# Family Development From the first child to the – not so –empty nest Manuela Ullrich, Ph.D.

#### Overview:

- 1. Family as main context of development
- 2. Family development, family stress and families as social systems
- 3. Transitions in psychological studies
  - Transition to parenthood
  - Integrating a second child
  - Transition to adolescence
  - Separation, divorce and stepfamilies
- 4. Launching center and empty nest

### What will you learn?

- Families adapt to expected and unexpected challenges over their life cycle – transitions
- This includes change in
  - roles
  - relationships
  - interaction patterns
- Reaching a new phase in family development as well as not reaching it can impact well-being and mental health
- Good relationships based on mutual trust help with transitions

### **Contexts of development**

- Context: from Latin, con = 'together', textere = weave, braid
  - Woven together cannot be separated any more
- Family is part of the microsystem: direct interaction
  - all influences by higher systems are filtered by the microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)
- The family is the closest, the longest lasting and the most important developmental context

### **Family** – 2 generations

- 'family' from Latin 'familia' meaning household
- central for this talk: intergenerational aspect
  - at least 2 generations: a parent generation caring for the offspring generation

## Studying Families: 3 major theoretical approaches

- Family developmental tasks
- Family stress model
- Families as social systems

# Family Developmental Tasks – beginning after WW2 Eveylin Duvall and Reuben Hill (Aldous, 1990; Martin, 2018)

- Families as a "whole" progress through a series of similar phases
  - Face similar transitions, need to make similar adjustments
- To understand the family, specific challenges in each phase need to be considered
- Families differ how well they master tasks at each stage of development

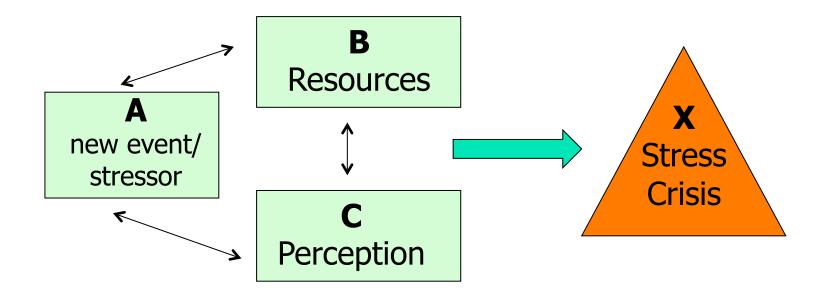
### Family Developmental Tasks (Duvall, 1957; 1977)

Phase	Developmental tasks
Couple (without children)	<ul> <li>Developing a good spousal relationship</li> <li>Integrating couple into extended families</li> </ul>
Childbearing families	<ul><li>Caretaking for young baby</li><li>Taking role as parent</li></ul>
Families with school-aged children	<ul> <li>Providing optimal support for children</li> <li>Integrating school-life into family-life</li> </ul>
Families with teenagers	<ul> <li>Transformation of parent-child relationship</li> <li>Accepting increased autonomy of children</li> </ul>

### Family Developmental Tasks

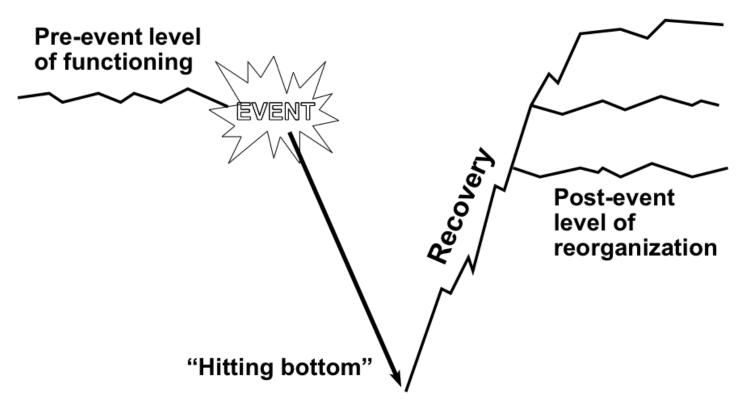
Phase	Developmental tasks
Families as launching centers	<ul> <li>First child gone to last child leaving home</li> <li>Maintaining supportive relationship towards children</li> </ul>
Middle-age parents	<ul><li>Empty nest to retirement</li><li>Integrating children's partners into family</li></ul>
Aging family members	<ul><li>Retirement to death of both spouses</li><li>Coping with loss/death of relatives</li></ul>

### Family Stress Model (ABCX) – Reuben Hill (1949)

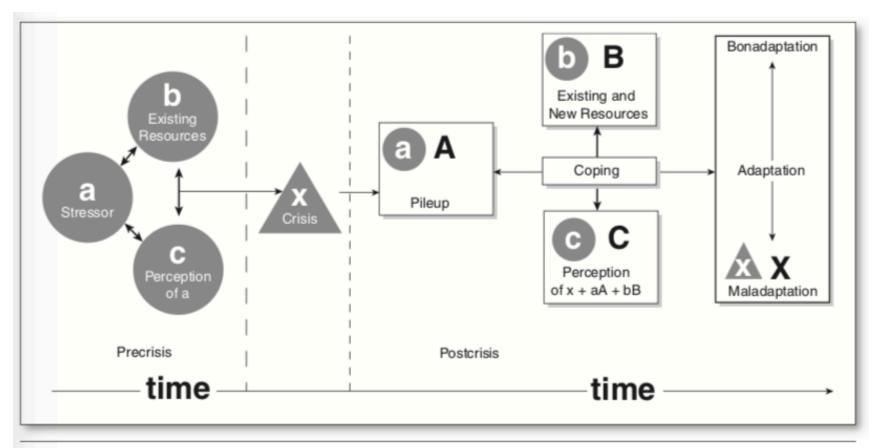


### Psychological "chaos" during time of crisis

#### The "roller coaster" model



#### Families coping with stress – Double ABCX

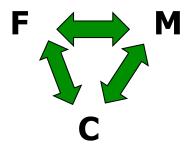


Source: McCubbin & Patterson (1983a).

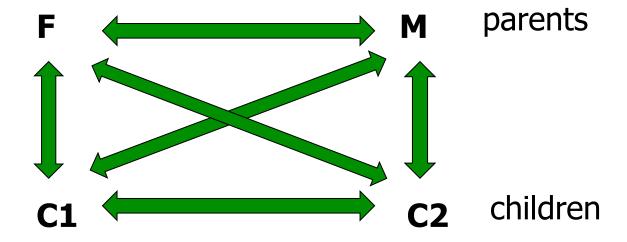
## The Family: Social Systems Perspective (P. Minuchin, 1985, 1991, 2002)

- Families are complex social systems
  - Reciprocal influences between members and between relationships
    - Mother influences child, child influences mother, parent-parent relationship influences parent-child relationships
  - Indirect, third party effects
    - Relationship between two individuals in family is influenced by third family member
  - Every person and every relationship affects every other person and relationship in the family

## Relationships in one child and two children families (Kreppner, 1988)



Integrating a second child as a process:
6 dyads 4 triads and 2 subsystems



#### Social Systems Perspective over time

#### Family system develops:

- Family as a "whole" needs to reorganize at each developmental transition
- Change is triggered by change of individual members
  - Normative change: Foreseeable
  - Non-normative change: Unforeseeable

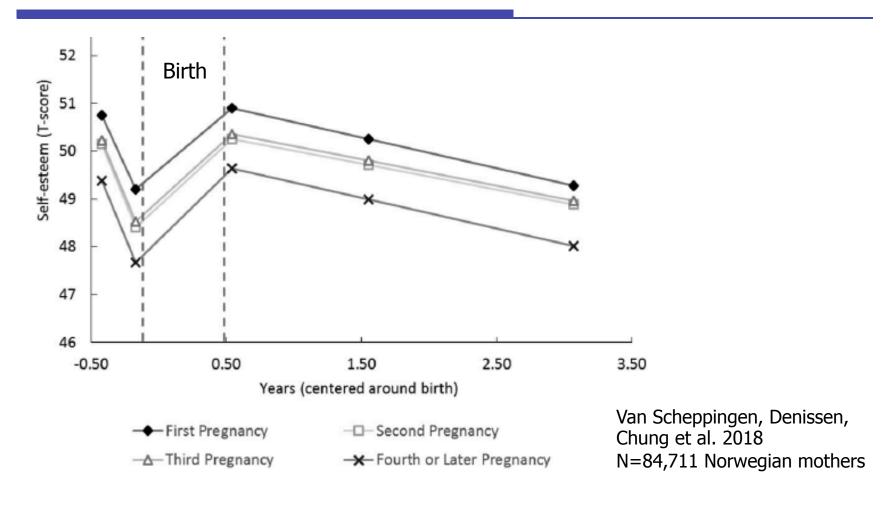
### Psychological transition

- Transition individual change on 3 levels:
  - biological
  - cognitive
  - social
- Transition as a family re-defining of relationships, roles and everyday family life
- Phase of "instability" followed by new defined roles, interaction patterns and relationships

## Partners become parents – birth of the first child

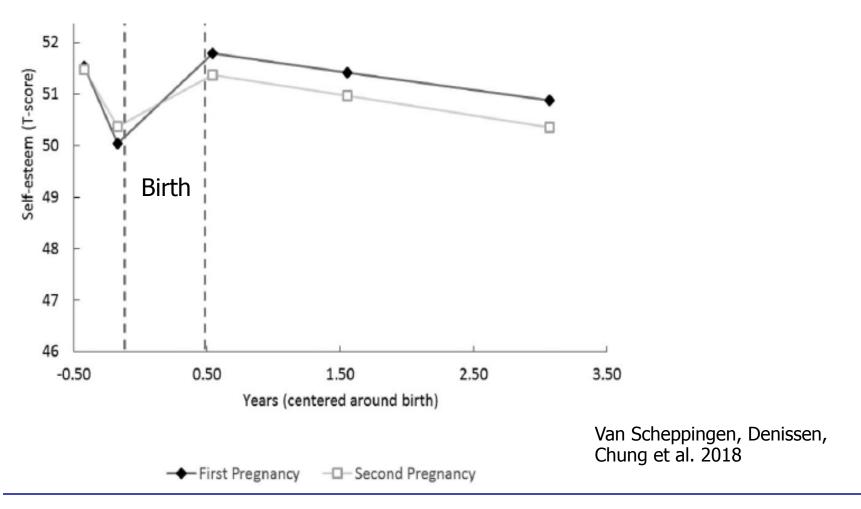
- Major change in life, nothing is like before
- This is an often wished for change, but is still a "developmental crisis" for the partners:
  - drop in relationship satisfaction (Cox et al, 1999)
- Results out of research on couples, gain for life rarely documented
  - parent-role as meaningful
  - loneliness and boredom are gone

#### Transition to motherhood: Self esteem



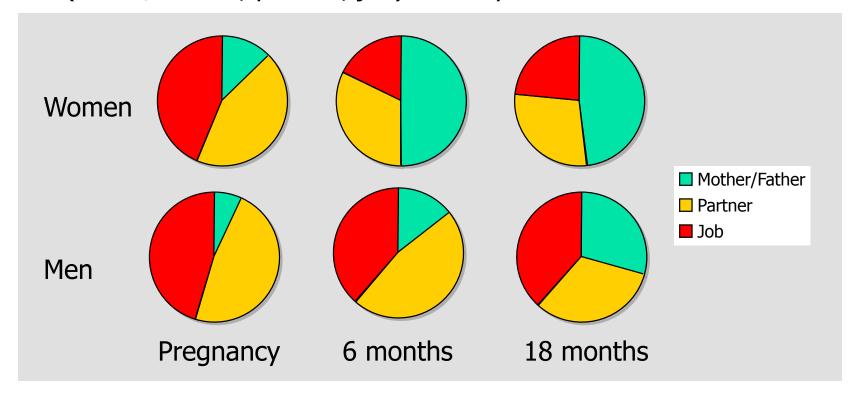
#### Transition to motherhood:

#### Self esteem same mothers at 1st and 2nd child

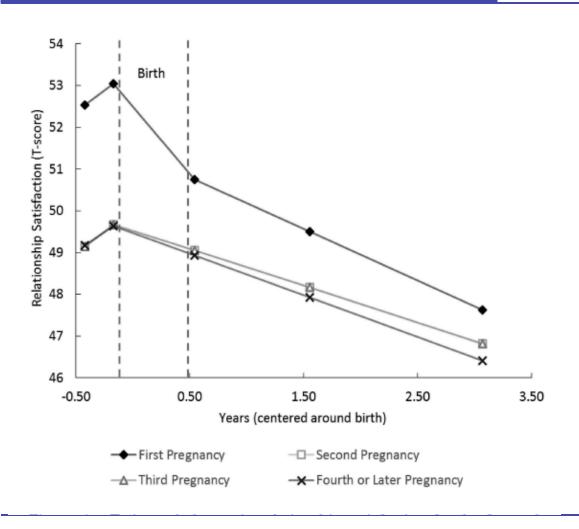


#### Becoming a parent (Cowan and Cowan, 2000)

 Changes in self-concept: How much do various aspects (father/mother, partner, job) define yourself?



## Transition to motherhood: Relationship satisfaction

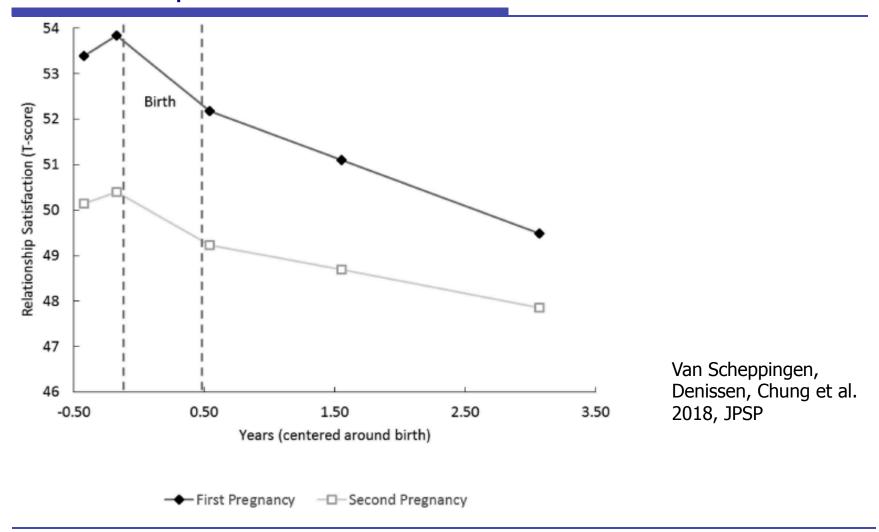


Van Scheppingen, Denissen, Chung et al. (2018)

N=84,711 Norwegian mothers

#### Transition to motherhood:

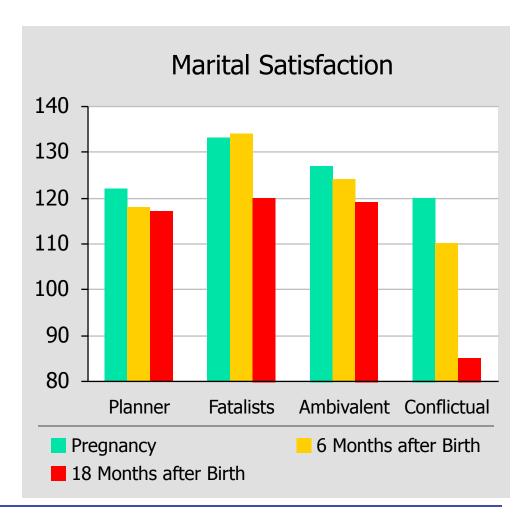
#### Relationship Satisfaction same mothers at 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> child



### Marital Satisfaction and Pregnancy Decision-Styles (Cowan & Cowan, 2000)

#### **Decision-Styles**

- Planner: Pregnancy and timing of pregnancy was planned
- Fatalists: Pregnancy was let to happen
- Ambivalent: Both parents have mixed feelings about pregnancy
- Conflictual: Couple has conflict about birth of child



## Transition to parenthood: Division of work

- Mothers do most of the additional work:
  - 3 hours a day versus 40 min. a day
  - 4 ½ weeks of 24 hour days per year (fathers 1 ½) or 3 months of 8 hours per day without week-end (Yavorsky, et al. 2015)
- What can partners do: help
  - mother's relationship satisfaction related to actual help with additional work
  - also true: "marital gavotte"
  - Traditionalizing effect on parenting roles

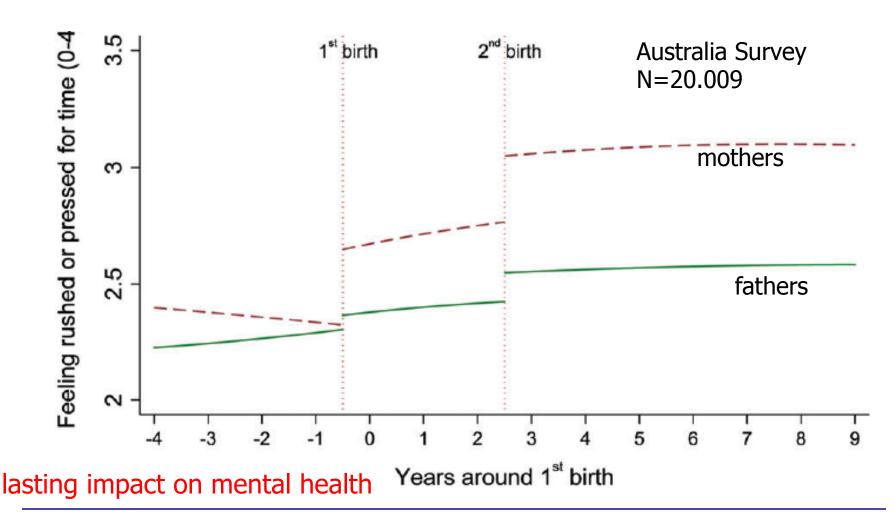
## Transition to parenthood: Parent-parent interaction

- What helps:
  - father's positive affection (Shapiro, et al. 2015)
  - father's humor (Theisen, Ogolsky, Simpson & Rholes, 2019)
- What makes it worse:
  - father's contempt (Shapiro, Gottman & Fink 2015)
- Interventions help

### Parents' subjective stress:

### Time pressure after 1st and 2nd child

(Ruppanner et al. 2019)



## Transition to second child: Partners' interaction behavior

(Volling et al., 2015, p. 192)

- Study with 229 married couples, divided into 6 groups according to their positive and negative interaction behaviour over time
- 2 groups (180 couples) did not show much change in their couple interaction – they cope well
  - slight increase in mother's negativity
- About 50 couples quite chaotic change over time
  - Rougher road

## How are these groups different? (Volling et al., 2015, p. 192)

- higher discrepancy in marital satisfaction
- "indictors of adaptive marital processes"
  - marital interaction
  - less destructive communication
  - social support
- enduring vulnerabilities of spouses:
  - neuroticism
  - depression

## **During early childhood:**Crucial role of **family interaction** for child development

Still face experiments (E. Tronick)

 Attachment as summary or "working model" of parent-child interaction (J. Bowlby and M. Ainsworth)

## **During childhood and adolescence:**Crucial role of **family interaction** for child development

 Negativ family expressiveness related to poor peer relations and aggression (L. Katz and J. Gottman)

 Harsh parent-parent conflict – children and adolescents suffer (Davies and Cummings)

Spill-over between relationships (Erel & Burman)

## Change in family relationships during early adolescence

#### **Parent-adolescent relationships**

- de-idealization of each parent: "I used to think you know everything"
- way of talking to each other changes (Granic, et al. 2003)
- parents still need to maintain guiding role and final say in some issues (who decides about buying a new car or which brand)

#### Whole family

- marital satisfaction can get more strained
- financial burden increasing (finding jobs for adolescents)
- relationship between siblings

#### Study: From Childhood to Adolescence

Max-Planck-Institute for Human Development Berlin, Germany (Kreppner & Ullrich, 1996, 1998, Ullrich & Kreppner, 2001)

- first child "engine" for change in the family
- peak of parent-child conflicts is around 13 years of age
- parent-child interaction needs to transform

### Study: From Childhood to Adolescence

(Kreppner & Ullrich, 1996, 1998, Ullrich & Kreppner, 2001)

- Data collection 1990 to 1994 in Berlin, Germany
- Families visited at home, average age of first child:

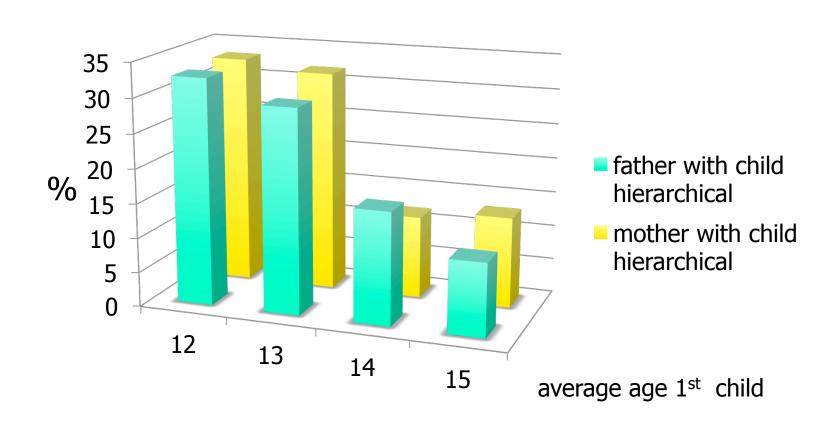
$$12 - 13 - 14 - 15$$

Video-taped while talking about everyday topics:

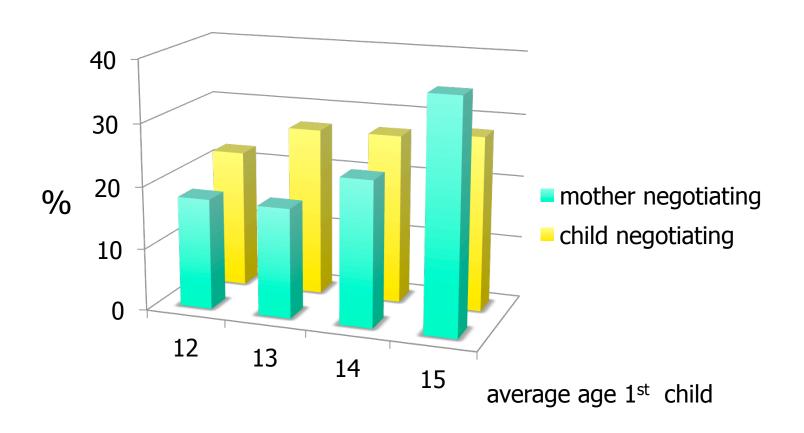
"The daughter/the son wants to paint her/his room in an unusual colour"

- Dyads: mother-father, mother-child, father-child
- Triads: mother-father-child

## Father with child and mother with child Hierarchical structure



### Mother with child: Negotiating



#### From childhood to adolescence

### - change in everyday interaction

#### Many indications for change:

- parent-child: more egalitarian
- mother-child: more negotiating
- parent-parent: more conflicts when first child's is 13
- family triads: less close, new sitting arrangements

#### Differential change according to

- relationship quality
- family structure (single mothers mothers from 2 parent families)

## Non-normative transition: Separation of parents

- General Canadian divorce rate 38% (2019)
- Having a child reduces separation/divorce by about 40%
- About 25% of children from married parents experience divorce (over 60% from common-law)

# Non-normative transition: Separation of parents

### Separation means:

- Additional stressor to normative development
- Some time of instability
- Most children suffer from separation
- Paradox: parents decide to separate but need to form a decent "co-parenting" relationship
- Effects on children widely disputed: short term versus long term consequences
- biological father-child relationship important (Suh et al., 2016)

# Non-normative transition: Process Model of Divorce (Amato, 2000)

#### **Stressors**

#### **Parents**

- Single-parent family
- Loss of emotional and social support
- Conflicts with partner
- Financial loss

#### Children

- Less parental support and monitoring
- Less contact to one parent
- Divorce related events (e.g. moving)

#### Adjustments

- Severity and duration of psychosocial problems
- Assuming responsibilities of new roles
- Defining new perspectives in life

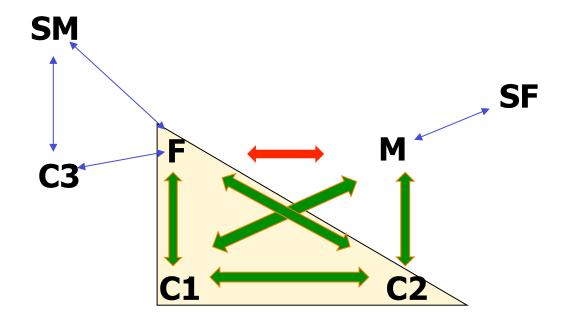
#### Moderating Variables

- Resources (individual, social, institutional)
- Subjective meaning of marriage and family

# Separation/divorce in research – effects on children

- First studies of effects on divorce:
  - short-term stress symptoms like drop in grades, social or mental health issues, disappear after 1 – 2 years
- Exception: "high conflict divorce"
- Long-term consequences:
  - if grown up with divorced parents own divorce more likely
  - lasting distrust in relationships
  - lifelong reproaches, often towards mothers

## After a separation: Co-parenting and blending

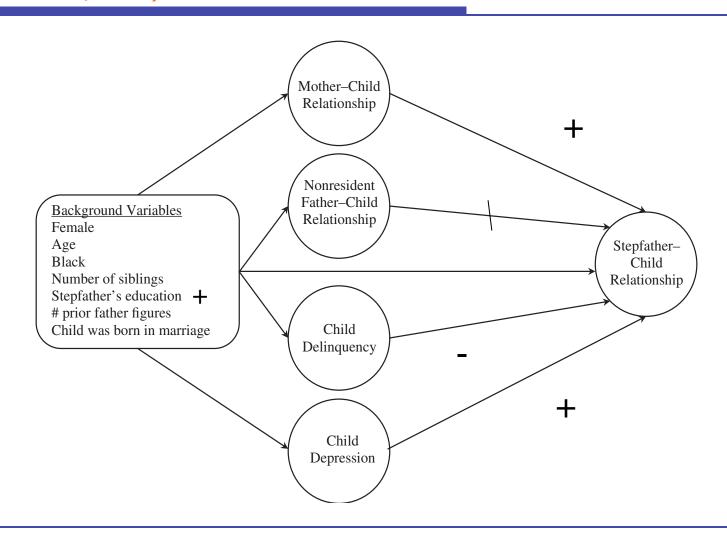


# Additional transition: Integrating stepparents/blending families

- Children do not just accept parenting by stepparent
  - "You are not my parent"
- Stepparents are less generous (financially) with stepchildren (own child) (Aquilino, 2005)
  - "We are paying child support, but he (stepchild) sees nothing of it"

Good mother-child relationship helps with accepting new stepfather (King, Amato & Lindstrom, 2015)

# Stepfather-Adolescent Relationship Quality (during 1st year transitioning to stepfamily) (King, Amato & Lindstrom, 2015)



# Families as launching centers: First child leaving up to empty nest

Next transition after adolescence:

- Starting an education (finding a paying job, partner)
- Psychologically "parent-child trust" helps: transition into marriage and own children more likely if mutual trust higher (Masche, 2008)
  - In general: parent-young adult relations improve after moving out
  - Financial support continues

## The (not so) empty nest

### Sociological trend: moving back in or never leaving

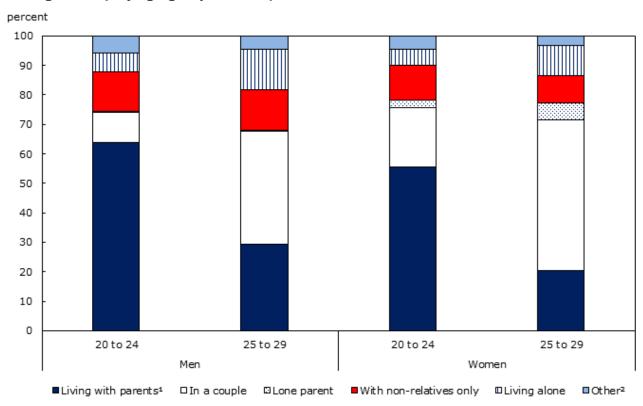
- US 2016 (age 18-34): 32.1% living with parents 31.6% cohabiting or married in own household
- Southern Europe up to 78% of young adults (age 20-29) living with parents
- Northern Europe: Scandinavian countries help with affordable housing for young adults - lowest numbers: 20%

#### Reasons:

- unemployment rate for young adults (over 50% in Italy or Spain)
- timed contracts 10 times higher than permanent jobs
- cost of housing

# Living arrangements young adults: Canada 2011

Distribution of the population aged 20 to 29 across types of living arrangements, by age group and sex, 2011



<sup>1.</sup> May also be part of a couple, with or without children, or a lone parent.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.

<sup>2.</sup> Other living arrangements include living with relatives, as well as children in census families for whom the parent is not the economic family reference person.

## Late nest leaving in Portugal

(Mendonça & Fontaine 2013)

What influences the young adult-parent relationship? Self report: age 20-29:

- Living arrangements related to independence but not related to young adult-parent relationship
- Financial independence not a very strong predictor
- Only: Young adults' emotional independence increases relationship satisfaction to parents

# Thanks for listening! Summary

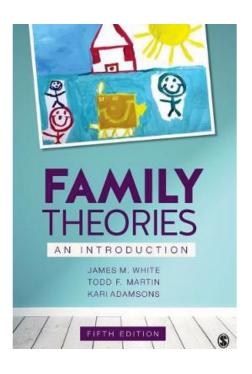
### Most families deal well with developmental change and stressors in everyday life

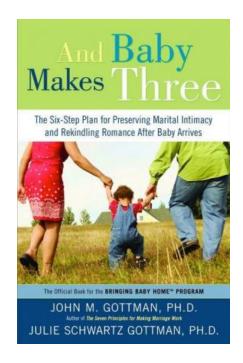
- Reaching a new developmental phase (as well as not reaching it) can impact psychological well-being
- Good relationships based on mutual trust go a long way
- The everyday way of talking to each other has a big impact on quality of family life
- Parents are model for adult relationships (conflicts necessary, not too destructive)
- Children lifelong responsibility (rewards: grandchildren, help from adult children during old age)

### **Reading Suggestions**

**Historical Overview:** 

Todd E. Martin 2018: "Family Development Theories 30 years later" Journal of Family Theory and Review.





New York Times: Young adults living at home, article and case descriptions: https://www.nytimes.com/ 2017/02/09/business/ europe-jobs-economy-youthunemploymentmillenials.html?emc=eta1)

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