory study. *Contemporary Nurse, 15*(1-2), 61-69.

tendency for novice researchers to take a purist stance whereby they accept the general advice to stay away from the literature literally. While the beginner researcher receives that interpretation happily, supervisors and institutional review committees are rather more nervous of such a simplistic approach. Those responsible for student researchers seek some reassurance that the student knows what they are doing, has a general focus, and is at least safe to enter the field.

Preparation for any research study is always essential and some pre-research literature reading is still necessary to "frame the problem in the introduction to a study" (Creswell, 1994, p. 23). At the very least, a literature review is needed to find out if the proposed study or something similar has been done before. In addition, this early literature review may be used to prepare a research proposal for an ethics committee, so sound preliminary work goes some way to demonstrate that the researcher knows exactly what she is doing even if she does not know what she is looking for. Thus the mental wrestle quickens with the need to be general but focused, yes, to look at some literature but no, stay away from the main area of interest.

Not surprisingly, student researchers may feel baffled with instructions that are apparently contradictory. This is complicated further, as many qualitative researchers work in an environment where clinicians are increasingly asked to justify decisions with the best evidence (Street, 2001). Such issues serve to emphasise that part of being a qualitative researcher is learning to move beyond the either-or way of thinking, in order to embrace both-and thinking that recognises complex possibilities, many truths and viewpoints, and different ways of experiencing reality (Zohar & Marshall, 1994). In this paper the issues and strategies for grounded theory literature integration will be discussed and illustrated with a practical example.

What are the Issues?

Clearly literature review in a grounded theory study must include literature on both the topic and the grounded

theory method. For example, student researchers grappling with the literature will quickly find the debate about emergence versus sensitisation that arose during the period of "reformulation and repudiation" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 512), which occurred almost a decade ago. Under reformulation Strauss and Corbin (1990) sensitised grounded theory researchers to the specific techniques required to ensure the reliability and validity of data collection and analysis in a qualitative study. Although sensitisation supposedly refined the original methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) the detailed explanations and underlying prescription stimulated a fervent response from Glaser (1992). Glaser repudiated the developments, defending the original methodology that, according to him, was much more flexible.

Charmaz (2000) notes that Glaser challenged the analytic questions, hypothesis testing, and methodological techniques underpinning sensitisation, arguing that emergence demanded that the researcher collect and analyse data without forcing previously prepared questions or explanations upon it. New researchers though welcomed the introduction of axial coding, with its specific questions related to causal conditions, context, strategies and consequences. This coding, dimensionalising and the conditional matrix (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) certainly strengthened theory verification. In the meantime Glaser (1992) concentrated on theory generation (Charmaz, 2000) and many student researchers got lost along the way.

Indeed Charmaz (2000) suggests "grounded theory methods have come under attack from both within and without. Postmodernists and poststructuralists dispute obvious and subtle positivistic premises assumed by grounded theory's major proponents within the logic of the method itself" (p. 510) while Glaser (1992) and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) developed the method in very different directions. In this context it is not unusual that student researchers, particularly those using the method for small-scale research projects, struggled to understand a method that was evolving and changing.

Study of the method itself therefore is important so that the researcher grasps the issues and is better placed to conduct a trustworthy study. Reading may include examination of the philosophical perspectives and the paradigm of inquiry (Annells, 1996), literature on evolving methods (Melia, 1996; Robrecht, 1995; Schreiber & Stern, 2001; Stern, 1994), and possibly a review of Chenitz's (1986) useful, compromise position that explains how to write a research proposal for a grounded theory study. Equally the most recent debate on the objectivist and constructivist grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2000) clarifies many of the issues raised over the last decade and moves grounded theory forward into the twenty-first century.

So far it is evident that the literature review is vital to research as it supports knowledge generation as a scientific, scholarly process. Credible knowledge that will withstand public scrutiny is necessarily embedded in sound research design, and develops new knowledge that goes beyond the existing literature and research. It is apparent as well that there is a fine line between not doing a literature review in the area of study and being informed so that a study is focused in the particular area of interest even though the specific problem is unknown in the early stages of a research project.

Dey (1993, p. 63) extends this argument noting that "there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head" (Dey, 1993, p. 63) and ignoring the literature in the beginning of a study does not mean discounting it altogether (Dey, 1999). "The issue is not whether to use existing knowledge, but how" (Dey, 1993, p. 63). Chenitz (1986) simplifies many of the issues suggesting that a literature review is required to write a research proposal that will meet academic purposes and "demonstrate knowledge about the phenomena and methods for study" (p. 44). An ability to think through issues and to question underlying assumptions is critical here, as the researcher develops "a cautious and skeptical attitude about the

literature throughout the study" (Chenitz, 1986, p. 44). Thinking ability also affects the student's response to strategies for grounded theory literature integration.

The Glaserian Strategy

The Glaserian position on literature review is quite clear. Glaser (1998) states "do not do a literature review in the substantive area and related areas where the research is to be done; and when the grounded theory is nearly completed during sorting and writing up, then the literature search in the substantive area can be accomplished and woven into the theory as more data for constant comparison" (p. 67). This position supports emergence and supposedly keeps the researcher free from any preconceived documented concepts. It also assumes that the student has plucked a research topic out of thin air and has read little in the area of interest. The reality is quite different in that students generally study a speciality, developing a research interest as a result of exposure to wide-ranging ideas over time. An increasing number of clinicians also support evidenced-based practice and are familiar with the wide range of literature readily available on the electronic databases.

Glaser's main objection to an initial literature review is that the researcher may be sidetracked by received knowledge and interpretations that support taken-for-granted assumptions, which are not relevant in the new area of study. When the research goal is discovery, to explore the main concern of participants and find out how they continually resolve that concern, energy need not be wasted on speculating about the problem. Doing grounded theory is rather like being a detective – all will be revealed in time once the researcher talks to the people and asks questions intended to draw forth the truth.

Students who search the literature are also vulnerable as, according to Glaser, there is potential for the researcher to feel daunted by writers and specialists in the field to the extent that the new researcher questions any ability to create some knowledge of value. Furthermore, new researchers examining the literature prior to a study may

be influenced by the "rhetorical jargon" (Glaser, 1998, p. 68) so that they sound like the literature, repeating popular, anecdotal ideas. Those problems certainly occur with some students but are less likely once the student has mastered critical analysis. Equally, others may not be "suited to doing grounded theory … [feeling] at a loss not being able to preconceive the data" (Glaser, 1998, p. 62). The successful grounded theory researcher must be capable of conceptualisation and must be prepared to put aside personal perspectives in the interests of understanding the participant's viewpoint.

The Strauss and Corbin Strategy

Strauss and Corbin (1998) have updated the original grounded theory approach to literature (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) recognising that "the researcher brings to the inquiry considerable background in professional and disciplinary literature" (p. 49). Strauss and Corbin argue that at the beginning of a project literature is useful "to formulate questions that act as a stepping off point during initial observations and interviews" (1998, p. 51). The earliest questions identified in the literature clarify the general research purpose and some of the concepts to be investigated. While the researcher cannot know which concepts, or indeed if any, will have the same emphasis once data collection and analysis proceed it is likely that some will remain to be integrated into new interpretations of relationships and processes.

As a study progresses literature becomes an effective analytic tool to stimulate thinking. "Insights do not just occur haphazardly; rather, they happen to prepared minds during the interplay with the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 47). During analysis the researcher uses literature to heighten theoretical sensitivity, all the while comparing and contrasting interpretations with occurrences in the data. The research analyst is expected to contain biases by engaging in reflexive interpretation. The key here is that "it is by using what we bring to the data in a systematic and aware way that we become sensitive to meaning without forcing our explanations on data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998,

p. 47). Literature thus furthers conceptual ordering or theory development. However, although it is automatically assumed that the research analyst will examine personal assumptions, values, stereotypes and biases and methodically analyse data to ensure that the knowledge generated is rigorous, managing the process is much more complicated.

Pre-Study Literature Search

In this information era where researchers are expected to keep up-to-date in the field of study how is it possible to stay away from the literature? Which literature? It is all very well to state that "to avoid reading the literature beforehand is a strategic grounded theory pacing" Glaser, 1998, p. 68), and while it is respectfully suggested that such a stance was perfectly reasonable in a very different research context (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), it is unreasonable in this day and age where information management is a speciality in itself. Glaser (1998) urges researchers to leave existing knowledge alone, to be open-minded, so that the problem in the area of interest will not be pre-empted but will be defined by the study participants. Students embrace this idea enthusiastically reminding supervisors that if they cannot know what the study will be about examining literature in any area wastes time. Open-mindedness though is not blank-mindedness (Denscombe, 1998).

What students tend to misunderstand is that every research study is about something in the beginning, and in grounded theory work the initial focus develops further or moves in different directions once participants add in data. Nonetheless, everything is data (Glaser, 1996), something to be constantly compared and analysed with anything else that is data, and that includes literature that may have been examined at some time or other. Glaser's position is somewhat ideal. It is perhaps timely to remind ourselves that all research begins with an idea, albeit a fuzzy idea, and usually the researcher is sufficiently interested in that idea to pursue it further in order to focus the research and

provide a rationale for the study, which will withstand academic review.

Fortunately Glaser acknowledges the problems of presenting a proposal to dissertation committees and funding agencies and recommends that the researcher not waste time and "do what the people want" (1998, p. 72). If the literature is accurate or inaccurate "it will be constantly corrected, put in perspective and proportioned in relevance by the constant comparative method" (Glaser, 1998, p. 72). Any previous review will become integrated as a part of the whole. In this sense literature takes its place as part of the macro-context shaping a study, or can be woven into the micro context if it is relevant to emerging concepts. The macro context incorporates data about the broader collective and institutional aspects of society while the micro context "takes a more involved and close-up viewpoint on individuals" (Layder, 1993, p. 5). It provides contextual data but need not derail the research analyst searching for alternative ways of looking at the world.

Some literature, but what, when and how?

The theoretical challenges of literature integration will now be shared using an example of a doctoral research project that focused on interprofessional practice (McCallin, 1999a, 1999b). The research began with a general interest in examining nursing practice in the changing context. Informal talks with registered nurse students had revealed serious reservation about service provision in restructuring organisations. Nursing practice was strongly influenced by organisational change that was shaped by health reform on a scale that was perhaps unprecedented in the history of health service delivery in New Zealand.

In order to understand better some of the contextual issues the national and international literature about health reforms was examined to clarify the common trends. Reading revealed that changes were by no means confined to nurses. Everyone working in the health sector was affected to some degree or other. Surely nursing practice did not sit in isolation in such a volatile environment? Perhaps scrutiny of one professional group was too narrow?

Could the topic be refined to explore professional practice in the changing health sector?

Bishop and Scudder's (1985) suggestion that "only minimal consideration has been given to the moral issues involved in the day-to-day health care and to the ongoing relationships of physicians, nurses, and patients" (p. 2) stimulated thinking. That statement mirrored some of the issues raised by registered nurse students discussing practice problems and was in keeping with the public debate on health reform in which consumers, and health professionals, questioned current health restructuring. Maybe this was a study about morals and ethics and professional practice?

General reading continued until thinking halted again. Englehardt (1985) suggested that there were no differences between the professions of nursing and medicine in caring for patients as each profession simply had a different accent and emphasis. Conflict and tension was more likely caused by power and authority relationships in hierarchical organisations. Perhaps long-term study within the discipline of nursing had de-sensitised me to the wider issues common to all health professionals working in the health reform environment? Even though nursing practice was the general area of interest was it not unwise to view nursing as a separate entity when practice responsibilities and professional boundaries were blurring across the health professions? But, what exactly was the problem? The issues were broad. Confusion reigned.

Why Insist on Emergence?

Glaser's (1992) style of grounded theory was selected for this project precisely because of its ability to support the emergence of problems that were to be identified by the participants. Grounded theory is based on the belief that, as individuals within groups comprehend events from a personal perspective, common patterns of behaviour can be discovered (Glaser, 1998). Hutchinson's (1993) idea that people make sense of their environment despite apparent chaos was intriguing. That certainly supported

observations of professional practice in the changing context.

Grounded theory looked promising, as the methodology had the potential to explain what was actually happening in practical life, rather than describing what should have been going on. The premise was useful initially because there were so many different perspectives in the literature on nursing practice and the health reforms that it was difficult to define the problem area. The grounded theory method was ideal, as it created a scientifically legitimate space to encourage participants to explain their main concern and how they continuously resolved that. Concepts did not have to be identified as predetermined variables, but would emerge from observation and discussion with participants.

At that stage reading began in the general area of the professions (Abbott, 1988; Dingwell & Lewis, 1983; Ehrenreich, 1978; Ehrenreich & English, 1973; Johnson, 1972)? The logic behind that decision was that most nurses worked with health professionals from other disciplines and background data of the macro context might be useful. Then a new keyword, "interprofessional workgroup" appeared on the databases and became a springboard for literature searching. Further scanning of the databases refined the focus to interprofessional practice. That concept was daunting and there was no doubt that the researcher was in a field "knowing nothing" (Glaser, 1998, p. 54).

The search for literature on interprofessional practice began. According to Glaser (1978) that move was not strictly in accordance with the emerging grounded theory method, as the researcher runs the risk of preconceiving the problem area. Some sense of direction though was needed to satisfy university authorities and ethics committees. It was also clear that any literature was data that could be neutralised or integrated as long as it was constantly compared with emerging concepts (Glaser, 1998). Fortunately, the literature revealed that there was little published research on the concept of interprofessional practice (Bishop & Scudder, 1985; Casto & Julia, 1994;

Gabe, Kelleher & Williams, 1994; Leathard, 1994; Ovretveit, 1993; Petersen, 1994; Soothill, Mackay, & Webb, 1995). Most readings proved to be anecdotal accounts of interprofessional teamwork. The huge literature on teams was not reviewed then as it seemingly had potential to emerge as a significant concept. However, selected general management literature was perused for a sense of organisational issues associated with change and restructuring (Drucker, 1994, 1995; Handy, 1990, 1994; Morgan, 1986; Senge, 1990).

The medical sociology literature was also scanned (Freidson, 1986, 1988, 1994; Nettleton, 1995; Turner, 1987). This was considered important to further understanding of the sociocultural influences on professional practice, and to gain some insights into the historical influences that had shaped the health professions. Familiarity with the nursing literature alone was increasingly inadequate for the study that had moved beyond the boundaries of nursing, so a baseline understanding of the medical profession, the dominant disciplinary group Among the health professionals, was sought. Substantial controversies and contradictions surrounding power relationships in the health professions were revealed (Ashley, 1976; Bishop & Scudder, 1985; Daniel, 1990; Davies, 1995; Fox, 1992; Hugman, 1991; Willis, 1989; Witz, 1992). In fact, this heightened sensitivity about interprofessional tensions made me wary about predetermining problems that supported unsubstantiated myths and assumptions.

In summary, the reading about interprofessional work revealed a new emphasis on the development of teamwork Amongst health professionals (McCallin, 2001). As a result, the researcher concluded that the interdisciplinary team was the prevailing research area even though the actual problems of practice remained ill defined at that point in time. In the final presentation much of the literature discussed was integrated into separate chapters that presented the macro context of the research. For example, the readings about the professions, power and social control became a chapter on the historical backdrop of

teamwork; material about health reforms was written up in a chapter on the political context of health reform; and literature on teams and teamwork was reviewed after data was analysed and presented in another chapter on teams and teamwork in restructuring organisations. This illustrates well that the literature became "a valuable and essential source of information" (Chenitz 1986, p. 43) even though the focus of the review changed as the main concern was clarified.

Conclusion

In this paper strategies for grounded theory literature integration have been reviewed and illustrated with an example. Today, literature cannot be ignored and it is important that grounded theory researchers have a sound theoretical understanding of the methods of integration so they are well positioned to generate rigorous knowledge that will contribute to scholarly knowledge development in the discipline of nursing.

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The Literature Review in Grounded Theory: A response to McCallin (2003)

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Abstract

The paper by McCallin (2003) is a useful contribution to the debate surrounding the role of the literature in Grounded Theory (GT). For the purpose of this paper and with reference to McCallin (2003) the issue will be discussed in relation to the purpose of a review within GT. It will be argued that the misunderstanding about the function of the literature within a GT study arises partly as a result of the confusion caused by the continual re-writing of the method. Further it will be argued that a preliminary reading of the literature is entirely consistent with the principals of GT. Finally some practical suggestions will be made as to how the issue could be dealt with in a way that is unproblematic for GT.

How to deal with the literature in GT has clearly been an issue from its inception because its role is different within this methodology. This is likely to be as a result of misunderstanding the role of the literature in GT, confusing it with its traditional role in research. However this leads to tensions between the requirements of those supervising the research project and those of GT (McCallin 2003). Conventionally the purpose of a literature review in research is to identify a research problem, refine a research question or hypothesis, determine gaps or inconsistencies in the body of research as well as identifying suitable designs and data collection methods for a study (Polit and Beck 2006). Within GT the literature is viewed simply as more data to be synthesised and integrated into the emerging theory (Glaser 1998). The researcher using GT is mandated to stay open to the concepts being generated from the data and not from the literature so as not to preconceive or be derailed (Glaser 1978; Glaser 1998).

Central to GT is the idea is that the literature is not used as a source of concepts. Therefore it is very important for those new to GT to realise this through a meticulous reading of the original GT literature, coupled with high quality teaching in research methods classes. However, thinking of GT as just another qualitative methodology is problematic for those trying to understand the role of the literature. Its continual rewriting confuses those new to it (Glaser 2003). Not only are those trying to understand and use GT confronted by what appears to be two versions of the method, but the different perspectives also, such as constructivist (Mills et al. 2006), feminist and critical theory (Charmaz 2000). While these different perspectives discuss the literature as data, they do not emphasise its full conceptual integration into the emerging theory, leading to a misunderstanding as to the role of the literature in GT. No wonder that those new to GT end up so confused.

It is a common misconception to think that GT advocates no reading of the literature. While Glaser (1978) advises the researcher to enter the field with as few predetermined ideas as possible; that "sensitivity is increased by being steeped in the literature that deals with both kinds of variables and their associated general ideas that will be used" (p2); this does not mean no reading of the literature.

McCallin (2003) is right when maintaining that usually funding committees, research supervisors and dissertation committees demand that the student includes a literature review in any research proposal and this is acknowledged by Glaser (1998). At a minimum those conducting research need to demonstrate that a problem worthy of research exists and that they have the necessary skill to conduct such a study. The question then becomes one of what literature to read rather than whether to or not. Grounded Theory answers that question unequivocally- read the literature but in an area which is different from the research (Glaser 1978) essentially to avoid the relevant literature until at lease the core category begins to emerge (Glaser 1998). Also there is acknowledgement that some researchers enter the field with clear questions in mind, a

general perspective or some concepts already in mind as a result of some previous training (Glaser 1978). This is seldom a problem since the procedures of GT and trusting in emergence will challenge any preconceptions. Whatever the source of bias, the constant comparative method done carefully as outlined, will counter them (Glaser 1998). The inference here is that provided the researcher is open and follows the procedures of GT, preconceived ideas will be corrected whatever their source. Presumably this also includes the literature. Those who are intent on doing a good GT study are unlikely to have a clear idea of what the study will be about, since this only emerges as data are collected. While Glaser (1998) argues that reviewing the literature before knowing what the study is about is a waste of time, McCallin (2003) maintains that a study must begin somewhere. As an example, when reviewing the literature for a PhD thesis on how nurses pick up on patients worsening conditions, the initial literature review examined such issues as the signs and symptoms of physiological deterioration, clinical decision making, knowledge in nursing and nurse-doctor professional relations. While some of this literature was useful for integration into the emergent theory, other more relevant literature was included such as the subjective nature of evidence and argumentation theory. There was no way of knowing beforehand that the inclusion of such literature could have been anticipated. McCallin (2003) dealt with this in a similar way.

In conclusion, the key to doing a good GT study and overcoming the potential problem of reviewing the literature prior to data collection is to maintain theoretical sensitivity through constant comparison and memo writing particularly, as well as following the other steps of GT judiciously. This will ensure that researchers stay open. Provided that those embarking on a study using GT accept that they may well end up doing two literature reviews and fully understand the purpose of each, then a preliminary literature review arguably is not the problem that it is sometimes considered to be. One of the reviews could be in an area that puts the study into some context and the

other one used as data to fully integrate the theory. This is entirely consistent with the views of Glaser (1998) when he advocates doing some preliminary reading. Finally, GT methodology is pragmatic and Glaser (2001) advises to do whatever is required to get funding or satisfy a supervisor or dissertation committee. A preliminary reading of the literature followed by a review in the substantive area, together with a thorough understanding of GT is suggested as a way of dealing with the issue of the literature review and should satisfy everyone while staying faithful to the principals of GT. Stay open and trust in emergence in the confidence that any preconceptions will be corrected.

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Thoughts on the Literature Review and GT

Alvita Nathaniel, DSN

Thinking about epistemic questions always reminds me of Socrates' cave allegory. In Plato's most famous book, *The Republic*, Socrates talks to a young follower named Glaucon. I would like to include here a short excerpt of their conversation and discuss how this relates to my thoughts about preceding a classic GT study with a thorough literature review.

> [Socrates] Imagine human beings living in a underground, cave like dwelling, with an entrance a long way up, which is both open to the light and as wide as the cave itself. They've been there since childhood, fixed in the same place, with their necks and legs fettered, able to see only in front of them, because their bonds prevent them from turning their heads around. Light is provided by a fire burning far above and behind them. Also behind them, but on higher ground, there is a path stretching between them and the fire. Imagine that along this path a low wall has been built, like the screen in front of puppeteers above which they show their puppets
>
> [Glaucon] I'm imagining it.
>
> [Socrates] Then also imagine that there are people along the wall, carrying all kinds of artifacts that project above it—statues of people and other animals, made out of stone, wood, and every material. And, as you'd expect, some of the carriers are talking, and some are silent.
>
> [Glaucon] It's a strange image you're describing, and strange prisoners.
>
> [Socrates] They're like us. Do you suppose, first of all, that these prisoners see anything of themselves

> and one another besides the shadows that the fire casts on the wall in front of them?
>
> [Glaucon] How could they, if they have to keep their heads motionless throughout life?
>
> [Socrates] What about the things being carried along the wall? Isn't the same true of them?
>
> [Glaucon] Of course.
>
> [Socrates] And if they could talk to one another, don't you think they'd suppose that the names they used applied to the things they see passing before them?
>
> [Glaucon] They'd have to.
>
> [Socrates] And what if their prison also had an echo from the wall facing them? Don't you think they'd believe that the shadows passing in front of them were talking whenever one of the carriers passing along the wall was doing so?
>
> [Glaucon] I certainly do.
>
> [Socrates] Then the prisoners would in every way believe that the truth is nothing other than the shadows of those artifacts.
>
> [Glaucon] They must surely believe that.
>
> [Socrates] Consider, then, what being released…. What do you think he'd say, if we told him that what he'd seen before was inconsequential…. …if we pointed to each of the things passing by, asking what each of them is, and compelled him to answer, don't you think he'd be at a loss and that he'd believe that the [shadows] he saw earlier were truer than the [objects] he was now being shown? (Plato, trans. 1997)

There is more to the story, of course. Light at the opening of the cave represents knowledge. The people chained at the bottom of the cave are situated as far from knowledge as they could possibly be. As they sit there, they begin to interpret meaningless clues and to attach

meaning to them. Given enough time, they will surely develop theories and then, if released, go off somewhere to teach and write about them—or so I imagine. The other people in the cave are climbing to the opening, moving toward true knowledge. Coming out of the cave, or even moving toward the opening, these people can see what is real—not a flickering shadow obscured by smoke, but the object as it really exists. This suggests that anyone who seeks true knowledge must move toward the light where phenomena are clearly visible.

How can we relate this ancient allegory to a discussion about literature review and grounded theory? I believe it relates in two ways. First, one can gain knowledge about particulars only if they are clearly seen and honestly portrayed. Glaser (1978) wrote that the goal of grounded theory "is to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behavior which is relevant and problematic for those involved" (p. 93). From this *grounded* source, (i.e., those involved) we gather evidence that can be best trusted. This inductive method perhaps confuses many PhD dissertation committees who are more comfortable with deduction. Second, untrustworthy data and flawed interpretation hinder understanding of the phenomenon. Thus, the investigator should not contaminate grounded theory with non-grounded data, deductive conclusions, or mediated beliefs of others. Extant literature holds the potential to mislead the grounded theorist since even extremely respected leaders in any discipline can be extremely mistaken. Glaser (1978) makes this point clearly. Grounded theory should not be corrupted by received ideas, preconceptions or logical elaboration. Valid grounded theory emerges from systematic data gathering and rigorous analysis.

This is not to suggest that it is possible for any person to begin the grounded theory process as a *tabula rasa*. Original research and theory building are reserved for those at the pinnacle of their fields. Years of study and practical experience create an investigator/analyst with a breadth and depth of discipline-specific knowledge. I suggest that along with this understanding comes a measure of curiosity

and motivation to fill in the gaps, to understand what is heretofore unknown. At this place, this gap in what is known, inquiry begins. We must understand that these gaps are only visible to one who has a sweeping perspective of the larger body of knowledge. Therefore, the person doing GT necessarily possesses a broad and general knowledge of the literature when the process begins—having spent time and effort climbing out of the cave, toward the light, so to speak.

I offer one word of caution related to the literature. Knowledge of the literature imparts a discipline-specific language. When the investigator begins to formulate a research proposal, he or she should step back and make an objective non-partisan examination of the concepts and words used in the research proposal and those that may be used in qualitative interviews. Professional language is replete with jargon, loaded words, easily misunderstood words, or words that have different meanings to different people. Thus, even a general overview of the literature can influence the data if words derived from it are not used carefully. For example, when I interviewed participants for my theory of moral reckoning in nursing, I purposely avoided using the term *moral*. A very astute member of my dissertation committee brought the problem to my attention. Would participants think of moral in terms of *moral vs. immoral,* religious doctrine, or professional ethics? I did not know. So, in the interviews, I used the term *troubling*, a vague term that has little discipline-specific meaning. Use of the word *troubling* elicited exactly the type of information that I needed without confusing the issue with an Ambiguous, easily misunderstood term (Nathaniel, 2004).

What is the best use of extant literature? Glaser suggests that once the analysis is well underway, the grounded theorist may use the literature to support and illustrate the emerging theory. Thus, if the emerging theory is similar to extant literature, the two independently generated works support and strengthen each other. Since GT is modifiable, i.e. composed of a set of tentative hypotheses, a discussion of the dissimilarities is productive

in that it can serve to be self-correcting. This is very similar to what philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce suggested about use of the *scientific method*. Peirce proposed that the scientific method (including GT) moves humankind toward the *final opinion* (Houser & Kloesel, 1992). Thus, each work adds to or corrects those before it leading us closer to knowledge that is true and correct.

The grounded theorist can also use the literature to complete the theory, especially if extant grounded theory is available. Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that sometimes in the final write up, grounded theorists discover gaps in the theory. If the information sources are no longer available or if time or funding restraints makes it unreasonable to resume field work and if the extant literature can reliably be used to fill in the gaps, using the literature is a good solution.

Finally, the grounded theorist can use the emerging theory to refute established, deductive, preconceived theory. Glaser, himself, taught me this lesson. I struggled to reconcile a non-grounded theory that seemed incongruent with my emerging theory. Glaser suggested that my fledgling theory, because it was grounded in the data and based upon information obtained from people for whom the problem was "relevant and problematic," easily refuted the extant theory, which was based upon nothing more than unsubstantiated logic—smoke on the cave wall.

What should the PhD candidate do if the dissertation chair, committee, or examiners request a thorough literature review prior to data gathering? In a practical sense, the candidate seeks to obtain the degree and thus needs to satisfy the requirements of the examiners. This problem occurs very frequently and may be unavoidable since literature review is often part of the pre-dissertation course work. If required, the PhD candidate should complete a thorough literature review with an objective perspective. It may take a period of time, perhaps a few months, before the student theorist is able to disassociate his or her mindset from established ideas and concepts. However, this is a necessary step since ideas in the

literature may otherwise derail the emerging theory. The grounded theorist allows the theory to emerge from the data, rather than support or refute established ideas. As this occurs, the theory may turn in unexpected directions, rendering the initial literature review irrelevant. If this happens, the student remains open to the emerging theory. After the theory develops, the student should perform a more pertinent literature review, thus completing the circle.

In conclusion, the grounded theorist should avoid a thorough literature review before beginning the GT process in order to avoid contamination from mediated beliefs, preconceptions, distorted values, and false premises. The grounded theorist should use the literature to support, corroborate, and illustrate the emerging theory. Once the grounded theorist understands the emerging theory, the extant literature is a wonderful place to go for substantiation and for examples to weave into the emerging theory. As the theory fully emerges, it becomes a powerful instrument which can clarify, synthesize, and organize prior grounded theories and refute flawed theories, thus moving closer to a clear understanding of the phenomenon.

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NEW WAY OF USING LITERATURE IN GT?

Hans Thulesius, GP, Ph.D.

After having read Antoinette McCallin's paper on literature use in GT I find myself asking the following question. Is McCallin's way of applying the literature - letting the research area emerge in a literature search - an important modification on how to use the literature in classic GT according to Glaser? McCallin shows how her way to a one core variable grounded theory went over a literature review in the beginning of her research. But this literature review was actually a general literature search for a problem area to explore since McCallin tells us that she did not have a finite area of research before screening the literature. Eventually, through a literature search she decided that she wanted to study interprofessional practice in health care. After having found this problem area McCallin did what is not recommended in classic GT - she began studying the scientific literature on interprofessional practice. However, the area was almost unexplored.

In my opinion McCallin did not start her GT until she found the specific research area she wanted to explore. But this area was not found through a specific scientific literature search but by generally exploring what was going on in the health care scene in her part of the world. Then she could have been preconceived by too early reading the scientific literature, but the area was scientifically a virgin land to her luck.

> Fortunately, the literature revealed that there was little published research on the concept of interprofessional practice (Bishop & Scudder, 1985; Casto & Julia, 1994; Gabe, Kelleher & Williams, 1994; Leathard, 1994; Ovretveit, 1993; Petersen, 1994; Soothill, Mackay, & Webb, 1995). Most readings proved to be anecdotal accounts of interprofessional teamwork. (McCallin, 2003, p.66)

McCallin then generated a useful grounded theory explaining how health care professionals through pluralistic dialogue overcome difficulties in working together.

So the answer to the above question is no. McCallin just did what Glaser suggests, reading a lot, but not in the area of study. Her general literature search increased her theoretical sensitivity in discovering a relevant research area. As she tells us: "Perhaps long-term study within the discipline of nursing had de-sensitised me to the wider issues common to all health professionals working in the health reform environment?" (McCallin, 2003, p.65)

So the recommended use of literature in Grounded Theory research according to Glaser fits with how McCallin used it in her Pluralistic Dialogue study. What may be somewhat new is that McCallin actually found her problem area in the general literature.

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Aspects on McCallin's paper, "Grappling with the literature in a grounded theory study"

Helene Ekström, MD, Ph.D.

I read Antoinette McCallin's paper with interest and I have learned that there are problems which I have foreseen perhaps because I am, as many medical doctors are, unaware of the many "theories" or different perspectives that one can chose in undertaking a study. Kirsti Malterud, Professor of General Practice in Bergen, Norway, used to say that we are theoretically ignorant and instead focus on the pragmatic issues of how to survive the day and help the "sick" in an appropriate way. However, even if I feel like a real novice, I have some remarks about literature and grounded theory studies.

A literature review as part of, for instance, a research proposal and one that is undertaken when actually performing a grounded theory study are two different issues in my opinion. When writing a research proposal or an application for research funding, the issue is (which I personally learned the hard way….) to follow the rules of the committees or funding agencies whether or not the review demanded is appropriate for what you plan to study. Here the discussion in the first part of McCallin's paper is appropriate because when you write a research proposal or the like perhaps (although not necessarily) a discussion is needed of the different "GT methods", their requirements, historical development, different opinions among researchers and so on as well as why you have chosen a particular approach.

On the other hand, when actually doing a grounded theory study I believe the issue is to follow the rules of the method you have chosen; that is, either classical (Glaserian) GT, the Strauss and Corbin version or any other versions. To read the appropriate method books over and over again while collecting and coding data is the most

important part of literature reading. Reading other GT studies done using the same method as you have chosen can also help and is essential for increasing your understanding of "how to do it" as well as in sensitizing your knowledge of theoretical codes that may enable you to reach a high enough level of abstraction in your own analysis.

These issues of reading literature I miss completely in McCallin's paper. In my own experience, just finding good grounded theories through the usual literature search databases is a challenge, certainly for those of us in the medical profession. It would have been helpful to have some guidance about this in the paper.

I also miss a clear explanation of the two main aspects of literature review when the theory has evolved; that is, how to search for literature about other research in the same area of interest as well as literature dealing with concepts and theories similar to what has emerged in your grounded theory. In my own doctoral study, this meant looking both for other papers about how women experienced menopause as well as papers about "status passages" as these were my emerging categories and main concern. In summary, I feel that McCallin's paper could have been improved by offering an outline as to what purpose literature reading serves at different times during a GT study. The example used in the paper did not reveal this to me but had it done so would have been of great value to many researchers new to GT.

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The Relationship between an Emerging Grounded Theory and the Existing Literature: Four phases for consideration

Vivian B. Martin, Ph.D.

The relationship between grounded theory researchers and the existing literature has become a red herring that even confuses some grounded theorists who have completed a study. Antoinette McCallin's essay does a commendable job outlining the realities of the research terrain that make proceeding without some exposure to the literature unlikely and ill-advised in most situations. When embarking on my dissertation, I needed to know enough about the literature, both substantive and methodological, to argue for the use of classic grounded theory as opposed to many other choices within my field; yet my study benefited from the necessary tensions between the emerging grounded theory and the existing literature. In this brief essay I propose that the relationship between the existing literature and a developing grounded theory project goes through four discernible phases: *noncommittal*, *comparative*, *integrative*, and, if the analyst can push, a *transcendent* phase in which the theory is not simply one of a number of theories of a kind within the discipline's literature. I explain the phases to make more explicit the under-recognized subversive potential of grounded theory to push pass disciplinary boundaries by broadening the 'relevant' literature. Barney Glaser has often admonished grounded theory researchers to put off the literature to avoid wasting time and energy with literature that may prove irrelevant. I have not found such literature to be irrelevant as much as limited, and in some cases restricted by what a particular discipline defines as the appropriate literature. Therefore, the question of *what literature* offers possibilities for literature review and comparisons that would allow for richer knowledge

generation. I return to this matter toward the end of the essay.

Four Phases of Relating

Although many experienced grounded theorists explain the read-or-not-to-read quandary in grounded theory methodology as one of pacing, thinking of the initial phase as "noncommittal" helps focus on the principle Glaser wants to convey: a distancing from the pre-defined problems and concerns. Since some knowledge of the literature is presumed – one could not write or defend a dissertation proposal or grant application otherwise – a researcher needs to take explicit steps to refrain from committing to questions and concepts privileged in the literature. Writing memos of one's preconceptions to make them more explicit, something Glaser recommends in his troubleshooting seminars, is one way. And I would humbly argue that viewing the necessary initial relationship as noncommittal would help novice researchers come up with other strategies that allow for them to graze the literature or know enough to fulfill certain requirements while making a conscious shift of mind to maintain openness to the field. Although I was familiar with the literature on news consumption in my field, I was aware of enough of the limitations to remain noncommittal. But when certain patterns from the literature started to show up in the field, albeit sometimes with a twist, I knew it was time to move back into the literature to start making the kind of comparisons that allowed me to get more selective with concepts. As part of selective coding, I applied some of my concepts to the existing literature, including some large surveys and industry reports.

The integrative phase was a little trickier, perhaps reflecting the tensions between discovery of theory and the need to fulfill requirements within the discipline. The short explanation of what happened to me in this phase, at least initially, is that my pacing went awry when I let the literature get away from me. I was reading some literature but not all pertinent material in my area, and I had to do some scurrying toward the end of dissertation writing when

I realized that I had been so exultant in the process of discovery that I had left some literature untouched. I did burrow a place in the literature for my work alongside others I encountered during the comparative phase, and my dissertation, *Getting the news from the news: a grounded theory of purposive attending*, got accolades; but I missed some things in my effort to distance myself from the literature. These limitations became more apparent as I started preparing material for publication in my field. Reviewers are generally positive, but, to give an example, I just went through literature from the 1940s to satisfy a reviewer's complaint that the project should be in communication with these works. Some of these critiques undermine aspects of my work and are about power elites holding on to their position, I realize however, I am finding that my work has been strengthened by some of this extended integration phase, which leads me to the fourth phase, which I confess is less grounded than the other three because I have yet to fully realize it. Nevertheless, the integration phase, which seems to have gone through a few cycles, has brought me to the point of arguing for a sociology of news consumption that utilizes my theory of purposive attending as a way to bring together disparate traditions that have addressed news consumption. So perhaps, there is a transcendent phase, which I hope would be indicated by adoption and citation of my work by colleagues in my field.

Transcendence brings up the matter I suggested at the beginning of this essay, the subversive power of grounded theory to leap disciplinary boundaries. The question of whether one should read the literature before starting a project suggests the existence of a pre-packaged body of literature. And in many ways there is: disciplines define the appropriate problems and literature for study. Nevertheless, as Glaser argues, the field suggests other literature. Most times, however, researchers are not really free to go to the other fields where their questions may also be under study, and even if they are so inclined, the learning curve that awaits a health researcher or information systems person in need of a crash course in

psychology or sociology can be discouraging. Certainly, interdisciplinary research is becoming more accepted, and some areas of study are inherently interdisciplinary. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for scholars in general to not boldly go where nobody in their discipline has gone before. Such a disinclination is particularly pertinent to discussions about the use of grounded theory to create formal theory. The formal theory implications of, say, *untenable accountability*, to use a concept that Trisha Fritz, an Arizona State University doctoral candidate and Grounded Theory Troubleshooting seminar attendee, began utilizing for her study of school principals forced to implement the No Child Left Behind Act in poverty-stricken school districts, are apparent; but the inclination, and data collection and analysis across different areas of interest that would be needed to develop a formal theory to transcend the substantive area will likely keep such a theory from development. Yet grounded theory holds out the possibility of helping researchers cross disciplinary walls; and a better understanding of the necessary tensions between developing and existing literature can help researchers develop more potent theories.

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Methodological Issues: Have we forgotten the place of thinking here?

Antoinette M. McCallin, Ph.D., RN

The article "grappling with the literature in a grounded theory study" (McCallin, 2003) has stimulated a lively discussion in the international grounded theory research community. In this paper, I reply generally to my colleagues' responses and raise some further issues that I do not believe have been addressed to date. In particular, I question if current discussions about the place of literature review are incomplete if methodological matters are debated in isolation from issues of thinking. The purpose of this paper is to argue that although literature review is preferably minimised initially, simply focusing a study, in reality timing does not matter, as long as the analyst is critically analytical of literature at all times, and does not allow existing knowledge to pre-empt identification of the research problem or formation of the emergent theory. In a less than perfect world, some researchers who do not have the luxury of grounded theory supervision will review literature in advance, and others will include a review as per the methodological ideals. What is important however, is how literature is managed and how the researcher thinks about the material he or she is exposed to. In other words, is literature integrated theoretically into a study or simply regarded as the received view of science and material to be accepted without question? The intent of the paper is not to remodel classical grounded theory but more to bring into the open some hitherto unexplained aspects of grounded theory thinking, which also affect what happens methodologically and ultimately, the rigor of the finished product. These issues are explored briefly.

Background

Originally, "grappling with the literature in a grounded theory study" (McCallin, 2003) was written as a teaching

tool for masters' students beginning grounded theory research projects. In one of my roles as a teacher I had noticed in grounded theory research supervisions that many students always asked the same questions. "Where should I begin? What should I read? What do I do about literature?" While the answers to those questions were available in the literature, ease of access to material was variable. In New Zealand most masters' students work full-time and study as well; time is precious. Some students were looking for shortcuts that could have saved them time as they organised study with hectic professional lives. Others, studying in distance learning situations, usually had immediate access to electronic databases, although library books had to be inter-loaned from various universities throughout the country, sometimes overseas.

Coupled with this was a situation whereby the luxury of being a full-time scholar with unlimited time to review literature on methodology, seemed to be something of the past. In addition, there were, and still are few classical grounded theory researchers in New Zealand, so students studied with supervisors who did not understand the methodology and certainly few had the luxury of working through apprenticeship-style supervision in their research work. Therefore, the intent of the original paper was to provide a quick overview of significant issues and to highlight the practical problems that influenced research design. The paper has been well received by students and stimulated a lively discussion with more experienced grounded theorists, many of whom will be involved in supervisions as well.

Responses

Most of my colleagues are in agreement that a grounded theory researcher will look at some literature prior to a study. Vivian Martin's notion of "phasing" is especially useful, reflecting the tensions between emergence and "the subversive potential of grounded theory to push pass disciplinary boundaries by broadening the relevant literature" (Martin, 2006, p. 1). Perhaps more important is her point that arguments about timing of

literature review can serve as red herrings and confuse researchers that are essentially asked to distance themselves from pre-conceived problems (Glaser, 1998). In contrast, Tom Andrews suggests that continual re-writing of the method is problematic. If the researcher fails to appreciate the relevancy of literature and its integration into the emergent theory misunderstandings are perpetuated. Hans Thulesius questions if the strategies outlined in the original paper are an important modification of how to use literature in classical grounded theory. Although my initial intent was not to modify grounded theory I certainly bring a critically analytical mind to the debate, hence the questions. Helene Ekstrom draws attention to theoretical and pragmatic issues as does Alvita Nathaniel. Alvita goes on to argue that inquiry begins when a knowledge gap is evident. Of particular interest to this paper, is the point that gaps are not always visible unless the researcher has a broad understanding of a wider body of knowledge. In other words knowledge gaps may be unknowable and unpredictable; problem identification is emergent, as is the direction the research will take. For me, those methodological issues trigger links into complexity thinking that emphasises "knowing the unknowable, managing with the unmanageable, and organising within the unorganisable' (Flood, 1999, p. 129). These ideas seem to be very similar to the way grounded theorists work and think. Therefore, while methodological issues are foundational to rigorous research, so to is the issue of thinking and how the researcher integrates methodology with the overall process.

On thinking and critical reflection … …

Since writing that paper, and with further supervision experience, I have observed that a "true" grounded theory researcher does not ask the questions mentioned earlier. These people "just get on and do it!" The potential grounded theorist will ask for references to get a handle on the method while "other students", the ones who ask the aforementioned questions, tend to seek a blow by blow account of what might happen in the research, often trying to control the area of research, not to mention the problem

identification. Such responses suggest interplay between an individual's learning styles, thinking capability, and methodological issues.

As a teacher, when a student asks "what" questions and insists on staying at that level of analysis I am on the alert, wondering about their thinking capability. Being thoroughly socialised in assessment procedures and the various levels of analysis in academia I tend to equate "what" questions with descriptive analysis, "how" questions with interpretive analysis, and "why" questions with critical analysis. Yes, I can hear some of your arguments already. They are beaming down to the South Pacific from various parts of the world. And no, the argument is not simplistic. Perhaps in the midst of complexity we might forget to return to the basics and check out the fundamental thinking competence. For example, one of the hallmarks of classical grounded theory is conceptualisation. As we are too well aware, there are rather too many grounded theory studies that fall into the realms of qualitative data analysis, suggesting that some would be grounded theorists are better at description and interpretation rather than conceptualisation. I know it is no longer fashionable to quote Piaget because critical analysts have found his sample to be biased, but perhaps some of my questions are accounted for by the fact that the majority of the population will be concrete thinkers (descriptive analysis focusing on the what questions) and only a small percentage are able to hypothesise and conceptualise.

These analytical issues trouble me and have taken me beyond the practicalities of literature review and its timing to consideration of an even more critical issue, namely grounded theory thinking. Have you ever wondered about the sort of person who becomes a grounded theory researcher? Who are these people? Is there something specific that stands out in them that means they have an inherent ability to manage the method effectively? Reflection suggests that an effective grounded theory researcher thinks in a particular way. The person is comfortable with emergence, capable of conceptualisation. Similarly, the competent grounded theorist is an able

inductive-deductive thinker, at one and the same time. To engage in constant comparative analysis and follow through the principles of theoretical sensitivity certainly demands that the researcher think specifically as well as generally about the emergent theory. The ability to engage in creative thinking is also fundamental for analysis, if the researcher is to be open to emergence and not constrained with the rational, rule-bound thinking that characterises the received view of the world (Zohar, 1997).

This creative dimension to thinking may be inherent in the individual. Part of creative thinking is a willingness to take risks and the ability to deal with chaos (Zohar, 1997). Managing uncertainty, being a grounded theorist demands risk-taking thinking if any sense is to be made from apparently unconnected data. Being open to emergence and finding a coherent pattern of behaviour suggests a certain cerebral ability to think flexibly about the world and organise it into some shape or form, despite apparent chaos. Likewise, have you ever noticed how many grounded theorists love to do puzzles, or have a history of doing so as a child? It is possible that organising the chaos of hundreds of pieces of seemingly unconnected bits of cardboard, when there is only a general picture to indicate where the patterns exist, demonstrates a particular way of thinking. When some of these skills synergise you might notice the grounded theory thinker acting rather like a detective. While researchers seldom focused solely on exposing negative behaviours, grounded theorists have a keen interest in discovering how groups of people behave in various situations. Asking questions, especially the why questions is common, as they seek to understand how and why others behave as they do.

These observations suggest that an effective classical grounded theorist must be a critical thinker, if not a complexity thinker. The critical thinker examines assumptions and taken-for-granted understandings of the world. This type of thinker looks at the breadth and depth of the argument, weighing up the evidence and sources of knowledge before a conclusion is reached. The grounded theorist seems to work similarly in that he or she

constantly compares data across a study, theoretically samples to expand explanations, and present a conceptual explanation that is theoretically sensitive.

Conclusion

While methodological debates serve many purposes highlighting misunderstandings may constrain thinking in that novice researchers are paralysed from thinking at all, let alone researching. Novice researchers have to learn how to research. Some grounded theorists have the privilege of working with a trained theorist; many do not. Those in the latter category will no doubt learn through trial and error learning. Those of us who have thankfully passed the novice stage might want to reconsider our arguments for methodological rigour. I believe that the well-prepared researcher should know what to do and why. Handling the "how" is less specific. That aspect tends to happen during the research process. However, a critically analytical researcher is better situated to learn through experience and still remain methodologically rigorous, as the theory is generated. Does this mean that the timing of literature review is much less important than previously thought? Surely critical analysis of existing literature, regardless of timing, opens up the mind to the strengths and limitations in received writing, and for consideration in relation to the developing theory?

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Caresharlng: Hiding frailty in a Florida retirement community[1]

Eleanor Krassen Covan, PhD

Abstract

This paper presents research findings generated from a study of the structure of a caresharing system for the elderly who reside in a Florida retirement community during the last decade of the twentieth century. A caresharing system is a combination of strategies employed in order to maximize pleasure and minimize losses that might otherwise be associated with communal and individual aging processes. In this instance, the caresharing system entailed a series of conscious efforts to hide frailty in the community. Consequences of such caresharing systems and implications for future retirement communities are discussed.

Introduction

Many Americans have begun to take notice of increased life expectancy, but as yet behavioral expectations for those who survive their seventh decade are quite varied. They are growing old without models from previous generations to teach them how to spend their time. The demographic shift raises sociological questions both for the aged and the rest of us. What should we do during this additional life stage? The current cohort of aging septuagenarians has several choices to make not the least of which is where to spend this period of their lives. The gerontological literature reports that most of the current group of older people has chosen to "age-in-place", to live in the communities where they spent most of their working lives. This paper, however, is about a community of elders who have opted to change their location by

[1] This paper was originally published in **Health Care for Women International**, 19:423-439, 1998 and is reprinted here with the kind permission of the publisher, Taylor & Francis.

moving to the sun belt, a region where most people in this study had vacationed years ago. In their judgment, the area offers them the greatest probability of a rewarding golden age, i.e., the opportunity to live life to the fullest.

A Note on Methods

I am a sociologist as well as the daughter of a resident of Hollywood Fall[1], Florida. During the past 15 years I have made several trips to the community as a visiting participant observer. A few years ago, funding was available for a more formal field work experience with residents of Hollywood Falls. During the summer of 1992, face-to-face interviews were conducted with residents of Hollywood Falls, followed up by hundreds of brief conversations and telephone calls to others who were involved in their caresharing networks. Since that time I have continued to visit the community in the dual roles of daughter and research professor.

Grounded theory data analysis reveals caresharing as a core variable explaining most community interaction. Caresharing is a combination of personal and communal strategies employed by residents of Hollywood Falls in order to maximize their pleasure and minimize their losses as they continue the aging process together. I planned to interview women to learn of their social networks, but theoretical sampling led me to interview men as well. I conducted extensive face-to-face interviews with more than fifty residents, in particular those in leadership positions. In addition, interviews were conducted with nonresident local politicians, attorneys, and professional service providers including those paid by Hollywood Falls Retirement Community and those paid for by individual residents. Family members of Hollywood Falls residents including spouses, siblings, and adult children were added to the theoretical sample when their input seemed necessary. A few interviews were also conducted with older people

2 Hollywood Falls is a pseudonym I created to describe a retirement community in south-east Florida.

similar to the Florida population with the exception of having chosen to age in place.

Historical Setting

Like several other condominium retirement communities in Florida, Hollywood Falls was planned for a healthy population of elders. The community was constructed in the early 1970s. Twenty-six buildings, each house 36 to 40 individual one-and two-bedroom condominium units, ranging in size from 900 to 1300 square feet. Lower middle class, married couples in their early sixties, from the northeast and Midwest areas were in the marketing population chosen by developers. The condominiums were affordable to the targeted residents; they would be easy to manage, and thus they were sold quickly. Developers either did not anticipate or chose not to concern themselves with the future needs of this population as they continued to age. Glossy brochures pictured older adults in perfect health enjoying the pool, dancing in the community center, and enjoying a round of golf. In the early life of the community those who were dissatisfied were able to resell their units quickly. Most who opted to remain, were Jews or Italians, attracted by the active physical lifestyle and the chance to make new friends. The absence of snow was an added bonus.

Those choosing to relocate to Hollywood Falls found a country club-like Eden, a place to enjoy their "last hurrah", a locus where everyone "lived life to the fullest". Respondents report that previously they did not luxury. Quotes from the interviews include such comments as,

> Who would have thought that I could have this now?
>
> Look how busy we are. And we get to do exactly what we want to do.
>
> You can interview me, but I go for my walk at 6:00; then I play shuffleboard then I work out at the gym. If it's not too windy I'll be at the pool. You'll have to get me after that. Before I never had such things. There [in New York] I had cold and work and crime and noise. Here I everything good.

Cohort and period effects governed the lives of residents earlier in their lives. The two most significant period effects were the Great Depression and "the War". They experienced the former in poverty while in early adulthood. Many left school at this time, in search of any source of income. "The War", of course, was World War II. Many of the men served in this war. Men and women experienced personal losses of friends and family, yet this was also a time to fall in love. Many married hastily and had their first child. Others birthed baby boomers immediately following the war. Doing what was expected is a common theme in their biographies. A few respondents were self-employed, but the vast majority of men assumed working class or lower middle class occupations. Most women stayed home and raised their children, although most worked at least part-time for some portion of their married lives. In middle adulthood respondents discussed working to make ends meet, of sacrificing their own needs in order to assure better lives for their children, although they also revealed a tendency to try and acquire the material markers of the middle class. Their success in these endeavors perhaps had more to do with the talents of union negotiators than their individual labors.

Today, many are the beneficiaries of negotiations conducted by unions. In particular, it is their retirement pensions and insurance programs that permit them to enjoy their current life choice. A sizable minority never owned their own homes before moving to Hollywood Falls and would not be able to do so without these pensions. This population seems to have moved through middle adulthood doing what they felt they had to do, i.e., what was expected of them. They had little practice for the choices they faced in retirement, but they seem quite satisfied having made the move to Hollywood Falls. Currently, residents believe they are doing well both socially and financially. They love to show off the grounds of their community to visitors. They rave of their good fortune, taking pride in discussing their postretirement investments and in their daily routines.

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Caresharing in an Aging Community

Not only do individuals age, but communities also grow older. Hollywood Falls is an aging community and its residents are beginning to notice the changing demographic characteristics of their community. First, according to archives kept in the Hollywood Falls Condominium Association Office, the average age of residents has increased from 64, when the development was first sold, to the current age of 80. Second, most of the original buyers were married couples who had anticipated several golden years of retirement together. Now many have been widowed. All but one of the males whose spouses have died have remarried, although many of the women are now living alone. Third, residents describe themselves as less healthy than they were when they moved to Florida. Many speak of the need to adjust their lifestyles to limitations they associate with the aging process.

Often individuals within the community need help to go about the routines that have become so important to them. In the past, when individuals became ill and incapacitated, their problems tended to be impermanent. Residents either recovered quickly of acute infections or they died suddenly of circulatory failure. If they experienced periods of infirmity, they tended to have a spouse help them out through the illness. The illnesses were considered to be problems that the couples could handle on their own. As long as they were reasonably healthy, widows and widowers also could manage their own illnesses by slowing down some o f their activities or eliminating them from their daily routines. Now, however, many people are frailer at the same time, and individuals find it less feasible to live with more chronic conditions without some help.

I this context, *caresharing* emerges as a system of communal efforts to cope with changing demographic characteristics in a manner that is helpful. The caresharing process maximizes pleasure and minimizes loss in the presence of inevitable social change. The process involves strategies employed by residents as they attempt to cope

with changes they see as characteristic of their community as a whole as well as well as changes they see in themselves and other individuals. Caresharing is thus a process in which aging residents may become dependent on others who are also aging and becoming dependent on them.

Denying Frailty

The Hollywood Falls community had heretofore not anticipated dependency, and residents appear to be reluctant to contemplate such a stage of life. As a consequence, it is ironic that some caresharing strategies Include very obvious efforts to deny the existence of frailty in the community. Thus a property of caresharing is the tendency to avoid reminders of frailty by masking signs of infirmity whenever possible. This is becoming increasingly difficult as today, a walk through the community means that one will encounter several reminders of morbidity, such as ambulance sirens, wheelchairs and walkers, and personal care assistants on one's route, even though residents go out of their way to avoid such reminders. The absence of medical services is indicative of how important it is to minimize reminders of frailty. If recognized as such, medical services would be inconsistent with a healthy population. Other than periodic blood pressure and cholesterol screenings, Hollywood Falls does not offer medical services on the premises. A few years ago the condominium board discussed promulgating rules prohibiting nurses from living with residents. Sometimes residents redefine medical treatments as "health maintenance behavior" and avoid confronting frailties in themselves or their neighbors. Thus massages are performed by physical therapists at Hollywood Falls. "Taking a massage" is encouraged and even viewed as an expensive treat, while receiving physical therapy for arthritis is not acceptable on the premises. Similarly cardiac rehabilitation often involves physical workouts using exercise equipment available in the weight room, but in discussions residents redefine this cardiac rehabilitation as an "exercise workout".

Keeping busy training in several of the planned activities is one rather obvious strategy to avoid reminders of frailty. Many of these activities involve what I refer to as stamina displays, physical and emotional dramatizations of stamina when in the presence of others. The range of planned activities involving physical stamina displays is enormous: residents rehearse and perform Broadway shows, they play golf, tennis, shuffleboard, and bocci ball, they attend classes in line dancing, aerobics, and weight training. Of course they can swim in the Olympic size pool. There are less physically strenuous activities which instead stimulate the mind, such as classes in Yiddish, ceramics, acting, and singing. Then there are card games such as pinochle, poker, and bridge and there are tile games such as mahjong and rummy cube. They can also check out books from the library, etc. The community also boasts of its nightly entertainment - movies, dances, Borscht Belt comedy groups, and its ethnic clubs - Jewish Men' s Club and Hadassah, the Italian American Club, and so on. In addition to the activities sponsored on the grounds of Hollywood Falls, five community papers, free to residents, describe activities going on in the neighborhoods surrounding the development. One favored activity is eating out at one of the numerous cafes that serve 99-cent breakfasts, $3 lunches, or $7 early bird dinner specials for elderly diners. Upon settling in Hollywood Falls these activities were engaged in for their intrinsic value. Today, extrinsic enjoyment is also evident. Participation in the activities is a symbol to others in the community that residents are still capable of stamina displays.

Residents share responsibility of assuring that their neighbors participate in stamina displays. Residents are all encouraged to show off their stamina. Each resident participating becomes a healthy role model for others as stamina displays are performed. As encounters with reminders of death and frailty become more frequent, strategies to maintain an identity as one having stamina may intensify. The strategies may include engaging in comparative benchmarks with one's neighbors. Residents compare themselves with others around them especially

with regard to personal limitations, in order to convince themselves that they are still capable of physical or mental exertion. Physical stamina may be shown by walking a given distance every day in the company of others. Mental acuity can be demonstrated by completing a crossword puzzle. Like other such acts, these are defined by residents as preventive exercises, as well as displays of potency. Survival itself, when neighbors have died, offers a fundamental benchmark. On the occasion of a neighbor's death one may inherit property of the deceased when such property has been used for stamina displays. One woman likes to play golf thus mentioned her several sets of golf clubs, boasting, "They're mine now as several people have died around here." Being medically better off than one's neighbors is also an identity benchmark, motivating one to do more and more to recover if one does happen to experience a health setback. Thus, although residents engage in some rather spirited competition in their stamina displays, the competition often encourages others whose stamina is impaired. One neighbor may choose to help another partly because the ability to help another then becomes a stamina display, an indicator that one is better off. It is ironic that receiving help can also demonstrate stamina if one has the opportunity to show off making one's own decisions about the help accepted. Thus if one's physical health deteriorates, neighbors may form caresharing alliances with others. They may continue to perform mental stamina displays if they are able to retain autonomy over the conditions in which help is accepted. Even the frailest of residents is capable of stamina displays some of the time, and thus stamina displays seem to be mandatory at Hollywood Falls. Neither acute nor chronic ailments excuse one from their performance. Thus they may display mental stamina in preparing their living wills and in preplanning their own funerals. Finally, even those who have died are often eulogized in terms of stamina displays.

Caresharing Arrangements

In response to the aging of the Hollywood Falls community, people do the best that they can to maximize

their pleasure and live life to the fullest. Individuals and groups share the responsibility of maintaining the stamina of the community. When problems do occur, caresharing occurs in a variety of arrangements. These are described below in order of the residents' preferences.

Managing Self

It is not surprising that those living in Hollywood Falls spoke commonly of asking no one for help if they could manage on their own. Independence from family and early adult friendships had in the past distinguished Hollywood Falls residents from their peers who age in place. Deciding to manage on one's own results in an autonomous caresharing arrangement of a single individual who cares for him/herself. At times managing alone means stockpiling food by one's favorite chair or bedside, crawling to the toilet or positioning oneself so that a makeshift potty is available. One resident reported using a recycled three pound coffee can for such purposes. Managing alone can also involve just plain waiting out the pain that one is experiencing. More often, managing means not asking for help until it is offered. Not needing to ask for help is an indication to residents that they are doing as much as they can for themselves, and thus not asking help is an indicator of stamina. Even those residents who are fortunate to live with a spouse request help as infrequently as possible.

Couple Alliances

As Hollywood Falls was designed as a retirement village for healthy couples, it is not surprising that *couple alliances* are the preferred caresharing network. A couple alliance consists of a man and a woman who are living together and who are committed to cooperating with each other so that both parties in the relationship can enjoy the best possible life, consistent with their shared values. Most commonly, couple alliances consist of a wife and her husband, although a few couples have formed alliances with persons to whom they were not married. When one member of the couple experiences a problem, the other considers it his or her responsibility to help out. While much of the literature on caregiving reports an

overwhelming preponderance of female caregivers and different styles of caregiving for men and women (see, for example, Brody, Kleban, Johnson, Hoffman, and Schoonover, 1987), at Hollywood Falls couple alliances reflect a more equal distribution of caregiving and care receiving on the basis of gender. Although women at Hollywood Falls tend to outlive their husbands and many widows had nursed husbands before they died, surviving couples included as many healthy men as they did women. Perhaps this is due to selection. Obviously, it is the healthiest of men who do survive. Many healthy men have survived into old age with wives who are also healthy. These couples fare very well in long-standing couple alliances at Hollywood Falls. Those males whose early partners were less healthy than they, might become widowers, but a widowed male finds no shortage of women to remarry. At Hollywood Falls, there were no healthy men who were not in long-standing or reconstituted couple alliances. I was quite surprised to find so many women receiving help from their mates, leading me to wonder whether my generation would be so fortunate.

Consider the case of Mr. and Mrs. Nathanson, a Jewish couple who have been residents of Hollywood Falls since 1975. In 1992, he was 81 and she was 77 years old. Mr. Nathanson has emphysema. He admits that he has been smoking for more than 60 years. Mrs. Nathanson has Alzheimer's disease. Although Mr. Nathanson is himself not very well, he is his wife's primary caretaker. They often take long walks together, a pattern of activity they began some years ago when Mrs. Nathanson felt the walks would help Mr. Nathanson's emphysema. Mrs. Nathanson has on occasion soiled herself when out for such walks and when in other public places such as the supermarket with her husband. Mr. Nathanson states that he doesn't mind his wife's incontinence when they are alone. He diapers her when he believes it to be necessary, but he is embarrassed by public "accidents" and does what he can to hide them from others. Mr. Nathanson stated that he is soon planning to go to a nursing home. He and his wife "must go together". He would not consider sending her alone and

remaining in the condominium himself. Their son, who lives in Detroit, Michigan, has found a nursing home there that the son feels is suitable. Mr. Nathanson had partially completed the entrance application at the time I met him. He reported, however, "I am less sure that it's the right place for us. I am checking out other nursing homes right here in Florida where I feel more at home". Note the importance of autonomy in Mr. Nathanson's decision-making style.

Mr. and Mrs. Singer, each of whom are in their late seventies, are also in a couple alliance. Until recently Mrs. Singer considered herself to be very healthy. She had found employment after moving to Hollywood Falls. She reported that she had "never even thought about health problems, but some problems I must have had caught up with me". She didn't, at first, want to talk about her health, but then she couldn't be quieted. She has been treated for two separate cancers with both surgery and radiation treatments. Doctors state that both cancers have been arrested, but she doesn't feel well and she expected to have more tests at the time she was interviewed. She was obviously afraid that the tests would reveal a recurrence of cancer. Mr. Singer has been Mrs. Singer's caregiver. She turned down the help of professional nurse s whose salaries could have been paid for by the couples' private health insurance policy. Mr. Singer was reluctant to talk about his help. He did say, "I take care of her because I am expected to; I won't consider doing otherwise". Neighbors say that it is very hard for him as she is sometimes hard to get along with. He complains, in jest, about how difficult it is ("She' s an old battleaxe", he says), and then he carries on. Mr. Singer is a U.S. Navy veteran and currently reports that he is healthy, although he has had two heart attacks. Mr. Singer embraces the role as caretaker and stated, "There is really nothing to talk about concerning it. Professional help would be our absolutely last resort!" "Friends and neighbors can't help with this kind of problem, either," added Mrs. Singer.

I cannot overestimate the amount or importance of caresharing present in couple alliances. Partners often

cleaned up one another's bodily wastes. They assisted with the management of colostomies and catheters. They assumed all household chores at times and "maintained face" for one another at Hollywood Falls community events. Nevertheless when interviewed about caregiving burden, little if any of such burden was discussed. Most mates simply consider it their responsibility to help one another. Charmaz (1993) has discussed the implications of camouflaging caretaker burden noting that unquestioned obligation can be a way of refuting suspicions that one's mate is dying; it relieves one's fears about self-care after a mate dies, and it may protect a spouse's self-image as he or she is able to do progressively less. My Hollywood Falls interviews reveal that the community's image as a whole is similarly protected by unquestioned instances of caregiving.

Camouflaging the burden of caregiving is, perhaps, to be expected among those who were fortunate enough to survive in relationships which encompassed 50 or more years in marriage. Caring for a mate is perhaps more surprising when found in more recently established couple alliances. Mr. Butello, a widower, has been living with his friend, Marie, to whom he is not married, for the past seven years. The couple are both about 70 years of age. Mr. Butello reported that Marie got sick recently with diabetic and heart problems. He ascribed his situation with Marie:

> Before she got sick we were equally healthy and equally under the weather. When Marie got sick I had no legal ties to her and it was a real problem. We're Italian and these things aren't supposed to happen. Her daughter just came and got her and took her to Illinois. For one month I didn't call, and then I went to Illinois and tried to stay with her and her family, but they wouldn't let me be with her and I had to come home. Now she is a bit better and she has come back to me and I can care for her and she can help me again.

In another conversation Mr. Butello described getting to know Marie, following his hernia operation, and told me that Marie had volunteered her services as his caretaker because he lived alone.

Couple alliances obviously work best when partners are not too needy at the same time. For example, consider Moe and Lil Green. When Moe required heart surgery several years ago, Lil reported doing just about everything for him. She bathed him, dressed him, fed him, and read to him. "I did whatever was necessary", she said. Moe reports, "She loved, loved, loved me till I got well". More recently, Lil was hospitalized with cancer of the esophagus. When she came home, Mel said, "It was my turn. I took over the cooking, shopping, dressing, bathing, and processing food for and then feeding Lil". The couple has been able thus far to manage their care by themselves.

But Mr. and Mrs. Nathanson, discussed above, had to call on their sons some time ago when Mr. Nathanson became ill, experiencing a weight loss and difficulty breathing. His sons came to help, first together and then one at a time, but Mr. Nathanson hated to call them. "In the past my wife would have cared for me", he said, "but now" Mr. Nathanson was too overwhelmed with emotion to finish his thought.

Informal Caresharing Networks

The residents of Hollywood Falls have established *informal caresharing networks* which include themselves and friends and neighbors at Hollywood Falls. Such networks range in size from small groups of widows to larger groups which include some who are also in couple alliances. As noted above, members in caresharing networks help to assure that their neighbors participate in stamina displays. Friends may arrange *dates* to engage in stamina activities together. Thus Harry and Izzy call on one another every morning to share a health maintenance walk. When Harry had open heart surgery a few years ago Izzy visited daily, encouraging Harry in his exercises and reminding him that Izzy needed Harry to complete his own health routine. Later when Izzy took a fall and could not

walk, Harry provided Izzy the same kind of encouragement. Other caresharing dates involve recreational activities such as shopping and dining out or games of shuffleboard. Thus when Herb, a shuffleboard regular, was recovering from a stroke, his teammates took turns driving him to the clubhouse so he could practice. "We're grateful for whatever he does even if he doesn't play so good", said Henry. "At least he plays, and he can only get better. Without him, we don' t play either".

Mrs. Trilling is an 85-year-old widow who lives alone in her Hollywood Falls one-bedroom condominium. She would probably not be able to remain at Hollywood Falls were it not for her caresharing network. Mrs. Trilling moved to Hollywood Falls in 1977 with her spouse who had recently retired. Although the spouse was not ill at the time of the move, he died two years later.

Mrs. Trilling today relies more on friends and neighbors in Hollywood Falls than she does on her family. "Neighbors take me to the doctor, shopping, and the library", she admitted. Neighbors indicate that they do quite a lot for her. About her experience recently when she broke her ankle as the result of a fall and then fell again a neighbor said, "I accompanied her to the hospital and remained with her into the wee hours of the night until she was released".

Mrs. Trilling stated that although she lived in the community for many years (she's one of the oldest residents), she relies on only a few people. Mrs. Trilling said she relies on herself the most in response to the question, "On whom do you rely the most if you need help?" She describes herself as a loner who enjoys life that way. She says, "My favorite activity is reading and I am willing to ask friends and neighbors to take me to the library [about 2 miles from the condominium] when they're going anyway". She also plays canasta with her friends. Her case shows the limits of informal caresharing networks.

Neighors say that because of her personality it is hard to want to help her. She is described by many as "not a very nice person". They also say, however, that in earlier years Mrs. Trilling was one of those who always helped

others, taking them to the doctor or shopping and so forth, and one or two who help her say she deserves to be paid back for what she used to do for others, even though she is mean and demanding today. It is interesting that *caresharing paybacks* are not performed by residents who Mrs. Trilling helped but by others in the community who perhaps recognize that if they help others they may one day receive help themselves.

Hollywood Falls as a Community Caresharing Network

That the community as a whole functions as a caresharing network is evident in the caresharing leadership positions that have emerged at Hollywood Falls. The community structure includes three condominium-association boards of directors and one Hollywood Falls recreation board. In addition, each of the 26 separate buildings has a building captain. The condominium boards have several responsibilities: assuring that all residents are treated fairly, assuring that the grounds around the condominiums are adequately maintained, and, perhaps most important, lobbying local government officials concerning the needs of Hollywood Falls residents. It took several years, but the condominium boards credit themselves with regard to the local community' s decision to provide "retrofitted" public transportation linking Hollywood Falls residents with amenities offered in neighboring communities. The recreation board is responsible for maintaining most of the physical stamina equipment (the pool, weight room, stage, piano, auditoriums, card rooms, and so on). This board also schedules entertainment ("living life to the max" events). Service on caresharing boards brings a fair amount of prestige within the Hollywood Falls community.[1] There is no

3 Union involvement at an earlier stage of life might prepare one for a position caresharing leadership at Hollywood Falls. Indeed, any earlier involvement in activities that celebrate the importance of community is likely to prepare one for leadership roles in Hollywood Falls. Several caresharing leaders were very committed to fund-raising activities for their religious or ethnic communities.

obvious difference in prestige between the two kinds of board memberships.

The building captains have several responsibilities concerning the maintenance of common areas immediately surrounding the condominium residents. They are also called upon to admit repair persons when residents are out of town. Sometimes they deal with other caresharing problems as well. Their status as captains may encourage neighbors to call upon them for more personal problems. Often they must resolve disputes that arise between residents in their specific building. In one instance a building captain was asked to intervene after a resident had experienced what his neighbors called a "nervous breakdown". Mr. Lewis, who had at one time or another owned three or four different condominiums at Hollywood Falls, began to behave bizarrely after his spouse died suddenly in her sleep. He appeared to be disoriented, and after a few months he became uninterested in grooming; he was described by neighbors as unwilling to take a bath. A female neighbor called the police one evening after Mr. Lewis had entered her apartment without knocking. Eventually, the building captain researched Mr. Lewis' family connections. Finding no immediate relatives, he contacted various social service agencies until he convinced a representative of the State of Florida to appoint a guardian who then moved Mr. Lewis to another residence where he could receive needs.

Sometimes a building captain must intervene when efforts to ignore caretaker burdens get out of hand. Mr. Pearl had been caring for his wife who had Alzheimer's disease for some time. Mrs. Pearl was becoming more and more disoriented, but most residents of Hollywood Falls noticed only that Mrs. Pearl was still displaying stamina, as she took long walks through the grounds with her husband. One night Mr. Pearl telephoned his captain in anguish. He begged the captain for help because he had attempted to smother his wife with a bed pillow. The building captain went immediately to Mr. Pearl's apartment and discovered that Mrs. Pearl was still alive. Together Mr.

Pearl and his captain called 911. The police arrested Mr. Pearl, and the rescue squad took Mrs. Pearl to the police station where she was able to convince the officers to release Mr. Pearl. Although similar cases have been publicized in Florida, this incident never received media attention. According to the building captain, only he and Mr. Pearl know the events immediately preceding Mrs. Pearl's hospitalization.

Professional Service Networks

Some residents of Hollywood Falls establish professional caresharing networks when informal alliances are not successful. Mr. and Mrs. Cramer, approximately 70 years old, are each hard of hearing and suffer from speech impediments. Mrs. Cramer has several ailments that are aggravated by a long-term diabetic condition. This year she underwent a quintuple bypass and vascular surgery in her leg. She and her husband agree that she is "not a good patient". She doesn't do what her doctors tell her to do. The Cramers state that none of their neighbors help them. They have excellent insurance, however. Currently both a physical therapist and a nurse come three times a week to help Mrs. Cramer. These services are covered by Blue Cross and Medicare. Asked who would help them if Mrs. Cramer became incapacitated, Mr. Cramer stated, "She is hard to get along with and doesn't socialize well. She would have to go to a nursing home". He quickly added that, "So far, we can take care of each other without the interference of our children or anyone else".

It is very important to the Cramers that they decide when they need help and when to le the help go. An additional area of concern is affecting the Cramers at this time. Mr. Cramer's mother is still alive at the age of 96. She currently lives in New York City with her sister who is also more than 90 years old. They have discussed moving together to a retirement community that offers continuing care, but, according to the Cramers, "the time for that has not yet come". The sisters rely on a daughter to take them shopping. Mr. Cramer explained that he and his wife have considered moving back to the New York area so he could

help his sister assist his mother, but then he would be caring for both his wife and his mother, which might be too difficult. He stated that he and his wife have made their home in Florida and intend to stay there.

Professional networks may require choosing among professional services for which one must pay and those which are community entitlements. To Hollywood Falls residents, autonomy is valued even more than money. Several whom I interviewed told me that they must control who will help them and when help will be dismissed. At times, maintaining control over help is more important than whether or not they have to pay for services.

Networks Including Adult Children

Adult children of residents of Hollywood Falls expect that one day their parents may turn to them for help if they should become incapacitated, but Hollywood Falls residents show great reluctance to accept such offers of help. I asked Mrs. Trilling, mentioned above, if she considered asking her daughter to come and help her for awhile when she broke her ankle. Her reply was, "Absolutely not. My daughter is 60 years old. She works for *National Geographic*. I don't want or need to bother her with something so insignificant". " If I need help I prefer to call someone in [rather] than to have my daughter come".

Several conditions may lead to the rejection of adult children as caretakers on either a short-term or permanent basis. First, as in the case of Mrs. Trilling, the elderly may not wish to interfere in their children's lives or to burden them. Second, older persons and their adult children and grandchildren may have established lifestyles that are incompatible. Mr. and Mrs. Green went so far as to decide not to tell their children of Mr. Green's bypass surgery until he was well on the way to recovery. Mrs. Green said that if she couldn't have handled the caretaking she would have hired a nurse before asking her children for help. Mrs. Green said, "It would have been more stressful for him to have the children underfoot and having to worry about their worrying about him and what the [grandchildren] were going to get into".

Third, older persons may be somewhat estranged from their adult children. The elders who migrated from the Northeast to southern Florida have chosen a lifestyle physically and socially removed from that of their adult children. Migration is not the modal life choice for the current cohort of older people. The migration choice may indicate that this particular group of retirees is somewhat more socially, psychologically, and physically removed from their adult children than is the group of elders who age in place. In lower middle class Jewish American and Italian American families, prestige in old age is commonly associated with the accomplishments of one's children. These accomplishments come from the acquisition of wealth, success through prestigious career choices, marrying well, investing intelligently, and so forth. It is therefore relevant to note that many in this sample had become displeased with one or more of their children before choosing to move to Hollywood Falls. Some of this displeasure developed as their children moved into adulthood, disappointing their parents perhaps in marriage (by choosing the wrong partner or no partner at all), in reproductive decisions (by choosing to have too many or too few children or in raising them in a manner inconsistent with the elders' beliefs or values), choosing the "wrong" occupation - one that did not lead to wealth or that led to unemployment, and so on. In other instances it is the elders who disappointed their children by beginning second marriages that threatened the children's potential inheritance. Such estrangement not only has an economic impact, but it also means that each generation is unfamiliar with the other's lifestyle.

A fourth reason for rejecting their adult children as caretakers may be that the elders know their children well enough to be certain that the adult children would not approve of the psychosexual or recreational habits elders. The elders' behaviors may be inconsistent with their children's views of who their parents are. This was especially apparent for those in couple alliances who were not married to their mates.

Fifth, choosing one' s adult child as a caretaker usually requires leaving the community of Hollywood Falls and thus separating from one' s friends. Sixth, adult children may be rejected simply because the act of depending on one's children is likely to trigger a "mortality alarm" not only for the individual involved but for the entire Hollywood Falls community. Being dependent is viewed as unfortunate, but being dependent on one's children is an indicator that at least for one individual, stamina is gone forever. It is a sad day for the entire community when a resident is taken away, to be cared for by his or her adult children. For this population, choosing one's adult children as caretakers could require that one relinquish autonomy over one's physical, recreational, sexual, and economic resources and choosing to rely on some with whom one has had an uneasy past.

When Community Networks Fail

Unfortunately, communal caresharing networks do not always succeed. Residents die and others require care that they reject or that the community simply cannot provide. Spousal alliances break down when both spouses are infirm simultaneously. Other residents require "continuous coverage"[1] caresharing as they become totally dependent on neighbors who are struggling to care for themselves. For limited periods of time, informal networks can provide continuous coverage, but neighbors tend to give up after four or five weeks of caring for those who are totally dependent and who seem to have little or no potential of recovering their stamina. When a resident realizes that informal systems will not function independently, a choice between two last resorts must be made. The choices are really more varied but tend to be articulated as the choice between professional services such as those found in a nursing home or choosing an adult child as caretaker.

4 Ralph and Maureen La Rossa explain continuous coverage systems in their discussion of infant care in America. Caregivers must be on duty 24 hours each day, as someone must be available to the person needing care constantly (see La Rossa and La Rossa, 1984).

For these persons, the country club lifestyle is no longer ideal even though most want to stay well beyond their initial period of total dependence. The fact that so many are troubled simultaneously makes stamina displays march harder for individuals in the community. Strategies formerly engaged in to maintain their lifestyle do not always work. New strategies are more centered on caresharing than on recreation. The biggest problem is that although Hollywood Falls in its entirety is a caresharing community, it lacks one essential ingredient of a vibrant community. Members are often unable to replace themselves with healthier residents who could help care for others in the community. As members age and some die, it has become difficult to resell condominiums in recent years. At least four conditions contribute to the vacancy rate. First, many more condominium units have been built in southeast Florida during the past 20 years. The supply of such apartments far exceeds the demand. Second, retirees who migrate to Florida today can purchase a brand new condominium in a retirement community for less money than it cost to buy one in Hollywood Falls 15 years ago. The price of new units is also competitive with that of existing units at Hollywood Falls. Third, new developments are again being planned and marketed to a healthy "young old" population. When the recently retired are choosing a home, one reason they may reject Hollywood Falls is that the age group they see at Hollywood Falls is considerably older and frailer than they consider themselves to be, which, in fact, is the case. Fourth, although there are many young families in need of housing, Hollywood Falls and other retirement communities in southeast Florida have developed their own policies limiting the sale of condominiums in retirement communities to persons over the age of 55. Without such a policy it is conceivable that some younger people might purchase an apartment and eventually enter the caresharing networks, but this possibility is prohibited by the community itself. Although this policy clearly discriminates on the basis of age, and although younger people might help the community to remain viable, the policy ironically has held up in federal court.

Without a change of course one might predict that Hollywood Falls will experience a relentless aging of residents who will all succumb to death in 10 or 15 years. Condominium boards, in their efforts to camouflage caregiver burden, may lose sight of the real social problem the community faces. If they exercise their minds as they did recently on mundane problems such as how to hide trash bins behind arbors, they may not discover in time that the grounds can be restored much easier than can the people. Although today most residents still enjoy the country club, taking care of themselves quite well, and although others can rely on functional caresharing networks, it won't be very long before Hollywood Falls will need a major social structural overhaul. All the cooperation of others in hiding frailty won't be able to hide the fact that a community of 85-year-old widows has different needs than does a community of younger couples.

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Revisiting Caresharing in the Context of Changes in a Florida Retirement Community

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Abstract

In this paper I revisit the basic social process of *caresharing* whereby people engage in personal and communal strategies to maximize their pleasure and minimize their losses. I originally discovered caresharing in the context of Hollywood Falls, a Florida retirement community that provided no formal supportive services for its aging residents (Covan, 1998). There, *hiding frailty* was the most obvious caresharing strategy. In this community which has since become more diverse in terms of ethnicity and age, hiding frailty is no longer practical among the oldest residents. It has been surpassed by *bolstering strength*, a process which involves exposing need, expanding the caresharing network, stifling crises, and staking competence claims. In consequence of bolstering strength, the oldest residents are able to diminish the costs of help while augmenting opportunities for personal autonomy, thereby extending their period of residence within their 'independent' living community.

Introduction

Caresharing is a basic social process, originally discovered in the context of Hollywood Falls, a Florida retirement community (Covan, 1998). The process involves a combination of personal and communal strategies employed by residents of the community in order to maximize their pleasure and minimize their losses. Caresharing is no doubt an enduring universal social process, occurring in many contexts in which people decide to help one another in order to improve their lives. Caresharing is initiated from the 'ground-up' by the people who themselves need some assistance and by the people

who feel they can provide it, as opposed to services that are imposed by some larger more formal system of care, governed by codified regulations. The gerontological literature is replete with articles on "informal caregiving networks," that could more appropriately be described in terms of their caresharing properties if researchers were to analyze the conditions in which caresharing alliances developed.

Rousseau (1762) believed that citizens exchange natural liberty for something better, such as moral liberty. He posited that individuals would subject themselves to the moral order of formal communities for the common good of citizenry. In contrast, caresharing develops as a much looser network of voluntary exchanges such that surrender is inherently revocable, negotiable, and dependent on fluctuations in individual, communal, and environmental resources. Caresharing arrangements are self-serving, expandable, yet retractable social alliances, generated by functional needs as recognized by individuals. People elect to help one another because life is easier and thus 'better' this way. To the extent that caresharers perceive 'surrender,' it is surrender in the face of needs which they cannot meet on their own. They also understand that surrender may require reciprocating when others need help and that the help they receive may be provided by others who are reciprocating for services received in the past. When surrender occurs, it may be revocable when the need is no longer present or when the costs of providing or of receiving help are too great. Thus, caresharing alliances may involve individual considerations that social economists would recognize in terms of cost/benefit analyses.

Of course, we are social beings and thus the endurance of caresharing alliances is dependent to some extent on the emotional and social bonds of kinship and or friendship. Within Hollywood Falls, such alliances in the past have been fostered by neighborliness, involving mutual respect for autonomy, reciprocity, and desperate personal struggles to remain in an independent living community. That caresharing benefited the Hollywood Falls

community as a whole occurred in consequence rather than in motivation. As the residential population of Hollywood Falls has been changing, caresharing arrangements are being reconfigured. Caresharing continues, but alliances extend well beyond the Hollywood Falls community that may weaken community identity.

Note that informal caregiving networks and *caresharing alliances* can occur both in the presence and in the absence of formal services. In the context of Hollywood Falls, however, at a time when both the mean and modal age of residents was 78, caresharing emerged as a core processional variable that explained most of the social interaction within the community in the absence of formal services. The most obvious caresharing strategy was then *hiding frailty*. Gerontologists wondered, with regard to residential covenants and condominium policies, whether hiding frailty was a simple response to fear of being removed from the community. The community was planned with the constraints of all independent living communities. By design, residents were to be denied the privilege of living there when they were no longer able to live independently. Residents told me repeatedly, however, that avoiding frailty helped them to maintain a positive attitude about getting older. Hiding frailty encouraged them to participate in stamina displays which they explained allowed them to enjoy good health in association with a healthy lifestyle. Hiding frailty meant engaging in activities that they enjoyed and thus the activities and the positive attitudes were ends in themselves.

Today the Hollywood Falls community has become more diverse in terms of ethnicity and age. Hiding frailty is no longer practical among many of the oldest residents. It has been supplemented and surpassed by *bolstering strength*, a process which involves exposing communal and individual needs, expanding the caresharing network, stifling crises associated with needs, and staking competence claims in the context of diminished communal and individual capacity. In consequence of bolstering strength, the community may remain viable while the

oldest residents are able to moderate the social, emotional and financial costs of seeking help. Bolstering strength is fostered by the value of *cooperative independence* (Maxwell & Maxwell, 1983), such that residents attempt to assure that each may remain as independent as possible. Opportunities for personal autonomy are augmented, thereby extending the personal period of residence for the oldest adults within their 'independent' living community. In this article, I revisit the Hollywood Falls system of caresharing, in light of current expressions of bolstering strength.

Methods

It is important to note again that Hollywood Falls is a pseudonym in my attempt to protect the privacy of the community and its residents. As the daughter of a resident, it has been relatively easy for me to continue my visits to this particular retirement community. My ninety-year-old father and his wife are delighted by my repeated 'participant observations.' I have been going there for more than twenty years, allowing me the opportunity to witness caresharing firsthand. My community connections are both personal and professional. On those occasions when I have entered the community primarily as a sociologist, my university's institutional review board has reviewed my research design. My most recent inquiries as well as those in the past research have been guided by and grounded in theoretical sampling. The research design continues to include observation, recording field notes, and the constant comparative method of grounded theory data analysis. Each time that I have visited Hollywood Falls I have interviewed a group of surviving residents as well as some new to the community. I have used a translator to make sure that I understood the viewpoints of Hispanic residents who have recently moved to the community. When I want to know what has happened in the community during my extended absences, in addition to asking people, I review minutes of meetings of the condo and recreational boards of directors, visit senior centers and nearby long-term care facilities, take residents shopping, accompany them on visits to health care providers, and visit a few residents at

their places of employment. I have also interviewed family members of residents, especially when they have been involved in decisions concerning whether or not residents will remain in the Hollywood Falls community. My participant observations come from having become part of the expanded caresharing network, both as a daughter summoned to bolster the strength of her aging parents and as a professional invited to provide advice about long-term care. Although occasionally I have been consulted for my special knowledge, regardless of whom I have interviewed, my informants indicate willingness to talk with me because they are impressed with my status as a "loving daughter of a resident" rather than because my father has told them about my stellar academic credentials.

The Bolstering Strength Process

Bolstering strength is a process of building support that can broaden the viability of an independent living retirement community while it extends the period of independent living for the oldest residents who live there. Bolstering strategies include exposing needs, expanding caresharing networks, stifling crises and staking competence claims. Each strategy may be employed by the community in its entirety as a caresharing unit, by smaller groups of residents in caresharing alliances, or by solo residents who attempt to manage on their own. At the time my first caresharing article was published in 1998, my sociological eye had already observed that the country club atmosphere of Hollywood Falls was not as ideal as described by marketers or by many of the residents who lived there. Caresharing networks didn't always succeed in the sense that many residents had died before their 80th birthdays and spousal alliances were failing when both partners were ill at the same time. Many residents required care that the community simply could not provide. They were consequently forced to choose to move to an assisted living facility or to let their adult children "take them away." Caresharing endures as a basic social process in Hollywood Falls; however, bolstering strength rather than hiding frailty now seems to explain most of the social

interaction within the community, especially among its eldest residents.

Exposing Selective Problems

The problems of aging communities and very old individuals tend to be exposed whether or not people talk about them deliberately. If the problem is great enough in the sense that it impacts most people, others will simply notice that something is wrong. It thus became obvious to residents that at least two problems existed; the first was related to the real estate market and the second related to the declining health status of older residents. A third emergent problem was that of accommodating the caresharing needs of an increasingly diverse community of seniors.

When the viability of the community was threatened by the crash of the real estate market and the health of many of the original residents in Hollywood Falls deteriorated, those who lived in Hollywood Falls recognized the problems. Community problems and individual troubles happened to co-occur. In 1992, for example, I witnessed that the entire community of Hollywood Falls seemed threatened when the supply of condominium units there and in similar retirement communities far exceeded the demand. Individuals planning to move to an assisted living community could not sell their condos. That many people were trying to sell at the same time contributed to the problem. Units remained vacant for months on end. Monthly association fees were in arrears, reducing condominium budgets for recreation and maintenance. At that time, a retiree who sought to purchase a condominium unit could buy a new one a few miles away from Hollywood Falls and pay 30% less than the original residents of Hollywood Falls had paid 15 years earlier. When the community was developed in 1979, 85% of the original residents indicated that they were Jews of east European descent. Some had even noted on their applications that they chose Hollywood Falls because they wanted to live in a Jewish community. Those marketing the community initially saw that it was in their best interest to let "word of

mouth" be their greatest marketing tool and they supplemented this sales strategy by placing advertisements in weekly 'Jewish' newspapers. Italian Americans were the next largest group of residents with a sprinkling of people of other backgrounds. There were no African Americans, and no Hispanics, and relatively few white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. When a Jewish resident died, family heirs tended to sell the units to strangers for whatever price was quickly obtainable in order to settle the estate of the deceased. As units "turned over," a committee of Hollywood Falls residents screened potential owners to make sure that they understood condominium life and so that the newcomers would be prepared to follow condominium policies, but the committee offered little help in the actual sales process. Few heirs were over the age of 55 thus their parent's property was not personally valuable to them as they were not permitted by condo doctrine to live there or to use the units as vacation homes. By 1992, although the price of Hollywood Falls units dropped precipitously, Jewish and Italian retirees from the mid-West and mid-Atlantic region were no longer buying them. A new marketing strategy was required as it was impossible to revitalize the community with a younger, but otherwise similar group of retirees.

With 1/4 of the residents approaching their 90th birthdays and the modal age of newcomers is in their mid-fifties or early sixties, health problems are noticed by younger residents even when the older residents try to cover up their frailty. Today the oldest group of residents refers to themselves as *senior seniors*. Although the strategy of hiding their own frailty is attempted by the healthiest among them, it is impossible for them to ignore the frailty of others. Exposing frailty may actually initiate the process of bolstering strength for senior seniors, by signaling to them a need for support. The sirens, canes, wheel chairs and walkers of others are simply too plentiful for them to overlook. Most of their friends and neighbors have died. Three fourths of their age mates have left the community as a consequence of death, illness, or disability, ten percent of those leaving during the past six months.

The few who remain are proud of their own stamina, yet some of them suffer from reactive depression as a consequence of multiple losses and self reflection on newly exposed frailty. As Lucy, age 89, notes,

> I used to think that ninety was just a number. Now I wish that I would go to bed and not wake up. I can't sleep, I can't poop, I can't walk and I can't think. I am old. You can live too long, you know. I don't see good [sec] for me in the future. I try to go places and do things for myself, but I need this contraption [a walker on wheels] to get around and I fall sometimes. My best friends have died. Someone has to take me shopping all the time. I need help, but I have to arrange for that myself and good help is hard to get. I don't want to go to 'assisted living' and I definitely don't want to be a burden on my daughter who has her own arthritis and other problems. I visit my neighbor each day because she is alone and she's my therapist.

Lucy and her neighbor are able to bolster each other's strength by commiserating about their problems. Many of the oldest residents repeatedly talk about their friends who have died or gone to assisted living, but some residents are more willing to listen than are others. Dottie wonders how long she can survive with "the Angel of Death" hovering all around her, but her husband prefers to talk about pleasant things and not dwell on the death of their friends. Ollie told me in the presence of his wife, "Ninety is a gift from God and I can't take care of the gift by talking about death." He also told me privately, "When she talks like that, I just turn this contraption [his hearing aid] down and I don't listen." The number of *couple alliances* has decreased as a consequence of both variations in tolerance for exposing problems as well as in consequence of attrition by death of marriage partners. As the rate of widowhood has increased, many senior seniors who had previously engaged in couple alliances now reach out to larger groups

of those similarly widowed to provide caresharing support rather than to depend on themselves alone or on one other individual. Some flaunt their need for companionship, thereby attracting others to their caresharing networks. At the very least, exposing their needs brings companionship and the occasional camaraderie that accompanies recognition of shared circumstances. At best, exposing needs bolsters strength, and the creation new caresharing arrangements.

Board members were the first to expose needs that have occurred as the consequence of diversity. They have tried to engage the entire community in their role as facilitators of recreational caresharing. They indicate that when they now try to hold dances now, no one shows up. "The young people aren't interested and the old ones can't dance anymore." The minutes of the recreational board noted that younger people do not even pick up their ID cards that would allow them to participate in events. It is obvious that they do not use the swimming pool. A building captain told me, "The new people are very friendly… but the only activity they may show up for is perhaps a community picnic." One resident told me,

> It's even hard to get a card game. So many of those who used to play have died and the rest of them try to cheat or maybe it is that they can't remember the rules except they know they're supposed to win... You have to be able to think. The younger guys do not want to play.

Could the younger residents be hiding frailty by avoiding recreational interaction with their elders? This is possible, but the most obvious reason for not interacting with older residents is that the younger residents perceive that they have little time to interact with them or that they have little in common with them. Unlike the original residents who had moved to Florida as retirees, the newer residents enter the community while still gainfully employed. For many of them therefore, Hollywood Falls is a bedroom community, more so than a community *caresharing system*. Younger residents are also less likely

to be married when they enter the community, but unlike the older residents who are single because of widowhood, the younger people are more likely to be recently divorced. Although there have been a few May/December romances, in most instances younger residents do not see the elders as potential mates.

My interpretation of the problem is that in addition to the language barrier, there are misunderstandings between ethnic groups because the original group of residents and the newest group of residents are comfortable with different kinds of caresharing arrangements. Where the original residents continue to rely on neighbors and professionals when they need help, the newer group of Hispanic elders depends on family caresharing groups. I also suspect that there is also some envy of the Hispanic residents who have solid familial relationships. The recent real-estate boom has allowed Hispanics to buy apartments in Hollywood Falls at a very inexpensive rate and to use the equity in their apartments to finance units for their relatives. Ethnic diversity is the basis for much of the variation in how caresharing is evolving in the Hollywood Falls community. In the past caresharing was dominated by spouses and neighborly couple alliances within the community. The relationships were nurtured in the absence of local relatives. The newer familial caresharing alliances are commonly ethnically exclusive. Although they are restricted to members of one's extended family, kin-based caresharing networks expand beyond the Hollywood Falls community.

Many of the new residents are obviously culturally dissimilar from the original group at Hollywood Falls in terms of ethnicity and other demographic markers. While some shared a history of mid-Atlantic residence in their youth, other newcomers come from the Southern region of the United States. While the original Jewish residents created charitable groups to raise money for Jewish organizations and they encouraged entertainers familiar with 'Jewish humor,' Protestant newcomers and Hispanics have had little interest in these charities or entertainers. Also, the Jews tended to vote and register as Democrats

while the Protestant residents tend to vote and register as Republicans, causing some friction especially following the 2000 presidential election.

Political positions of leadership within the Hollywood Falls community have for years been in distributed in relationship to community seniority and to a limited extent, in response to ethnic distribution. Until very recently most of these positions have been dominated by the oldest Jewish and Italian residents. While board members complain that there is no interest among younger residents to replace them, they have only recently tried to recruit Hispanic members to these committees. Board members thought they were planning activities that would be of interest to everyone in the community, but community caresharing of course requires representation of diverse groups of residents, in managing community affairs.

Expanding the Caresharing Network

Expanding the caresharing network is both a communal process and a process involving individual efforts. With regard to the Hollywood Falls community in 2006, less than one quarter of the original residents remains there, yet there are relatively few vacant units. A new marketing plan was developed by the condo board of directors to replenish the community. The plan involved expanding marketing efforts to the community by diversifying advertising campaigns so they would reflect the changing population in the region of southeastern Florida. In the past ten years many "Protestants from up North," a few African Americans and a large Hispanic immigrant population moved to southeastern Florida, with some taking up residence in Hollywood Falls. In Broward County, where Hollywood Falls is located, a document authored by the County Planning Division and the Sun-Sentinel newspaper reports that the Hispanic population is quite diverse including persons of Puerto Rican, Columbian, Dominican, and Mexican descent, noting that demographic shifts present challenges for Broward County (2002). Twenty-one percent of the residents in Broward County are Hispanic and this percentage is expected to grow during

the next ten years. Some of persons within this population who are over the age of 55 have taken advantage of the falling price of condominiums in independent retirement communities, purchasing units in Hollywood Falls. Ten percent of all units in Hollywood Falls are now owned by Hispanics, all of which were purchased during the past eight years.

The successful marketing plan is now fostered by private realtors who know best how to reach potential buyers. Those who have replaced the former residents differ from the original group on several dimensions, the most obvious of which are age and ethnicity. Although expanding the community by marketing to diverse ethnic groups helped economically, ethnic diversity within the community initially led to caresharing barriers and to exposing new problems. A Colombian woman told me with the help of a translator, "I'm anxious to be accepted. I like to visit Sophie, but it is hard for us to talk. We're both widows… but it is hard to be friends. I spend most of my time at the senior center because there are more people I can talk to there." Spending time outside of Hollywood Falls, in consequence further expands the caresharing network as not all needs for friendship can be met by the residents within the community. While some residents claim to welcome the opportunity to meet others whose backgrounds differ from their own, it is clear that for others diversity is uncomfortable. A non-Hispanic resident told me, "I find it exciting to meet people who are different… I like everybody. " As she continued talking with me, however, it became clear that there were some fundamental problems because of her perceptions. She said, for example, "The major problem is that in some instances two or three apartments in the same building are owned by Hispanics in the same family and they speak to no one other than their own relatives." The condo and recreational boards have begun to change their planning strategies in order to accommodate diversity within the population, but change is difficult for some of the residents who have never before lived in an ethnically diverse community.

Health problems and or widowhood provide the impetus for many individuals to expand their caresharing networks. Expanded networks may include senior centers, adult day care providers, county nutrition programs, faith communities, kin care, and university students, but the most common expanded networks include home health care agency personnel.

One dimension of caresharing arrangements is *cooperative independence* a concept I first used in my study of Alaskan natives in a Tlingit village (Maxwell & Maxwell, 1983). Cooperative independence is a value that guides assistance such that people cooperate to accomplish what is needed with a minimal amount of intrusion. Cooperative independence can include a network of caresharers who cooperate to maintain as much independence as is feasible by partnering with larger caresharing units. By joining together voluntarily, caresharers can accomplish more than they otherwise could accomplish in smaller caresharing units. It seems that initially, caresharing alliances are built on the smallest number of caresharers who can meet one's needs. People reach out to expand the network of caresharers when they can't otherwise meet their needs. Cooperative independence is desirable because caresharing in its absence can potentially rob one of one's freedom as help requires greater reciprocity than does cooperation. Cooperative caresharing networks are expandable in times of need, and retractable, when needs no longer exist.

Caresharing alliances between residents of Hollywood Falls and their home health care assistants illustrate the mutual benefits of cooperative independence for two seemingly disparate groups. Most of the aides to senior seniors are younger Hispanics who are among the recent arrivals to Broward County. A portion of them are undocumented immigrants. The older adults who rely on their aides are not about to complain about their aide's immigration status. The aides are able to improve their English language skills as they work with senior seniors. Some whose health care credentials from their countries of origin are not accepted in the United States earn enough

money to return to school in Florida. The seniors benefit from their arrangements with paid assistants who help them to maintain both some degree of physical independence and a great deal of personal autonomy as they can hire and fire the home assistants at will.

For the oldest remaining residents, bolstering strength often depends on expanding their caresharing networks to include a greater reliance on relatives. Although senior seniors guard their independence, adult children arrive on the scene in times of medical crises. It is rather common, particularly for widowed mothers to have named one of their offspring as their 'health care power of attorney." For those whose crises are time limited and who are fortunate to have younger relatives nearby, bolstering strength through kin care is quite effective. Family members consult with health professionals, complete paperwork on medical history and spend hours negotiating with insurance agents and in processing claim forms. The more debilitating and more time consuming the help, the greater the likelihood that relatives will not be able to bolster sufficient strength to accomplish all that appears to be necessary.

Residential caresharing networks in Hollywood Falls have now expanded to include non-human residents. Although no pets are permitted as per condominium covenants, several of the oldest residents have formed emotional caresharing alliances with birds, fish, and cats. Building captains are allied with pet owners in the sense that they know the pets exist. They tend to ignore the regulations that were enforced in the past if their building is odor-free and quiet. One captain told me, "Mario loves his cats. He misses his wife and the cats keep him company. I'm not going to do anything about his two cats if no one complains." Dogs, he said, are strictly forbidden because "they bark and shit and owners don't clean up after them."

Stifling Crises

Diversifying the community could have precipitated a crisis, but visionary members of the board were astute enough to stifle emerging problems. Although some

xenophobic residents expressed strong objections, the condominium executive committee recently appointed a Hispanic female to the condominium board of directors. Her first recommendation was that another Hispanic resident be appointed to serve on the resident screening committee, noting, "It is difficult when they don't speak English. We ask them to come to the screening with a family member who can translate for them. We used to allow professional realtors to help them, but some people were taken advantage of by professionals who only wanted to sell them an apartment. The Spanish people will be good residents when they know the community expectations." After an Hispanic resident was appointed to the screening committee, screening committee minutes reflected that all members of the committee now share the belief that family members with proficiency in English can be trusted to tell future residents the truth about the Hollywood Falls. Inviting family members to screenings is now commonplace and a communication crisis has been stifled.

Diversity is now reflected on the recreation committee, as well. The new committee has organized events that have been popular among the in the multi-ethnic community such as a recent Super Bowl Party. They also have organized several segregated recreational groups so that each 'subculture' can do the kinds of things they enjoy. It is most heartening that although tension exists as a consequence of diversity, caresharing arrangements have also emerged that cross age and ethnic groups. Individual caresharing alliances have expanded within the community bolstering the strength of the community as a whole and particularly that of its eldest residents. Some of these caresharing interactions are now quite formal however, involving strictly business transactions. A resident may charge $10 to take another resident shopping or $25 to take someone to the airport. A person without transportation is willing to pay for these services and even more if the transportation is available at the time they want to go somewhere. A senior senior who no longer drives finds such transportation essential. With transportation, many such seniors are able to get their own

groceries, prepare their own meals, living much as they have done in the past. The oldest residents have paid younger ones for housekeeping services and home health care, without regard to the paid caregiver's ethnic background. Bilingual residents have been paid to translate between Spanish and English at condo meetings. The income appears to be the motivation for the providers of such caresharing services.

Less formal intergenerational and interethnic caresharing arrangements also bolster strength. Several of these arrangements involve the use of technology. Ten years ago almost no one in Hollywood Falls had a personal computer. Today there is a PC in most of the Hollywood Falls units that are owned by residents in who are younger than 70. Rarely will an older resident ask for such help, but occasionally a younger person hearing about an elder's diagnosis will search for medical or pharmaceutical information for an older neighbor, or he or she will send a message to an out of town family member in behalf of the neighbor to report on a resident's situation. Cell phones are also more common among the younger residents. During Hurricane Wilma, when land lines were out of service, residents with cell phones were able to call for help and to inform the out of town kin folks of their elder neighbors that they were okay.

Other caresharing arrangements that bolster strength are concerned with preparing food. A retired Italian widower in his nineties has shopped and prepared meals for several of his neighbors because it is still something he does well. This is particularly impressive in that although he cooks pasta for himself, he routinely prepares a traditional Shabbos meal for his Jewish friends, making chopped liver, gedempte chicken and chicken soup. Friendships and even a few marriages have crossed ethnic lines. Invitations are now being extended to 'ethnic strangers' who attend funerals, birthday and Hollywood fests. These celebrations of life have helped neighbors to become more familiar with another group's food and rituals. At some recreational events where residents choose

seating arrangements, and bring their own refreshments, diverse groupings can now be noticed.

Perhaps most important, is that some residents have begun to respect others for what they can contribute. As one walks about the community, one hears older residents providing solicited and unsolicited advice to newcomers, and notices that they are also listening to what the younger ones have to say. Common discussions across age groups and ethnic groups concern the future of Social Security, assisted living facilities, reviews of medical providers, insurance plans, and how to cope with frailty.

An expanded caresharing network allows residents to stifle many crises. One might have predicted that Hollywood Falls residents would be in despair following Hurricane Wilma. Although the old people were without electricity, phone lines, and running water for several days and many downed trees blocked the road leading in an out of their condominium community, the atmosphere in the community closely resembled an interethnic fiesta. Residents with cell phones informed those outside the community of what was happening and those in the community were delighted by the experience of getting to know one another. They collectively prepared meals on outdoor hibachis, entertained one another with impromptu sing-alongs and card games, the strongest residents helping the weakest to endure the crisis.

Staking Competence Claims

In the presence of exposed limitations, senior seniors employ a familiar strategy to stake claims of competency. They engage in presentational stamina displays to demonstrate to others that they are "okay." Although they admit that their caresharing networks have increased by necessity, they still engage in stamina displays. The old board members note that they are still competent to make the right decisions, citing their recent efforts to recruit younger members to the board. On a more individual basis, Sophie whose husband who had Alzheimer's disease died about two years ago, brags about her stamina, proudly noting, "I can't do a lot of things any more, but I can still play mahjong, walk to the clubhouse and I can drive a car

… I can get help when I need it, but I don't have to depend on anyone." Once in the presence of others, residents like Sophie stake claims of competence by constructing story lines that minimize disabling conditions, describing them as time limited, inconvenient, but not so bad as to destroy their independence. Recovering from an illness or injury, residents are cheered when they simply "show up' at a recreational event. Canes and walkers which had been symbols of frailty are reinterpreted as enabling devices.

The healthiest of the oldest residents stakes a claim to competence by serving on the board of a charitable organization. He and his wife encourage others to participate in the social activities of that organization. For others, the *managing self* is still the preferred caresharing arrangement for those staking a claim to competence. The residents claim to rely on me/myself for help, yet while in the past they rarely discussed their limitations, now their frailty is exposed. They often speak about their difficulties as they boast of their ability to manage on their own without help. Some, aware that bolstering strength has its limitations, are relocating as anticipated to assisted living communities. Others continue to boast with confidence up until the day that they physically collapse or die.

Caresharing Revisited

In Florida in the 1970s, entrepreneurs recognized money to be made by developing retirement communities. Today's entrepreneurs, see the same avenue toward wealth just about everywhere in the United States. Communities are being designed for aging baby boomers that are similar to those built a generation earlier. Like the Florida communities of an earlier generation, each of these housing communities are being marketed for the most part to culturally homogeneous, healthy, independent populations without regard to infirmities that will surely occur in the future, or with regard to the potential for ethnic diversity. Residents of new communities like their predecessors initially hide frailty, perform stamina displays, and make informal alliances to share the care necessary to maintain an independent lifestyle. When they can no longer

hide their frailty, they still cooperate to maintain as much independence as is possible. There is nothing necessarily troubling with this design if everyone involved anticipates future infirmity within the community and that those residents will need help to bolster strength in order to live there. It is inevitable that residents will need other living arrangements if the community makes no provision for future supportive services. Stamina displays and other efforts to hide frailty have positive consequences for many in late middle age or young elderhood. The most resilient senior seniors successfully use stamina displays to bolster strength as they age in place. The consequences, however, could eventually become dire for the frailest older adults. Reminiscent of the abominable mental institutions of an earlier era, nursing homes can be dreadful places to exist for residents and the staff employed to care for them. No one wants to spend time in a place where the residents experience high mortality rates, staff turnover rates are high and personal relationships between residents and paid caregivers are discouraged. Although care of the frail elderly is needed, such care should be designed with emotional caresharing in mind in order to bolster strength for everyone involved. As long as one's own frailty is not anticipated, subsequent living arrangements for the once independent but now frail elders, will suffer, and few will want to care for them.

Caresharing is no doubt an enduring basic social process that exists in any naturally occurring human community. Caresharing strategies will vary however with the demographic characteristics of residents and by the context in which community members interact. While intergenerational and interethnic relationships emerge, diversity may initially present barriers to caresharing. Hiding frailty was an effective caresharing strategy in Hollywood Falls eight years ago, when most community residents were vigorous septuagenarians and the oldest residents were in their eighties. Today it is no longer effective among the surviving ninety year olds. Most of these bolster strength until they must consider the undesirable housing options that are available to them.

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A Grounded Theory on Helping Behavior and Its Shaping Factors

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Abstract

In social psychology, the attribution model of helping behavior suggests that beliefs of the helping target's responsibility for the need for help evoke affective motivators such as feelings of pity, sympathy, or anger. The affective motivation leads to helping or not helping the target. The current emergent theory is an enhancement of this theory by incorporating other personal and situational variables.

Through the use of classic grounded theory, I interviewed 80 participants from different De La Salle Schools in the Philippines. This yielded over 1300 individual incidents that were compared and contrasted to form codes, categories and subcategories. A theory on the decision making process of helping emerged that incorporates the helper's personal conviction, and rational deliberations of the situation. The desire to help is based on the helper's rational-emotive beliefs (philosophical ideals and values that nurture helping and the knowledge of the nature of risk/problem) and relational-emotive ties (with the one who needs help and with a social group that nurtures helping). The desire to help undergoes a process of rational-pragmatic deliberations on the appropriateness of the recipients need of help, the cost of helping, the helper's capability of helping, and the logistics of helping before the actual helping occurs. The theory has implications for current social psychological theories of helping, and the use of classic grounded theory research.

Introduction

The Brothers of the Christian School is a congregation of religious men founded in the 1700's in France by Jean Baptiste De La Salle. The integral purpose of the

congregation is education of youth, particularly the marginalized. The group grew to become of one of the pillars of Catholic evangelization through school education in at least 80 countries around the world. De La Salle Brothers, as they are popularly known in the Philippines, reached Philippine soil in 1910 and presently has 12 schools offering basic and higher education. In the 1980s there was a strong impetus to rekindle the foundational philosophy of reaching more needy young people. The rallying cry popularized by the head of Brothers was "risking your lives to youth at risk". The past 10 years ushered movements towards translating this adage into specific programs and activities of the schools. However, the idea of "youth at risk" is at its best a conjuncture of notions with sociological and theological underpinnings. Most members of the Lasallian community are in a quandary on this and how it translates operationally into the leadership and management of schools.

This led to the present study of unraveling the various meanings attached to the concept of youth at risk by different members of De La Salle Schools in the Philippines (abbreviated Lasallian community in this study). I employed a qualitative epistemology, and started out with the simple inquiry on what youth at risk means to members of the Lasallian community.

Method

Participants

The 80 participants were religious members (La Salle Brothers), administrators, teachers and students of seven De La Salle Schools in the Philippines, representing the three major archipelagic clusters of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. These islands are likewise distinguished by socio-political and economic variances.

Data-Gathering Procedure

I used conversations with consent of respondents as opposed to formal interviews to harvest the raw and spontaneous sentiments of the respondents. The interaction climate of conversations are less formal or

structured, allowing the nuances of deviating from other topics, which later was found useful. I felt that conversations were more authentic and truer to the precepts of grounded theory than formal interviews.

I began my conversations with the religious sector, the La Salle Brothers. They are the main proponents of the idea of youth at risk and exert much influence among the schools, being essentially their owners. The conversations with the Brothers became a springboard to interviewing other Lasallian community members like administrators, teachers, staff and students. Each conversation pointed me to other potential respondents. After analyzing each conversation I got ideas on conducting conversations with other randomly selected teachers, students, and administrators representing other milieus within the Lasallian community. Eventually, I ended up with 80 conversations in all.

Data Analysis Procedure

Each incident from a conversation was immediately coded. Incidents are phrases or ideas within the conversations which directly allude to the substantive area. Each incident was assigned a reference code according to the sector and school of the participant. The codes were compared and contrasted and memos were generated from this constant comparative method. Memos are insights that are both logical and intuitive to the researcher, and emerge during the constant comparison method, which is another name for grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1965). The memos aided in the conceptual description of the incidents, a conceptual categorization of the data, and an evolving emerging theory. When the conversations were no longer adding to the conceptual descriptions or to the emerging theory I declared saturation.

Sorting the memos by clustering, re-ordering and prioritizing the insights as part of the theoretical sensitizing process eventually led to the final emergent theory. Finally, the emergent theory was subjected to the litmus test of comparing it to the original incidents, to establish its

"goodness-of-it" as a way of validating its grounding from the data.

Core Category

The main concern of members of the Lasallian community seems to be to help and serve those who need help, and especially those in at risk groups. Helping was perceived as a means to respond to these groups so as to free them from debilitating circumstances, to improve their coping skills in handling debilitating situations, and to improve the quality of life of the one who needs help. The emergent core category of the research is the helping process by which the Lasallian members decide to help an at risk youth or not.

The helping process begins with a member's rational-emotive beliefs and relational-emotive ties creating a desire, and a personal conviction to help. When a member of the Lasallian community encounters a person who needs help this sparks a desire to help. This desire to help undergoes a series of rational-pragmatic deliberations, the appropriateness of the person who needs help (=target), the cost of helping, the capability to help, and the logistical planning of helping before the helping takes place.

Rational-Emotive Beliefs

A member has two main rational-emotive beliefs that influence the desire and conviction to help a target. These are the philosophical ideals and values that nurture helping and serving, and knowledge of the nature of the problem or risk the target is in. A member's personalizing of philosophical ideals and values that nurture helping serves as a rational logical reason for helping and serving. These ideals and values include religious persuasions, political leanings, and moral considerations. They also have an emotional-motivational component that energizes, focuses, and directs the helping behavior. Some members mentioned "I personally act with justice and integrity", "I ask myself what Christ would do", and "I try to be firm but kind".

A member's knowledge of the nature and the risks of the problem of the target is the other rational-emotive belief. It is rational in understanding the nature of the target's problem (poverty, academic, addiction, psychological, emotional, family, and sex related problems etc.), and the potential dangers of the target's problem (inability to sustain a decent living conditions, to function and contribute to society, to have happiness or joy in life, and being personally debilitated by circumstances). This knowledge of the nature of the problem is emotional-motivational since the member becomes sensitive to targets who display symptoms of the problem: "I see how they live", "I am able to detect those with problems". Also, emotional motivational feelings towards targets that have these problems are evoked: "I am moved with pity and sympathy for them", "I cry when I think of their situation", "I am frustrated that the school does not differentiate a drug user from a drug abuser and they just expel them". A member's knowledge of the nature of the problem energizes, gives focus and sustains a desire to help the target.

Relational-Emotive Ties

The relational-emotive ties seem to stem from a member's relationship with the target, and the members social group that nurtures helping ideals and values. Relational-emotive ties with the target affect the member's desire to help. It seems that the closer the relationship with the target, the greater awareness of the target's problem and the greater the desire to help: "I am only aware of the students under my care", "I can only tell you about the youth whom I am in contact with", and "I feel obliged to help when someone asks me for help". This closeness that increases awareness and a subsequent increased personal conviction to help is an emotive-motivational property of relational-emotive ties.

Lasallian community member's relational-emotive ties with social groups that nurture helping and serving others also affect the desire and conviction to help. These social groups serve as the member's social context and milieu. It

seems that the more the social context nurtures helping and serving others the greater the desire to help others. Those who belonged to offices, departments, and social groups that nurtured helping did often mention personal helping behaviors. It also seems that the more the social group's orientation toward a specific nature of the target's problems, the greater the sensitivity to targets with problems of that specific nature. Psychologists and staff members working in the guidance-counseling center tended to be sensitive to psychological and emotional problems. Members associated with education and academic groups tended to be sensitive to academic and educational problems of targets. Those who associated with cause oriented groups tended to be sensitive to poverty related problems, and members in business and commerce groups tended to perceive youth at risk as the inability to function and contribute to society.

A member's desire to help and serve seems to cause a personal conviction towards helping. However, this desire is not enough to explain helping behavior. It seems that the member passes through a series of rational-pragmatic deliberations before helping. These deliberations include the target's appropriateness to be helped (a dualistic perceptual typology), the cost-benefit ratio of helping and serving, the capability to help, and the logistics of helping. In a sense, the rational-pragmatic deliberations check the member's emotional convictions against a rational assessment of the situation. The strength of the desire and personal conviction to help juxtaposes against the strength of the rational-emotive deliberation resulting in helping a person or not.

Appropriateness of the Target

The first rational-pragmatic deliberation is the target's appropriateness to be helped and served. This appropriateness tends to be based on a dualistic perceptual typology of targets. Targets are either perceived as victims (=targets with debilitating circumstances not caused by themselves), or non-victims (=targets where debilitating circumstances are a result of their own actions and

decisions). Rationally, victims are appropriate to help and serve because they are perceived as innocent and not responsible for their circumstances. Non-victims are perceived as inappropriate to help because they are perceived to have caused their own circumstances of need. One member defined youth at risk as "those who through no fault of their own are in situations that causes serious disadvantage or disability" and another member claimed that "those who plan to be wayward are not at risk".

Thus, youth groups who were identified to be in more need than others by the nature of their problems, and who were perceived as not responsible for their own circumstances (=victims) were helped and served by the members and the schools in which they worked. Groups who were identified to be in more need than others by the nature of their problems but who where perceived as responsible for their own circumstances (=non-victims) were not helped by the members or the schools they worked in. The schools often gave punitive actions to youth groups who were responsible for their own circumstances (drug addicts, alcohol users, tardy and truant students, sexually active students, pregnant teenage students).

Costs and Capabilities of Helping

The second rational-pragmatic deliberation involves costs of helping and serving as well as capabilities and capacities to help and serve. This deliberation starts with rational-pragmatic assessments of the cost of helping versus the benefit that accompanies helping the target. This gives a cost-benefit ratio of helping.

Financial costs, time loss, amount of effort, and deviation from priorities that would result in helping the target are measured and related to the benefits and personal gain that comes from helping and serving the target. Some members mentioned "I feel better about myself when I help others". Members also mentioned that "finances should be considered", "I do not have enough time to help all of them so I refer some to the guidance center", "I try to help some of them but sometimes it is too difficult". If the cost-benefit ratio is favorable (low cost and

high benefit) then there is a greater probability of helping and serving the target.

Member's capabilities and capacities to help such as knowledge, expertise and know-how are also assessed. Members mention inabilities to help as some problems need expertise beyond their capability: "When the problem is emotional or psychological, I refer them to the guidance office". If the problem is within the member's know-how to help there is a greater probability of helping. If the nature of the need is beyond the member's capability then either helping is not done, or the target is referred to a person that can help.

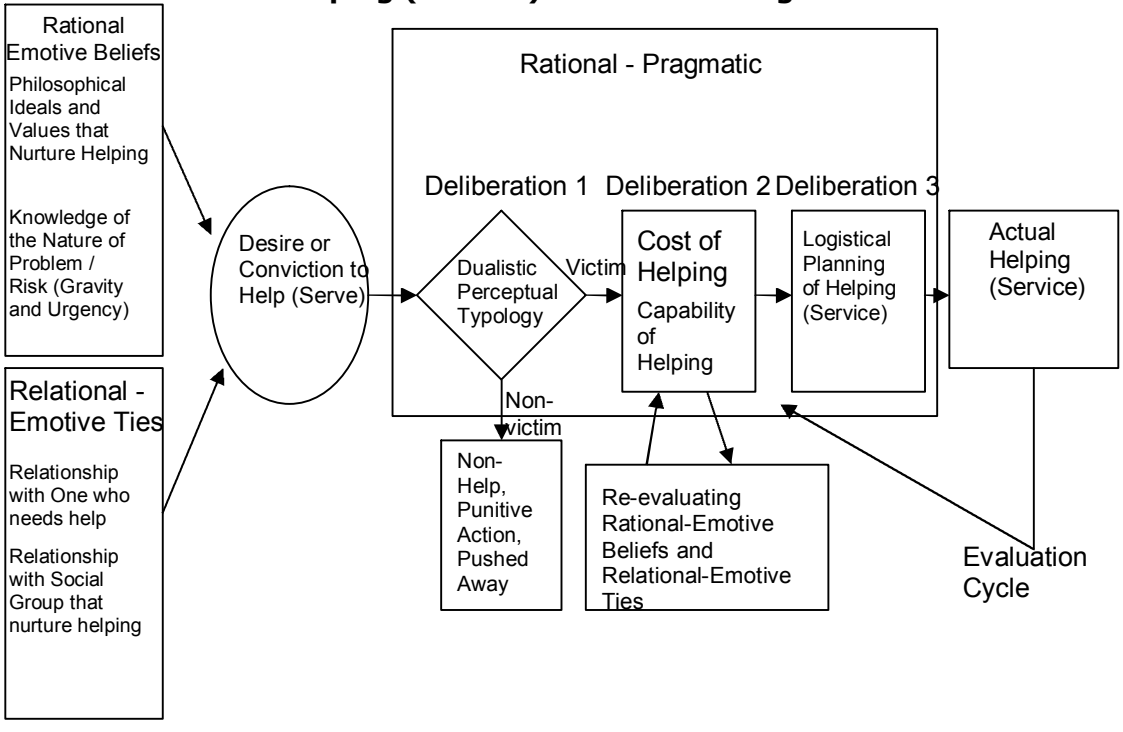
Logistics of Helping and Serving

The logistics of helping incorporates the plan of who, when, where, and how the target will be helped. This plan assumes that the target is appropriate to help, that the cost-benefit ratio of helping is good, and that the help need is within the capability of the helper.

The who of helping tends to be "who can assist me in helping the target" or "who can better help the target". "When will I help the target", "where will I help the target", and "how shall I help the target". Once the who, when, where and how are decided, then the actual helping and serving begins.

The emergent theory is presented in the following chart.

Chart 1: The Helping (Service) Decision Making Process



The schematic diagram describes the decision making process a member goes through before actually helping a target. It begins with the rational-emotive beliefs and relational-emotive ties. These beliefs and ties create desires or convictions to help, which undergo a set of rational-pragmatic deliberations. The first is the appropriateness to be helped. Victims are seen as appropriate and move to the next set of rational-pragmatic deliberations. Non-victims are perceived as not appropriate to be helped and are punished, pushed away and not helped. The second rational-pragmatic deliberation deals with the cost of helping and the member's capability to help. If the cost of helping is too high and the benefit too low then the member re-evaluates the desire and conviction to help. If the desire is high then a new cost-benefit analysis may be done, but if the desire is low, then the desire to help may be shelved. Last comes the logistical planning of helping and serving. Once the last rational-pragmatic deliberation is made, then the actual helping is done. The helping behavior is then evaluated from time to time by rational-pragmatic deliberations.

Discussion

In this paper I have presented a grounded theory of helping as a decision-making process. It involves convictions and deliberations explaining how people working within an organization devoted to helping others actually do the helping. In the following I will discuss the attribution helping model, and relate it to the grounded theory of helping.

The attribution helping model suggests that helping behavior is determined by cognitive emotive processes in exploring the cause and controllability of a person's need that lead to inferences to responsibility (Corrigan, Markowitz, Watson, Rowan, and Kubiak, 2003). This works as an attribution-effectuation motivation sequence in that the helper makes a cognitive attribution on the cause and controllability of the need. This then influences the helper's feelings, which in turn determines possible actions (Higgins and Shaw, 1999). The attribution helping model is based

on the cause of the target's need for help and the locus of control in that particular circumstance.

Higgins and Shaw (1999) tested the model in both laboratory and situational experiments. The attribution styles of undergraduate college students were categorized as supportive (the tendency to view other's misfortunes as uncontrollable by the target) or unsupportive (the tendency to view other's misfortunes as controllable by the target) by the Reason for Misfortune Questionnaire. Based on the questionnaire results the researchers used random matched-pair design to assign the students into two groups.

In the laboratory experiment each group was given two situations - a person falling in the bus, and an acquaintance borrowing money for rent. One group was given low controllability of the cause for need (health problems: visual impairment for the bus situation, and hospitalization for the rent situation). Another group was given high controllability of the cause for need (being drunk for the bus incident, and laziness for the rent situation).

Eight weeks after the laboratory experiment one researcher, blinded to the experimental hypothesis, contacted the students. The researcher was allegedly working for the "study skills office" of the university and requested to borrow some notes of the students for a fictional student who missed classes. One group was given hospitalization as reason for need, while the other group was given skiing vacation as reason for need. The students were given a phone number to call if they wanted to lend their notes. The other researcher acted as the needy student and recorded the calls of the students who volunteered help. The results showed that unsupportive students perceived the target as having less personal control in the uncontrollable need situations in comparison to those in the controllable need situations. Most students reported that they would help the target in the uncontrollable need situations more than targets in the controllable need situations. In the situational experiment the students helped more when the reason for need was

uncontrollable than controllable. In total, students with a more supportive attribution style helped more often than those with an unsupportive attribution style. However, students with an unsupportive attribution style helped more often when the need was uncontrollable than when it was controllable, while the students with a supportive attribution style helped uncontrolled and controlled need equally as often (Higgins and Shaw, 1999). Thus, supportive students helped targets whether they were responsible or not for the situation the target was in whereas unsupportive students helped targets if the target was not responsible for the situation. This led the researchers to conclude that the causal structure of the situation is influential in helping behavior (Higgins and Shaw, 1999).

Corrigan et al. (2003) tried the attribution helping model studying 518 college students reacting to hypothetical vignettes on mental illness. The students' knowledge and experience of the nature of the illness influenced their appraisal of the targets responsibility for their condition. The researchers conclude that familiarity with mental illness reduces discriminatory responses. Their results validate the study of Higgins and Shaw (1999). Their study also concludes that knowledge and experience of the nature of the situation affects helping response.

The present grounded theory of helping incorporates the conclusions of the related studies (Higgins and Shaw 1999, Corrigan et al. 2003), and expands the attribution model of helping by showing the importance of personal convictions and deliberations in the helping process. The attribution helping model is similar to the current grounded theory of helping, but the latter is more complex. In the attribution helping model the helper's beliefs influences feelings and these feelings affect behavior. In the grounded theory of helping rational-emotive beliefs and relational-emotive ties affect the desire to help. Then a series of rational-pragmatic deliberations are made before helping is done. The grounded theory of helping thus offers a comprehensive explanation to helping behavior since it

incorporates personal conviction and a deliberation of the situation.

Conclusion

The emergent grounded theory on helping and its decision-making process is an expansion of the attribution model of helping. It incorporates personal convictions as well as deliberations of the situational variables. The theory explores the influences of the helper's rational-emotive beliefs (philosophical ideals and values that nurture helping, and knowledge of the nature of the problem), relational-emotive ties (with the person who needs help, and with the helper's social groups), and the helper's rational-pragmatic deliberations of the situation (the dualistic perceptual typology of the person in need of help, the cost and capability of helping, and the logistics of helping). The emergent theory lends itself to theory verification studies, and future studies on variables relating to helping convictions and resultant helping behavior are encouraged. Lastly, the theory and its implications is a contribution to grounded theory research.

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The Postmodern Turn: Shall Classic Grounded Theory Take That Detour? A Review Essay

Vivian B. Martin, PhD

Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn, Adele E. Clarke, 2005, Sage Publications. 408 pp., paperback/hardcover

Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis, Kathy Charmaz, 2006, Sage Publications. 224 pp., paperback/hardcover

Adherents to classic grounded theory have gotten used to spotting the pretenders working under the grounded theory banner. Some of these faux-GT researchers have worked in a fog, misunderstanding fundamentals of the method; these are the studies that leave us shaking our heads and wondering about the doctoral committee and peer reviewers who did not bother to find out more about the method they were evaluating. More infuriating are the authors who are claiming to improve on grounded theory, to reground it, to quote one notable British author who, lack of hands-on grounded theory experience aside, manages a book-length critique of the method. Two recent books in the "remaking grounded theory" genre are from sociologists with some years of grounded theory projects behind them. Adele E. Clarke, author of Situational Analysis, was a student and colleague of Anselm L. Strauss at the University of California -San Francisco. Kathy Charmaz, author of Constructing Grounded Theory, is among the few grounded theorists who studied with Barney G. Glaser and Strauss at UCSF.

Although the pedigree of both authors gives more traditional readers comfort that these are not just people wielding the term grounded theory and conflating it with any old interview study, the vision for grounded theory offered in these two books are a challenge to more

orthodox notions. Both authors treat a sacrosanct element of classic grounded theory, the core category or concept, as unnecessary or, worse, a barrier to understanding the phenomenon under study. Both accuse classic grounded theory of a lack of reflexivity about the research process, insensitivity to difference and variation, and oversimplification in its quest to create an integrative theory. The overall indictment is that grounded theory is out of step with the ways of thinking and talking about research brought about by postmodernism and other changes in scholarship through the 80s and 90s. Clarke's stated goal is to "push grounded theory more fully around the postmodern turn" (p. xxi), a shift in the social sciences and humanities that has focused on the fragmentation, tentativeness, and complexities of social life and the need to adopt different methods and ways of gaining entry to these fragments, not to bring about wholeness—that is not possible within the postmodern frame—but to at least begin articulating the possibilities and their connections. If this sounds vague and possibly contradictory, such is the nature of postmodernism. The goal of both authors is to make grounded theory more responsive to it. Toward this end, Clarke proposes changes that pretty much create a new method. Charmaz, though better informed about how the different variants of grounded theory converge and diverge and how they have co-existed, nonetheless endorses a sometimes impressionistic, interpretative approach which, I suspect, grounded theorists who are seeking to utilize grounded theory to bring about understanding and change in practical disciplines would find less desirable and accountable. The daily worlds of nursing, management, information systems, and other fields, I would argue, very much privilege an "objective" reality where phenomena are defined and measured. In posing the question in the title of this review essay, I am asking whether classic grounded theory can and should avoid the postmodern turn, which would be a detour off its main path, which has yet to be fully explored. I am aware that, if one were to extend the metaphor, one might have to conclude that in some instances detours are unavoidable, though the driver does not have to accept the

new route completely. I come back to this matter in the conclusion of this essay after discussing the main points of the books.

A System of Maps

In Situational Analysis, it is immediately clear within the first few pages that Clarke may need some updating herself: hers is a very simplistic understanding of classic grounded theory. She conflates grounded theory with the "basic social process," proclaiming the need for grounded theory to recognize multiple processes. Having written a dissertation focused on a core with interpenetrating subcores, or social processes, and knowing Glaser has written and spoken of such possibilities, Clarke's suggestion of the need for grounded theorists to grow beyond the basic social process was quite confusing. Moreover, she does not seem to understand that grounded theorists use many theoretical codes other than the basic social process, or that the social worlds/ frame she is using for her work are theoretical codes that can force data. While I concede that many inexperienced grounded theorists speak and write as if the basic social process is the sole code, these and other misunderstandings say more about the limitations of some researchers than it does the method. By conflating the two, Clarke proceeds to fix what is not broken.

Clarke, in fact, pretty much ignores classic grounded theory or misstates aspects of it. In speaking of "grounded theory/symbolic interaction as a theory/ methods package," Clarke uproots grounded theory from Glaser and his training in the quantitative analysis and qualitative math analytical techniques developed y Paul Lazarsfeld. My guess is Clarke, who credits grounded theory based in symbolic interaction as being in some ways "always already" ahead of the postmodern turn, would respond that leaving out the Columbia University roots of grounded theory makes sense for her because she is a symbolic interactionist who has practiced grounded theory in accordance with Strauss's vision, and to some degree the vision promulgated by Strauss in concert with Juliet Corbin.

While it is true that the traces of pragmatism in grounded theory and the preference for getting into the field where the action is taking place are very much of the Chicago School and symbolic interaction perspective, stripping the analytic techniques and their Columbia University history from grounded theory would effectively put grounded theory back to the state qualitative research (including most work in symbolic interaction) was in during the sixties, when social scientists criticized much qualitative research as being a soup of anecdotal evidence. It is really the analytic techniques out of Columbia, through Glaser, that gave qualitative researchers tools for systematic analysis. The Discovery of Grounded Theory argued that qualitative research could be rigorous, scientific if you will. Ironically, it is these positivist leanings, which helped inject greater rigor that postmodernists now denounce.

What Clarke proposes is a method that would focus on the situation in all its complexities, explicit, implicit, and speculative. Clarke's claims "Situational Analysis" is a way to get at the nonhuman aspects of a given situation, whether it be actual objects like technology or the discourse surrounding a particular issues. She uses work she has done in medical sociology, especially the debate over the RU480 pill, to demonstrate the method. Clarke's conceptualization of the situation as the analytical unit is inspired and guided by Strauss's concept of social worlds/arenas, a potent theoretical code; but, of course, like any theoretical one, it would shape the eventual research project before the researcher even enters the field. In addition to symbolic interaction-grounded theory and Strauss's social worlds/arenas, Clarke invokes Foucault as an important influence in the discursive shift that is shaping social research. Foucault's concepts of "discourse" and "disciplining" as creating and sustaining practices over time have been critical to understanding the power/.knowledge relationships in areas ranging from the disciplining of professions to identities. Such processes are enacted over and over through discourses that social researchers examine systematically. Clarke seeks to link Foucault's theorizing of power with Strauss's work on

action to embolden symbolic interaction and grounded theory to better address situatedness, reflexivity, difference and variation, complexity, and be better to handle the main forms of discourses , among it narrative, visual, and historical.

Extending the metaphor of social worlds and arenas, Clarke proposes mapping strategies for the data. Her first map is a situation map on which the researcher would lay out "the elements of the situation and examining relations among them" (p. 86). Such a map would include issues, people, places, discourses, and any number of other factors drawn from the data and the researcher's understanding. She provides an example of a map examining nurses' work under managed care for which factors include elements as diverse as home health aides, discourses about patient satisfaction, and drugs. The second map would be a social worlds/arenas map of "collective communities, relations, and sites of actions" (p. 86). This map would include individual and group actors, the dynamics within these worlds and in relation to others. The third map, a positional map lays out "positions articulated and not articulated in discourses" (p. 86). One initial impression of the maps might be that they are an example of codifying a strategy that many people do naturally. I am a diagrammer; I make maps and doodle alongside my memo-writing. What Clarke proposes is a more elaborate version of this. Such an approach might be helpful to people who need permission to get "messy," which is what Clarke encourages, but I am not convinced people need a mapping system. The approach is reminiscent of Strauss and Corbin's intricate axial coding system, which so many novice and experienced researchers have found unworkable.

An area where I had hoped Clarke, as someone who has worked grounded theory studies, might provide some technique is in the treatment of discourse. Discourses, narrative, visual, and historical, she tells us, are critical for examination, as they give insight into how certain practices have come into existence and maintain their power. I am a proponent of this view and find some levels of discourse

analysis important in my studies of media, politics, and culture. Yet grounded theory and discourse analysis in its strictest sense have different goals. The latter is more concerned with technical attention to detail. Not only are specific words important; an analyst might want to pay attention to repeated patterns of syntax, for instance. Further, there are analytical protocols for photos and other visual materials. When taking up the issue of these materials, including historical documents, there are many questions about how we might reconcile classic grounded theory's rejection of "worrisome accuracy" with various discourse methods' desire for greater or full coverage of data. For some studies, I think it is enough to bring my theoretical sensitivity of ethnomethodology and other perspectives dealing with how people give accounts and explanations; in other words, do a discourse-informed analysis of my data, but not a discourse analysis project. Yet Ian Dey's infamous criticism of grounded theory's "smash and grab" approach to data needs some examination to better reconcile a general view among discourse and other qualitative researchers that certain datasets, a collection of photos or historical documents, for instance, need to be treated systematically and more completely than grounded theory's guidelines of "saturation" would concede. What Clarke could have done for me and other readers curious about how discourse might be better integrated into our work systematically was explicate the challenges and her solutions. Although four of her seven chapters are dedicated to aspects of discourse, her treatment of the subject is ultimately weak. I finished the book with a sense of much-ado-about-something, but not grounded theory.

The Constructivist Grounded Theorist

Charmaz's Constructing Grounded Theory provides the more compact, how-to, and the book is very much about grounded theory, albeit with a slant toward Charmaz's "constructivist" view. Unlike Clarke's often-circuitous discussion and further need to explain herself in an Epilogue titled " FAQ and Conversations" elucidating the rationale for her mapping system, Charmaz's approach is

straightforward and clear, even as she takes up the substantial and subtle differences between 'constructivist' and 'objectivist' grounded theory. Charmaz's book is both an introductory text and reference for all the varieties of grounded theorists. She lays out the history (neither influence gets shortchanged here), then moves on to chapters on gathering data, coding, memo-writing, theoretical sorting, and writing, providing some discussion of differing grounded theory approaches. The writing chapter may be of special interest to people who have done their grounded theory dissertation and are now thinking of presenting the work for publications. Charmaz takes on the issue of "the disputed literature review" (p. 165), raising many of the same points contributors to this do in their discussion about grounded theory's relationship to extant literature. Charmaz goes even further with practical advice about how to integrate new grounded theories with existing literature as part of a broader discussion about writing a theoretical framework and doing it with style. She advises that the theory gets sharper with each iteration, but she also notes the importance of keeping the core argument in sight. Yet, as Charmaz instructs, it is not enough simply to present an argument by cutting and pasting memos together; the bar for writing in scholarly publications, particularly qualitative research, has raised in the last couple of decades.

Most edifying and challenging to classic grounded theorists probably will be Charmaz's discussion on the differences between "constructivist" and "objectivist" grounded theory. Constructivist grounded theory, according to Charmaz, is more sensitized by interpretive traditions and interpretive theorizing, which she writes, "assumes emergent, multiple realities, indeterminancy; facts and values as linked; truth as provisional; and social life as processual" (p. 126). Objectivist grounded theory is more oriented to positivist traditions and positive theory, which "seeks causes, favors deterministic explanations, and emphasize generality and universality" (p. 126). Contrasting constructivist grounded theory and objectivist grounded theory, Charmaz writes that constructivists view

"data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants and other sources of data," while objectivists attend to "data as real in and of themselves and" while ignoring the processes through which the data are produced (p. 130-131). "An objectivist grounded theorists assumes that data represent objective facts about a knowable world" (p. 131). Charmaz writes that while the constructivist examines the how and why behind participants' constructions of "meanings and actions in specific situations" (p. 130) as well as the situations and relationships in which the participants are embedded, the objectivist "erases the social context from which data emerge, the influence of the researcher, and often the interactions between grounded theorists and their research participants" (p. 131). To build her arguments, Charmaz spends some time addressing Glaser's views, as expressed in his writing, as classic grounded theory is the most objectivist of the grounded theory variants, in her view. (Worth noting is that Charmaz has some arguments to counter Michael Burawoy and Derek Layder, high-profile critics of grounded theory.) Charmaz also concedes that the issue of constructivist versus objectivist is often one of emphasis; some people may be more of one in some studies than they are in others.

The section of the book that best captures what Charmaz is getting at when she attempts to contrast versions of grounded theory is a discussion of theory versus theorizing. Grounded theorists, she observes, often debate what stands as theory. To a classic grounded theorist, theory is an integrated series of concepts integrated by a core concept. For other grounded theorists, one overarching concept will do. Although she is in agreement with the need for conceptualization, judicious use of theoretical coding, and grounded theory as a full-service methodology, she is more supportive of more diffuse grounded theory, a product that need not have a core category. What Charmaz admits she ultimately prefers is theorizing, an engagement with data that is open to making connections and looking under data for latent possibilities, as well as imagined what might not be

evident. "Part of the interpretive task is being alert to possibilities for moving the analysis beyond the definitive evidence you currently have" (p. 148).

The Detour versus the Road Less Taken

I know how some readers will react to this statement from Charmaz, which brings to mind an experience my officemate had with a student who was assigned a response paper on some readings. When the colleague pointed out it was clear the student had not done the reading, the student retorted, "I was theorizing." To the unschooled, theorizing can seem like an anything-goes proposition. Theorizing, however, is a learned practice that can help researchers develop theoretical sensitivity. As Charmaz writes, "When you theorize, you reach down to fundamentals, up to abstractions, and probe into experience" (p. 135). I am all for such a workout. One good grounded concept can do a lot of work and provide fodder for several publications. But here's where classic grounded theorists are left with the question: shall we take the postmodern turn?

I am in agreement with some of Clarke's and Charmaz's criticisms about unreflexive and oversimplified grounded theories. The difference between my view and theirs is I am not certain a lack of reflexivity and other limitations are inherent in classic grounded theory; rather, I think weaknesses in these works, from the tiny topics and data sets to the restricted analysis, are the limitations of the grounded theorists. More people from the practical professions who find their way to grounded theory would do well to learn more about qualitative methodologies and get more familiar with social and cultural theory trends. Yet that remedy does not address the broader and more immediate question of grounded theory and the postmodern turn.

While there is no precise data on it, some of us who have attended the Grounded Theory Institute's troubleshooting seminars have started to think there might be a discernible difference between who uses classic grounded theory or objectivist grounded theory and those

who opt for more postmodern or other au courant variants. The seminars are heavily attended by people from the practical professions, nursing, social work, information management, for example, often practitioners working on doctoral degrees so they can teach and inform practice in their fields. Glaser puts it more bluntly in Doing Grounded Theory (1998, p.4):

> … grounded theory has made little inroads into those academic fields where the analytic interests of academics, not the subjects, are the only relevant interests in the field. Academic interests are typically quite benign; that is, they are of no consequence that can be considered crucial to anybody's fate.

In contrast, Glaser writes, fields dealing with "high impact dependent variables, variables that deal with learning, pain and profit" (p. 4) were more interested in methodologies that allow response to critical and constantly changing circumstances. For people working grounded theory in health studies, business, and other fields, and to some degree my area of media/journalism research, the type of theorizing Charmaz advocates is not as effective for some of the reasons Clarke and Charmaz champion diffuse theories: the indeterminancy makes intervention and accountability more difficult to bring about. Although I enjoy the intellectual stimulation I get when I read the kind of work Clarke and Charmaz do, I nevertheless appreciate that classic and objectivist grounded theories are often important for the practical fields in which they are published. That potency is due to classic grounded theory's insistence on a theory grounded in data, a core category, and integrated concepts. It allows for more effective communication on the floor where the work is getting done, and it is what makes classic grounded theory unique. Right now classic grounded theory is still a method unrealized, a road less taken, in the creation, dissemination and adoption of substantive and formal theory. Shall we take the postmodern turn? Classic grounded theory can learn from its critics, but a full embrace of postmodernist critiques would be an unnecessary detour.

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