Indian Journal of

Gerontology

a quarterly journal devoted to research on ageing

SPECIAL ISSUE

Vol. 18, No. 3 & 4, 2004

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
(A quarterly journal devoted to research on ageing)

ISSN : 0971-4189

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
Annual Subscription
US $ 50.00 (Postage Extra)
UK ^ 30.00 (Postage Extra)
Rs. 250.00 Libraries in India

Financial Assistance Received from :
ICSSR, New Delhi

Printed in India at :

Typeset by :
Sharma Computers, Jaipur
Phone : 2621612

INDIAN JOURNAL OF GERONTOLOGY
Vol. 18, Nos. 3 & 4, 2004

Intergenerational Issues and Challenges

N.K. Chadha
Guest Editor

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Editor

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CONTENTS

Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 301-317

Intergenerational Programs and Practices : A Conceptual Framework and an Indian Context

Matthew Kaplan and Narender K.Chadha

ABSTRACT

The present paper is an attempt to see the various intergenerational programming initiatives in the Indian setting where role of family suppose to be very important and significant. Various NGOs are involved in the process have been discussed and future strategies are encouraged. The idea of people coming together across age groups to learn from one another and work for the common good is nothing new; historically, it occurs as an integral part of our daily experience in the normal course of family and community life. However, demographic and social changes over the past several decades have made it necessary to supplement naturally occurring relationships with artificial means for helping people of different generations get to know one another and share in the richness (and challenges) of each others' lives

Key words : Intergenerational programming, Role of family, NGOs, Community.

One of the most significant demographic changes of our time is the rapidly expanding number of older adults in the world population. In India, as well as in countries across the globe the population is aging very rapidly.1 The statistical figures for India (see Table 1) show a phenomenal increase in the aged population over the years. The life expectancy level has also increased dramatically from the time of independence to the present, with further increases projected over the next two decades (see Table2). The growing elderly segment of the population will likely introduce new societal challenges for providing this group with health care,

financial assistance, and social and emotional support. The aging population trend, in conjunction with social and economic trends, is also ushering in new concerns about changing family values, living arrangements, and lifestyles.

Table1: Total elderly population in India (in millions) 1950-2025

Age group	1951	1991	2001	2021 (Projected)
60+	20.1	60.5	81.4	177.5
Percentage of total population	5.62	7.31	8.44	14.45

Source: Sharma, S.P. and Xenos, P. Ageing in India: Demographic background and analysis (Based on Census Materials. Occasional papers, Census of India, 1997).

Table 2: Life expectancy in India 1958-55to 2020-2025 A.D.

Period (A.D.)	Males (IN YRS.)	Females (IN YRS.)	Total (IN YRS.)
1950-55	39.4	38.7	38.6
1960-65	46.2	44.7	45.5
1970-75	51.2	49.3	50.3
1980-85	55.6	55.2	55.4
1990-95	60.1	60.7	60.4
2000-05	64.4	65.9	65.2
2010-15	67.6	70.5	69.0
2020-25	69.6	73.6	71.6

Source: World Demographic Estimates & Projections 1950-2025, 1988, pg. 264, Dept. of International economics & social affairs, United Nations. N.Y.

Family caregiving for older adult relatives is also a vital concern. The traditional Indian extended and joint family system has undergone changes due to factors such as mobility from rural to urban centers and transnational flow. Although the large proportion of the population lives in the rural setup (approximately 70 percent of the population), there is a trend of increased mobility of young adults from the rural areas to urban centers for making a living. This trend has certain economic benefits, but also some drawbacks such as contributing to the nuclearisation of families, leaving behind the elderly parents, grandparents back in the rural set up.

This has in various ways affected the lives of the elderly. Those who are frail and in need of emotional and social support, receive less care, and those who are more active and physically strong, are less available to provide support for younger family members. Support offered by elderly family members is typically in the form of doing simple household chores, maybe just fetching milk from the milk vendor in the neighborhood, buying vegetables from the market, picking up from or dropping the grandchild at the school, etc. But what has started to emerge and ail the society is that in the urban centers, where even middle class families struggle with the demands of living becoming costlier day by day, daughters in-law, who are the traditional elderly caregivers, are increasingly taking up outdoor jobs for improving the economy of the family. Under such compelling circumstances, it has become stressful for this traditional elderly caregiver to devote adequate time and effort both at work and back at home while taking care of elderly along with other household activities. This has, in turn, led to the weakening of the traditional elderly caregiver support system and an increase in elderly problems in this changing scenario. So leaving aside the traditional value system, these changes have forced the contemporary planers, researchers and policy makers to think over these issues. This is even reflected in the national policy for elderly, which has mooted the idea and made available provisions for extension of support for the institutionalized elderly care apart from the larger participation of the voluntary and community sector. There is currently a good deal of discussion, debate, and public interest directed toward finding ways to ensure/support the involvement of the family in elder caregiving endeavors.

In the midst of such demographic, economic, and social changes, there is growing interest in India, as well as in other countries experiencing such trends, for examining how people across the full age spectrum relate to one another, provide support for one another, and work collaboratively to meet community and societal needs and preserve cultural heritage and values. The "intergenerational relations" theme of this issue of the Indian Journal of Gerontology reflects this growing interest.

Studies of intergenerational relations, traditionally framed within a "family studies" context, tend to examine how people of

different generations perceive and behave toward one another. In the functioning of intergenerational families, grandparents have an important role and the positive influence of grandparents has been emphasized (Miller and Sandberg, 1998). Grandparents as "family resource" (Barrent, 1985), "family national guard" (Hagestad, 1985) and "family watchdog" (Troll, 1983) are described as important assets in multi-generational families cross culturally. In the Indian context, several studies have been done to explore various domains of intergenerational relationships. In a study focused on how value differences might affect intergenerational relations, Chadha, Veelken and Kaur (2004) examined the values held by members of different generations. They focused on moral values, social values, religious values, political values, and gender relationship values. Results showed that older adults were more likely than other generations to articulate values that have a social tilt and to be geared towards maintaining a balanced social order.

In Singh's (2004) study of the differences in the nature and perception of roles and expectations held by the elderly and younger generations, it was found that negative views toward the elderly were prevalent. Negative stereotypes were found to be held by the elderly themselves about their age (like being weak, dependent, nagging, inactive and sometimes highly emotional) as well as by younger generations who noted other deficits or limitations (for example, the elderly as being cognitively deficient, unsatisfied with their lives, rigid, intrusive and unimaginative). Other research focuses on: how grandparents and grandchildren perceive an "intergenerational gap" (Singh, 1993), the intricacies of the relationship of the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the Indian family (Khanna, 1999),[2] and how the role strain in mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationships appears in later life (Mathur, 1993).

Whereas the research noted above focused on identifying *existing patterns and perceptions of intergenerational relations*, there is another side to the emergent "intergenerational studies field" which focuses on *intervention aimed at strengthening intergenerational relations*. The two areas of intergenerational inquiry complement one another; in cases where there is limited understanding and cooperation between the generations, there is a need for intervention. Against the backdrop noted above – of

conflicting values held by different generations, negative attitudes toward the older generation, and strained intergenerational relationships, particularly in the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship – we now turn to a consideration of how to intentionally bring the generations together to improve relations and promote collaborative efforts to address familial, community and societal problems. It is in this latter area of the intergenerational studies field, often labeled "intergenerational programming," that the remainder of this article aims to make a contribution.

Classifying Intergenerational Programs:

There are many ways in which the idea of establishing intergenerational programs (or strategies) can take form. In fact, as the idea of "uniting generations" attracts more attention and effort on an international level, it appears as though the word "intergenerational" is beginning to mean different things to different people. Some see it as a programmatic imperative, others point to a broader framework for addressing social issues, formulating public policy, and constructing basic institutions. A bit of history can help put the breadth of definitions into perspective.

In the U.S., over twenty years ago, the National Council on Aging defined "intergenerational programs" as "activities or programs that increase cooperation, interaction or exchange between any two generations" (Thorp 1985, p. 3). The emphasis was on formal programs set up in schools, community organizations, retirement communities, hospitals, places of worship, and other settings. We are now beginning to see a conceptual shift in how intergenerational programs are defined and understood. The newly established International Consortium of Intergenerational Programs (based in The Netherlands), a sign of the growing internationalization of the intergenerational field, defines intergenerational programs as "social vehicles that create purposeful and ongoing exchange of resources and learning among older and younger generations" (Kaplan, Henkin, & Kusano, 2002, xi). This latter definition goes beyond a singular emphasis on structured *programs* of intervention. It is inclusive of cultural and communal practices for bringing the generations together, such as storytelling festivals and community traditions and practices for promoting discussion, awareness and appreciation of local history. Cornman

and Kingson (1998-99) use the phrase "intergenerational strategies" to refer to "policies and programs that transfer tangible resources and care across age groups, age cohorts, and generations within families" (p. 10). In this broadened context, intergenerational exchanges are seen as reinforcing a sense of reciprocity and interdependence between the generations.

Historically, intergenerational program developers have relied on a classification system which distinguishes between different approaches based on the direction of service being provided. Within such a framework, programs have generally been placed in three categories:

- Programs in which senior adults are brought in to contribute to the personal development (educational, psychosocial, career development, etc.) of the young participants or otherwise provide a service for them. An example would be a group of senior adult volunteers serving as mentors for youth who are having social and emotional problems.
- Programs in which the young participants provide some sort of a service to senior adults. An example would be a program in which high school students conduct "friendly visits" and help with household maintenance tasks for lonely, frail senior adults who are living alone.
- Programs in which young and elderly participants work jointly to accomplish an external goal. An example would be a collaborative effort in which participating youth and older adults jointly design, develop, and maintain a community garden.

Increasingly, however, intergenerational specialists are emphasizing the reciprocity of intergenerational exchange programs (e.g., Hatton-Yeo & Ohsako 2000), and more attention is drawn to the fact that even when one group is labeled as "service provider" they still receive great benefit from their exchanges with members of other age groups. Hence, the distinction between programs based on who is providing the services is an artificial one, drawn primarily for categorization purposes. Another problem with such a classification schema is that it does not adequately distinguish between initiatives

that afford very different levels of opportunity for communication and relationship formation.

An alternative way to classify intergenerational phenomena is according to the "depth of intergenerational engagement" that takes place. It has been suggested, and it is further emphasized here, that the "depth of engagement scale" (described below) is a more useful framework than direction of service provision by which to conceptualize, categorize, and assess the impact of various efforts to promote intergenerational exchange and understanding (Kaplan, 2002). The "depth of engagement" scale places programs and activities on a continuum, with points that correspond to different levels of intergenerational engagement, ranging from initiatives that provide no direct contact between age groups (point #1 on the scale below) to those that promote intensive contact and ongoing opportunities for intimacy (point # 7 on the scale).

Figure 1: Depth of Intergenerational Engagement scale

1———2———3———4———5———6———7
low high level
level of contact of contact

1. **Learning About Other Age Group :** Participants learn about the lives of people in other age groups, although there is no direct or indirect contact.

   Example: "Learning about Aging" programs designed to teach children about aspect(s) of the aging process.

2. **Seeing the Other Age Group at a Distance :** These initiatives facilitate an indirect exchange between people of two or more age groups. Participants might exchange videos, write letters, and/or share artwork with each other, but never actually meet in person.

   Example: A pen-pal program in which children in an after school club exchange letters with residents of a nursing home.

3. **Meeting Each Other :** Initiatives culminate in a meeting between the young participants and older adults, generally planned as a one-time experience.

   Example: A class of students plans and conducts a visit to a local senior center.

4. **Annual or Periodic Activities :** Often tied to established community events or organizational celebrations, intergenerational activities occur on a regular basis. Although infrequent, these activities might symbolize intergenerational and community unity and influence attitudes and openness toward additional or more ongoing activities.

   Examples: Intergenerational activities at an annual community festival in which youth and older adults dance and sing together.

5. **Demonstration Projects :** Demonstration projects generally involve ongoing intergenerational activities over a defined period of time. Depending on project goals and objectives, the intergenerational exchange and learning can be quite intensive. These initiatives are often implemented on an experimental or trial basis, and are frequently dependent on outside funding.

   Example: A 6-month pilot program, sponsored by an agency which provides teen parenthood support services. Senior adults who have successfully raised children are enlisted to mentor and provide support for pregnant and parenting teens.

6. **Ongoing Intergenerational Programs :** Programs from the previous category that have been deemed successful and valuable from the perspective of the participating organizations and the clientele are incorporated as an integral part of their operation. This extends to program and staff development such as preparing individuals to work with populations of various age groups.

   Example: Based on a partnership forged between a senior center, a community youth center, and an environmental education center, senior adults and youth plan and conduct the town's ongoing environmental improvement campaign. Systems are established to plan and conduct numerous projects, train and assign participants, and provide continuing support and recognition.

7. **Ongoing, natural intergenerational sharing, support, and communication :** There are times when the intergenerational reconnection theme transcends a distinct program or intervention. This is evident when the social norms,

institutional policies and priorities of a particular site, community, or society reflect values of intergenerational reciprocity and interdependence. Intergenerational engagement takes place as a function of the way community settings are planned and established. In this context, opportunities for meaningful intergenerational engagement are abundant and embedded in local tradition.

Example: A YMCA facility that houses a senior citizen center as well as youth programs. Older adults and youth engage in a variety of age-integrated activities.

Programs fitting into all points on this continuum provide positive experiences for participants with people in other age groups. However, if the aim is to achieve outcomes as ambitious as changing attitudes about other age groups, building a sense of community, enhancing self esteem, and establishing nurturing intimate relationships, it becomes important to focus on programs that fit into levels 4-7 on the scale. Programs would take place over an extended period of time, last anywhere from a few months to many years, and provide extensive interaction opportunities.

This is not meant as a criticism of initiatives that fit into the first three points on the continuum. Many intergenerational endeavors begin with one-time or occasional experiences of intergenerational interaction and, over time, as staff and participants become more interested and supportive of such engagement, are transformed into more substantial initiatives. In this sense, involvement in intergenerational work can be seen as a dynamic process. It is not so much a matter of choosing between program models, but rather a developmental, sequential process beginning with superficial or intermittent encounters and moving toward deeper, more sustainable interpersonal relationships and inter-organizational partnerships.

This framework for working progressively toward “deeper” levels of intergenerational engagement parallels other models for understanding intergenerational communication. Angelis (1996) notes that intergenerational communication is a sequential process that most naturally begins with superficial contact, and, over time, allows for more intensive, in-depth communication. Once program participants feel comfortable with one other, the idea of developing a relationship will seem more natural and comfortable. In aiming to

move up the "continuum of intimacy" (Angelis, p. 44), it is important to include activities that promote dialogue directed toward finding similarities and achieving rapport.

Bressler (2004), drawing from materials on mentoring, describes intergenerational communication as a series of concentric circles, with each circle representing an increased depth of communication:

Circle A (The outermost circle): New relationships start with superficial interaction— information is easily revealed to a stranger.

Circle B: Conversation consists of small talk, touching on general areas of interest.

Circle C: There is intellectual disclosure—ideas are shared which reveal thoughts, beliefs, and values.

Circle D: Conversation allows for personal disclosure—topics include needs, fears, goals, and feelings.

Circle E (The innermost circle): There is uncensored self-disclosure and a sense of a bonded relationship.

If the program involves one generation providing service for the other, such as in caregiving programs, the person who is receiving the care provides the volunteer with permission to allow the communication to "enter" into more intimate levels of communication. Ultimately, as a bond is developed, participants are able to communicate in the "D" and "E" areas, which involve personal disclosure and uncensored self disclosure. If a volunteer prematurely tries to move the conversation to personal topics, the other party might shut down the conversation by providing simple responses such as "I don't know." Over the course of the formation of a new relationship, both parties need to be sensitive to cues indicating each other's interests and comfort level in discussing personal topics (Bressler, 2004).

In the frameworks noted above for investigating intergenerational exchange, emphasis is placed on building relationships, not just "communicating." Intergenerational programs that build relationships have the greatest benefit for the participants. It is noteworthy that within modern gerontology, the physical and psychological health of senior adults is viewed in relational terms;

social connectedness and active community engagement are of paramount importance. And this is consistent with how most adults define "successful aging," i.e., primarily in terms of relationships, specifically caring about and getting along with others (Ryff, 1989). The most positive encounters with children and youth seem to be those that afford opportunities for seniors to form deeper relationships with them. The inverse also appears to hold true; when children and youth have trusting relationships with older adults, the older adults are more effective as mentors, educators, care providers, and supporters.

Intergenerational Programming in an Indian context

Whereas in most Western countries, intergenerational program design tends to be focused on developing relationships and support systems between non-related individuals, in India as well as in other parts of Asia (Thang, Kaplan, and Henkin, 2003), the emphasis is more on familial relationships. As clear from the following examples, efforts to engage the generations draw upon family values and cultural traditions that emphasize family relationships. In terms of the "depth of engagement" scale presented above, these examples entail a substantial level of intergenerational engagement, i.e., they would be categorized as fitting into points 4-7 on the scale. We focus on initiatives on this end of the continuum because, as noted above, they are the ones most likely to have a significant impact on the lives of the participants.

A classic Indian example of the involvement of the elderly in intergenerational projects places them in the role of "culture watchdog." Through a program established by the *Aastha* Foundation for Welfare and Development (a non governmental organization based in Delhi), a set of elderly "adopted" a community to educate youngsters in the neighborhood about local traditions and celebrated festivities, with the aim of keeping a sense of cultural identity strong and intact in this urban setting, despite the growing influence of westernization and influx of materialism. In this initiative, a group of the elderly (approximate n=158), ranging in age from 65-90 years are involved in two local residential colonies. The elderly interact with the children and adolescents in the age group of 5-15 years at least once in a week in a local community centre. The elderly pass on a sense of the importance of cultural values and

ethics to this segment of younger generation by ways of telling stories, sharing anecdotes and small talks in a congenial atmosphere. This initiative is a kind of action oriented approach aimed at arresting the erosion of the traditional value system and ethics from the younger generations of Indian society in metropolitan cities like Delhi.

Another example under the aegis of the *Aastha* Foundation for Welfare and Development is the "slow learner children's" program. In this initiative, elders' attach themselves with the private schools to provide teaching on a one-to-one basis to the slow learner children identified by the school during free time or after the schooling hours. Only those elderly who are good at math, social sciences and English are involved in this initiative. This is a free yeoman service rendered by the elderly. An interesting outcome of this program is that the elderly and young participants start perceiving and treating each other as surrogate grandchildren and grandparents. In the process, with family-like feeling, the children learn about the Indian rituals, traditions and value systems and the elderly in turn experience a revitalization of social and emotional links in their lives and they get to pass their time in a very productive way. The children and elders relate to one another with much care and tenderness.

There are also examples of school-based initiatives that aim to address concerns related to the care for the elderly. The concept of adoption of elderly by school children has been explored under the aegis of *Help Age India*, a voluntary non-governmental organization. This initiative involves at least 34 students from a leading private educational school namely Springdales school (Pusa Road, Delhi) who have adopted older people via the 'adopt a grandparent scheme' of Help Age India. The children pay a visit to these elderly in their villages on a regular basis. Observers to the program note that the children and the elderly appear to share genuine love and affection with each other.

In working to promote and nourish intergenerational relationships in a sustainable way, an important starting place is with cultural, community, and family traditions. Apart from the formal programmatic examples noted above, if we just analyze the ritual, and festival/ ceremony celebration sequence of a traditional Indian Hindu family, it becomes obvious that there are more than few

ceremonies and rites/rituals wherein we find that promotion of intergenerational bonding revolves around the elderly members of family. The celebration of festivals, *Diwali,* and *Rakhsha Bandan* are two quite popular and mass level festivals, celebrated with a lot of fervor by all age groups irrespective of age barriers. But what is important is that this natural sense of festivity is not considered to be achieved fully by the individual family members until and unless it is celebrated at home in the presence of the elderly members of the family. The customary auspicious prayer on such occasions is deemed to be incomplete in the absence of the grandparents, elderly parents and maybe elderly sons of the family (if living). Their mere presence and involvement in the prayer ceremony and afterwards celebrations make this event complete, satisfying and worth enjoyment for not only the younger members of the family but also keeps the elderly people happy and emotionally attached to younger family members.

The intergenerational connection theme is also played out in the context of development. One intergenerational initiative worth special note is the "Join Hands Campaign – All Ages One Spirit," initiated by *Help Age India* and implemented in various cities of India, including Baroda, Chennai, Madurai, Bangalore, Kolkata, Hyderabad, Chandigarh and Ahemdabad. This initiative involves a membership enrollment campaign in which people of all ages become sensitized to issues related to the care of the elderly. Members learn to see the ageing process as a positive phenomenon and help to encourage the active participation of all age groups in the process of development. This program helps to counter the relegation of the older people to the fringe of society.

In addition to this, the prevailing *Panchayati raj* system being adopted and implemented by the government of India to delegate power and decision making process to the grass root level has been making a contribution in maintaining the participation of the elderly in community affairs and thereby helping to keep intact intergenerational relationships. It is not that only elderly are members of these village *panchayats*; younger adults too do take part in the elections. However, it is the elderly segment of the population, by virtue of their experience and respectability, who most readily get selected for prominent roles in these institutions. It

is significant that this prevailing system is functional in rural areas where above 70 percent of the population lives. Thus, this institution has been making a remarkable contribution in terms of helping to maintain strong intergenerational relationships. Moreover, this is a positive sign of community development and elderly civic engagement.

Conclusion

At the root of intergenerational programs and practices is a firm belief that we are better off – as individuals, families, communities, and as a society – when there are abundant opportunities for young people and older adults to come together to interact, educate, support, and otherwise provide care for one another.

In India, where interest in intergenerational programming is growing, to speak about "programming" makes the most sense in the context of existing family relations and cultural traditions. Intergenerational initiatives are readily seen as a response to societal changes that threaten traditional norms and patterns of intergenerational relationships and caregiving. To arrest this growing "generational gap" and consequent issues arising out of, it will help to emulate the action oriented approaches of organizations like *Aastha, Help Age* India and other voluntary organizations which have been working effectively at the base level to bring generations together. These initiatives can be further extended out of the cities towards those rural areas where the plight of the elderly in distress largely remains unexplored and unaddressed.

As appealing as they might be, short programs represent just preliminary efforts to strengthen intergenerational relationships in Indian society. Ultimately, institutionalization can provide no succor to the majority of the population which is residing in the peripheral rural areas. To arrest the deterioration of intergenerational bonds, additional efforts must be introduced and promoted to strengthen community networking and awakening.

In the context of the "depth of (intergenerational) engagement" scale presented earlier, a good example of an initiative characterized as a "7," i.e., within the category of "ongoing, natural intergenerational sharing, support, and communication," is the *Panchayati raj*. It implies a more sustainable pattern of

intergenerational communication than that evoked by singular "projects," and "programs" of intervention. Hence, it should be embraced and supported as much as possible.

The idea of people coming together across age groups to learn from one another and work for the common good is nothing new; historically, it occurs as an integral part of our daily experience in the normal course of family and community life. However, demographic and social changes over the past several decades have made it necessary to supplement naturally occurring relationships with artificial means for helping people of different generations get to know one another and share in the richness (and challenges) of each others' lives. Hence we speak of structured intergenerational activities, programs, and policies, but, the ultimate vision is one of maintaining an intergenerational "way of life," with the circle of care left intact.

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1 In 2000, there was an estimated 605 million people aged 60 years or older. This number is projected to grow to almost 2 billion by 2050, when the population of older persons will be larger than the

population of children (0-14 years) for the first time in human history (UN Department of Public Information, 2002).

2 The relationship of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the Indian family system occupies vitality for a number of reasons due to the roles associated with these tags. In a multigenerational family, it is this relationship which occupies the central role of taking care of the elderly and children not only in the traditional, egalitarian families but also in the middle working class families. But this relationship in which the word 'mother-in-law' with its Sanskrit meaning 'more than a mother' in practice over the years has become a very stressful and dominating character in the relationship of mother in-law and daughter- in-law. This is best elucidated in the findings of the study conducted by Khanna (1991). This study was an effort in the direction of understanding filial behaviour, perception of old age, loneliness experienced and the role stress of the daughter –in- law and mother-in- law from the urban middle working and non working class centers.

Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 318-347

Intergenerational Relationsships : A Futuristic Framework

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ABSTRACT

The problem of generations and ageing, the resulting difficulties of generational succession, support, stability and change have represented one of the most enduring human dilemmas throughout history. The issue continues to prevail and has become even more pertinent. With dramatic increases in life span, many families would now have multiple generations living together at any one point of the time and more time will be spent in intergenerational roles requiring negotiation and understanding. At the same time, with accelerated advent of modernization and urbanization, the social norms for how these relationships should be conducted have weakened. The present paper aims to highlight the need and significance of studying the nature and dynamics of intergenerational ties. More specifically, intergenerational relations are being examined in terms of five major dimensions of solidarity as conceived by Vern Bengtson based on his research on generations in the family. These dimensions are affectional ties, consensual solidarity, normative solidarity, functional solidarity and associational solidarity. Each of these dimensions looks at a specific aspect of the nature of intergenerational relationships in a three-generation family. Examination of these dimensions based on carefully developed measuring instruments evoking elaborate responses is suggested to develop an in-depth understanding

of the crucial nature of intergenerational relationships. Knowledge of the dynamics of relationships in such families would help to guide decision-making by families and policy makers as well as assist professionals who provide clinical services to these families.

Keywords : Generational succession, Dimensions and Solidarity, Decision Making, Policy makers.

The problem of generations is as old as mankind's earliest writings and as contemporary as today's television serials. Life events and life crises frequently revolve around intergenerational relations and family events. The study of intergenerational relations and processes is central to theory of both individual development and societal change. It also has practical significance in that policymakers and practitioners use knowledge from research in formulating plans and policy.

Relations between age groups, and between generations within the family, have been the source of both profound solidarity and serious conflict throughout human history. In Indian literature, there is the story of the dedicated son Shravan who carried his frail elderly parents on his shoulders and Lord Rama's unquestioning devotion to his father who spent 14 years in the forests to abide by his instructions. At the same time, there are references to Aurangzeb who kept his father and siblings in prison. Similarly, in the Western literature, there are the biblical stories of Job and his irreligious sons, the revolt of the young leaders in Jeremiah's time, and the problems of King David and his rebellious son Absalom. There is also the saga of the unfortunate Oedipus, killing his father unawares and forever cursed as the result; and the mistaken confidence of King Lear in his offspring. Such examples suggest how tenuous the contract between family generations can be, and how severe the results of generational conflict can become. The problem of generations and aging, the resulting difficulties of generational/age group succession, support, stability and change, have represented one of the enduring human dilemmas throughout history.

Demographic Transition

India is following the demographic transition pattern of all developing countries from initial levels of "high birth rate high death

rate" to the current intermediate transition stage of "high birth rate low death rate" which leads to high rates of population growth, before graduating to levels of "low birth rate low death rate".

The age distribution of the population of India is projected to change by 2016, and these changes have significant implications for both family structure and the role of individuals in families. The population below 15 years of age (currently 35 percent) is projected to decline to 28 percent by 2016. The population in the age group 15 -59 years (currently 58 percent) is projected to increase to nearly 64 percent by 2016. The age group of 60 plus years is projected to increase from the current levels of 7 percent to nearly 9 percent by 2016. The number is expected to reach a staggering 21 per cent by the year 2050.

With dramatic increases in the life span, many people will now have adult relationships with their parents that last 30, 40, or even more years. These intergenerational bonds are perhaps the most stable and enduring ties people experience in our rapidly changing world. At the same time, social norms for how these relationships "should" be conducted have weakened, and many parents and adult children are struggling to understand their roles and responsibilities toward one another. Studying the nature and dynamics of intergenerational ties has now become a key task for social scientists, and a remarkably vigorous area for research.

The Indian Family

In India, the family is the most important institution that has survived through the ages. India has a documented heritage of stable family life and structure that has been able to withstand the vicissitudes over the centuries (Sinha, 1984). The Indian family, like most families in Oriental cultures, is considered to be strong, well knit, resilient and enduring .It is, however, important to point out that although families might be strong and resilient, heterogeneity and diversity characterize family life in India. There are regional and cultural variations in family structure and functioning. The norms and values related to family life vary according to religion, caste, social class, and residential patterns (Dhruvarajan, 1989).

Srivastava (1995) define as the family a transmission belt for the diffusion of cultural standards to the next generations, as a

psychological agent of society, as a shock absorber, and as an institution of many enhancing and valuable qualities. The joint family system or a multi-generational household has always been an integral part of the Indian culture. Researchers contend that the joint family still exists in all parts of the country. Even the most modern and nuclear family in contemporary times has the deep-rooted jointness in various structural and functional aspects (Bhatnagar and Rastogi, 1989). Chekki (1974) argued that despite forces of urbanization and industrialization which have had a significant impact on the traditional Indian family, the extended kin family system, organically fused within a network of wider kinship relationships composed of primary, secondary, and tertiary kin belonging to different generations still exists (p. 9)."

A joint or a multi-generational household includes kinsmen, and generally embraces three to four living generations. It is a group composed of a number of family units living in separate rooms of the same house. These members eat the food cooked at one hearth, share a common income, and common property and are related to one another through kinship ties, i.e., a father and his sons or grandsons, or a set of brothers with their sons and grandsons.

In the last few decades, some researchers have specified that the traditional joint family has "disintegrated" due to forces of urbanization and modernization (Conklin, 1988; Dhruvarajan, 1988; Ramu, 1977). However, in spite of the many changes and adaptations to a pseudo-Western culture and a move toward the nuclear family among the middle and upper classes, the modified extended family is preferred and continues to prevail in modern India. (Chekki, 1974).

Rationale and Significance

The demographic transitions suggest that many families would now have multiple generations living together at any one point of time. Family members will spend more time in intergenerational roles requiring negotiation and understanding in dealing with change. Coupled with this transition is the fact that the most of the families are residing in a multi-generational household permitting constant interaction among cross-generational members.

However, not much work has been done to examine the intergenerational cohesion and solidarity in such family structures.

Though this field may not be totally unexplored, yet due to rapidly changing environment owing to changing demographic conditions and modernization, the significance of such research is ever increasing. It has become important to examine the nature of intergenerational relations; to document the patterns of exchange, affectional ties, normative obligations and the nature of association and interaction among cross-generational family members in such households. It is also interesting to examine the degree of consensus on attitudes and values held by members belonging to different generations. Knowledge of the dynamics of relationships in such families would help to guide decision-making by families and policy makers as well as assist professionals who provide clinical services to these families.

Here we will be examining the various theoretical perspectives to understand the variability of explanation in the context of multigenerational relationships.

1. Social Conflict Theory

The ***social conflict perspective*** provides the intellectual and theoretical roots for studying the conflict between generations at both the cohort and the lineage levels (Chafetz, 1981; Collins, 1975; Dowd, 1980).

Three key points in conflict theory pertain to generational relationships and interaction. First, groups in society and individuals within families compete for scarce resources. Second, because there is unequal access to resources, conflict occurs. Third, conflict is not only inevitable but also essential in the course of social relationships.

The conflict perspective focuses attention on the distribution of resources among generations that varies across the life cycle. Young children depend totally on their parents and have little opportunity to use resources to influence parents. Children are dependent on parents for information and effect (Jones and Gerard, 1967); i.e., for ideas and for material support. As children grow older, they have a greater capacity for independence and fending for themselves. Because of this they gain a more equal balance of power with parents (Hesse-Biber and Williamson, 1984; Sprey, 1981). Conflicts between generations can occur at this point because children acquire more resources to challenge parental control. Parents are also less able to

control information because children are also becoming more involved with outside sources such as the peer group and the school. The goals of adolescents and parents may also clash. Parents may wish to continue to control their children's behavior while adolescents wish to establish autonomy.

At the other end of the life cycle, the balance of power may be reversed, as parents grow old and frail and become dependent on their adult children for support. Time may no longer be an advantage as older people retire from the social system and become less economically and socially active (Cumming and Henry, 1963). They may no longer have the advantage in physical size and strength, as children have grown up and the parent has become frail. Resources for the elderly include the bond of affection and obligation that has built up over the years in the process of caring for their children (Hesse-Biber and Williamson, 1984).

2. Functionalism

Functionalism focuses on conflict over developmental goals that may occur between generations. There are four key points in functionalism that contribute to the understanding of intergenerational relations. First, society is like an organism because it is a system of interrelated parts, each of which contributes to the maintenance of the whole. The family, for example, is essential to the functioning of society because it provides for reproduction and socialization of society's members.

A second key element of functionalism is teleology — looking at the end. Nothing exists for which there is no purpose. The purpose of each part is its contribution to the maintenance of the whole. That which exists, exists because it fills some purpose. If it does not fill a purpose, that entity will fail to survive. This is a very simple formula reflective of the social Darwinism of the late 19th century.

The third proposition of functionalism concerns the contribution of certain social arrangements to the functioning of the entire social system. With respect to the generations, the crucial question concerns the contribution of certain aspects of intergenerational relations to the maintenance of society. What is the contribution of solidarity between generations to the maintenance of families through time? What is the contribution to social history ?

Fourth, even social conflict is functional. In terms of the issue of conflict between generations, functionalism (unlike conflict theory) emphasizes the developmental goals of parents and children and how differences in these goals produce conflict. It also focuses on the contribution of that conflict to the maintenance of the society and of the family. Conflict is functional because it is the mechanism by which adolescents detach from their families of orientation and from their own family units. This process is important because it assures that the family, and society, will persist through time.

3. Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis entails the concept of conflict between generations, but portrays the locus of intergenerational conflict as being at a much earlier developmental period than adolescence. Freud (1938) suggested that there is first competition between parents and children and then accommodation as children internalize parental statuses and identities. The psychoanalytic perspective suggests that inter-generational relations may be a recapitulation of previous interactions between generations. That is, interaction that occurs in earliest childhood between parents and children will influence interaction between these individuals throughout their lifetime - even into middle and old age (Terman, 1984).

Psychoanalytic theory particularly addresses the conflict that occurs during the psychosexual development of the child, specifically, the resolution of the Oedipal conflict. According to this perspective, the outcome of that struggle influences future intergenerational relations - well into adulthood. Conflict between generations is the result of unresolved issues from earlier developmental periods or from defenses that are developed during those periods (Grumes, 1984). The outcome of psychosexual conflicts also influences the choices one makes in life, especially in terms of parenthood. Individuals will replicate their relationships with their own parents when relating to their children, and those relationships even will influence the decision whether or not to become a parent (Terman, 1984).

Psychoanalytic theory places the mechanism of influence within the process of identification. Identification from the psychoanalytic perspective is derived from the negotiation of developmental processes and the successful resolution of conflicts within those

stages. Individuals become extensions of their parents' self-ideal and derive their own superego from this process (Schwartz, 1984). Again, early childhood influences and the resolution of early childhood conflicts are important for understanding intergenerational conflicts in this perspective.

4. Interactionism

Interactionism has also been referred to as symbolic interactionism, self-theory or role theory. Three points are key to this perspective as it applies to the study of intergenerational relations. First, the social world is created in the process of negotiating meanings. Second, negotiations occur between actors, between individuals, in a given unit of the social world, and by means of symbolic communication; interaction of meaning is transacted by the use of symbols on which there is consensus. Third, individuals develop distinctiveness by virtue of their taking the role of the other and differentiating their self from other selves. The interactionist perspective has been highly influential in family sociology and indeed, is the most easily translated to particular problems of parent-child interaction.

Similarity and influence among generations, according to those who follow an interactionist perspective, can be seen as consequences of the basic human ability to symbolize. For example, Cooley's concept of the looking glass self implies that we imagine the image that others have of us and that we take that image and incorporate it into our own self-image. Self-image is an important determinant of behavior. Influence comes from the process of interaction between individuals, especially significant others, and from our ability to understand symbols within the context of that interaction. Analyses of intergenerational relations from an interactionist perspective may concentrate on the manner in which generations perceive one another in recognition of the fact that perceptions are passed on from one individual to another. Those perceptions are understood and used in order to give meaning to one's actions and to one's self. For example, in Fitzgerald's study (1983) of the perceptions of the elderly that are held by the elderly themselves and by college students, there was incongruence in the perceptions of the two groups about the elderly. From an interactionist point of view, this is important because those

perceptions will exert an influence on the context of social interaction.

5. Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is based on one main assumption: that learning occurs in a complex chain of rewarded responses. The simplest application to intergenerational relations focuses on parental behaviors as reinforcers of children's actions. The rewards parents give to children for behaviors that are congruent with parental expectations are very important in shaping behavior and in assuring similarity between generations. Social learning theorists propose that the locus of influence occurs within day-to-day interactions between individuals, especially in interaction with significant others such as family members. The perspectives of interactionism and social learning differ in the importance ascribed to the human capacity to symbolize. In social learning, symbolizing is an important mediator in the cognitive process that accompanies learning. From this perspective, learning is the mechanism by which others are influenced (Bandura, 1969). Individuals learn behaviors in the course of interaction with and observation of others. This occurs by two processes: (a) first-hand experience and (b) vicarious experience. In first-hand experience, we find an experience rewarding and wish to continue. Learning also occurs when we observe others being rewarded, and consequently we wish to follow their example. How we model others' behavior depends on such factors as attentional processes, retention processes, motive, and incentive. (The more status and prestige a behavior will give us, the more likely we are to adopt it.) Individuals are also influenced by the social-status cues of the modeling situation. Parents also exercise power in order to influence the process of modeling by nurturance, withdrawal, and fear of the aggressor (Bandura, 1969). Finally, peers and the mass media are sources of influence within the social learning perspective.

Most of this discussion implies that the primary flow of influence is from parents to children. However, those who follow the interactionist perspective recognize that the process of socialization is mutual and bidirectional, that influence flows from parents to children and back again (Hagestad, 1985). The flow of influence may vary across the life cycle . Young children are probably more influenced by parents than are parents by their children, because

parents control the information to which their children have access. But as children grow older, the flow of influence may become more balanced especially in times of rapid social change, when children are the carriers of new ideas into the lineage. When one considers the mechanism of influence within the interactionist perspective — that interaction is the sharing of meaning from one another — mutual influence is a natural assumption to make. Recent formulations of the social learning perspective also suggest that influence is mutual rather than flowing exclusively from parent to child. By existing within the same social environment, individuals influence one another in ways that are complex and multidirectional.

6. Social exchange theory

Social exchange theory is based upon economic principles of costs and rewards and the concept of reinforcement from behavioral psychology (Homans, 1958; Shornack, 1986; Thibaut and Killey, 1959). A basic premise is that social exchange and interaction will continue as long as that interaction is seen as profitable; that is, where perceived rewards are seen to outweigh the costs to an individuals; the individual is thus "overbenefitted". These origins led to a relatively mechanistic conception of exchange based heavily upon an individual's perception of a particular relationship and his or her ability (or inability) to acquire similar benefits from other sources. It follows, then, that the most satisfying relationships would be those from which an individual was most overbenefitted. Individuals believed to posses relatively fewer socially desirable resources, such as elderly adults or those from other disadvantages groups, would be seen as poor partners for social exchange and interaction and would be likely to have few "profitable" social relationships (Dowd, 1975). From the perspective, the purpose of social relationships is self-serving-to gain the greatest relative benefit possible.

7. Equity theory

Equity theory represents a distinct approach to understanding intergenerational relationships. This theoretical perspective suggests that relationships will be seen as most satisfying when they are perceived as "balanced". Balanced relationships are those in which an individual feels that contribution to, and receptions from, a particular relationship are about equal (Lerner, 1975; Walster,

Walster, and Berscheid, 1978). Similar to social exchange theory, this perspective suggests that individuals will be dissatisfied with relationships in which an individuals receives less than he or she contributes. In direct contrast to social exchange theory, however, relationships in which an individual would feel he or she has "overbenefitted" would also be seen as unsatisfactory. Although it may not be clear why individuals would feel dissatisfied in relationships where they were overbenefitted. One possibility is that having intergenerational relationships that are "unbalanced" this way may be seen as a threat to one's independence (McCulloch, 1990; Stoller, 1985). That is, the inability to reciprocate assistance may undermine mental health and/or well-being.

8. Need Theory

This theory suggests that intergenerational relationships and support are largely motivated by need (Deutsch, 1975). The idea is that parents monitor the well-being of their children (and children monitor the well-being of their parents) and offer assistance when they perceive that there is a need. We term support given in response to an identified need or transition "contingent exchange," indicating that it is neither the exchange nor the transition alone that matters, but rather the moderating effect of support given or received. This perspective has been the de facto theory behind a good number of the quantitative models of assistance rendered across generations (Eggebeen, 1992). That is, modeling intergenerational resource flows is largely (though not exclusively) built around variables measuring the resources and needs of each generation. This is also a standard theoretical approach in economic theories of intergenerational transfers of time and money (Becker, 1974).

9. Social-cognitive theory

Recent social-cognitive work on expectations for exchange and norms of reciprocity suggests that social exchange and equity perspectives may be inadequate to capture supportive exchanges in long-term relationships (Davey and Norris, in press). Both older and younger adults appear to indicate that contingent exchange best characterizes their close relationships with specific others, whereas social exchange is seen as most appropriate in more distant relationships. It is interesting to note that older adults appear to make

these distinctions more strongly in very close relationships than do younger adults.

Overall, the theories present a comprehensive view of the nature and complexity of intergenerational relationships. Social Conflict theory, Functionalism and Psychoanalysis focus on studying the conflict between generations. The conflict perspective focuses on the distribution of resources among generations that varies across the life cycle. Fuctionalism emphasizes the developmental goals of parents and children and how differences in these goals produce conflict.

Psychoanalysis views conflict between generations as a result of unresolved issues from earlier developmental periods or from defenses that are developed during these periods.

Interactionism concentrates on the manner in which generations perceive one another in recognition of the fact that perceptions are passed on from one individual to another. Incongruence in perceptions is important because those perceptions will exert an influence on the context of social interaction. Social learning view emphasizes parental behaviors as reinforcers of children's actions.

Social exchange theory and equity theory examine intergenerational exchange patterns. The former suggests that the purpose of social relationships is self-serving to gain the greatest relative benefit possible while the latter suggests that relationships are seen as most satisfying when they are perceived as "balanced". The social cognitive theory, on the other hand, indicates that contingent exchange best characterizes close relationships whereas social exchange is seen as most appropriate in more distant relationships.

Thus, examination of the theoretical perspectives contributes to an understanding of the nature of something as complex as intergenerational relations and its dynamics.

Futuristic Conceptual Framework

Based on the research of Vern Bengtson on generations in the family (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991), intergenerational relations can be conceptualized in terms of five major dimensions of solidarity:

1. Affectional ties (sentiment/intimacy) -It involves the subjective judgments of the quality of interaction reflected in the expressions of love, respect, trust, appreciation and recognition.

2. Consensual solidarity (intergenerational consensus)- It refers to the degree of agreement on values, attitudes, and beliefs among family members.
3. Normative solidarity - It refers to the perception and strength of commitment to performance of familial roles and obligations.
4. Functional solidarity (intergenerational family exchanges) – It involves the extent and type of help exchanges across generations.
5. Associational solidarity- It refers to the frequency and patterns of interaction in various types of activities.

Affectional ties (Subjective judgments of the quality of the relationship

Affect represents an individually held cognitive evaluation of a shared relationship. Every individual has his own subjective perception of the intergenerational family relationship, which may not necessarily be linked to an objective reality. Affective aspects of the inter-generational relationship include such dimensions as understanding, trust, fairness, respect and affection intensity, liking, loving, approving, accepting and so on.

Several studies of high-school students indicate that the parent-child relationships are usually perceived as satisfying. (Bengtson and Schrader, 1982). Andersson (1973) found that only one-quarter of Swedish youth stated that they did not have warm feelings for their parents. Lowenthal et al. (1975) stated that about half of the middle-aged parents had only positive things to say about their children. For older ages, Bengtson and Black (1973) examined trust, understanding, fairness, respect and affection and found that high levels of regard were reported by both older parents and their middle-aged children. On the other hand, older parents reported higher levels of sentiment, while their children reported higher levels of giving help.

Affectional ties between grandparents and -grandchildren have also been examined. Wiscott and Kopera-Frye (2000) studied the sharing of traditions, beliefs and customs (i.e. culture) between grand parents and grand children. 246 adult grand children were surveyed. Results indicated that most respondents noted moderately close

relationships with their grand parents and reported a relatively high level of interaction with them.

Several studies have examined how relationship quality/ perspectives on intergenerational affect co-vary with well-being. Quinn (1983), Mancini and Bleiszner (1987) found a positive correlation between feelings of affection and older parents' well being. Further, several studies (Rossi and Rossi, 1990) indicate a slightly higher perception of subjective solidarity on the part of the elderly parent. This is interpreted as a " generational stake" referring to the greater investment that older family members may have in perceiving relationships in positive light. (Bengston and Kuypers, 1971) However, Kauh (1997) suggested that the phenomenon might be culture-specific. He found expressions of less overt affection toward children from Korean-American parents.

Kauh (1997) also examined the perceptions of respect for family members. He found that about 70% of Korean elderly reported that their children showed them respect whereas more than half of adult children responded that they didn't show their parents respect. Adult children expressed that their belief of "showing elders respect" was not actualized in their behaviours. It was suggested that low expectation of respect from aged parents and guilt feeling by adult children probably build the strength of intergenerational affection in Korean- American families.

Suri and Chadha (2003) found the old age group reported their relationship with their grandchildren around the level of friendliness, discussions over issues of common interest, career plans, future goals etc. Further Singh and Chadha (2004) conducted a study to understand the intergenerational relationships fro the perspective of life satisfaction, attitude and role expectation of the grandchildren toward their grandparents and vice versa. The study did not see many differences in terms of the role expectations and hope for the health interaction over a period of time to strength better understanding. Rikhye and Chadha (1998) did find the impact of intergenerational gap on the well being of the elderly Indian population.

Overall, research has documented close relations among members of different generations. However, not much research has been done to examine this aspect of family relations in a three-generation study evoking responses from members of the three

generations simultaneously. Future study should make an attempt to examine the affectional ties and subjective judgments of the quality of interaction among members belonging to the three generations. The responses regarding the subjective nature of the relationship reflected in expressions of trust, love, closeness etc. would be evoked from each member in the relationship.

Consensual Solidarity (Intergenerational Value Similarities And Differences)

Several studies have established that correlations between values and attitudes of children and parents are substantial. Riley and Foner (1968) reviewed some of the relevant literature and found that older people are consistently more opposed than younger people to change and to non-conformity, unless their own economic well-being is involved. However, difference in values between generations, looked at globally, may be considerably greater than when differences between parent and child in the same family are examined.

Flacks (1967) and Keniston (1967) have pointed out that student share many values with their parents, but differ considerably from the moral values of their parents' generation. Thus, a generation gap or at least a substantial generational difference can exist without assuming discontinuity of values between parents and their children.

Troll (1970) conducted interviews with college students and their parents to determine the resemblances in both values and personality character. Many statistically significant correlations were obtained between father-son, father- daughter, mother-sister and mother-daughter dyads, particularly on the variables pertaining to values.

Kalish and Johnson (1972) studied a 3-generational sample of 53 young women, their mothers and their grandmothers. Two constellations of values were selected for measurement – first was social issues and consisted of scales measuring attitudes toward contemporary social political views, religiosity and student roles; the second was social – gerontological and consisted of scales measuring attitudes toward old people, one's own aging and death. Results indicated that Generations 1 (young) and 2 (middle-age) had greater agreement than either of the other pairings. However, on 4 of the 6

scales, value of daughters and grandmothers were more highly correlated than values of mothers and grandmothers. The middle-aged sample scored in an intermediate position on 4 of the scales, but showed greater fear of aging and less regard for older persons than either daughters or grandmothers.

Thurnher, Spence and Lowenthal (1974) investigated values, goals and interpersonal perceptions of high school seniors and parents of high school seniors. Categories included were instrumental-material, interpersonal-expressive, philosophical-religious, social service, ease and contentment, hedonism and personal growth. It was found that instrumental – achievement values were the most frequently mentioned purposes among high school boys (44%) and the second most frequent among men (41%). These values were accorded lesser significance by high school girls (30%) and very little by women (15%). Generations were found to differ in youths' heightened expectations from life manifest in their greater concern for happiness and enjoyment (mentioned by 32% and 41% of boys and girls, respectively as compared to 11% and 22% of men and women) and their desire to find their unique niche in life. Regarding the values relative to moral conduct or service to society, no generational differences were noted. In the exploration of generation gap, goals ascribed to the other generation are also examined. High school seniors were shown to have more favourable views of the older generation and more accurate perception of its goals, than did the parent sample of the younger. Though conflict was highly prevalent, it rarely reached severe proportions.

Brody, Johnsen, Fulcomer and Lang (1983) collected data on attitudes toward gender- appropriate roles and responsibility for care of aged parents from 3 generations of women (N=403). Elderly women, middle- generation daughters and young adult granddaughters were compared on responses to Likert-scaled attitude items relating to gender appropriate roles and care of elderly persons. Significant generational difference occurred on attitude items relating to sharing of child care, parent care and household tasks by men and women; the favourable attitudes being stronger among women of each successively younger generation. Despite these trends, a substantial majority of each generation endorsed all propositions favoring shared roles i.e. generational difference, though significant, reflected relative strength of endorsement rather

than opposing views. Further the oldest generation was most receptive (and the youngest, the least) to formal services for elderly persons, but all 3 generations agreed that old people should be able to depend on adult children for help.

Thompson, Clark and Gunn (1985) studied a sample of college students and both their parents. Each generation's actual attitudes and their perceptions of the other generation's attitude were examined. The results confined the hypothesis that youth perceive less intergenerational continuity in attitude than their parents.

Teo, Graham, Yeoh and Levy (2003) examined the relationships between two generations of Singaporean women (aged 27-72 yrs. old) and their divergent values about gender roles, preference for the gender of children, family formation, care-giving and living arrangements. It was found that younger women embrace more western views, while their older counterparts upheld Confucian values. Here, the concept of ambivalence is employed to show that contradictory values co-exist and that intergenerational ties encapsulate the negotiated outcome of complex attitudes, values and aspirations.

In general, studies have demonstrated both generational differences and similarities in attitudes and values. The examination of specific attitudes and values held by members of different generations and contrasting them with each other would, indeed, be interesting to examine, considering the rapid changes the Indian society is going through, due to the forces of urbanization and modernization.

Normative Solidarity (Familial roles, responsibilities and obligations)

Filial responsibility expectations held by aging parents are defined as the extent to which adult children are believed to be obligated to support their aging parents. What do elderly parents expect of their adult children? What do adult children feel obliged of? What is the content of their respective roles?

Indeed persons of all ages vary substantially in the extent to which they believe that adult child should support and assist their parents, or conversely, that elderly parents are entitled to assistance from their children. There is evidence that filial expectations held by

parents and their adult children influence family relationships and their own well-being.

Seelbach and his colleagues conducted a series of studies on the filial expectations of older adult parents (Hanson, Sauer and Seelbach, 1983; Seelbach, 1978; Seelbach and Sauer, 1977). They investigated the extent to which parents expect their children to assist in times of need, correlates of such expectations and predictors of actual types of assistance that adult children provide. The results of these studies revealed no racial difference in types of expectations. There were gender differences with females more likely than males to endorse living with their children. Parents who received high levels of filial support from their children were likely to be females, of low income and in poor health. Further they found that levels of filial expectations were significantly and inversely associated with parental morale.

Kivett and Atkinson (1984) studied filial expectations as a function of number of children among older rural transitional parents. They compared 3 groups of parents- parents with an only child (n=57), parents with 2 or 3 children (n=139) and parents with 4 or more children (n=83) with regard to filial expectations. They found that number of children have little implications for filial expectations. Parents of all family sizes had similar moderately high expectations for help and planned to call upon a child with equal frequency in a crisis situation. The data suggested that older parents expect children to assume an appreciable level of responsibility in meeting important health, economic and emotional needs regardless of how many offspring there are to share in this assistance

Bleiszner and Mancini (1987) reported a study in which old parents held expectations for more abstract demonstrations of filial responsibility such as affection, thoughtfulness and open communication. They expressed concern about how to negotiate the desired level of non-interfering closeness with their children and how to discuss their wishes with respect to issues such as care in a future medical emergency, long term care preferences, funeral arrangements and disposition of their property after death. The findings suggested that well-educated, healthy, resourceful elderly parents are comfortable with routine interaction and do not expect direct assistance except for the most extreme circumstances.

Lee, Netzer and Coward (1994) examined the relationship between older parents' filial responsibility expectations and patterns of intergenerational assistance. They found that parents' expectations are positively related to the assistance they provide to their children, but are unrelated to assistance received from children, when parents' resources (income, education and health) are controlled.

Kauh (1997) examined intergenerational relationships and cohesiveness in the Korean-American family. In general, it was found that the older Koreans have modest expectations of filial obligation. The elderly recognized filial piety as a traditional ideal that they could not impose on their children. They do not expect it unless their adult children willingly provide for their needs. Further, regarding perceptions of filial responsibility, elderly respondents expected a visible outcome such as material rewards and economic support from their adult children.

Bansal and Chadha (2003) observed that most of the important matters and decisions in the family are taken by the young without consulting their elderly parents and the elderly complain that they are not receiving attention from their children. This is indicating that the power is shifting from the hands of elderly parents to their young adults.

In general, studies of familial roles and obligations have focussed on filial expectations held by aging parents. Norms regarding familial obligations as perceived by members of different generations have not been examined in a three-generation sample. The strength of commitment to familial responsibilities and to the performance of intergenerational roles should be examined.

Functional solidarity (Help exchange/ Intergenerational assistance)

A common domain of parent-child interaction pertains to the nature of support in the relationship i.e., the nature of instrumental, emotional, financial and informational exchange and reciprocity. Among the aspects of assistance and support that have been included in various studies are caring for someone during illness, giving money, providing gifts, running errands, preparing meals, taking care of children, giving advice in home management, cleaning house and making repairs, giving advice on jobs, business matters and expensive purchases; helping with transportation, counseling about

life problems and giving emotional support and affection. (Lee and Ellithorpe, 1982; Mancini and Blieszner, 1989, Chadha and Mongia, 1997)).

Kendig, Koyano, Asakawa and Ando (1999) identified the informal relationships, which provide social support to older people in Japan and Australia. They found that spouses, daughters and sons were major providers of expressive support. Older Australians had more expressive support from friends while older Japanese had more instrumental support from daughters- in- law.

Koyano *et al.* (1994) found that older Japanese perceive co-resident family members as especially important for social support. However, as with the modified extended families in Western societies, older people also reported support from non-resident children and other non- resident kin. Expectations for support from non-kin were limited, particularly by older people having low functional health. Older women were found to have fewer close kin available than older men but the women were more likely to expect social support from neighbours and friends.

Willigen and Chadha (1999) revealed that a majority of households in the samples were either "joint" or of sufficient size to suggest jointness. Many elderly placed a high value on the way they were treated within the joint family context. The relationship between the welfare of older people and the nature of the family was clearly reported. Elderly regarded intergenerational reciprocity as important. One man in the study reported, "To me the joint family is the best system. One learns from his parents and children learn from their parents. My sons look after me very well in spite of my paralytic problem because they saw I took a lot of care of my own father that is why they are doing a lot of seva. Then their children will see their father taking care of me and will do the same in return".

They found a very strong association between life satisfaction and subjective health. Also highly correlated with life satisfaction, were network size and power. It was generalized that successful aging is a function of health, power and social involvement. Interestingly, it was found that age did not have a significant correlation with either life satisfaction or network size.

According to Kahn and Antonucci (1980), persons proceed through the life course surrounded by a convoy or network of individuals, which can be represented by a set of co-centric circles. The convoy members who are closest emotionally occupy that co-centric circle immediately surrounding the central figure. Often these individuals are family members. These closest persons are believed to remain relatively stable throughout life, giving many different kinds of support to the central figure in accordance with specific needs. Recent tests of the convoy model revealed that middle aged and elderly persons receive significant amount of emotional and health support from the members of their " inner circle".

Reciprocity in help exchange

A number of studies have shown that elderly people provide social support as well as receive social support (Wentkowski, 1981) and numerous investigators have examined the reciprocity in social support between elderly people and their family members. (Antonucci, 1990; Kahn and Antonucci, 1980). Infact, researchers revealed active exchange networks between adult children and their middle aged and aging parents.

Aldous (1987) reported that children help their parents with tasks that require physical energy, while parents help their children financially. Stoller (1985) reported that older parents provide support of various kinds to their adult children, they are not only the recipients of support; the provision of support by parents appears to be an enduring aspect of their role. Women are most likely to be involved in these exchanges, both as recipients and as providers. Cheal (1983) noted that even with regard to economic assistance to others, older people feel substantial obligation. On average, older parents are more likely to give help to their children rather than to receive help from their children. (Riley and Foner, 1968).

Zopf (1986) asserted that the durability of family relations in part stems from the functions that the family fulfils for an older person and similarly, the inputs that the older person has into the family.

Atchley and Miller (1980) said that neither the parent nor the child generation should be considered exclusively as a giver or as a receiver of aid when all types of support are considered, and that several patterns of aid exist: a direct flow of aid from the old to the

young, flow of aid from the middle generation to their parents and to their own children and a true reciprocal flow among all generations in the family.

Number and gender of adult children

The number of adult children is generally found to be an important determinant of intergenerational exchange patterns. Although some argue that one child usually takes the role of the primary caregiver (Horowitz, 1985), others suggest that the more children an elderly parent has, the more support and assistance they are likely to be obtaining from their children, and in some cases, giving to their children (Kivett and Atkinson, 1984; Lee and Ellithorpe, 1982).

Researchers have also investigated the importance of the gender of adult children in exchange relations. Several studies report that daughters of older parents provide larger, more diverse amounts of assistance than their sons (Spitze and Logan, 1992; Stoller, 1985). Rossi and Rossi (1990) extend this by comparing all four combinations of gender across the two generations, finding that help exchanged was most extensive in the mother-daughter relationship.

However, some studies suggest that sons are the major providers of support for elderly people e.g. Lin, Goldman, Weinstein, Gorrindo, Seoeman (2003) examined the patterns and determinants of four types of support provided by adult children to their parents with particular attention to differences in the helping behaviour of sons and daughters. The analysis was based on 12,166 adult children from 2,527 families. The authors found that usually only one child in a family provides help with activities of daily living (ADLs) or instrumental activities of daily living (ADLs) but for financial or material support the responsibility is likely to be shared among siblings. Sons generally carry the major responsibility for taking care of their older parents and daughters fulfill the son's roles when sons are not available.

Thus, studies suggest that parents and children engage in mutually supportive exchange patterns. Their contact is frequent and within that contact time, they exchange a variety of personal services. An attempt is be made to examine the pattern and extent of such exchanges within generational pairs in a three-generation Indian family. Specific aspects of the exchange relation should be examined

including financial, emotional, informational as well as service assistance.

Associational Relations

One important aspect of intergenerational relations involves the amount of contact and social interaction between members of different generations. It includes two components: verbal communication and shared activities. In general, more contacts /social interaction imply a greater degree of solidarity and confidence in the family.

Research consistently demonstrates that intergenerational contact is a persistent feature of family life. American studies emphasize the frequency of interaction and have demonstrated that parents and adult children see each other often or keep in touch by telephone, letter-writing and lengthy visits (Sussman, 1976). Angres (1975) found contact frequent among the families she studied, even though there was variation in the number of areas open for communication and the number of activities shared.

Kahana and Kahana (1970) studied the perceptions of children (aged 5, 8 and 12) and their grand parents and found reported interaction to be greatest for maternal and less of paternal grand parents, even with contact availability held constant.

Schmidt and Padilla (1983) studied self-report interaction patterns among thirty-one Mexican-American grandchildren and grandparents. They found a high degree of involvement with grandchildren by most of the grandparents.

Overall, studies on associational relations have examined the frequency of interaction between cross-generational members in the family. It is very pertinent and essential that studies should be taken to examine frequency as well as the quality of interaction and whether it is voluntary and discretionary or obligatory.

Conclusion

Advances in medicine and public health practices and the general improvement in the standards of living have considerably improved longevity even in developing countries like India. With greater reductions in infant mortality and birth rate, it has been estimated by Demographic Pundits that the elderly population would swell considerably in India. With the growth pyramid becoming

rectangular and even becoming top heavy by mid 21st century, the writing on the wall is clear for all of us to see. With the accelerated advent of modernization, urbanization and migration, the problem could only become worse.

These changes have significant implications for family life in India as the elderly will live longer and many people will now have adult relationships with their parents that last 30, 40, or even more years. Changing expectations are also having a profound impact. Many older people, rejecting the stereotypes of old age, are pursuing more active lives and are receiving greater recognition for their important ongoing contributions to their families and communities. Many younger people are seeking greater responsibility for the important life choices and decisions that must be made.

Policies and programmes based on an intergenerational approach should promote an essential interdependence among generations and recognize that all members of society have contributions to make and needs to fulfill. While the nature of these contributions and needs may change over the course of one's life, the giving and receiving of resources over time is crucial to promoting intergenerational trust, economic and social stability, and progress.

Older generation is the backbone of our society and the younger are the future hope. Therefore, it is very important to understand the values and needs of both the sections of the age group. Grandparents have immense experience to guide and enlighten us and the forthcoming generations have immense caliber and potential to make the dreams of our older generation come true. Therefore, for the smooth survival of our society, it is a prime concern that we maintain and enhance the respect and dignity of each section of humankind. Equally important is the middle generation serving as a bridge between the two and understanding the dynamics of such complex aspects of human relations is a prime concern and a vigorous area of research for social-gerontology.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 348-362

Generational Equity and Generational Interdependence: Framing of the Debate over Health and Social Security Policy in the United States

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ABSTRACT

In the United States frame analysis is increasingly being used to analyze debates over social policy issues. This article explores how different frames help or hinder the advancement of alternative policy agendas, specifically how academic and media discourse shaped by two competing ideological frames are being used to influence age-related social policies. We present an overview of frame analysis followed by a description of the generational equity frame and the opposing generational interdependence frame. We then use these competing interpretative frameworks to discuss current debates over old-age security (Social Security) and health care (Medicare) policy. We argue that in recent years the generational equity frame has been the more influential of the two and that if this continues the health and economic status of older Americans will be put at risk. A major limitation of the generational equity frame is that it provides a rationale to base policy on age or age cohort and to discount other forms of equity based on race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual orientation.

Keywords: Generational equity, Social security reform, Frame analysis.

The study of political strategies for presenting information to the public about controversial policy issues has long been of interest to political scientists and sociologists. Frame analysis (Goffman, 1974) is being used with increasing frequency as a way to describe and analyze such efforts. A frame can be conceptualized as a lens through which one views the world, which organizes how the acquisition of new information gets processed and is based on previously held beliefs or patterns of perception and interpretation. Frames can also be conceived of as underlying structures or organizing principles that integrate diverse symbols and ideas into packages (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). The influence of specific groups in defining the way an issue comes to be framed is an essential mobilization tool for social movements and can have a major impact on the outcome of social policy debates (Creed, Langstraat & Scully, 2002; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Schon & Rein, 1994). The concept of frames or framing has been used to discuss how individuals and groups approach a variety of contentious social issues. Patterns of advocacy employed by social movement participants are often shaped by these frames and the associated package of symbols (Beard, 2004). Such framing efforts frequently require dynamic and innovative processes (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001). Accordingly, effective framing is a powerful political strategy for mobilizing support for a particular policy alternative (Hoffman & Ventresca, 1999; Jones, 1994; Joslyn & Haider-Markel, 2002; Rochetfort & Cobb, 1994; Stone, 1997). Many factors shape the power and influence of a particular frame, including cultural resonance and degree of dissemination (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

There has been extensive worldwide debate regarding the impact of competing frames on policy agendas, including those associated with public pension policy (Creed, Langstraat, & Scully, 2002; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gamson & Stuart, 1992; Gamson, et al., 1992; Joslyn & Haider-Markel, 2002; Nylander, 2001). In the United States, discourse utilizing frame analysis has been used to explore a number of age-related social policy issues. Since the mid 1980s health and social security reform has been referred to as the generational equity debate (Williamson & Watts-Roy, 1999; Williamson, McNamara, & Howling, 2003). This debate has become much more global in recent years (Attias-Donfut, 2000;

Béland & Vergniolle de Chantal, 2004; Bertocci, 2003; Brugiavini & Peracchi, 2003; Donati, 2002; Duval, 2002) and promises to become an increasingly important global policy debate in the decades ahead.

Origins of the Debate

The generational equity debate is the most recent incarnation of the age-old question about what share of family and/or community resources should be allocated to retired members. What is considered an appropriate share of resources to devote to seniors or those with disabilities has long been contemplated, but societal values about filial obligations and norms as to the appropriate allocation of economic resources between generations within families are equally persistent. This debate sometimes generates an arbitrary dichotomy between older citizens and children by employing notions of age-based worth (Beard, 2004; Binstock, 1999; Sweeting & Gilhooly, 1997) to justify reducing services to senior family members. Such views purport that the oldest members of society consume an unfair proportion of the total resources. In the United States some argue that children are negatively affected by choices to provide Social Security and Medicare to retired Americans (Farlie, 1988; Silverstein et al., 2000).

The contemporary debate regarding Social Security reform in the United States has often been framed largely along the lines of generational equity versus generational interdependence, with the respective frames relying on various discourses to situate these alternative advocacy positions.

Framing the debate

Two major groups, or "advocacy networks" (Gamson & Stuart, 1992), have been competing to frame the debate over public policy toward older Americans. Referring to the debate as "the generational equity debate" reflects both a symbolic victory and a rhetorical advantage for one of the two major advocacy networks and its interpretative package. The term "generational equity" has come to designate a number of assumptions, arguments, values, and beliefs associated with the more conservative of the two competing frames. Those making up the more liberal advocacy network have not fully achieved consensus on naming their frame, or alternative interpretative package. We will use the term "generational

interdependence frame" to refer to this alternative opposing interpretative framework.

The generational equity frame

Advocates of the generational equity package argue that Social Security (the American public pension scheme) and Medicare (the American health insurance scheme for retirees) policy makers need to give more attention to issues of fairness between generations than has been the case to date (Longman, 1987; Peterson, 1996). Allegedly, disproportionate public monies are being allocated to retired citizens at the expense of the rest of the population, specifically children and young adults. The projection that those currently paying for the "social security" of today's senior members will not receive comparable compensation when they retire is used to argue for cuts in current benefit levels or at least cuts in projected increases in benefit levels.

Demographic trends (population aging) will soon heavily burden the Social Security and Medicare programs. As a result, the retired baby boomers are likely to end up with health insurance and pension benefits that are less generous than those provided to the currently retired. The key claim, from this perspective, is that current recipients of Social Security and Medicare are consuming more than their fair share of societal resources. Relative to what they actually paid into Social Security and Medicare in contributions over their working years, those who are currently retired have generally done quite well. Currently, most retired workers collect pension benefits within a few years that correspond to the value of their lifetime investment. Thus, in a strict actuarial sense, most currently retired individuals will live to receive Social Security and Medicare benefits far exceeding their personal contributions. Many baby boomers, in contrast, will receive less Social Security dollars than they will have invested.

Advocates of the generational equity package are committed to the idea that each generation should provide for itself. It is not fair for one generation to be expected to support another generation at a level they themselves cannot expect to receive. The structure of a pay-as-you-go, social insurance-based Social Security scheme assumes that each generation will financially contribute to those currently retiring and will in turn be provided for by a future

generation. The proposed partial privatization of Social Security often associated with analysts espousing the generational equity frame is more consistent with the idea that each generation should be responsible for itself.

Advocates for the generational equity interpretative package argue that given the dramatic rise in spending on entitlements (for public pensions and health insurance) in recent years, largely as a result of increased spending on health care, it does not make sense to spend huge sums of money on expensive medical procedures for the "oldest old" when prospects of significantly adding to life expectancy and quality of life are negligible (Lamm, 1989). As a society, then, we need less of an entitlement culture and more emphasis on work ethic. We need to encourage such values as thrift, self-reliance, independence, personal freedom, and limited government. In short, proponents of the generational equity package strategically link their arguments to the widely and deeply held American values defining individualism.

The generational interdependence frame

Advocates of the generational interdependence package argue that Social Security and Medicare policy makers should consider the mutual reliance of generations when making and changing policy. They reject the idea that every generation can or should be expected to provide for itself. Demographic trends and historical events unique to each generation often make it infeasible for every generation to be assured a standard of living during retirement at least equal to that of its parents' generation. Since some generations will inevitably be more difficult to provide for; in such cases, the burden should be shared by both those who are retired and those still in the labor force. It is unreasonable to expect either generation to bear the entire burden in such situations (Williamson & Watts-Roy, 1999).

Proponents of this perspective note that sharp cuts in benefits for the retired or soon to retire will also have an adverse impact on their adult children who would need to take in older family members or supplement their pension and health insurance benefits. Rather than each generation being responsible for itself, the argument is that generations already are and should continue to be highly interdependent, at both familial and societal levels. Although there

is a clear need to plan for the retirement of the boomers, the importance of balancing considerations of generational equity and interdependence should be highlighted when contemplating Social Security reform.

A key component of the generational interdependence perspective is its emphasis on what different generations have to offer one another as opposed to what one is or will be consuming at the expense of the other. At the level of individual families, transfers of income, child care, psychological support, oral histories, and advice are shared between generations. In 2000, for the first time the U.S. Census Bureau collected information on grandparents who were primary caregivers for their grandchildren. Of the 5.8 million grandparents living with grandchildren under the age of 18, some 42% were responsible for their care (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). Additionally, roughly three-quarters of the help received by impaired senior citizens in American society is provided by family members (Nager & McGowan, 1994; Schenck-Yglesias, 1995). Caregivers for people with Alzheimer's disease, for example, are predominantly spouses who are themselves old and often frail (Aneshensel et al., 1995) and the United States generally relies heavily on informal unpaid caregivers. On a societal level, many seniors also provide countless hours assisting functionally disabled members of society in and even beyond their families. Further, older Americans continue to make artistic, intellectual, advocacy and leadership contributions more generally.

Closely related to the generational interdependence frame is the intragenerational equity frame used by some to argue that when deciding on Social Security and Medicare policy changes, generational equity is only one form of equity requiring attention. Accordingly, it is not wise to focus on generational equity to the exclusion of other forms of equity such as those based on race, class, gender, sexual orientation, physical functioning, citizenship or geographic region.

Although advocates of the interdependence frame agree that significant policy initiatives are needed to ensure that the program is solvent over the long term, they argue that such changes can be made without radically altering the present Social Security system. Steps are indeed needed to address the rapid increase in spending on

Medicare and health care in general, but the fact remains that Social Security is the most successful social program the nation has ever created. The international community, for example, demonstrates various models for organizing the delivery of health care services to entire populations using considerably smaller shares of GDP than is spent in the United States. The issue of the means-testing of Social Security benefits poses special problems for proponents of the generational interdependence perspective. "Affluence testing," for example, might end up stigmatizing those who continue to be recipients and, more importantly, might reduce the level of political support for Social Security, eventually devolving it into an under-funded program for the poor.

The diverse population differences among older people in American society, including both economic and cultural diversity, have important implications for social policies (Takamura, 2002). When policy decisions are made based on what is best for "typical" seniors we risk potentially harming vulnerable groups such as low-wage workers, minority workers, and the very old, particularly very old women. Such narrow perspectives also minimize the contributions various ethnic groups make to society, including family structures that encourage caregiving for their children, aged, and extended family members (Treas & Mazumdar, 2004).

Solidaristic, as opposed to individualistic, values such as community obligation to provide for those in need and the right of all citizens to adequate health care, food, and shelter underlie the generational interdependence frame. Goals such as the reduction of poverty and inequity, and income redistribution to compensate for our economy's tendency to increase income inequality are central objectives.

Competing Frames, Symbolic Contests, and Rhetorical Strategies

Since policy controversies are framing contests making use of various interpretative packages, frames intentionally highlight certain claims and downplay others. Advocacy networks make strategic decisions about the symbolism they will use to promote their respective packages. Central advocacy strategies are attempts to employ symbols that resonate with larger cultural themes, thereby increasing the appeal of certain packages and making them appear

natural and familiar (Gamson & Stuart, 1992). For example, the generational equity frame advocates privatizing Social Security by utilizing themes of self-reliance and personal freedom (Borden, 1995; Ferrara, 1995; Porter, 1995) whereas the generational interdependence frame generally opposes privatization and instead supports the redistributive social goals of Social Security emphasizing ideas such as obligation to protect low-wage workers and other vulnerable groups (Ball & Bethell, 1997; Quadagno, 1996). Since individualism is a widely and deeply held American value, it can be described as a dominant theme. The value of community obligation, however, is far less resonant for most members of society and, thus, is a countertheme or countervalue, which shares common assumptions but generally challenges some aspect of the dominant theme (Gamson & Stuart, 1992).

Symbolic contests are waged with metaphors, catch phrases, and other symbolic devices that support an interpretive package and make sense of an ongoing stream of events relating to the issue of interest. The generational equity debate has largely taken place in the mass media, primarily via newspaper editorials and editorial cartoons. The media plays a central role in the construction of political meaning by providing a series of arenas in which symbolic contests are carried out.

The dominant values and beliefs employed by the equity frame center around the theme of individualism, including such values as autonomy and personal responsibility. Individualism has long been one of the the most powerful values in American culture and is heavily supported by the media. News stories often involve narratives that focus on individual actors rather than on social structure arguably because people identify better with narratives that place human agents at the center of moral dilemmas.

Those who support the equity perspective generally oppose redistributive social policies. Redistribution within one's family, in contrast, is encouraged. Advocates of individualism generally support intrafamily or voluntary redistribution by community organizations. What they are particularly opposed to is governmental redistribution, especially tax-supported programs. The interdependence perspective, however, emphasizes a set of alternative values and beliefs not linked to individualism. Despite

efforts to make their argument culturally resonant, trying to appeal to principles less widely and deeply held place them at a disadvantage. Although historical factors such as the Great Depression and World War II may foster solidaristic and communitarian values, temporarily making them dominant values, the influence of such events on the national value structure tends to receed over time as these values gradually return to the status of countervalues.

Rhetorical strategy is central to the debate. Advocates of the equity framing tend to present their message largely through the mass media, which is supportive of simplification, polarization, and emphasizing the crisis nature of policy issues. These features of media make the debate applicable, at least in theory, to the average American. It is not surprising, then, that notions of impending doom are key mechanisms used to garner support. Most of the response from the interdependence perspective, in contrast, is presented in professional journals and academic books, which tend to convey arguments in more nuanced terms and with efforts to appear value-free, objective, and scientific. For example, those advocating interdependence are more likely to refer to a financing "problem" to describe what the equity frame labels a financing "crisis." This strategy attracts significantly less media attention and academic discourse is largely impossible for a general audience to understand. Thus, lack of access is a crucial issue for the interdependence frame.

Framing an issue as a crisis has been proven an extremely effective manner of eliciting support from the general public for major policy changes, particularly within social movements (Beard, 2004; Klawiter, 1999; Stockdale, 1999). Inferring catastrophe is an essential mobilization strategy. Since frames constitute discourse that advance specific alternatives, advocates of privatization use generational equity themes and dramatic expressions such as "demographic earthquake" and "clossal debt" to help frame the issue as a crisis in the hope of engaging a wide audience.

A rhetorical strategy used by proponents of the more liberal generational interdependence perspective is to generate suspicion and undercut the credibility of supporters of the generational equity package by linking them to well-known ideological organizations that oppose spending on social welfare programs more broadly. In addition, they present the equity frame as part of a more general

conservative strategy to decrease the nation's welfare state commitments; it is both a rhetorical and political strategy. Perhaps the goal of this portrayal of the equity frame is to generate skepticism, fear, and anger among the "have-nots" and guilt on the part of the "haves" in society.

Both frames also draw upon people's emotions, but with different emphases. Whereas the equity perspective often adopts moralistic tones that condemn people for "credit-card spending" and the "me generation" ethos they claim is rampant in American society, the interdependence frame promulgates arguments designed to foster feelings of guilt and concern about selfishness as well as compassion for less advantaged members of society.

Given the framing efforts of both sides of the generational equity debate, including the utilization of values, beliefs, and rhetorical strategies, it should be clear that the advocacy networks are on an uneven playing field. The generational equity interpretative package has largely dominated the debate (Williamson et al., 2003). The role of the mass media, the strength of the crisis rhetoric, and the cultural resonance with the equity frame are difficult to combat. The use of academic books and journals, which are largely inaccessible to lay audiences, the comparatively low strength of the communal responsibility rhetoric, and the weaker cultural resonance of the interdependence frame significantly disadvantages this interpretative package.

Encouraging fear or perceived threats to the public are vital mobilization strategies for the equity frame. A "blame the victim" mentality infuses many of the health and social welfare debates in the United States. The use of public supported social services and of social welfare is often portrayed as a failure of individual responsibility. One of the most effective efforts employed by supporters of generational equity, however, is the conservative stance on "family values." The rhetoric of declining family values has long been touted as a profound problem in American society despite research pointing to the "nostalgia trap" error of assuming that a Golden Age ever existed (Coontz, 2000). The sheer magnitude of media attention to the family's decline speaks volumes about our societal willingness to blame individuals and families rather than address social structural factors generating and substantiating

inequalities. Further, projections of "apocalyptic demography" (Robertson, 1990) often permeate the crisis rhetoric in media portrayals. Only when such depictions are propagated can aged citizens, who are already socially devalued, become labeled "greedy geezers" stealing resources from powerless children.

Both the longing for a socially constructed past and the fear of an uncertain future are extremely effective mobilization strategies regardless of their accuracy. The mass media has been very influential in helping the generational equity frame achieve hegemonic status. We would argue that there is a powerful media-industrial-complex leading the promulgation of the generational equity perspective. The industrial component of this complex is made up of the finance related industries (around the proposed privatization of Social Security) and the health related industries (around health care policy) and a variety of conservative think tanks such as the Cato Institute and the Heritage Foundation largely financed by large corporations. When up against this powerful complex, academia, less powerful interest groups, and social movement organizations are finding it hard to compete. The mass media are far more influential in these policy debates than are academic books and journal articles.

Conclusion

When people view social policy issues from an age-based perspective (Beard, 2004; Binstock, 1999), there are significant adverse consequences of the generational equity debate for older members of society. This perspective serves to encourage the already severe schism between older and younger Americans and reinforces the arbitrary dichotomy, which could lead to a population of old people who are far poorer and far less healthy than is currently the case and to a refusal to treat many age-related medical conditions. This ideological frame fosters discriminatory competition between Americans rather than uniting people in an effort to strategize an equitable distribution of wealth for all members.

The generational equity perspective is used in efforts to devolve responsibility from the state to families (and individuals) by constructing "social security" as a family or individual problem rather than a social one. In theory, this "equitable" approach assures

that each person will get back what he or she has contributed. In practice, the proposed changes would benefit the "haves" and hurt the "have-nots." That is, access disparities based on race, class, gender, sexual orientation, physical functioning, citizenship or geographic region are not taken into consideration.

The generational interdependence frame argues that age-based equity by itself fails to take historical factors, such as The Great Depression and World War II, as well as increases in single-parent families, female workforce participation, same-sex unions, divorce rates, longevity, or devaluation of seniors into account. In fact, equity based on anything other than age or age cohort is disregarded. If the burden falls to families, then many grandparent caregivers, spouses, and adult children will be significantly affected as they try to juggle the provision of basic subsidies to their oldest family members as well as continue their responsibilities to the remainder of the family unit. Cuts in benefits would also negatively impact grandchildren who enjoy far more time with and resources from their grandparents than has ever been the case in human history. Since more than 60% of women will provide care to older relatives at some point in their lives (Abel, 1995) and familial caregiving continues even after nursing home placement (Keefe & Fancey, 2000), the brunt of the burden to care for senior family members and to replace what the older members provided to younger family members will largely fall to individual women, also known as women in the middle or the sandwich generation.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 363-374

In Search of the Generational Stake

Lisa M. Belliston and Adam Davey

ABSTRACT

Examined whether needs and resources of two generations predict the "generational stake", defined as the relative investment down generations. We used dyadic longitudinal data from 3,320 adult children from the first two waves of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH, Mage = 38 years, 58% women, 12% African American, 4% Hispanic) and cross-sectional data from their parents (Mage = 65 years, 65% women). Multiple regression analyses controlling for complex survey sampling design were used to predict within-dyad differences in the generational stake in affectual, associational, functional, and normative domains. We suggest that the generational stake phenomenon arises primarily from normative differences and changes in needs and resources of each generations across most of the adult life-span, rather than a true "investment" down generations. Future research should give greater consideration to the contextual features in which dyadic intergenerational relationships are situated.

Keywords : Generational state, Changes in needs, Life-span, Normative differences.

More than 30 years ago, based on data from the Longitudinal Study of Generations (LSG), Bengtson and Kuypers (1971) first proposed a "developmental stake" reflecting greater investment down generations than the reverse. Whereas considerable research has supported the idea that intergenerational relationships can be defined along a number of dimensions of solidarity, and several

studies have observed systematic differences in terms of how generations perceive intergenerational ties, the origins of these differences remain relatively unexamined. Rather than representing an underlying "fact" of intergenerational ties, we suggest that normative differences in the needs and resources of each generation as they move through the life course can largely explain generational differences in solidarity. In turn, we suggest that it is the convergence of these systematic differences that produces the "generational stake." These ideas are tested in this paper by bringing dyadic, nationally representative data to bear on the topic. Better understanding of the factors accounting for perceptions of intergenerational ties, along with any systematic differences in relative "investment" have implications for theories of aging and the family, as well as for social policy and planning.

There is ample evidence for the "generational stake," but explanations for this phenomenon remain relatively unexplored. For example, Harwood (2001) examined grandparent- grandchild dyads (N = 135 in each generation). He found that affectual solidarity was higher in the grandparent than grandchild generation. At the same time, however, he also found considerable evidence for discordance in perceptions between generations, with a majority of dyads (51%) disagreeing about whether they had a detached, passive, or active relationship. European evidence also calls into question whether generational differences emerge from a generational "stake" or some other phenomenon. Winkeler, Filipp, and Boll (2000) compared "stake" and "leniency" hypotheses using data from 809 individuals representing two cohorts of community-dwelling adults in Germany. They found a "positivity bias" for the older cohort, and suggested that cohort membership better accounted for generational difference than a stake hypothesis.

An alternative possibility is suggested in dyadic data collected by Canadian researchers. In their study of farm families, Munro, Keating, and Zhang (1995) found significant evidence for generational differences in investment in a specially constructed "family and farm stake" scale; however they were unable to distinguish a true generational difference from one of family allegiance, given that many of the members of their younger generation were in-laws. Likewise, in another Canadian sample,

Bond and Harvey (1991) compared perspectives on older parents and their middle-aged children in Mennonite and non-Mennonite families. Overall, they found strong evidence for generational differences, but these differences were much more pronounced among Mennonite than in non-Mennonite families.

As would be expected, considerable evidence is also derived from the Longitudinal Study of Generations (LSG). Even here, however, the data cannot be interpreted as unequivocally resulting from a "generational stake" hypothesis. Recently, Lynott & Roberts (1997) looked at longitudinal changes in intergenerational relationships using a subsample of the data used in the original developmental stake study participants, and drawing upon the 1971 and 1985 waves of data collection. In addition to finding evidence in favor of the generational stake, they also found that change over time was in a direction consistent with the generational stake hypothesis. To the extent that they looked for them, they were also successful in identifying individual differences in the generational stake as a function of political conservatism, and gender differences. Also using data from the LSG, Giarrusso, Stallings, and Bengtson, (1995) found that parents reported consistenly higher levels of normative and affectual solidarity than their children. These authors suggest that each generation has "different developmental concerns" that account for these differences. As with Lynott & Roberts (1997), these authors also found systematic changes over time in affectual solidarity. They soundly recommend consideration of both generations in research on the generational stake.

Intergenerational Solidarity

Intergenerational Solidarity (Bengtson, Burgess, & Parrott, 1997; Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971; Bengston & Roberts, 1991; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990) deals with normative aspects of the parent-adult child relationship developmentally and includes six dimensions: affectual, associational, functional, normative, structural, and consensual. Affectual solidarity is the type and degree of positive sentiments held about other family members and the degree of reciprocity about these statements. Associational solidarity is the frequency and pattern of interaction in various types of activities. Functional solidarity is the degree to which family members exchange services or assistance ranging from financial

services, advice, gift-giving and services like transportation, work around the house, and child care. Normative solidarity is the perception and enactment of norms of family solidarity. This covers shared expectations of how often family should get together, financial expectations and emotional expectations. Structural solidarity is the number, type and proximity of family members. Finally, consensual solidarity focuses on the degree of agreement on values, attitudes and beliefs among family members (Mangen, Bengtson, & Landrey, 1988).

Intergenerational Solidarity has undergone several theoretical tests to examine the relationships between and among the six dimensions: association, affection, consensus, function, norms and structure. Although initially postulated that affection, association, and consensual solidarity would be highly interdependent, studies indicated that they were not (Atkinson, Kivett, & Campbell, 1986; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990). Specifically Atkinson, et al. (1986) found that the affection, association, and consensus dimensions of the Intergenerational Solidarity Theory should not be combined into an additive scale and Roberts and Bengtson (1990) found that the consensus dimension was independent of the association and affection dimensions. The latter two dimensions did show a high correlation. In response to these empirical tests Bengtson and Roberts (1991) reformulated the theory and tested several hypotheses. They found that the normative dimension of Intergenerational Solidarity was predictive of the affective dimension, but not for the association dimension.

Research Question

The preceding review led us to pose the following research question. What predicts affectual, associational, normative, and functional solidarity for adult children and their older parents? Considerable research has examined predictors of functional solidarity, but little has considered predictors of other dimensions of solidarity controlling for systematic reporter biases. One purpose of the proposed analyses is thus to consolidate reports of both generations into a single index. We focus particularly on the role of needs and resources in explaining each dimension of solidarity.

Methods

Data

We used data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH). This longitudinal national survey consisted of two waves of data with the first wave collected in 1987-1988 and the second wave collected in 1992-1994. The second wave of data included interviews with a parent of the main respondent. Overall, the NSFH includes data from 13,008 respondents and over-sampled single parent families, step families, recently married couples and cohabitating couples. The second wave of data had 10,008 respondents (Sweet & Bumpass, 1996).

Sample

The analytic sample included nationally-representative, longitudinal data from 3,320 adult children with a mean age of 38. The sample consisted of 12% African American, and 4% Hispanic with 58% of the adult respondents being female. Cross-sectional data for the parents are available at Wave 2; parents had a mean age of 64 years and 65% were women. Mean education level was 13.5 years for respondents and 12 years for their parents. Descriptive statistics for all study variables appear in Table 1.

Table 1 : ***Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables (N=3,320)***

Variable	***Mean***	***SD***	**Range**	**%**
Dyadic Characteristics				
Mother-Son Dyad[b]	.413	.620	0-1	
Father-Daughter Dyad[b]	.076	.357	0-1	
Father-Son Dyad[b]	.076	.351	0-1	
Parent Characteristics				
Parents age 60-69[c]	.376	.561	0-1	
Parents age 70-79[c]	.289	.508	0-1	
Parents age 80+[c]	.073	.289	0-1	
Parents with a spouse[d]	.549	.681	0-1	
Parents years of education	12.128	4.042	0-18	
Parents activities of daily living needs	.164	.379		

Parents self-rated health[e]	3.912	1.198	1-5	
Parents number of children	4.219	2.784	0-22	
Child Characteristics				
Adult African-American Children[f]	.070	.459	0-1	
Adult Hispanic Children[f]	.040	.462	0-1	
Adult Children age 30-39[c]	.379	.495	0-1	
Adult Children age 40-49[c]	.337	.447	0-1	
Adult Children age 50+[c]	.127	.481	0-1	
Adult children with a spouse[d]	.711	.540	0-1	
Adult Child's years of education	13.894	3.326	0-20	
Adult Child's income (thousands)	29.835	31.487	0-6000	
Distance living from Parent[g]	3.603	2.935	0-9.11	
Adult Child's number of children	2.085	2.348	0-17	
Adult Child's activity of daily living needs	.085	.195		
Adult child's self-rated health[e]	4.117	.777	1-5	
Intergenerational Solidarity				
Parents rating of Affectual Solidarity[h]	9.207	1.577	1-10	
Adult Child's rating of Affectual Solidarity[h]	7.921	2.352	1-10	
Parents rating of Normative Solidarity	2.707	.740	1-5	
Adult Child's rating of Normative Solidarity	2.556	.825	1-5	
Parents face-to-face contact [i]	3.297	1.423	1-5	
Adult Child's face-to-face contact [j]	4.067	1.822	1-6	
Parents telephone/letter contact [i]	4.026	1.382	1-5	
Adult Child's telephone/letter contact [j]	4.792	1.565	1-6	
Psychological Well-being				
Parents CES-D	.886	1.230	0-7	.777
Adult Child's CES-D	1.152	1.253	0-7	.926
Parents Life Satisfaction [k]	8.449	1.884	0-10	
Adult Child's Life Satisfaction [k]	5.333	1.232	1-7	
Parents Hostility	.491	.986	0-7	.708

Adult Child's Hostility	1.117	1.352	0-7	.846
Parents Long-term Depgression [a]	.159	.310	0-1	
Adult Child's Long-term Depression [a]	.227	.327	0-1	
Adult Child's Well-being	3.677	.480	2-5.38	.444
Adult Child's Self-esteem	1.873	.625	1-5	
Adult Child's Self-efficacy [l]	2.379	.955	1-5	
Adult Child's Mastery	3.690	.710	1-5	.428

[a]0=*No*, 1=*Yes*. [b]0= *mother-daughter dyad, dyad described*. [c]0= *other age*, 1= *age described*. *0= separated, divorced, widowed, or not wed*, 1=*married*. [e]1= *very poor*, 5= *excellent*. [f]0= *White*, 1= *ethnicity described.* [g]log linear of miles live from parents +1 (range is 0-9,000). [h]Describing the relationship: 1= *really bad*, 10= *absolutely perfect*. [i]1= *not at all*, 5= *once a week*. [j]1= *not at all*, 6= *more than once a week*. [k]1= *very unhappy*, 7= *very happy*. [l]1= *strongly disagree*, 5= *strongly agree*.

Measures

Consistent with a multidimensional understanding of parent-adult child relationships, several aspects of the intergenerational relationships were measured. Of the six dimensions of inter-generational solidarity proposed by Bengtson and colleagues (e.g., Mangen, et al., 1988), we include measures for five of them (affectual, associational, functional, normative, and structural). *Affectual solidarity* was measured using a single item global rating of closeness, by both parents and children (1 = not at all close, to 10 = extremely close). *Associational solidarity* was measured with a two item scale assessing amount of contact through either face to face contact, or through talking on the telephone or letters, again measured by parents and children (1 = not at all to, 6 = several times a week). *Functional solidarity* measures the types of support exchanged in the relationship. This was separated into two different constructs, instrumental support which was assessed with a three item scale measuring help with transportation and shopping, housework, and car repairs (for each, 1 = yes, 0 = no), and emotional support which was assessed with a single item (1 = yes, 0 = no). *Normative solidarity* was assessed with a four item scale asking about norms of financial aid from parent to child and child to parent, and sharing living quarters with parents or children (1 = strongly disagree to, 7 = strongly agree).

Generational Stake. Generational stake for affectual, associational, normative, and functional solidarity was measured by

taking parents reports and subtracting the adult respondents reports from them to measure the net direction of stake. Positive numbers indicated parents reported greater solidarity than their children; negative numbers indicated children reported greater solidarity.

Results

Results of our multiple regression analyses are shown in Table 2. Although affectual solidarity is one of the most commonly used solidarity dimensions when considering the generational stake, our dyadic analyses of a nationally representative data set found the fewest predictors for this domain. Parents reported being closer to their children than their children reported being to them when children had more education, higher incomes, and lived further away from their parents.

Table 2 : ***Predictors of Generational Stake Across Dimensions of Intergenerational Solidarity (Adjusted for Complex Survey Sampling Design)***

Variables	Intergenerational Solidarity					Domain of
		Associational		Functional		
	Affectual	Face-to-Face	Letter/ Telephone	Instru-mental	Emo-tional	Norma-tive
Dyadic Characteristics						
(Mother-Daughter)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mother-Son	0.209	0.082	0.143*	-0.037**	-0.042**	0.010*
Father-Daughter	0.146	0.342***	0.503***	0.037**	-0.037*	-0.121**
Father-Son	0.046	0.313**	0.351**	0.001	-0.008	0.085
Parent Characteristics						
Age						
(50-59)	–	–	–	–	–	–
60-69	0.000	0.019	0.070	0.009	-0.003	0.110*
70-79	0.167	0.029	0.087	-0.026	-0.011	0.089
80+	0.166	0.008	-0.154	-0.051*	0.042	0.142
Has Spouse						
(No)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Yes	0.069	-0.035	0.114	0.023*	0.047***	-0.004
Years of Education	-0.011	0.003	-0.004	-0.001	0.003	0.010
Activities of Daily Living	0.210	-0.106	0.169	-0.041*	-0.026	-0.004
Self-Rated Health	0.018	-0.013	0.058	0.024***	0.006	0.031
Number of Children	-0.023	0.010	0.010	-0.002	-0.002	-0.010
Child Characteristics						
Race						
(White)	–	–	–	–	–	–
African American	-0.251	0.063	-0.218*	-0.011	0.036	-0.127*
Hispanic	0.246	0.193	0.101	-0.035	0.031	-0.325***
Age						
(20-29)	–	–	–	–	–	–

30-39	0.143	-0.115	-0.212*	-0.001	-0.002	-0.125*
40-49	0.213	-0.178	-0.229	-0.005	-0.015	-0.118
50+	-0.096	-0.163	-0.343*	-0.034	-0.060	-0.125
Has Spouse						
(No)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Yes	0.066	0.089	0.019	-0.007	-0.057***	-0.047
Years of Education	0.057**	0.010	-0.014	0.002	-0.003	0.012
Income (Logged)	0.000*	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Distance from Parent	0.044*	0.035***	-0.013	0.016***	0.002	0.009
Number of Children	-0.026	0.012	0.000	0.008**	0.011**	0.004
Activities of Daily Living @ T1	0.505	0.151	-0.303	0.044	0.041	-0.074
Activities of Daily Living @ T2	0.307	0.283*	0.261	0.080**	0.008	-0.038
Self-Rated Health @ T1	-0.120	-0.058	0.010	-0.006	-0.001	-0.022
Self-Rated Health @ T2	-0.089	0.047	0.030	0.006	0.001	0.022
R^2	.036	.042	.041	.094	.031	.036
F	3.147***	2.587***	2.495***	8.897***	2.730***	3.163***
ndf	25	25	25	25	25	25
ddf	2121	1504	1498	2175	2175	2157

In terms of associational solidarity, face-to-face and letter/telephone contact has somewhat different predictors. For the former, fathers were more likely than mothers to invest in their sons and daughters to a greater extent than children reported investing in parents. The generational stake was also greater when children lived further from their parents, and when children reported having more functional limitations. For the latter, the generational stake was higher in all dyads other than mother-daughter pairs. The stake was lower in African American than White dyads, and when children were older (although the 40-49 child age range was not statistically significant, it was the right direction and magnitude).

We also identified somewhat different predictors of instrumental and emotional domains of functional solidarity. For instrumental assistance, the generational stake was lower in mother-son pairs and higher in father-daughter pairs. The stake was lower when parents were 80 years of age or older and in poorer health. It was higher when parents were married, and in better self-rated health, and when children lived further from parents, had more children themselves, and when they had more functional limitations. For emotional assistance, both cross-gender dyads reported less generational stake. The stake was higher when parents were married, but lower when children were married. As with instrumental solidarity, the stake was higher when children had more children themselves.

Finally, we considered normative solidarity. The stake was higher in mother-son dyads, and lower in father-daughter dyads, and

when parents were aged 60 to 69 years. It was lower in African American and Hispanic dyads than Whites, and when children were 30 to 39 years of age.

Discussion

We find only moderate support for the generational stake hypothesis which states that more support flows down the generations, than up. Like Bengtson and Kuypers (1971) we did see parents report higher levels of closeness than children, but it was based on the child characteristics of education, income and living distance from parents. While other tests of the generational stake focused upon closeness within the relationship (Long & Martin, 2000; Troll & Fingerman, 1996), we tested the generational stake hypothesis across affectual, associational, functional, and normative. In addition to supporting the hypothesis for affectual solidarity, there was mixed support for other dimensions. The stake hypothesis was supported for associational solidarity and dyadic characteristics, but not for child characteristics such as race and age. Functional solidarity was predicted by needs and resources variables such as marital status, health, number of children, and having activities of daily living needs, but there were equivocal findings for dyadic characteristics. Finally, normative solidarity was only predicted by non-White children aged 30-39 reporting higher levels than parents, while only parents aged 60-69 reported higher levels of normative solidarity than their adult children.

These ambiguous findings suggest that the generational stake construct requires further elaboration. Rather than parents reporting a rosier viewpoint to the parent-adult children relationship, the difference appears to arise from other factors such as the needs and resources of each generation. Needs and resources such as activities of daily living needs, self-rated health, number of children, marital status and education were influential in predicting the different dimensions. These supported previous findings in the literature (Amato, Rezac, & Booth, 1995; Davey & Eggebeen, 1998; Hogan, Eggebeen, & Clogg, 1993; Lawton, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 1994).

This study supports and extends the body of literature surrounding intergenerational solidarity and exchange relationships

between adult children and their parents in three ways. First, this study uses a nationally representative sample and a dyadic and longitudinal data set. Second, this study extends the body of literature by investigating the Generational Stake across all four dimensions of intergenerational solidarity addressed here and identifies influential structural characteristics which previous literature has not included. We found mixed support for the stake hypothesis; more remains to be done to fully understand differences in reports between generations. This study also highlights the importance of including needs and resources when predicting exchange. Context cannot be left out when examining exchange because needs and resources do influence the provision and receipt of support within dyadic intergenerational relationships. Empirical work remains to be done in more specifically defining what characteristics within the parent-adult child relationship affect exchanges and if different types of support are affected by different needs and resources.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 375-390

Grandparents, how do I view thee? A Study of Grandparenting in Singapore

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ABSTRACT

The paper is a study of grand parenting from the perspectives of the grandchildren in Singapore. In this study it was found that close contact, specially through regular care giving, is vital in building the emotional attachment between grandparents and grand children. The time spent between grand parent and grand child during childhood makes a lasting impact on the grand children's development in the later years.

Key words: Grand parenting, Gender lineage, Perception of grand children, Love, Regret Child's development.

Grandparenting as a topic of research has increasingly gained attention since the 1980s. Beginning with the seminal work of Bengston and Robertson's "Grandparenthood" (1985), scholarly focus on this subject has gained a foothold in gerontology and family studies as most nations in the world experience rapid rise in the longevity of human lifespan leading to the phenomena of global aging.

Longevity not only signifies the fact that more people are achieving the status of grandparents, census data in countries such as USA and UK have also shown an increase in the number of years that older persons would occupy the status. As Zeilig *et.al.* (2000) state, "At the moment, grandparents are younger, more numerous and potentially more visible in family life than has historically been the case." In the UK, it is estimated that grandparents would occupy the role for approximately 25 years on the average (Zeilig, Holdsworth and Harper, 2000); and 70% of all people is expected to become grandparents (Tunaley, 1998).

The literature informs us that grandparents in the western societies have always been involved with their grandchildren. Moreover, with the increase of divorced and dysfunctional families, the functions of grandparents have become more critical. Goodman and Silverstein (2001) reveal that the caregiving roles of grandparents have become vital in cases where drug addiction, child abuse and neglect prevail. In the recent years, as the increase of HIV Aids in different countries caused the health and lives of many in the middle generation, more grandparents are obliged to step in to nurture their grandchildren (Knodel *et al.,* 2002).

In general, we can define the following focus of research interests in the literature on grandparenting:

Gender and Lineage

The literature on grandparenting dwells most popularly on the two variables – gender and lineage. The conclusions of studies conducted in heterogeneous cultural contexts point toward the key role played by maternal grandmothers in the lives of their grandchildren (Gatai and Musatti, 1999 (Italy); Barer, 2001 (USA); Goodman and Silverstein, 2001 (USA); Mills, Wakeman and Fea, 2001 (USA); Zeilig, Holdsworth and Harper, 2000).

Meaning of Grandparenting

This theme is also recurrent in the literature. In general, qualitative studies are used more frequently to explore the meaning from the perspective of the older generation (Somery, K. and Striker, G 1998) as well as the younger generation (Newman, S.,Faux.R & Larimer, B., 1997). Included in these types of studies are the traits of closeness, affection and consensus (Mills, Wakeman & Fea, 2001).

Styles of grandparenting and their influence on the grandchildren's' development form another category of research that is popular among scholars. The variety of roles played by grandparents was explored in detail by Vo-Thanh-Xuan and Rice (2000) ranging from nurturer, family historian, mediator, role model and student within the context of Vietnamese Australians.

Neugarten and Wienstein (1964) divided the different types of American grandparents into 'formal', 'funseeker', 'distant figure' 'surrogate parent' and 'reservoir of family wisdom.'; while Cherline and Furstenberg (1986) classify the grandparenting styles according to relationships into 'remote, 'companionate' and 'involved'.

Grandparenting and the Lifecourse

An organizing principle that is undeniably important as we try to understand grandchildren's' relationships with their grandparents is the family history and the nature of the relationship between the elders and their adult children. Silverstein and Marenco (2001) look at the concept of "role making" in the context of their study on how American grandparents enact the grandparent role across the family life course. The dynamic and fluid nature of the grandfather and grandchild relationship is brilliantly explored by Roberto, Allen and Blieszner (2001) using the feminist, life course and social constructivist approaches (see also, Wenger, G.C. and Burholt, V., 2001).

Comparing with the West, studies on grandparenting in Asian societies per se is relatively limited. Based on survey data collected in Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand in the mid-1990s, Hermalin, Roan and Perez (1998) published a report on the emerging role of grandparents in Asia, providing a broad overview of the active roles played by grandparents within these countries. The study shows that by providing direct grandchild care, especially in three generation families, and taking responsibility for major household chores, the grandparents were providing vital assistance to their families. Mehta, Lee and Osman (1995; see also Mehta, 1999)'s report on intergenerational exchanges discussed in their focus group data of Singaporean adults and older adults also highlights the high level of interdependence found within multi-generation families. With rapid population aging in Singapore[1], coupled with changes in family structure and the trend towards nuclear families, in the recent years,

we have begun to witness increasing attention on the role of older persons as grandparents both in research and policy in Singapore.

This paper is a preliminary study of the younger generation's perceptions of their grandparents in the Singapore context. In attempting to contribute to the scant literature on grandparenting in the Asian context, this paper seeks first to understand the level of contact and closeness between the grandchildren and grandparents. Two sets of data are presented for analysis in this paper: one set focuses on children with age ranging from 7 to 12, while the other set consists of college students. This paper also examines the perception of grandchildren on their grandparents and their feelings towards their grandparents. The differences found between the two samples reveal interesting dynamics affected by the age of the grandparents as well as the grandchildren. In conclusion, besides a summary discussion, the authors refer to some of the recent developments in Singapore's public policies and programs to understand the efforts to facilitate intergenerational relationships and promote the significance of grandparenting on a national level.

METHODOLOGY

The data from this research was collected on two separate occasions, each with a different group of respondents. The authors acknowledge that there are limitations in the methodology arising from the decision to use these two separate and different studies as a basis for comparison in this paper. However, we also feel that although the questions are not identical or parallel, they nonetheless present opportunities for them to be studied together and contribute to the current lack of intergenerational studies in Singapore. Studies of grandparenting, if any, usually focus from the view of the older adults; hence the two studies represent one of the few sources available to help us better understand how the younger generation perceives their grandparents. From them we are able to uncover important themes about the issue of grandparenting in Singapore. Hence we feel that these reasons are sufficient to merit such a study. Both studies were conducted in the same calendar year 2001.

Sample

The schoolchildren data consists of primary school students from two student-care centers. Student-care centers are privately-run

centers catering to primary school children of dual-income families who require care before or after school hours. The children's age ranged from 7 to 12 years. A total of 42 boys and 38 girls were interviewed; with 33 boys and 33 girls from center A , and 9 boys and 5 girls from Center B. College students form the second pool of respondents for this paper. Two hundred and five undergraduates enrolled in a humanities introductory course were surveyed. Among them were 41 male students and 164 female students, with ages ranging from 18 to 23 years.

Instruments

The undergraduate survey instrument contained questions which sought the students' perception of their grandparents, and their relationships with a specific grandparent. The final section of the questionnaire was open-ended and the students were asked to pen a short letter to the grandparent they were closest to. With the exception of the last section, all questions were close-ended (either yes/no questions or 5-points Likert-scaled).

The questionnaire used for the primary school children had open-ended questions aimed at finding out the children's perceptions of ageing, the activities they engaged with their grandparents, as well as reasons for their choice of a favorite grandparent. Close-ended questions were asked to gather information on the frequency of contact between the child and grandparent and the presence of co-residence.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents findings from quantitative analyses of the two sets of data, highlighting similarities and differences in the results. Grandparents as caregivers and incidence of co-residence

Both the undergraduate and schoolchildren sample show high proportions of grandparents taking on the role as caregivers when their grandchildren were young (60% in the undergraduate sample (N=122) and 63% in the schoolchildren sample (N=51)).

In terms of co-residence, close to 33% of the school children live with their grandparents as compared to only 12% of the undergraduate students at the time of the survey. It could be inferred that co-residence is more likely when the child is at a younger age where grandparents' help are most needed. Engaging the help of

grandparents in childcare is common in developing countries where mothers (who are usually considered the primary caregiver in the family) have to work in order to supplement the income of the family. Among dual income families in Singapore, grandparents are often preferred as caregivers to the children. A qualitative study of intergenerational relationships, fertility and the family in Singapore (Graham et. al. 2004) finds that in their sample, almost all couples with children rely on grandparents for child-care. Although it is common to employ foreign domestic maids to help in childcare and household chores, grandparents, especially grandmothers are 'seen as the best choice for child care and are entrusted with teaching children how to behave, instilling proper values and developing language skills (Graham et.al. 2004:17). Although co-residence rate is one indication of provision of intergenerational care, with financial incentives in policy to encourage young families to live close to their older generation, it may still be convenient for grandparents to provide help in care giving even without staying together. Arrangements on grandparents providing child care can vary from leaving the children in the grandparents' homes in the day only to twenty-four hour care six days a week, effectively turning the parents into 'weekend' parents, where they care for their own children only during the weekends.

Contact between grandparents and grandchildren

In the school children sample, 40% of the grandchildren who were not staying with their grandparents visited them at least once a week. Similarly, in the undergraduate sample, 16.2% indicated that they visit their grandparents everyday, 18.9% visit once a week, and 20.3% visit once a month. This implies that the act of visiting grandparents seems to be pretty consistent over time and it begins at a young age. The common practice among Singapore families to visit their non co-residing parents/grandparents on a regular basis (usually once a week), coupled with the ease of visiting facilitated by the smallness of the country are among the reasons explaining frequent contact between grandparents and grandchildren, especially when grandchildren are at a young age.

In the sample, 40.5% of the undergraduates live within a half-hour drive from their grandparents, and 14.2% live within a 15 minutes walk. This parallels with Uhlenberg and Hammill (1998)

suggestion that geographic proximity is one strong predictor of frequency of contact between grandparent and grandchild.

Closest grandparent

In the school children sample, 62.5% stated that they were closest to their maternal grandmother, followed by their paternal grandmother (31.3%). Maternal and paternal grandfathers tied in third place (21.3%).[2] The same trend could be observed in the undergraduate data. 49% of the undergraduates indicated that they were closest to their maternal grandmother, 35.4% were closest to their paternal grandmother, 8% closest to their maternal grandfather and finally 7.4% closest to their paternal grandfather.

The strong emotional attachment between grandchildren and maternal grandmothers implies that maternal grandmothers tend to be caregivers to their grandchildren. In fact, more women also prefer that their children be looked after by their own mothers to avoid conflicts between daughter-in-laws and mother-in-laws. Stronger ties between maternal grandmothers and grandchildren were also found to be present in research conducted by researchers in other countries (e.g. Mills et al. (2001)). Grandmothers are closer to their grandchildren also because compared to older men, older women are perceived to be playing more 'emotional-expressive' roles, emphasizing more on interpersonal dynamics and the quality of ties in the family while older men to emphasize more on task-oriented involvements outside the family (Parson and Bale 1955, cited in Hagestad 1985).

Reasons for emotional closeness with grandparents

In trying to delineate reasons leading to the emotional closeness between grandchildren and grandparents, the primary school children were asked to write down reasons for their choice of a favorite grandparent in an open-ended and free-response section of their questionnaire. The following themes were uncovered:

Takes care of me / Good to me

Twenty-eight of such responses were found and were the most cited reasons for the favorite grandparent. "She (maternal grandmother) treats me very well…" – female, 10 years old "She (paternal grandmother) is the nicest of them all and she treats my sister and I very well. I like her very much" – female, 11 years old

"because she takes care of me" – male, 8 years old. Such global responses of "likes me" and "take cares of me" were found to be cited more by younger children of 7 to 8 years of age. This is congruent to their level of development, where their moral reasoning is not fully developed and they tend to think egocentrically (Papalia & Olds, 1998).

Material indulgence

The next most observed reason (mentioned 18 times in total) given by the children displayed the indulgence of grandparenting on their grandchildren. "they (maternal and paternal grandparents) buy things for me and give me things" – male, 8 years old "she would buy what I want for me" – female, 9 years old Similarly, children in middle childhood might define love or affection by the material indulgence an adult is willing to put in them.

Activity engagement

The third most recurrent theme is the enjoyment experienced through the recreational activities engaged between the grandparent and grandchild. Boys are more likely to cite this reason than girls. "they play with me all the time" – male, 8 years old "my grandparent plays with me and takes me to the zoo and bird park" – male, 10 years old "my grandparents play with me, dance with me, sing with me…" – female, 9 years old.

In the college questionnaire, students were asked to write a short message to a particular grandparent (the one whom they are closest to). Their answers were analyzed, and the following themes could be observed: "Gratitude", "Regret/Apologies", "Concern", and "Love".

Gratitude

Answers which came under this category focused on expressing their gratitude to their grandparents for past or present acts of kindness. There were 39 mentions of gratitude in total.

"…I especially need to thank you for all that tonic soup that you've been nourishing us with…" - F89

"Words cannot describe my heartfelt gratitude for all the care and love that you have given me" – F91

"Thank you for watching over me, for worrying about me (usually more than I do myself). Thank you for caring…" – F109

Regret/Apologies

Statements which contained words or expressions of regret, usually over present behavior, and apologies for past and present behavior occurred 33 times.

"I am sorry that I do not speak to you as much as I should…" – F8

"That I regret not being able to spend more time with her, which I should" – F83

"I miss him (paternal grandfather) a lot. That ever since he had passed away, family gatherings are not that enjoyable anymore. And that I miss the laughter and warmth that we all shared when he is around" – F159

"I wish that we can communicate more often and that you can tell me more about your life story" – F66

Love

Expressions of love were found 47 times, which makes it the most-mentioned among the four themes. This shows that quite evidently the deep love the college students have for their grandparents, although it may not be articulated directly to them. The message of love to their grandparent could be simple, but sometimes it is mentioned together with regret, or gratitude.

"I would want to tell her that I regret that we are not as close as we used to be, and I hope that she knows that I still love her very much" – F59

"Grandma, I love you" – F162

"I would like to tell him that I know he cares a lot about me and I do wish to spend more time with him. Of course, I will tell him that I love him very much" – F164

Concern

Twenty-four mentions of concern over grandparents' health or future were found. College students who are grandchildren are at the age where they are more able to think for others or put themselves in

others' shoes, unlike the primary school children sample. These sort of answers could well indicate that they are aware of their grandparents' behavior and thinking, despite the age difference and difference in life phases.

"I would want her to be more positive about life, don't worry so much about unnecessary stuff" – F15

"dear grandpa, please take care of yourself, as you are getting older and weaker. We still have a lot of things to do together" – F58

"Take care of yourself, stop smoking, remember to eat your medicines on time. Remember to eat your meals, eat healthy please" – F80

"I hope my grandmother will do what she loves to do and be happy. And I hope she will not give herself too much worries and worsen her condition" – F93

Perceptions of grandparents by grandchildren

When given a list of character traits that were commonly associated with older people, it was found that 54.3% of the undergraduates agree that their grandparents are not always nagging, 68.6% think that their grandparents are not very quiet, 67.4% thinks that they are not stern, and 74.9% agreed that they are kind. Slightly more proportion of undergraduates think that their grandparents are not fun-loving (46.3% (undergraduate) vs. 32% (schoolchildren).

Interestingly, the school children group does not seem to agree with the undergraduate group about the last character trait. As mentioned earlier, a significant proportion of them think their grandparents are active and fun-loving. Boys tend to recall such incidents more than girls. For instance,

"…she would play catch with me without complaining, even at an old age. She always told me about her past and it was exciting hearing how they could play with fireworks and have barbeques. She would tell me jokes and make me laugh. She brought me out to try different cuisines, like Vietnamese, Indonesian and Japanese food. It was really delicious…." – male, 9 years old

"…she would tell me jokes when I am unable to sleep…" – male, 9 years old

"my grandmother would bring me to the market and we would ride on the trishaw back home" – female, 9 years old

"I remember very clearly once when I was 3-4 years old and went kite-flying on a weekend. My kite got stuck on a tree and I tried to pull it down but failed. My grandmother climbed the tree to help me retrieve my kite. She fell and her leg got badly injured because of the incident. I felt very guilty at first until I realized she can do many things as well as she did in the past. I was very proud of her. She can even climb the stairs from the first to the sixth storey!" – male, 9 years old

Reasons for the difference in perception could be that older grandchildren have less physical contact with their grandparents, hence the decreased opportunities for them to engage in any form of activities with their grandchildren. Also, as the grandchildren grow older, their grandparents age simultaneously, with a drop in their level of energy and strength, they interact less through play and activities. Also, older grandparents might possibly be not in their best of health, and that too affects their ability in activity-engagement. Moreover, as a grandchild matures, he/she could no longer be interested in the activities they used to play with their grandparents. Compared with engaging younger grandchildren, it is more difficult for a grandparent to engage in activities which the older grandchild likes, for instance playing computer games or shopping.

In terms of similarity, "Kind" is also one characteristic that the children mention when asked about their favorite grandparent.

"I like them for their kindness and care towards me…" - male, 12 years old

"…they are kind and helpful to me…" – male, 9 years old

"I like them because they are very kind and good to me" – female, 10 years old

"I like my grandmother because she is kind to me…" female, 11 years old

When quizzed about what they disliked about their grandparents or relate an incident when they were angry with them, the primary school children would use words like "always scolding

me" and "nagging". However, a large portion of them (45%) said that they have not felt angry with their grandparents at all.

Intergenerational transfer of values

The influence of grandparents in value development was explored with the undergraduate sample. It was found that the strongest influence is through moral (Mean = 2.77 for grandmothers and 3.20 for grandfathers) and familial beliefs (Mean = 2.74 for grandmothers and 3.20 for grandfathers). Although it is unlikely for the primary school sample to relay such influence their grandparents have on them in terms of value development due to their age, there were still a few answers which showed the transfer of values between grandparent and grandchild. Obviously, the older children were the ones who were most likely to be able to share such facts.

"…they teach me what's right and wrong, like teasing my friend is wrong and much more. They also tell me that I must be kind to everyone and not do anything bad towards anyone." – male, 9 years old

"…what I do know is, if you want to be treated nicely, you must treat others nicely too." – male, 9 years old.

Grandparents' influence on the value development of grandchildren has been one primary reason for the preference among younger couples to engage their own parents in child care. The grandparents, too, recognize their role in contributing as guardian and transmitter of correct values to the younger generation, as shown in a study on older persons in Singapore (Thang et al. 2004).

Conclusion

This article hopes to shed light on intergenerational issues from the perspective of the grandchildren. Insofar, we are able to conclude that close contact, especially through regular care giving, is vital in building the emotional attachment between grandparent and grandchild. The time spent between grandparent and grandchild during childhood makes a lasting impact on the grandchild's development in the later years. Besides economic reasons for asking a grandparent to look after the child while the parent is working, this study shows that the influence a grandparent can exert over a child's moral and character development. The duty of a grandparent goes beyond caring for his/her daily needs, it is having the responsibility

of molding the child into who he/she will become in the future. The qualitative answers from the college sample show that incidents or acts of love in the past were fondly remembered and treasured.

If we will to infer from the results to understand grandparenting, it suggests that grandparenting involves multiple functions and roles significant to the physical, emotional and moral well-being of the grandchildren. However, the involvement in one role over another may shift as both grandparents and grandchildren advance in age. Comparison from the two samples of different ages of grandchildren shows that engagement and interactions with grandparents and grandchildren is a dynamic one, as perceptions on grandparents changes as their activity engagement levels with each other decreases with the growing years of the grandchildren and declining health of grandparents.

In the recent years, however, there is an increasing trend towards yearning for freedom and a leisurely life among the older generation in Singapore. This, however, does not mean that older persons are shunting grandparents. Instead, it suggests a preferred grandparenting style of informality, playfulness (as in the fun-seeker style in Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) and a companionate relationship as givers and receivers of love and affection (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1986). Grandparents desiring such a style of engagement will be available to help when there is a need; they also enjoy occasional playing and hugging with their grandchildren. However, they decline from full-time involvement with child care and refer to interaction with grandchildren as part of their program of activities. Although only an emerging trend, this has resulted in a subtle tension between the young couples' needs for their parents care giving help and the desire for grandparents to be freed from care giving responsibility in retiring years (The Straits Times, 23 May, 2004; 8 August 2004).

Although it is unfair to expect older adults to take on caregiving roles of their grandchildren if they do not wish to, this study nevertheless reveals that it is important for grandparents to understand their moral responsibility to the younger generations and balance their roles as grandparents along with other roles. In recognizing the role of grandparents in caring for their grandchildren, the recent tax incentives announced on 25 August

2004 to encourage more births[3] has included a $3000 grandparent caregiver tax relief to working mothers whose child below 12 years old is being cared for by grandparents (http://www.family.gov.sg)

Recognizing that grandparents' role and commitment play a role in family stability as well as encouraging more births in the country, the Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports also forms a task force on grandparenting and intergenerational bonding since 2002. Among other things, the taskforce provides funding to promote intergenerational bonding and grandparenting through programs and activities organized by various sections such as non-governmental agencies and businesses. It also promotes the recognition of the third Sunday of November as "Grandparents' Day" and organizes grandparent of the year and other awards to recognizes the contribution of grandparents in the family and society.

To conclude, this paper, although defines the theme as 'grandparenting in Singapore', has deliberately focused on the younger generation's perceptions on grandparents. While the attempt addresses the lack in research emphasis in grandchildren's perception of their grandparents in this part of the world, it also hopes to encourage government efforts to educate the public on intergenerational relationships to begin to look into the younger generation's perspective on the issue. Studying grandparenting issues both from the older adults and also the younger generation's point of view is beneficial in several ways; not only does it help to eliminate our stereotypes of the younger generation as becoming less respectful to the old and causing a generation gap between the generations, it also helps in suggesting ideas to bond the generations effectively.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 391-409

Setting an Intergenerational Programme in Brazil : Process Observation as a Means of Evaluation

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ABSTRACT

Intergenerational relationships have been proposed as a means of tackling a wide range of socio-cultural and educational issues. More recently it has also been suggested as a means of building social capital for community health improvement. The broadening of the field brings new challenges and makes careful planning of interventions and use of sound evaluation methodologies even more important. The purpose of this paper is to describe the steps followed to establish a six month ilntergenerational programme in Brazil, and the process observation adopted as part of a multi-methodology used to evaluate it. Many difficulties were faced and different strategies were adopted to overcome them. Results from the process observation suggest some positive outcomes of the intervention, which will become clearer when the other strands of the evaluation are complete.

Keywords : Social-cultural issues, Interventions Evaluation, Strategies Multi-methodologies

The two last decades have witnessed an increased interest in intergenerational relationships (Kuehne & Collin 1997; Larkin and Newman 1997; Kerrigan, J. & Stevenson, N.C. 1997; Hamilton, G., *et al.,* 1999; Newman 2003; Thang, L.L., *et al.,* 2003, Souza 2004). Intergenerational programmes have been seen as a way of engaging citizens in activities to benefit the community, to improve education, and aid to building a sense of cultural identity (Kaplan 1997; Ward 1997). More recently it has been advocated as a means of building social capital and promoting the health of young people and elders alike (Souza 2003a, 2003b). These hypothesised benefits can only be tested using sound methodologies to evaluate interventions. Although a number of authors (Ward 1997; Granville 2002; Souza 2003a; Souza 2003b; Kuehne 2003; Bernard 2004) have recognised the importance of evaluation few programmes have been evaluated to inform effectiveness of these type of activities.

Intergenerational experience in Brazil

The first intergenerational programmes in Brazil were set up in the early 1990s, when the author obtained funding from the British Embassy in Brazil to set up a project in which older people interacted with school students during reminiscence sessions at a secondary school of Taguatinga, one of Brasilias's satellite cities (Souza, 1999). This project was evaluated using focus group methods with funding from the Pan-American Health Organization (Souza, 2001; 2003a, 2003b).

The results of this evaluation suggested that intergenerational interaction programmes using reminiscence processes as a means of interaction might lead to an improvement in family relationships, a better understanding between generations and more positive attitudes towards each other. It also seemed to building feelings of trust and reciprocity, which are recognised as cognitive components of social capital (Kawachi, I., Kawachi, I; & Berkman, L., 2000; Souza 2003a). This pioneering project led to a number of other small projects in the country and influenced the National Policy for the Elderly People launched in 1996 (Brasil 1986), this committed the Education Ministry to include issues related to the ageing process at all stages of formal education and the Ministry of Culture to

implement intergenerational activities in order to enable elderly people to pass on their experiences to younger generations. In the Distrito Federal of Brazil the State Secretariat of Health and the State Secretariat of Education agreed to include this type of activity in all schools in the Distrito Federal but as yet this has resulted in only a few small projects developed on an a informal basis (Souza 2004).

As noted above, previous intergenerational projects have been small scale and formal evaluation limited. The need for sound evidence on whether such programmes are of benefit led to the development of the research described here. In this research a multimethodology approach involving a community trial, process observation and focus groups technique was adopted to evaluate an intervention based on an intergenerational relationship programme in Ceilandia, Distrito Federal (DF) of Brazil. The invention comprised an intergenerational interaction programme in which groups of elders undertook joint activities with school adolescents using reminiscence process as a means of interaction. The purpose of this paper is : (a) to describe the steps followed to set up the intergenerational interaction programme in which school adolescents and elders living in the neighbouring community had the opportunity to share their life stories and (b) to describe the process observation used to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the activities.

Programme setting : The City of Ceilândia

Ceilândia was chosen for the study because the city is a low income urban area with a high rate of criminality and large proportion of migrants, who account for 54% of the population (CODEPLAN 1997). All people over 44 years old, wern born in other states. The majority came to Distrito Federal in the 1960s to build Brasilia, seeking better conditions of life. These people are ageing far from their roots. In short Ceilândia, like a number of similar areas, has a range of characteristics which may predispose to poor levels of social cohesion which suggests a need to develop interventions to promote social integration.

Target population

The complete study was initiated in February 2002 and concluded in December of the same year. Two samples were selected, one of elders and the other of school students. The sample

of elders was chosen using a household screen to identify people aged 60 and over living in the catchment area of a specified secondary school. The student group aged 12-18 years old was chosen from those in the 7th and 8th grade which comprised the other sample. Both samples were randomly divided in two groups at baseline. In the sample of elders, 149 subjects were allocated to the group that took part in the project, the experimental group, while 117 individuals were allocated to the control group. For the students, 134 were allocated for the experimental and 119 for the control group.

The study was conducted in seven phases. The first phase comprised a pilot study. The second and third phases were characterised by randomised sample selection, recruitment and training of interviewers, randomised group allocation and baseline data collection. The fourth phase is related to the ilntervention which is the subject of this paper. The sixth phase included a qualitative study conducted with both samples of experimental groups using focus group technique to complement the process data collection. The seventh phase comprised the quantitative and qualitative data analyses which is the subject of further publications.

Ethical approval was obtained from the Ethical Committee of Brasilia, DF, Brazil and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine Ethical Committee. All participants, and the parents of the participating students, provided written consent. Names have been changed in order to preserve confidentiality.

Establishing the intervention activities

This paper describes the steps of the intergenerational intervention research project, giving an overview of each stage of its development, the difficulties faced, and strategies adopted to overcome them. The data draws on detailed notes the author kept in her role as a project co-ordinator during the sessions, informal group discussions, comments made by teachers, school domestics, project participants, and sessions forms completed by the group facilitators and participants by the end of sessions.

The activities took place weekly in the selected school during class time. In order to reach the objectives proposed for the research project, the activities were planed and the steps described bellow followed.

The training for reminiscence group facilitators

Reminiscence work has a broader range of functions such as recreational, cultural, educational, and others,. It, is not a monopoly of any professional category. Anybody who likes working with elderly people and has an interest in life histories can do the work, provided that she or he has appropriate training in the theory, practice and ethics of the technique (Coleman 1994; Souza 1999).

The training course was held over four days from 27th to 30th of May 2002. It was initiated with 22 participants, 5 health professionals from the neighbouring health centre of the school and 17 teachers. Eight of the initial 22 participants failed to complete the training course. Reasons for withdrawal included : illness, timetabling problems and poor interest in the activities.

The programme was thus left with 14 group facilitators. However, by the end of the project six had given up for various reasons, eight remained in the project, but only five were really committed. Two weeks of June were devoted to planning the intergenerational activities with the group facilitators and to prepare the students for the activities.

The beginning of intergenerational encounters

On the 24th of June the project was started with an opening session with approximately 150 students and 27 elders from the community. This session was intended to welcome the students and elders to explain with practical examples the bases of the activities and also to allocate participants for specific reminiscence groups.

The low number of elders was disappointing as a week earlier a personal written invitation had been handed to 149 elders selected for the intervention group. Although many elderly people praised the initiative and promised to come, less than one third of the invited people were present.

The low attendance of elders at the opening session was indicative of problems encountered in bringing them to the sessions. Factors which discouraged participation included lack of transport and time as many were still working or in charge of looking after grandchildren. Another reason was shyness or lack of confidence in dealing with young people. Many elders were suspicious that they might make fun of them, as they mentioned through a typical

comment during focus group interviews : *"When I was invited I thought : this project with old and young people will not work".* One of the main reasons however, was the political campaign as the general election coincided with the project. Many people were suspicious that the project was part of a political vote wining strategy. Although exhaustive explanations were given that the project was not linked to a political campaign or a political party, many elderly people remained suspicious and voiced sentiments such as, *"Nobody cares about the elders before the election campaign, why now" ?* This had serious consequences and instead of recruiting at least a hundred elders as stipulated by the research protocol, only 32 came regularly.

The development of the intergenerational encounters

The sessions were initially planned with twenty elders who had committed themselves to participate. The next step was to allocate the elders to groups with the students.

The school had five classes of 8th grade students attending school in the morning and six classes of 7th grade students attending afternoon courses, totalling eleven classes. Most students were aged 13 to 15 years old with a few outside this range; the youngest being 12 and the oldest 18. The great diversity of ages in these classes is due to educational ability. One class was randomly selected for the pilot study leaving ten for the main study. Five of these were randomly allocated to the control group and five to the intervention, which were nominated by numbers from 1 to 5. After allocating the classes it was planned to divide each intervention class into three smaller groups with a mean of ten students each, forming 15 subgroups of students. However, this sub division was not strictly followed. The groups were sometimes merged into bigger ones or divided into smaller ones, depending on the number of participants or group facilitators, the subject discussed or type of activity. The number of elders in each group varied as they were allocated according to their choice of time and day of week. The majority of elders chose Thursday and Friday, leaving the groups of Monday and Tuesday with a problem in recruiting elders as described later. Changes also were made to accommodate the small number of elders and availability of group facilitators.

The main difficulties faced and the means to overcome them

The sessions of elders and young people started on July the fourth, and continued until the end of November 2002. Each group held an average of 14 two hour sessions. However, the work with students extended beyond the reminiscence sessions as many teachers continued to raise the topics in other classes. During the first months of the project, difficulties were faced, and many strategies were used to overcome them as summarised in Table 1. The reminiscence sessions in all groups were characterised by delayed starts, although punctuality was strictly stressed during the training course. Late starts were due to a range of factors such as students' frequent chatting in the corridors and elders or facilitators forgetting arrangements. According to the scheme arranged during the planning stage of the activities, the reminiscence sessions would be held during the class time of a given teacher. For example, during the art class on Thursday afternoon the class was divided into three smaller groups. Each group would be guided by one group facilitator; one group was facilitated by the class's own teacher and the remaining groups would be facilitated by teachers from other classes during their teaching time. As a consequence, teachers from the other classes had to prepare their own students to work in their absence while they were facilitating a reminiscence group. Soon we realised this strategy could not work in practice, as teachers could neither concentrate on their class nor on the reminiscence work. Measures had to be taken to prevent future pitfalls. After two months the students and the elders were already familiar with each other. It was decided by all participants that the groups could receive instruction and conduct the activities on their own, under the supervision of one group facilitator who was responsible for three groups. In part the students proved able to enjoy the sessions and work productively without a permanent facilitator present. Later, many students stated that without a monitor the sessions were better as they felt more at ease talking to the elders. As one boy said and the group confirmed :

"It is much better to talk to the elders without a teacher around. Our teacher did not allow us to talk to the elders freely".

Other organisational problems also affected all groups, for instance group facilitators did not prepare the sessions adequately nor were the evaluation forms completed properly. As the school was very busy, at the beginning it was not possible to identify rooms for

the meetings. The venues for the sessions were often changed at the last minute, making the elders confused. The group facilitators were also not able to prepare the rooms in advance for sesions as they had no break between classes. After a month we decided to employ an assistant to organise the sessions and prepare refreshment. This had a tremendous impact on the development of the work. However, as the activities evolved, the students and the elders became keen to help with these tasks. It seems that it is a matter of time to get all settled and personally involved.

Table 1 - Difficulties faced during the intervention phase and the strategies taken to overcome

Difficulties	Strategies taken to overcome them
• Difficulty in recruiting elders.	• Changing days of weeks for sessions to secure attendacnce of elders • Merging groups
• Poor punctuality and interruptions to sessions	• Emphasising importance of punctuality
• Lack of confidence of a few group facilitators	• Presence of a project co-ordinator in all early sessions to reassure group facilitators
• Lack of commitment of many group facilitators	• Replacing group facilitators. • Preparing participants to work on their own.
• Shyness of participants	• The use of warm up exercises to relax group participants.
• Scarce time for group facilitators to prepare room for sessions	• Hiring a person to assist the group facilitators in preparing the rooms, reminding the elders and providing refreshment
• Failure in allocating group facilitators as planned in the initial scheme	• Meeting to discuss new strategies of work • Preparing participants to work on their own
• Poor premises	• Defining specific rooms for the work and refreshments

The first session in each group was characterised by shyness of participants. There was also a tendency of people to talk to each

other instead of addressing the group. In order to overcome shyness and integrate the group, the sessions usually started with a warm up exercise. In all groups the participants initially introduced themselves by telling their name's history such as : who chose it, why it was chosen and what its meaning was. Alternative warm up exercises such as music and dance were used. After the warm up exercise the group participants were feeling more relaxed about sharing their life stories and able to enjoy the refreshments served at the end of the session. During this time, it was possible to obtain feedback from the participants through their spontaneous comments in informal discussions.

Many external factors also influenced the development of the project at the beginning. As the teachers were not able to prepare the session in advance, the project coordinator had to come in and out many times to provide stationery and refreshment for the groups. Many sessions also were disturbed by people coming in and out, telephone calls and other external factors. These factors jeopardised the flow of conversation. However, the difficulties were discussed and overcome. The problem relating to space was solved when it became possible to define specific rooms for the encounters and refreshments.

The work achieved in sessions

Using memory triggers such as interviews, photos, old objects and utensils as shown in Figure 1, the groups covered almost the same topics relating to plays and toys, school days youth days, special celebrations, parties, songs and dance, courting, giving birth, ghost stories, migration, and the construction of Brasilia (Table 2). The attendance rate of students and elders per group in each session was

utensils to trigger memories

approximately 70%. The main reasons for the elders' absences were medical appointments, and illness. For the students the main reasons were timetable changing, which resulted in being released from school earlier.

Table 2 Reminiscence groups and activities developed during the intervention phase

Groups	Topics Discussed	Workshops	Joint Celebrations
1 7th grade	- Plays, toys, school days - Dressing for special parties - Solidarity now and then - Courting and marriage - Wedding parties - Migration - The history of Brasilia	- Fabric dools - Paper and sock balls - Old dresses - Cartoons and books	- The Adolescents and Elders Day-(Picnic to a botanical garden) - One woman's birthday
2 7th grade	- Plays, games, school days - Special parties - Solidarity now end then - Courting and marriage - Wedding parties - Migration - The history of Brasilia	- Fabric dools - Paper and sock balls - Old dresses - Cartoons and books	- The Adolescents and Elders Day-(Picnic to a botanical garden)
3 7th grade	- Plays, toys, school days Special parties Solidarity now and then - Courting and marriage - Wedding parties - Migration - The history of Brasilia	- Fabric dools - Paper and sock balls - Old dresses - Cartoons and books	- The Adolescents and Elders Day-(Picnic to a botanical garden)
4 8th grade	- Plays, toys, school days Typical food - Courting and marriage - Wedding parties - Migration - The history of Brasilia	- Typical food	- The Adolescents and Elders Day-(Picnic to a botanical garden) - One woman's birthday
5 8th Grade	- Plays, toys, games - School days - Youth, - Special parties - Songs and dance, - Courting and marriage - Wedding parties - Givign birth, - Ghost tales - Migration - The history of Brasilia		- The Adolescents and Elders Day-(Picnic to a botanical garden) a botanical garden) - One woman's birthday

Group profiles

The groups showed many similarities but also differed in some important ways as described below -

Group 1 - Group one comprised students from seventh grade A. The sessions were initially held on Mondays. However, from the beginning the work was jeopardised by the difficulty of recruiting elders for this day. After one month of difficulty in getting the elders for this group we made a joint decision to transfer group 1 to join group 3 on Thursday afternoon. After being transferred, participants of Group 1 followed the same scheme of group 3 activities and became very productive.

Group 2 - Group two comprised students from 7th Grade B. The sessions were held on Tuesday afternoon. This group suffered the same problem in recruiting elders. To prevent group dissolution, other elders attending Thursady and Friday agreed to come on Tuesday. Two elders who had participated in a previous project also came many times as guests and made some presentations. After three months a man who was very resistant at the beginning accepted the invitation to join the participants for the outing held in September. Subsequently he attended all the Tuesday sessions. He was a pioneer who had come to the Distrito Federal in the 1960s and knew a lot about the construction of Brasilia. His input enthused the students and the group wrote a little book about the history of Brasilia. The students not only showed great consideration to the elders but also a great ability to work without

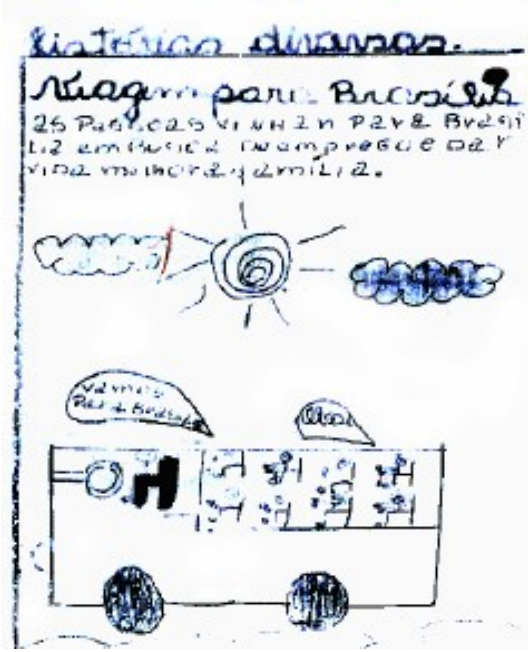

Fig. 2 Cartoon, part of the history of migration to Brasilia written by Warley Gomes 7th grade B, Ceilandia 2002.

a permanent group; facilita-tor around them. After solving the initial difficulties,this group as, group; 1 and 3 showed great pro-ductivity, drawing, essays, cartoons and little books were produced.An example is shown in Figure 2.

Group 3 - Group three which comprised 7th Grade 'C', was priviledged to have the most committed group facilitator who became the coordinator of all seventh grade students. She ran most of her classes working with the stories recorded by the students during the reminiscence sessions, transforming them into books, cartoons and posters. Four workshops about old toys such as fabric dolls; paper balls and sock balls were conducted.

Although groups 1 and 3 were being run on the same day, the classes were not merged,except during the refreshment period. Each class was divided into three smaller groups comprising six sub-groups which were facilitated by only three groups facilitator, including the main investigator. The students took pride in conducting most of the work by theselves. The groups conducted on Thursday afternoon started with four elders and by the end it had ten attending the sessions regularly.

Once of the students went to visit her parents outside Brasilia and brought back a fabric doll to the class, she had asked her parent's neighbour, an older woman, to work on it with her. This suggests that the intergenerational interaction within the school day have helped her interact spontaneously with older people outside the school.

Group 4 : Group four was conducted on Friday morning with the students of eighth grade 'A', during the art class time. At the beginning the group comprised a total of nine elders, four men and six women, a mean of thirty students and three group facilitators, all of them were teachers from the school. After the first encounter three elders dropped out but during the subsequent sessions three women joined the activities. They were initially very quiet but gradually became very participative. One started telling folk stories in verse as is very comon in the Northeast of Brzil which enthused all participants. The other became very talkative at home telling as witnessed by her daughter.

Spontanously the participants decided to conducted some sessions related to typical food and alternated the dishes the elders used to eat in their youth with the dishes adolescents eat today.

The main negative aspect of this group was the lateness in starting sessions. Although the sesions always started late, they usually lasted longer and went beyond the stipulated time as the participants usually remained in the classroom chatting for a long time.

Group 5 : Group five comprised students of 8th grade D. Seven elders, a mean of 30 students and five group facilitators were registered for this group. One of the group facilitators never felt confident and committed enough to run the group on her own. After two months, by common consent, she left the project. Two nurses also had to leave as they were heavily committed at the health centre. Only two monitors, a teacher and a nurse remained in group 5. It could not be said they were entirely committed. For this reason the students and elders frequently worked on their own under the supervision of the project co-ordinator. They also did some work out of the sessions. One of the teachers of group 4 volunteered to work during her classes with the topics discussed during the reminiscence sessions as part of the educational programme. This had an impact and resulted in the students producing essays and drawings related to the history of Brasilia. As measures were taken,after two months of adaptation all sessions became more regular. The elders and students of group 5 were very committed. There was not a single dropout of elders. Only two students left. One gave up studying, the other was transferred to another school, but he was doing very well in the project and came back to complete the final questionnaire of the study and to participate in the closing session.

The students spontaneously celebrated one woman's birthday. It was a moving experience as she mentioned :

"It was the first time my birthday had been celebrated.Even my own children never prepared a party like this for me".

Another woman became a close friend of a student's family and was invited to be her godmother. This same woman became a close friend of a neighbour she had never talked to before. They kept each other company by coming to the sessions.

The production of this group was less in terms reproducing the elder's stories in form of books or cartoons compared to with others. However, they showed a great ability for working on their own and in making decisions such as birthday celebrations and outing organisations. They also completed some session evaluation forms on their own.

The Joint Outing

The Adolescent's and the Elders National Day are celebrated on September 23rd and 27th respectively. For these celebrations, a picnic at the Brasilia's Botanical Garden was organised. A group of students paid homage to the elders with a short speech followed by singing and dancing. One of the women responded on behalf of the elders praising the students and sang a song.

This outing had a special meaning for them all. When evaluating it, one man said that the memories this visit brought him were touching. As he quoted :

"The objects, the smell of the trees and the contact with all those people brought me old memories and took me back to the past in my home land. I felt a great emotion that moved me to tears. You have no idea how I enjoyed it."

For this celebration, a sponsorship from a trade company was obtained to make 450 T-shirts to be distributed to all participants. Some of these were given to the control group of students at the end of the project in recognition of their contribution to the research programme. This sponsorship was a sign of intersectorial co-operation for community improvement.

The exhibition of the reminiscence project

At the end of October one of the art teachers organized an exhibition. There all the objects used to trigger the elder's memories with all the material produced during projectn's activities were displayed. The first visitors to the exhibition were second year medical students from Brasilia. Spontaneously, a reminiscence session took place. It was the first time the medical students had seen a community intervention which involved more than the health sector. The participants were, proud not only with the visit, but also with the opportunity to get recognition of their work from outsiders. One woman said : 'I felt like a queen that day.

The Budget for the intervention phase

The development of any project demands different kinds of resources such as human, material and financial. The present intervention proved to be an inexpensive one as can be seen in the budget displayed in Table 3.

Table 3 : Budgtet for the intervention phase

Personnel	**Costs**	**Total**
1 project helper to prepre the rooms, the refreshment and to come to the school.	950.00 each monthy over 5 months during the intervention phase	9250.00
1 Photographer for the closing session	9100.00	9100.00
Sub Total		9**450.00**
1 Mini-tape recorder to record the special sessions	965.00 per unit	965.00
Stationary - paper pencils, pen etc to be used for the students to record and illustrate the sessions	9100.00 a months over 5 months	9500.00
22 books (Reminiscence manual) for the training and reminiscence intervention	94.00 each	988.00
Refreshment during the inter-vention phase including opening and closing sessions	9155.00 a month over 6months	
Transport for one outing		9110.00
Sub total	91209.00	91693.00
Total		9**2043.00**

The Closing Session

The activities lasted until November. At the beginning of December all participants and all the school were invited for closing session where lunch was served. The students and elders exchanged cards and small gifts. All participants expressed disappointment for the end of the project as they said :

The internvention phase lasted 6 months from May to November 2002. It included training course for group facilitators,

planning joint activities, recruiting elderly people and allocating participants to groups before initiating the intergenerational activities. Elders and students met weekly at the school, totalling a mean 14 sessions of two hours each, covering the topics related to childhood, adulthood and migration to Brasilia.

Many barriers including difficulty inrecruiting elderly people, frequent delays, lack of confidence among group facilitators team, poor premises, and dropouts of elders and group facilitators are faced at the beginning. Similar problems have been reported in setting up intergenerationalprogrammes projects in the UK (Ellis 2003; Hatton-Yeo, and Watkins, 2004). Various strategies were adopted to overcome these situtions. Signs of progress however were observed including new comers joining theproject, the production of posters, books, and cartoons related to elders' life histories and preparation of an exhibition. It also had some influence to change group facilitators impression of their students and attitudes towards elderly people.

It seems, that the difficulties did not pose a serious problem as many positive outcomes were noticed afterwards. Monitoring the activities, however, was vital to understand interchanges between groups and their possible effect on participants.

The outcomes, however suggest an overall improvement in the intergenerational understanding which seems to coorroborate previous studies conducted in Brazil (Souza 2003) and in the USA (Chellan 1981; McGown 1994; Kerrigan, & Stevenson 1997). It is possible therefore, to supoose that this activity should be one alterntive way for building social capital and social choesion for improvement of community empowerment, which is the aim of the Ottawa Charter (WHO 1986) for health promotion.

The voluntary participation of teachers and health professionals suggested the value of the activities for health and educational purpose. The capacity of participants to work on their own and to take initative and decisions decisions is possibly a sign of reproducibility of activities in other settings. Also the participants' perception of better relationship with their neighbours might be a sign of improvement in social cohesion and mutual co-operation.

Conclusion

It is challenging to start a community project especially when there is pressure to follow a tight schedule for starting and finishing the programme. It seems that it requires time and patience to try different strategies to recruit volunteers and to adjust planned schemes.

Integenerational interaction activities is a growing field which requires multi dispciplinary approach and involve collaboration of multi systems in the community. To sustain the status this kind of activities has gain recently more evaluation research need to be conducted to show effectiveness. The present work was one of the first steps in this field which might encourage further research in this area.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 410-422

Intergenerational Relationship Building through Participation in Physical Activity

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ABSTRACT

Intergenerational relationships are a major concern for the developed and developing world. While intergenerational relationships have been very strong in countries with traditional cultures like India, over time, the need has arisen to further strengthen such relationships within the household. Physical activity is thought to be a method by which to strengthen intergenerational relationships while at the same time maintaining the health of the elderly population. In this direction, the present research is an initial attempt to understand the motives underlying participation in physical activity by older adults, and describe its relationship to intergenerational issues. This study involved 123 older Asian Indian adults (76 males and 47 females) who were taking part in regular physical activity or exercise at least once a week. Participants completed the Participation Motivation Questionnaire for Older Adults to assess the motives for their participation in physical activity. Nine motives were identified which contained loadings on the family and social (outdoor) front. Results were analysed for the percentage of responses to motives as "very important" and "not very important". Three demographic variables were used for the data analysis: gender, educational level, and employment status. The results are discussed in light of Indian family norms and cultures, and it was seen that the motives for physical activity

could be used as intervention strategies to strengthen intergenerational relationships.

Keywords : Physical activity, Health of elderly Intergenerating Issues, Participation Motivation.

In traditional Indian society the family usually consists of the man, his wife, their children, and the man's parents and unmarried sisters, if any. The man has the social responsibility to ensure his parents live with him and are well looked after as part of the family. The man's wife, the daughter-in-law of the house, treats her parents-in-law as her own parents and calls them "mummy" and "daddy" or "papa". As well, she is required to get along with her unmarried sisters-in-law, if there are any. The male member of the household plays a crucial role in balancing egos and demands and satisfying everyone. He has to please his parents and his wife and mediate any situations of conflict that may arise between the other extended family members. The daughter-in-law is often a homemaker and might not be allowed to go out and work. She cooks for the family, washes clothes, supervises the other chores done by a domestic servant, and looks after the day-to-day needs of her parents-in-law. When she has children, she completely immerses herself in looking after and raising them. Meanwhile, her husband is the money earning member of the household whose main duties are to bring the income home, buy/sell property, pay all bills, and make purchases for all types of household items except food.

Traditionally, the Hindu joint family is patriarchal in nature with the oldest male member as the head, holding the position of authority. Based on age, the elderly occupy positions of authority and respect, and their advice is sought in intra-familial matters. The close family system in India provides a solid social support for aged people, and the emphasis on spiritualism as opposed to materialism seems to allow the elderly a more peaceful and serene life (Sharma & Tiwari, 1983). While the extended family in India vests considerable power and authority in the eldest male member, the situation is slightly different for older women. Although older women are highly respected by the younger members of the family, their authority is somewhat restricted to female members of the family. Her primary responsibility is to give direction and

distribution of work as well as ensuring assimilation of the family's traditional rules and regulations (Gore, 1978).

The main advantage of living life in this system is that the children have the opportunity to interact with and learn a lot from their grandparents. If there are two brothers with their families living together, the cousins (i.e., the children of the two brothers) grow up together just as birth siblings. The children grow up with a strong sense of security and stability. The family system is given great importance in India and has worked more often than not.

An understanding of the traditional Indian family is important; however, in the face of modernization, the family as an institution is changing. In traditional Indian society, old age is considered a "storehouse" of knowledge and wisdom. The aged are generally looked upon with respect and reverence (Desai & Khetani, 1979), and the joint family system provides security through mutuality of relationships and encourages interdependence. Children assume responsibility for the care of their parents as part of *dharma* or duty.

In the more modern and developing India, a significant increase in the number of older people is beginning to create several challenges. The widespread prevalence of the joint family in India was for generations a guarantee for the care and protection of the aged. As social landscape in India is changing very rapidly, the role and status of the older adult is intertwined with the values, economies, and politics of the society where they are now living. This shift to dual career families and disintegration of the joint family raises challenges to policy makers to provide a framework for the care and protection of the elderly population. This is particularly important given that currently no social security provision exists for older people in India. It is likely that this shift from the traditional Indian family to the more modern one will increase over coming years along with the increase in number of older people. It is estimated that by 2050 there will be 48 million people in India over the age of 80 years (World Bank, 1994).

Hippocrates, the father of modern medicine said that all parts of the body, if used in moderation, develop and age slowly, but if they are left unused they become defective in growth, susceptible to disease, and age quickly. Current-day research supports these early comments with evidence that regular physical activity is a strong

predictor of improved physical function and decreased risk of disability in older age (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 1996).

Exercise and physical activity also confers on the elderly a sense of purpose and achievement. They come to realise that they have more control over their body than they imagined. Physical activity has beneficial effects on the course and severity of many diseases. For example, recent evidence shows the graded health benefits of physical activity for the reduction of coronary heart disease, some cancers, type-2 diabetes, injury reduction (including falls in the elderly), and mental health (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 1996). Improved physical and psychological functioning through regular physical activity also results in overall improved quality of life in older adults (Arent, Landers, & Etnier, 2000). Given the many benefits for older people that accrue from participating in physical activity and exercise, the question remains why so few people do actually participate. What stops older people from participating in greater levels of physical activity? Can the family play a role in encouraging older people to increase physical activity levels? What role does intergenerational interaction play in increasing physical activity? How can intergenerational relationships be used as intervention strategies to motivate the elderly in doing more physical activity? It is these questions that need to be addressed by future research. In commencing work in this area, this paper reports on a study that focussed on the motives for older adults participating in physical activity. The aim of this study was to identify the factors responsible for the elderly participating in physical activity beyond the domain of the house.

Method

Participants

The participants were 123 older adults (76 males and 47 females) who were taking part in regular physical activity or exercise at least once a week at the time of the study. The participants ranged in age from 56 years to 80 years (mean = 61.4, SD = 3.8). The majority of participants who provided information about their current employment status were retired (53.2 %) with only a small proportion working full-time (4.8%) and part-time (6.5 %). Of the

sample, 33.9 % (predominantly females) reported being involved in household chores or their own work when asked about their employment status. In terms of lifetime employment, the majority of males reported being businessmen, teachers, doctors, and service sectors workers.

Of those participants who provided information about their level of education, 44.4% had completed university degrees and an additional 32.3% has completed their secondary school education. There were 15.3% who had completed only primary school education and 1.6 % had no formal education.

Participants reported being involved in a variety of physical activities. Walking was the most common activity, although many other exercise activities were popular (e.g., jogging, home exercises, hockey, yoga, cricket). A large number of participants reported that they took part in physical activity every day while a small proportion reported participation two to three times every week. None of the participants were involved in competitive-based sport.

Test Instrument

Participants completed the Participation Motivation Questionnaire for Older Adults (PMQOA; Kirkby, Kolt & Habel, 1998; Kirkby, Kolt, Habel & Adams, 1999) and answered questions on demographic information including age, gender, level of education, and religion. The PMQOA assesses the motives older adults have to take part in physical activity and exercise (e.g. “I want to be physically active for medical reasons”, “I like the social aspects”, “My family and friends want me to be physically active”). Each item is rated on a 3-point Likert scale (not at all important, somewhat important, very important) and the respondents were asked to indicate how important each statement was in relation to their own participation in exercise and physical activity. The PMQOA was originally developed from the Participation Motivation Questionnaire (PMQ; Gill, Gross, & Huddleston, 1983), an instrument used to assess motives for participating in sport for younger people. Adequate reliability (Kolt, Driver, & Giles, 2004) and content validity (Kirkby *et al.,* 1998; Kirkby *et al.,* 1999) for the PMQOA have been reported. For the purpose of this study, both the English and Hindi (Chadha, Kolt, Giles, & Driver, 2001) versions of the PMQOA were used.

This study was part of a larger investigation of motives for and barriers to physical activity in older adults across several cultures. Of the 30 PMQOA items used in the larger study, this paper will focus only on the 9 items that contain loadings on the family and social (outdoor) front. These motives were “to be with friends”, “I like the company”, “family/friends want me to be active”, “to meet new friends”, “I like the social aspects”, “to get out of the house”, “I like being part of a group”, “I want to be popular”, and “I want to be noticed for what I do”.

Procedure

Older adults were approached by one of the authors (NKC) who is fluent in both English and Hindi. The purpose and aims of the study were explained, and the participants were asked to complete the consent form before data collection was commenced. All participants were recruited from the Delhi region, and they were given the option of completing the PMQOA in either English or Hindi. Standard instructions were given on how to complete questionnaire before it was finally administered.

The 9 PMQOA items were described using percentages. The three categories of responses were merged into two, namely “not very important” and “very important”. The two categories of “not at all important” and “somewhat important” were collapsed into the “not very important” response option. Differences across gender, employment status, and educational level were analysed. Further, correlations were calculated between the physical activities and three categories of gender, employment status, and educational level.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 : Percentage of respondents rating each of the 9 reasons for participating in physical activity as not very important and very important

Motive	Not Very Important %	Very Important %
To be with friends	27.4	72.6
I like the company	41.1	58.9
Family/friends want me to be active	55.6	44.4
To meet new friends	54.0	46.0

I Like the social aspects	31.5	68.5
To get out of the house	75.0	25.0
I like being part of a group	49.2	50.8
I want to be popular	61.3	38.7
I want to be noticed for what I do	66.9	33.1

Table 1 shows the percentage of respondents rating each of the 9 reasons for participating in physical activity as not very important and very important. From these data it can be seen that "to be with friends" was the most important motivation (72.6%), followed by "I like the social aspects" (68.5%), "I like the company" (58.9%), and "I like being part of a group" (50.8%). This indicates that more than 50% of the sample participated in physical activity due to these four reasons. Further, the reasons rated as least important to participation in physical activity by the sample of older adults were "to get out of the house", "I want to be noticed for what I do", "I want to be popular', "to meet new friends", and "family/friends want me to be active". If we take the total perspective then it is evident that all these reasons are related to actions which are generally outside of the domain of the household.

Viewing these findings from a family context, the family could play a very important role. Going outside the household to participate in exercise and physical activity helps older adults bring new ideas and experiences back to the home environment, and at the same time, contribute to their own health and well-being. Increasing activity through these methods could reduce the burden of older adults on their adult children who are the main care givers (including financial aspects of care). In the absence of any government social security system in India, and from a cultural point of view, it is the family that takes care of elderly parents. These adult children look after the needs of their parents as well as those of their own children. Helping the elderly to maintain health and well-being through physical activity implies reducing associated expenditure and could help the middle generations (young adults) to spend more resources on their own children's education and other needs. To our mind, this would help improve and maintain intergenerational relations within the family and assist in achieving solidarity. Further, this practice could help the three generations stay together in a healthy environment and look after the needs of others in much more effective and efficient way.

Table 2 : Percentage of respondents rating each of the 9 reasons for participating in physical activity as not very important and very important for males and females separately

Motive	Very Important Male (%)	Not Very Important Male (%)	Very Important Female (%)	Not Very Important Female
Be with friends	73.7	26.3	70.2	29.8
I like the company	60.5	39.5	54.3	44.7
Family/friends want me to be active	53.9	46.1	27.7	72.3
To meet new friends	50.0	50.0	38.3	61.7
I like the social aspects	65.8	34.2	72.3	27.7
To get out of the house	36.8	63.2	6.4	93.6
I like being part of a group	53.9	46.1	44.7	55.3
I want to be popular	43.4	56.6	29.8	70.2
I want to be noticed for what I do	39.5	60.5	21.3	78.7

Table 2 shows the motives for participating in physical activity for males and females separately. For males the most important reasons for participating in physical activity were “to be with friends” (73.7%), “I like the social aspects” (65.8%) “I like the company” (60.5%), “I like being part of a group” (53.9%), “family/friends want me to be active” (53.9%), and “to meet new friends” (50.0%). The most important motivators for females were “I like the social aspects” (72.3%), “to be with friends” (70.2%), and “I like the company” (54.3%). It is surprising, keeping in view the Indian culture, that the three reasons specified as most important by females were the same as their male counterparts. In Indian culture, a women’s job is to look after the household and the man’s job is to go to work outside the house. These duties and responsibilities are very well defined in the cultural setting. Therefore, social interaction appears to be a very strong need of the elderly population irrespective of gender. A possible reason for this could be that older people desire a greater level of freedom than currently afforded them by their adult children. Alternately, the older adults might want to provide greater freedom for their adult children so that they can be seen to not be interfering in the raising of their young children. These ideas may be useful in contextualising a healthy way of maintaining

relationships while staying together as three generations under the same roof.

Table 3 : Percentage of respondents rating each of the 9 reasons for participating in physical activity as not very important and very important according to employment status

Motive	Full-time	Part-time	Retired	Other
To be with friends	4.5	8.0	54.5	33.0
I like the company	4.2	9.9	50.7	35.2
Family/friends want me to be active	5.5	13.0	50.	031.5
To meet new friends	7.1	10.7	53.6	28.6
I like the social aspects	4.8	9.6	51.8	33.8
To get out of the house	3.4	13.3	63.3	20.0
I like being part of a group	6.5	11.3	54.8	27.4
I want to be popular	8.5	8.5	57.5	25.5
I want to be noticed for what I do	9.8	7.2	53.7	29.3

Table 3 shows the reasons for participating in physical activity according to employment status (full-time, part-time, retired, other). The category of “other” includes household work, giving help in the family business, etc. It is interesting to note that for a large proportion of retired people, and those in the “other” category, all nine motives were very important. This indicates that these people are attracted to physical activity for reasons related to meeting friends and making social contact. For example, 63.3% of the retired participants were participating in physical activity for the sake of getting out of the house. Likewise for the “other” categories, the most important motives for taking part in physical activity were liking the company, liking the social aspects, being with friends, and family/friends wanting them to be active. All these reasons can be seen as related to a social domain, and could be important for the intergenerational relationships described above. The social motives are understandable as these people are retired from long-term careers and jobs and may now find it difficult to maintain the level of social

contact they were previously accustomed to. There is strong need in such people to be socially involved, and physical activity may be one method to fulfil this need. As Indian people largely live in a joint family system, and if these older people leave the domain of the house for physical activity and social interaction purposes, then this may allow the younger adult to spend more time with their children. Further, not many Indian women are in the workforce and hence tend to stay at home. If these older adults stay in the home environment all the day then intra-family conflict can arise. To overcome such potential conflict, and make relationships stronger and healthier, it could be that the elderly should spend some time outside the household. This time can be well spent meeting their other needs such as social interaction and physical activity for health and well-being.

Table 4 : Percentage of respondents rating each of the 9 reasons for participating in physical activity as not very important and very important according to education level

	Not very important (%)			Very important (%)		
Motive	**Prim.**	**Secon.**	**Univ.**	**Prim.**	**Secon.**	**Univ.**
To be with friends	30.3	42.4	27.3	15.6	33.3	51.1
I like the company	32.0	32.0	36.0	11.0	38.4	50.6
Family/friends want me to be active	32.4	35.2	42.4	3.0	36.4	60.6
To meet new friends	30.3	37.9	31.8	7.0	33.3	59.7
I like the social aspects	31.6	34.2	34.2	14.1	36.5	49.4
To get out of the house	23.9	39.1	37.0	6.5	25.8	67.7
I like being part of a group	31.7	35.0	33.3	7.9	36.5	55.6
I want to be popular	28.0	34.7	37.3	6.2	37.5	56.3
I want to be noticed for what I do	25.6	34.2	40.2	7.3	39.0	53.7

Table 4 shows the reasons for participating in physical activity according to education level (primary, secondary, university) of the respondents. More than 50% of those with university level education rated each of the 9 motives as very important for participation in physical activity. The respondents whose highest level of education was primary school rated many items as not very important. These findings are in line with the Indian educational system. In India, all

government schools are separate for boys and girls. Many private schools also provide separate education for boys and girls with very few co-educational schools where boys and girls study together, and hence interact to higher levels. Higher education at university level is, in most part, co-educational. Therefore, both genders mix together and study together at the university level. This interaction is not possible at the school level. It can be seen from the present findings that older people who were educated at university level rated all the motives as very important compared to those educated only to primary level. At lower levels of education people were not exposed to as much interaction with the other sex and it may continue through to later stages of their life span. As per the cultural norms, men and women are supposed to mix with each other in their household or in kin relationships. Within non-kin relationships, people of the same sex interact, which means that female-to-female and male-to-male interactions are permissible. In non-kin relationships, males are not supposed to interact in a friendly manner with females, and the vice versa. On the whole, higher education could be linked to the motives for physical activity. It could be the lack of education, which restricts the elderly population taking part in physical activity, and hence gaining the relevant health benefits.

Table 5 : Correlations between the 9 physical activity motives and gender, employment status, and educational level

Motive	Gender	Employment status	Education
To be with friends	-.038	-.045	.225**
I like the company	-.051	-.018	.231**
Family/friends want me to be active	-.257**	-.125	.368**
To meet new friends	-.114	-.176	.335**
I like the social aspects	.068	-.069	.198*
To get out of the house	-.341**	-.136	.275**
I like being part of a group	-.090	-.199*	.302**
I want to be popular	-.136	-.188*	.261**

I want to be noticed for what I do	-.189*	-.146	.196*

* significant at .05 level
** significant at .01 level

Correlations between the 9 physical activity motives and each of gender, employment status, and educational level are shown in Table 5. Education level was found to be significantly and positively related with all 9 physical activity motives. It could be that higher levels of education make people more conscious of their health and the role that physical activity can play in health gain. These findings can be used to develop interventions, as discussed earlier, that will not only help in the maintaining of health of older people, but also make for healthier intergenerational relationships. Similarly, employment status was significantly negatively correlated to two of the motives ("I like being part of a group" and "I want to be popular"). These findings again support what has been discussed earlier, that the elderly who are retired or have little to do in the home environment, like to use physical activity as a way of getting out of the house. These findings indicate the need to be socially active and have a large social support network. Such social structures could help older people bring new ideas into the home environment for the larger family to use. A result of this may also be the development and maintenance of strong intra-family ties.

Conclusion

The findings of this study could have a strong bearing on the Indian joint family system. As there is no social security provision in Indian government policies, the family is the only source of maintaining the status and dignity of the elderly and providing means for the older population. The strong family system and need for the family to take care of the elderly, as well as the need for older adults to pass on cultural values and traditions, is an issue of paramount importance to intergenerational relationships in Indian society. Such relationships could be maintained or enhanced by developing interventions based on motives for physical activity. As well, an increase in physical activity levels in older people will help in the maintenance of their health and well-being. In turn, health changes of this nature could mean less expenditure by adult children on health and medical expenses for their elderly parents.

Acknowledgements

This research was carried out while Professor Narender K. Chadha was a Visiting Professor at Auckland University of Technology and was funded by an Auckland University of Technology Contestable Research Grant.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 423-431

Seniors and Volunteers for Childhood Immunization : A Generational Link Addressing a Societal Problem

Kathy Dreyer and Stan Ingman

ABSTRACT

Over the course of the past thirty years, intergenerational programmes have originated and evolved. The emphasis has shifted from linking older adults and children together to abolish ageist attitudes to utilizing the skills and unique life experiences of older adults to address societal problems. Experts in the intergenerational field have suggested guidelines and strategies for imlementing and sustaining successful and exeplary programs. One such program demonstrates these elements; the seniors and volunteers for childhood immunization programme. This intergenerational programme has operated successfully for over 10 years, linking senior volunteers to families in order to educate them about the need for immunizations and solicit enrolment in a reminderprogramme. This programme is centered onthe education of parents who may not have first hand experience with the devastation of diseases that are now vaccine preventable, from those older adults who remember the consequences vividly. The linking of these two generations serves to protect another generation. The youngest and most fragile members of the population.

Keywords : Childhood immunization, Intergenerational, Older adults, Senior volunteers.

Utilizing intergenerational approaches to address societal problems is an emerging concept that has been gathering momentum for the past three decades. The tendency towards adopting the method is becoming increasingly frequent for a number of reasons, particularly in the light of the impending shift in demographics. As the number of older adults (those aged 65 and older) increase, so does the resource pool of accessible volunteers with available time. In order to fully utilize the growing number of older adults who offer a wealth of experiences, talents, and enthusiasm, intergenerational programs must offer opportunities for the senior volunteer that match their needs and desires. As Keyser (2003) points out, there is a "national trend, a spirit of dedication by older adults to civic engagement in all its manifestations, whether for the benefits of children or health, housing or the environment". It is critical to develop programs that offer opportunities for older adults to feel they are contributing in a meaningful way by being involved. These intergenerational programs should be geared toward utilizing the skills of older adults and their unique experiences in a way that will benefit the population they serve and, at the same time, address a societal problem. One such intergenerational program that benefits older adults, as well as other age groups, and confronts a critical societal issue, is the Seniors and Volunteers for Childhood Immunization program.

Literature Review

The history of intergenerational programs can be traced back nearly thirty years. As Henkin and Butts (2002) illustrate, the implementation of these programs originated as a means to expel ageist views about older adults and to unify the generations. From the provenance of intergenerational programs to the present day, there has been a shift in focus from addressing ageisms, to using the unification of generations in service programs to address community and societal issues. Also, as Newman (1997) states, "the intergenerational filed is historically grounded in intergenerational programs that bring together both the young and the old to share experiences that benefit both populations". Ventura-Merkel, Liederman, and Ossofsky (1989) have determined that successful intergenerational programs consistently demonstrated the following characteristics : clearly defined goals and objectives, supportive

administrative and programmatic staff, collaboration between the systems or agencies representing the younger and older participants, competent and committed program leadership, well trained and committed staff, sensitivity to the needs and expectations of the participants (young and old, professional and volunteer), a program of manageable size, consistent and meaningful recognition for volunteers and professional participants, and ongoing evaluation procedures".

Ventura-Merkel, Liederman, and Ossofsky (1989) continue the discussion by listing the characteristics that exemplary intergenerational programs possess:

Address a major social problem or issue, rebuild the natural helping relationships that were once provided by extended families and neighborhoods, be mutually supportive and beneficial to all generations, provide optimum use of financial resources in communities, build on existing services of institutions, and provide opportunities for local communities to design, support and maintain programs that are appropriate to local resources and needs.

Using the characteristics that Ventura-Merkel, Liederman, and Ossofsky established to identify successful and exemplary intergenerational programs, it is appropriate to examine the Seniors and Volunteers for Childhood Immunization program.

Methodology

The Seniors and Volunteers for Childhood Immunization (SVCI) program originated in 1993 at the Texas Institute for Research and Education on Aging at the University of North Texas, funded by a grant from the United States Administration on Aging. The program enabled the bonds between generations to be strengthened, while connecting community agencies to address a mutual goal of improving immunization rates among preschool children in Texas. The SVCI program allowed for the deployment of senior volunteers into a network of health care organizations/institutions instead of focusing on a single site agency. Motivated by distressing statistics, project staff elected to focus on the problem of preschool children not being fully immunized. Not only did Texas report the highest number of measles cases in the United States in 1989, Texas also documented 23 deaths associated

with measles during 1988 to 1990. Nationwide, a pattern of general increase in the incidence of vaccine-preventable childhood diseases had been demonstrated. Failure to deliver vaccines to children at the recommended age was identified as the principal cause of this disease outbreak.

During the initial 17-month demonstration phase volunteers were recruited from two RSVPs (Retired and Senior Volunteer Program) in Denton and Dallas. Senior volunteers participating in the SVCI project were recruited and placed in their SVCI volunteer assignments in the Dallas area by Senior Citizens of Greater Dallas RSVP and in Denton/Lewisville by the Chisholm Trail RSVP.

Senior volunteers in Denton interacted with new mothers in the hospital prior to discharge in an effort to educate them about the importance of and need for timely childhood immunizations, as well as to solicit their enrollment in a reminder system. Upon the enrollment of the mother/infant pair, volunteers sent reminder cards and/or placed reminder calls prior to the expected receipt of the 2-, 4-, 6-, and 12- month immunizations. Additionally, once enrollment in the reminder system exceeded 13 months, sufficient for the infant to have received the first four groups of immunizations, follow-up was conducted to determine if all vaccinations had been received and in a timely manner. Volunteers determined the immunization status of enrolled infants by checking their immunization record and documenting the dates of received vaccinations. Any missed inoculations prompted the volunteer to place another reminder call and/or send a reminder card. Based on results achieved during the demonstration period, the Texas Department of State Health Services saw fit to provide funding for the dissemination of the SVCI model across Texas.

Characteristics of the SVCI program

Based on the determination that disease outbreaks were from children being under immunized at the recommended ages, the SVCI program carved out a set of clearly defined goals and objectives. The overall goal has been to improve timely completion of preschool immunization. Additional goals are specific to the setting (both hospital and community) in which the SVCI program operates. The hospital goals relate to the information provided to the mother by the senior volunteer, while the community goals focus on the

immunization status of the enrolled infants. Corresponding goals were also developed to correlate with the needs of senior volunteers in the program, in terms of their training and education about immunizations.

Through the grant provided by the Texas Department of State Health Services, the Texas Institute for Research and Education on Aging at the University of North Texas acts as a conduit to supply financial support to each of the SVCI programs operating in Texas. This support is complemented by supportive administrative and programmatic staff at the Institute, who provide technical assistance through training sessions, database support, and assist with other issues related to the operation of the SVCI program. Staff support within the agencies operating the SVCI program locally has also been significant to its success. Personnel have been able to work with volunteers and treat them as equals within the agency. It is one of many shared linkages inherent to the SVCI program.

Another element, that of collaboration between systems or agencies representing the younger and older participants, exists between the RSVPs and other agencies. As mentioned previously, the SVCI program serves as a link between community agencies that share a common goal of improving the immunization rate of preschool children. Additionally, this project extends beyond a single agency-centered senior volunteer assignment to deploy senior volunteers to serve within a network of health care organizations/institutions. The establishment of linkages is contingent on the leadership of each RSVP that undertakes the SVCI program.

Competent and committed program leadership has enabled the program to survive despite changes in funding levels and staff, as well as turnover in volunteer support. Those who have remained with the program since its inception are well trained and committed staff who typically network with other public health initiatives in the local community (immunization coalitions, back-to-school immunization drives, etc.) and who also keep abreast of immunization information and resources available in the community. Staff members and volunteers demonstrate sensitivity to the needs and expectations of the participants (young and old, professional and volunteer) in a variety of ways. Staff members consistently strive to

include volunteers with varying ranges of abilities. At some sites, transportation is available to bring senior volunteers to their designated assignment. Other senior volunteers who may be homebound could still participate by labeling reminder postcards, placing reminder telephone calls, or assembling information in the packets that are given to the mothers in the hospital. Another aspect that demonstrates the staff's sensitivity towards volunteers' expectations is the support given by staff in the daily SVCI operation. Volunteer coordinators will serve as a replacement for any volunteer that cannot serve their shift on a given day; this allows the coordinators to more fully understand the needs of their volunteers.

Senior volunteers, in turn, are also acutely aware of the sensitive nature of their roles. Hospital volunteers take care to respect the wishes of mothers for whom the SVCI program is not desirable. If a mother or family elects not to participate, the volunteer does not press the matter. Also, in some cases, community volunteers review the obituary notices to see if an infant has died, and to determine if that infant had been enrolled in the SVCI reminder program. The database also allows for infant enrollment to be withdrawn if a family elects to cease participation. Also, volunteers take care to alert coordinators if they are unable to participate on a given day. They also serve to help identify potential volunteers for the SVCI program; word-of-mouth recruitment is another key factor to the sustainability of this program.

The continuance of the SVCI program can be attributed to the leadership exhibited at each site. Directors determine the scope of their program (i.e., how many volunteers are needed, how many infants can be enrolled) to ensure that it is a program of manageable size. Expansion beyond the initial number of hospitals is predicated on funding, volunteers, and other factors before it is undertaken.

Program directors and coordinators are also cognizant of the need for consistent and meaningful recognition for volunteers and professional participants. As such, volunteers are recognized for their efforts via regular contacts (notes, phone calls, etc.), and at recognition events that are conducted annually. Directors and coordinators are recognized for the work they do at annual training update sessions held at the University of North Texas. During these updates, resources to assist with the day-to-day operation of the

SVCI program are provided, and recognition awards are presented to site personnel.

A key component of the SVCI program that was built into the model is ongoing evaluation procedures. During the demonstration period of the SVCI program, an evaluation of the hospital component conducted in Denton County was undertaken. This analysis focused on the percentages of children who completed immunizations after being enrolled in the SVCI program. As documented in the final report submitted to the Administration on Aging (1994), the analysis revealed: mothers who took their babies to their pediatrician had a self-reported immunization completion or on-schedule rate of 93.9%. Of mothers who used the two immunization clinics, 76.7% reported their babies had received all their scheduled immunizations or were on schedule. Placement of SCI volunteers in clinics where outreach activities are encouraged also have the opportunity to affect the immunization completion rate for preschool children on the clinic's rolls. In two of three sites, there was a pattern for an almost exponential increase in the success rate for immunization completion for preschool children already delinquent who received outreach intervention by SCI volunteers.

Additional evaluation of the SVCI pilot program was conducted among volunteers. The final AOA report also indicated "ninety percent of the volunteers gave a positive evaluation of the project and, with a single exception, placed high value on their own contributions to it".

A noteworthy result was the change of attitudes among involved agency (e.g., hospital and clinic) respondents. Originally, staff articulated doubt or expressed a "show me" attitude when faced with working with seniors. These feelings and mind-sets were replaced with strong, positive feelings as to the abilities, contributions, and personalities of the senior volunteers (AOA final report, 1994). Despite the fact the SVCI program was developed to confront a societal issue, its intergenerational element served to help alleviate ageist attitudes, a benefit that was the intent of intergenerational programs originally started thirty years ago. Beyond the qualities that classify the SVCI program as successful, elements of this program also make it exemplary when applying other characteristics included earlier in this article.

SUMMARY

The focus of the SVCI program has been to link two generations, older adults and young children, in an effort to address a major social problem or issue: improve and sustain preschool childhood immunization rates. Since the program's inception over ten years ago, more than 250,000 infants across Texas have been enrolled in the program with close to 500,000 immunization reminders being sent. This program strives to rebuild the natural helping relationships that were once provided by extended families and neighborhoods through its educational efforts, including information about where infants can receive their immunizations, as well as collecting information about a secondary contact (friend, family member) who will assist in reminding the mother about immunizations in the event contact by the RSVP does not reach the mother. The SVCI program also endeavors to be mutually supportive and beneficial to all generations through its education provided to new mothers, and as a program through which older adults can find meaning. Older adults have seen the devastation and impact that the now preventable childhood diseases can impose. They are willing ambassadors in the fight against these diseases and promote education about the long-range implications. This experience benefits both parents and infants.

The operation of the SVCI program provides for the optimum use of financial resources in communities through the diversification of the funding that supports the program. Other than the grants allocated from the Institute, RSVPs successfully solicit and secure financial support for ancillary costs. Partnerships are formed between the RSVP and a wide array of agencies to support the SVCI program. These collaborations also build on existing services of institutions, such as the services conducted by immunization coalitions, hospitals, and clinics. The program has expanded beyond the initial pilot programs in Dallas and Denton, and now operates in close to 30 communities across Texas. Each site has allowed its local community to design, support, and maintain programs that are appropriate to local resources and needs.

Through the collaborations formed between the RSVP and other local agencies, the effort to properly immunize preschool aged

children has engaged additional partners in a coordinated effort. The intergenerational approach of the SVCI program to a societal problem has proved beneficial for all groups involved, and the sustainability of the program confirms its success.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 432-448

Intergenerational Relationships : A Study of Three Generations

Sushma Batra & Kakoli Bhaumik

ABSTRACT

Inter generational relationships are interactions between individuals of different cohort or generations i.e. the grand parents, parents and the children. The present study comprises of equal number of respondents from each generation i.e. 30 each. The care was however, taken that the respondents belonging to three generations were not from the same family. This was purposefully done to give wider spectrum to the opinion of the respondents. Further their opinion was not confined to the relative of their own family.

The data was collected with the help of three different interview schedules constructed for respondents of first, second and third generation. The findings of the study showed that a majority of the respondents desired to share their living with their children/grand children. The relation of grand children was dependent on the type of caring given by grand parents in their childhood. The middle generation too emphasized the importance of joint living but owing to financial/other constraints found it impractical to share their living with their parents. However in the event of their illness they were prepared to be care giver. The respondents of first generation who were still economically productive continued to retain their power and status in the family. The relationships of the three generation were dependent on the number of activities shared and mutual respect given to each other.

Keywords : Intergenerational relationships, Three generations, Caring, Power, Status

Intergenerational relationships are interactions between individuals of different cohorts or generations i.e. the grandparent, parent and child. Helping patterns between the three generations within a family are referred to a lineage generation in nature (Dunham and Bengston, 1986). The intergenerational exchanges include various types of activities of supports (physical;. emotional, financial, and social). Adult children and their parents provide each other mutual help with many forms of material and non-material exchanges, including finances, child care, help during sickness and so forth (Bengston, 1975; Jamuna, 1992, 1995, 1997; Reddy,1989; Troll and Bengston, 1982).

All the organizations, unfolded by the society unanimously transcends the family as an institution with greatest sociological significance. It influences the whole life of individual in innumerable ways and its changes reverberate through the whole social structure. It is capable of endless variation and yet reveals a remarkable continuity and persistence through change. The dawn of urbanization, modernization and globalization has brought about major structural and functional transformation in the family, the primary care agency (Chakraborthy, 1997; Gokhlae et al, 1998; Vijaykumar, 1995; Jamuna, 1991; Ramamurthi, 1992).

At present the modern Indian family is placed in a continuum with tradition and modernity at its two extreme ends. The traditional social structures are breaking down thereby bringing about an institutional change in the value system of the society. The family has been under some stress and the bonds of kinship are no longer as strong and cohesive as they used to be. Demographic changes depicts that while the family is expanding vertically, it is shrinking horizontally. That is, as life expectancy increases, there are more families with three or four generations; but at the same time, there are fewer siblings to share in caring of the oldest generation. Further advancement in science and technology led to the transference from the elderly patriarch to a member of the younger generation who could deal with modern institutions. The dependence of young on the elderly for guidance has reduced and in fact a role reversal in being

observed. This subsequently is leading to the fragmentation of the family.

Intergenerational relationships are determined by a variety of factors. At the outset, it should be realized that the young and the old belong to two different generations and conditioned by times that constituted their formative years. This temporal disparity may keep them aloof and critical of each other. Further, their behaviour to each other may be influenced by their attitudes and dispositions, the values they hold and the family culture to which they are accustomed. They fulfill many functions within family. Besides, transmission of appropriate information regarding behaviour, life styles and values, these ties help reduce marginalization between different generations and are a source of support and identity for each individual.

In traditional Indian society, elder people lived within a multi generational extended family comprising one or more adults, children, grand children and other kin. The aged in these societies enjoyed unparalleled sense of honour, legitimate authority with the family or community, had decision making responsibilities in the economic, political, social and religious activities of the family. They were treated as repositories of experience and wisdom. The elderly acted as a link between traditions and customs and were responsible for engaging them in day to day life. There was division of labour within the family and the elderly had an important role to play which made their life meaningful. The elders also played the role of a historian providing information about the cultural and familial past; that of a role model which youngsters could follow; of a mentor who could guide for young with their vulnerable experiences and of a nurturant who cared for the kin in crisis. The youngers also reciprocated by respect and reverance towards parents and grant parents.

This hierarchical organization of members with in the family was based on age, sex and generational status. Social interactions were characterized by the interaction between three or more generations based on the specified roles being played by all of them.

With the advent of industrialization tremendous transformation took place in social institutions and family was not an exception. The education and higher aspirations by the young gave way to migration

from their native places to big cities/countries leaving behind the first generation to fend for themselves with the minimal means of survival. Thus the structural changes in the Indian joint family resulted in inevitable functional modifications. The impact of structural changes was equally felt by all the three generations.

Elderly (First Generation)

The structural changes in the Indian joint family resulted in inevitable functional modifications. The most striking of these is the erosion of authority commanded by the elder members as they cease to be the economic head of the family. With the moving out of children they are expected to fend for themselves with the diminishing means of survival. At this time their physical and mental health also deteriorates and they are made to suffer from psychological and emotional problems. Moreover because of increasing crime situation in metropolis their life is also endangered. All this is likely to result in loneliness, unhappiness, emotional insecurity and loss of confidence in oneself. Those who are left with economically no means of survival look towards old age homes as the only available alternative options and the remaining continue to drag life under lots of uncertainties and unhappiness. The main problem faced by this group of people is to stand in queues to deposit all type of bills, visit banks, hospitals and markets to meet the necessities of daily life.

Caregiver (Second Generation)

The change from joint to nuclear families led to adjustment equally on the part of all generations. The increasing aspirations and competition in contemporary society led to producing less children but spending more time on their upbringing in an holistic manner. In order to provide more material comforts to their growing up children they are able to devote less time in the family. The home makers have also moved out of the four walls of the house in search of employment in order to partly meet the increasing financial requirements and partly to satisfy their own ego. The grand parents' physical role is being performed by institution like crèches, day-boarding schools and paid servants/maids. The emotional component is virtually missing in the nuclear families. The caregivers are being sandwiched between two generations i.e. their parents and children. They are still trying to look after the emergent needs of their parents,

though having a separate household. But by and large they are neither able to do full justice to the genuine demands of their parents because of aging and diminishing capacities nor are they able to meet the emotional needs of their children. They themselves are passing through so many stresses that there is a steep hike in mental disorders.

Grand Children (Third Generaton)

Socialization of children within the nuclear structure exposed great functional gaps. The small size, reduced number of kinship members led to less chances for interactions like, cooperating with cousins, accommodating each others ideas, sharing of space and things or even conflicts and orientation among the younger generations (Nalini, 2004). As has already been mentioned earlier that the grand parents role could of course be performed by the paid institutions but the emotional support, health care and inculcation of right attitude and values is greatly missing in younger generation. The media, internet and peer group are further influencing the attitudes of younger generation more towards the negative direction.

Thus it is quite clear from above arguments that modernization or shift in nuclear families from joint has brought with it problems which need to be addressed immediately.

Need for present study

Thus it became imperative to study the nature of relations the three generations are sharing in present day society; a small study was undertaken representing grand parents, parents and grand children (hereafter referred as first generation, second generation and third generation).

METHODOLOGY

A total of 90 respondents were taken up in the present study. This comprised of 30 (equal number of respondents of first generation, second generation and third generation). Care was however again taken up to include equal number of respondents from each strata representing the upper socio-economic and lower socio-economic background. Further it was ensured that the respondents belonging to three generations were not from the same family. This was purposefully done to give wider spectrum to the opinion of the

respondents. Thus in total the researchers succeeded in getting the views of 90 families.

OBJECTIVES

1. To study the background information and nature of living arrangement of the respondents of three generations.
2. To study the present relationships as perceived by the respondents of three generations.
3. To study the change in the status of elderly as perceived by the respondents.
4. To identify the areas of intervention to strengthen the relationship between grand parents, parents and grand children.

Sampling

The scope of the study was restricted to those families living in Delhi in which at least one of the grand parents were alive and the family had adolescent children in the age group of 13-18 years.

The sampling was done by non probability sampling method following quota sampling.

Tools

The main tool used for data collection was a semi-structured interview schedule. It was constructed after reviewing the past researches done to study inter relationship between generations in India.

Analysis

Quantitative analysis was used to calculate frequencies within each domain. An attempt was made to construct two-way tables to determine various relationships between different variables. The data was used to present the results in a descriptive manner and evolve the strategies for intervention to strengthen the inter relationships in order to decrease the existing problem being faced by each segment of the population belonging to these generations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Nature of Family

A large majority of Indian families at present are living in nuclear families as is clear from Table 1.

Table 1 : Nature of Family Vs Head of the Family

Nature of Family	*Head of the Family*		*Total*
	Grand Parent	**Parent**	
Joint Family	17	20	37 (41.11)
Nuclear Family	–	53	53 (58.89)
Total	17	73	90 (100.00)

The significant feature apparent from the table is that out of 37 families living in a joint environment, in more than half (20 out of 37) the head of the family was not the grand parent, instead it was the caregiver (Parent, member of second generation). Thus it is clear that the joint family norm is not only decreasing but even where it is practiced generally the power has been transferred from the elderly patriarch to a member of the younger generation.

Sleeping Pattern

The nature of sleeping pattern adopted in the present day is of special significance to people of first generation. This demonstrates the emphasis being given by family members in meeting the requirement of their private needs apart from respecting their dignity as an eldest member of the family who commands maximum respect.

The data shows that out of 37 families who were experiencing joint family norm, marginally few (nearly 30%) were sleeping with their spouse sharing a separate room. The rest of them had made a make shift arrangement by sleeping either alone in the living room/store room or with the grand children. The response of the respondents did not show much variation as far as their socio-economic background was concerned.

Table 2: Sleeping Pattern of Grand Parents Living in Joint Family

Sleeping Pattern	**Income Group**		**Total**
	Low Socio-Economic Group	**High Socio-Economic Group**	

Separate Room (with spouse)	6 (33.33)	5 (27.78)	11 (29.72)
Separate Room (without spouse)	3 (16.66)	6 (33.33)	9 (24.32)
Grand Children	10 (52.63)	7 (38.89)	17 (45.94)
Total	**19**	**18**	**37**

It is further significant to note that the elderly who were asked to make make-shift arrangement had accepted this decision without actually desiring to have such an arrangement. One of the widowed women staying with her son went on to share that since living room was occupied by family members throughout the day she had literally no space to take a nap during day time. She was not permitted to use grand children/son's room to sleep during day time. Moreover the grand parents living alone expressed satisfaction as far as sleeping arrangement was concerned they were the boss of their house.

Educational Background

The respondents were asked about the educational background of the grand parents to ascertain if the nature of family was associated with their educational background.

Table 3 : Educational Background of Grand Parents

Education Background	**Nature of Family**		**Total**
	Joint Family	**Nuclear Family**	
Up to Matric	15	33	48
Graduation	10	10	20
Post Graduation	12	10	22
Total	**37**	**53**	**90**

$\mathbf{X^2_{(2df)} = 4.66\ (NS)}$

The data proves that there is no association between the nature of family and educational background of grand parents. However in

the data nearly 50 percent had done matric and the rest of them were graduate or above.

Economic Independence

The respondents from all the generations were asked about the economic independence of the respondents of first generation since it was felt the relationships might be dependent on economic independence of the people from older generation.

Table 4A : Perception of Respondents of Three Generations regarding Degree of Independence of Respondents of First Generation

Economic Independence	Respondents		
	Grand Parent	Parent	Grand Child
Fully Independent	15 (50.00)	11 (36.67)	6 (20.00)
Partially Independent	7 (23.33)	11 (36.67)	18 (60.00)
Fully Dependent	8 (26.67)	8 (26.67)	6 (20.00)
Total	**30 (100.00)**	**30 (100.00)**	**30 (100.00)**

$X^2_{(2df)}$=7.75 Sig (.05)

The data show that amongst the respondents from all generations, a higher percentage of grand parents perceived themselves as economically independent. A large number of respondents of third generation (adolescents) felt that their grand parents were partially dependent on their parents.

Further it was seen that a large number of respondents from lower economic strata were still employed either into jobs or in family business of some kind. However the respondents from high income group were found to be employed in family business (Table 4B).

Table 4B : Present Employment Status of Grand Parents

Employment Status	Income Groups		Total
	Low Socio-Economic Group	High Economic Group	
Still Employed	13 (28.89)	8 (17.78)	21 (23.33)
Occupied in Family Business	8 (17.78)	21 (46.67)	29 (32.22)
Not Occupied at all	24 (53.33)	16 (35.56)	40 (44.44)
Total	**45 (100.00)**	**45 (100.00)**	**90 (100.00)**

The data shows association between the economic background and present employment status. The respondents living in joint family and employed in family business were generally from higher economic stratum.

Present Relations in Three Generations

Grand Parents

The grand parents were asked to share their opinion on relationships with youngsters in general. A large majority (18 out of 30) of them felt that the respondents from second generation were overburdened with other responsibilities and hence could not devote much time to older generation. They expressed their concern towards changing values of adolescents. They felt that this generation is being influenced by media and internet to an extent that they are becoming directionless.

When grand parents were asked to express their opinion about their grand children, nearly one-third of them (12 out of 30) found them helpful, caring and obedient. However a fairly large proportion (14 out of 30) rated them as troublesome, disobedient, uncontrollable and disrespectful. They opined that the adolescent were too much influenced by western culture which is not applicable to Indian culture.

Those grand parents who had partly been a part of child rearing opined that the same children who were nice and caring in childhood are changing as they are approaching adolescence. Further it is significant to notice that elders sharing the same household were not by and large satisfied from the respect which they were getting from both the generations particularly grand children. The grand parents who were economically independent did not feel the same way. They expressed satisfaction as far as their respect was concerned.

Parents

A large number of respondents (22 out of 30) were feeling disillusioned by the fact they were unable to control the present scenario of fast growing technology. They shared with the researcher that they wanted to take care of their ailing and aging parents but the demands of their own families were overshadowing the genuine and pressing needs of elders. They were not finding solace in the growing age of globalization and competition. The rest of the eight respondents were satisfied with the relations with the parents since all of them were staying under one roof and believed that difference in opinion of generation is a part of life and these differences should not become the basis of their getting separated from their own roots.

Grand Children

The grand children were found to be indifferent. Those who were born and brought up in nuclear families did not have either positive or negative feelings for their grand parents. They treated their grand parents as a relative and their relationship with grand parents were dependent on how their parents treated them and provided an opportunity so that two generations can meet each other and interact in family functions and otherwise. However they felt that in they were asked to live with their grand parents there will be problems in adjusting with them. However those who were brought up in childhood by their grand parents with love and affection longed for their company whereas those who did not have very happy memories were happy and contented in living in their nuclear families. When asked if they would like to keep their parents with them in their old age, a mixed response was observed. It was quite apparent that there was influence of media in the thinking of young minds. They wanted to have their own nuclear families after getting married. The probability of their parents living with them depended

on their economic status and will of parents. When asked to opine on how they view their grand parents, forty percent (12 out of 30) had negative feelings for their grand parents which were reflected in using phrases like nagging/dominating/aggressive/irritating, ten found them to be cooperative/helpful/caring/dependable and remaining eight found them to be indifferent.

Perceived Change in the Status in Old Age

The grand parents were asked to share if they felt a change in their status with approaching old age. The same question was asked to the respondents of second generation to relate it in relation to the people of first generation. . This question was however not asked to adolescents assuming that they were too young to answer this question in relation to their grand parent. The respondents were requested to answer their opinion in general and not relate it to their own parents/themselves. The areas chosen to indicate change in status included loss of position, loss of authority, loss of support, feeling of isolation, loss of respect and imposition of greater responsibilities in the family.

Table 5 : Perceived Change in the Status in Old Age

Perception on Change of Status	Respondents	
	Grand Parent	Parent
Loss of position	21	16
Loss of authority	19	22
Lack of support	22	8
Feeling of isolation	24	12
Loss of respect	26	10
More responsibility	18	15
Total (N)*	30	30

* Multiple responses

Rho=-0.57 Sig (.05)

The data show that the respondents of first generation prioritized the change in status as loss of respect, felt isolated, lacked support, they lost status, authority and were forced to assume greater responsibilities in the household. However the parents prioritized the

change in status of elderly in the reverse order. They ranked it in order of loss of authority, loss of status, assumption of greater responsibilities, feeling of isolation, loss of respect and support. The Spearmen's rank coefficient of correction was computed between the ranks given by two generations. It was found to be negatively related at five percent level of significance.

Expectations

All the respondents were asked to mention their expectation from each after so that gaps in family as an institution could be identified. The respondent mentioned mixed based expectations based on their experiences.

1. Quite a number of grand parents wanted their children to be more understanding and accommodating. They were of the view that with the strength of family as an institution, it is not only the older generation who will benefit but gains to younger generation and middle generation is far more.
2. It is significant to note that a majority of the respondents of second generation did not have many expectations from their children. It was that group of parents who preferred nuclear families because of varied reasons and had not been able to share the house with their parents. They were of the view that instead of having unrealistic expectations from their children, they should ensure to have enough of security measures for them by the state/government. Few of them (3 out of 30) did not even mind shifting to old age home having adequate facilities where they can interact with people of their age more freely.
3. The grand children, on the other hand were appreciative of the role of grandparent in their lives but at the same time felt strongly that in order to ensure the younger generation develops positive and purposeful role with older generation the middle generation should be prepared to accept them as not as a matter of utility instead as an elder person with more experience, wisdom and knowledge. They themselves were desirous of having a nuclear family.
4. However the joint families where parents had lived with them all through had contentment and could explain the mutual

benefit of living with the elderly. One of the respondent of second generation went on to be so assertive that he said the younger generation can be more confident, cultured and develop sound personality and values only if they are living with grand parents and parents. On the other hand, the elderly who were living in joint families felt that they were not treated well and expressed greater unhappiness at the way they were being treated in the cotemporary society. They rated them as an item of utility as longer they were independent and late only as a burden. They demanded mainly the time of respondents of both generations which was rarely available to them.

Areas of Intervention

From the above discussion and findings it is apparent that in contemporary society intergenerational differences developed due to numerous stressors within the family. It is feared that unless there is intervention at all levels of generations, Indian culture too will soon follow the example of western countries i.e. state will be expected to provide social security measures to the increasing elderly population. But it must be remembered that it is virtually not possible for Centre/State to meet this demand because there is an apprehension that tremendous pressure would be exerted on our poor economy and scarce resources due to increasing population of elderly. Therefore it is all the more important that proper measures are taken for the care of the elderly, which can be best provided in the family. The areas in which intervention can be done include:

Advocacy

- The knowledge of aging and the development of positive attitudes towards old age can contribute to the improvement of intergenerational relations. This can best be achieved by portraying the right image through media.
- There is a need to publish guide books for dealing with feelings, communication, financial matters, health related issues and moral responsibilities towards aging population.
- There is a need to incorporate text on the importance of family as an integral unit to strengthen inter generational relationships in text books at all levels.

Peer Counselling:

- There is a definite need to identify stress areas being faced by each generation and with their help form peer networks for each generation to ease out their stresses and provide space for open discussions amongst them.
- For exchange of views and to provide forum for learning from each other, it is important to set up self support groups for people of same generation.

Health Related Issues

The state must respond positively to strengthen health related issues of elderly. There is need to ease out financial implications and time related burden of care givers. It is suggested that there should be separate geriatric clinics in the private/government hospitals where OPD timings, should be in the afternoon. Moreover health check up and other related services should be provided at the door steps for those elderly who are immobile. Ambulances/mobile health vans should be made available to them.

All health needs of the elderly must be subsidized/provided free of cost as far as possible.

Community Based Services

- Community based services can be provided in all the community centres. These should be broad based covering community as a unit. The clubs can be formed comprising of people of all generations and organization of cultural programmes and discussions should be held to keep them occupied.
- The potential of elders can be used by involving them in many useful activities. The years of experience possessed by the elderly in the various professions viz. accounts, medicine and teaching etc. can also be put to good use in the day care centres run at the various communities in providing benefits to people from other generations.
- A stream of volunteers need to be prepared, from all age groups to cater to those elderly who are alone and vulnerable . Mutual cooperation between those aged whose physical health is better than their counterparts can be extended to activities such as payment of bills, taking them for a visit to the doctor etc. Social

interaction among them can be promoted through senior citizens clubs.

- Neighbourhood watch scheme needs to be strengthened as physical security is a matter of grave concern for all elderly especially those who are staying alone and have nobody to care for them.

State Intervention

The elderly who are not in a position to look after their day-to-day needs and it is not possible for family to take care of their necessities, the state should immediately intervene by providing them alternative abode. But it must be taken care of that they do not lose contact with their family members.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 449-465

Intergenerational Family Support for Older Men and Women in South India

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the pattern of intergenerational familial support among older men and women in South India, indicated by older persons' residence with children vs. with their spouse only or alone, and by any report of receiving financial support from children. We examine a 1993 sample survey relating 1755 elderly persons (664 women and 1091 men) in three states of South India (Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka).

Our aim is to examine different models of family support of older persons in Southern India: modernization theory related models; power and bargaining models, and need-based models. Each of these models implies different covariates and directions of support for older persons. We also enquire whether covariates of support differ for men vs. women.

Modernization related covariates receive limited support in our findings, except with regard to men under some conditions. Among need-based factors, widowhood is the most important trigger of receiving support, among both sexes; poor health or other need-related factors play little role. Strikingly, higher asset ownership is associated with higher likelihood of support, lending support to the power / bargaining model. There are more similarities than differences between the sexes in patterns of covariates.

Implications for familial intergenerational support from this study are that modernization factors are not likely to erode familial support for older persons in India. Rather, general poverty or lack of assets are likely to make seniors more

vulnerable. If modernization promotes prosperity, it may be associated with better support for older persons in India.

Keywords : Family support, older men and women, South India

Aims of the Study

In most Asian societies, fertility and mortality declines have substantially contributed to population ageing; and shrinking family size and social and economic changes have the potential to transform traditional patterns of familial relations and old age support. The conditions associated with variations in whether older men and women co-reside with family, or receive other forms of support, are thus important to examine. Indian society is no exception to this trend, and further research on intergenerational support patterns is needed to illustrate changing dynamics. We examine factors deriving from different theories, which are associated with older persons' residence with children; and receipt of financial assistance from children; in Southern India. The focus of our enquiry is to examine the relative importance of factors associated with modernization, and those indicating various forms of familial relationship dynamics, with the receipt of residential and financial support by older men and women. These theories have different implications for familial support of older persons under conditions of social change.

Background

In Western gerontology, a strong research tradition examines how intergenerational relations are likely to change during modernization. The first set of ideas predicted that nuclear family forms would prevail and that older persons would cut off and isolated from their descendants (e.g. Parsons, 1942, 1944). In reaction to this idea, subsequent studies showed how intergenerational bonds do remain strong, and ties of affection remain between the generations, under modernization (e.g. Bengtson and Harootyan, 1994; Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997; Treas and Bengtson, 1998;). Current research in turn focuses on the fact that intergenerational relations, like other familial ties, are characterized by "ambivalence", i.e. a combination of ties of seemingly opposite nature: e.g., affection along with tensions (Luescher and Pillemer, 1998).

With regard to Asia too, while studies have not yet examined ideas relating to solidarity or ambivalence in family relationships, studies drawing on modernization theory show that modernization factors are associated with familial residence and support of seniors. For example, in Malaysia (South-East Asia) co-residence of seniors with adult children is influenced by opportunities, costs, benefits, and preferences for co-residence versus separate living (DaVanzo and Chan, 1994). Other inter-generational exchanges, such as giving / receiving help of various kinds are influenced by ethnic, socio-economic, and demographic characteristics of parents and children (Chan, 1996).

For India, most research on the impact of modernization on ageing is based on a general idea that modernization processes such as urbanization, industrialization, women's participation in extra-familial work etc. will erode the traditional familial supports for older persons and leave them vulnerable and isolated (e.g. Sharma & Dak, 1987). However, some studies indicate that familial support is still the mainstay of most seniors in Asia (e.g. Knodel, 1992). Questions therefore arise regarding sources of variation in familial support received by seniors, including coresidence and financial support. Will modernization related factors be associated with reduced support for seniors? Or will other models of familial support for seniors be more useful in clarifying the situation of older persons? More research is needed to clarify these questions with regard to India.

Alternative perspectives provide insights on familial dynamics that modernization approaches do not address. Sun (2002) reviews two alternative models of old age support based on familial relations: the power and bargaining model vs. the corporate group / mutual aid model. The former model suggests that familial exchange of support is determined by the capacity of different members to extract resources from others; while the latter highlights the notion that members' needs (such as age or ill health) determine receipt of support. In China, Sun (2002) finds support for the latter model. That is, children's provision of help to elders in that Confucian society depends on elders' needs and children's capacities, rather than the parents' power to extract resources from children.

The power and bargaining model of family relations, compared to the mutual aid model, are based on contrasting familial dynamics and consequently seem to imply different types of variables that will be associated with support, as indicated in the previous paragraph. Modernization theory in turn suggests additional variables associated with the receipt of support, as described above. These three different familial models of old age support also have great potential to illustrate old age living arrangements and support patterns of men compared to women, particularly in South Asia.

The Southern portion of South Asia (including Southern India and Sri Lanka) have experienced substantial population ageing, there has been less research focused on clarifying the situation of older persons. It is relevant to compare the situation of older men vs. women in South Asia, for two reasons. First, although worldwide women outnumber men in older age groups, this is less true for Asia than the West (Knodel, 1999). For e.g., sex ratios among those aged 60+ are male-dominant in Bangladesh and India (U.S. Bureau of the Census, International Data Base), reflecting greater female mortality earlier in the life course, though age-specific death rates are higher for men in India after about age 35. Despite the preponderance of older men, the likelihood of older women being widowed is much higher than that of older men. South Asian marriage patterns include early, nearly universal marriage, with husband's age greater than that of the wife; and strict restrictions on remarriage of women but not of men. Thus, among those aged 65 and above in India, 66.5% of women are widowed compared to 16.3% of men (U.N. 1991).

Second, interest in gender comparisons in South Asia arises from deep gender inequalities in social and economic status that persist over the life course, making women particularly vulnerable in old age. The lower proportion of women to men in older ages in South Asia is argued to result from gender bias associated with excess female mortality at younger ages. Social norms whereby women receive less education and their roles are confined predominantly in the domestic sphere, economic patterns whereby their productive activities occur mostly in the unpaid or non-formal economic sector, and socio-legal structures that do not provide them with effective property rights, make women vulnerable in old age, and increase their reliance on spouse and children (especially sons)

for old age support. The greater risk of widowhood makes women especially vulnerable. Though Southern India is more gender-egalitarian in many domains than Northern India, there are still significant gender gaps in female vs. male literacy, work participation, and asset ownership (though the gap is less in south than in the North). Widowhood is high in Southern India too. Thus, examining gender differences in old age support in Southern India has salience.

The familial models of old age support discussed above have great relevance for South Asian gender comparisons, because of the gender dynamics of South Asian familial systems. For e.g., it is theorized that within the more egalitarian kinship regimes of Southern India elderly women are likely to get as much familial support as elderly men, while in the more patriarchal systems of the North, women's position would be much less secure (Mason, 1992). However, this hypothesis has not specifically been examined so far. While Southern Indian kinship regimes, and the general societal respect accorded to older persons and mothers may make older women more secure in receiving familial assistance (according to the mutual aid model), women's generally lower socioeconomic status may nonetheless make them vulnerable in old age, especially if they are widowed (according to the power model). We examine these diverse possibilities. Also, the South Indian kinship system has been described as more endogamous with regard to preferring cross-cousin or uncle-niece marriages where possible, demographic patterns show that son-preference is not so strong as in Northern regions. Thus, under these kinship systems, it is likely that daughters and sisters (i.e. female kin) will play as great a role in supporting parents, as sons and brothers (male kin).

Third, marital status, specifically widowhood, plays a significant role in influencing vulnerability and receipt of support during old age. Due to social and economic disadvantages described above, women face progressively greater vulnerability as they age since few assets are in their direct control. Widowhood in particular may further remove assets or means of sustenance from their direct grasp, rendering them at risk of destitution. Women's socio-economic position derives greatly from their marital status (e.g. Rahman, Foster and Menken, 1992). If the mutual aid and need

model of family relations is more applicable then widowhood should trigger receipt of aid for women and men. However, if power and bargaining are more characteristic dynamics then widowhood should be not be associated with higher receipt of aid, including for women.

We therefore aim to examine these different models as they account for sources of variation in older men's and women's residence with children, and receipt of financial assistance from children, in Southern India. First, we consider whether specific models of old age support, namely, 1) the modernization -related framework, and 2) frameworks of familial relations, affect women's chances of residence and financial support are similar to men's. That is, we examine whether the impact of modernization factors such as higher education, urban residence, and non-agrarian work, decrease chances of co-residence and financial assistance (presumably by promoting norms and means of self-reliance), and whether they do so for men and women equally. We consider whether power and bargaining models (e.g. level of resources in the family) vs. need models (e.g. poverty, health status and widowhood) will be more associated with old age residential and financial support. Second, we examine gender differences in that we enquire whether older men's receipt of support from their children will be governed more by power bargaining models, given their relatively higher status as senior males; while older women's receipt will be governed more by need factors. We thus hope to clarify how social change and familial relations affecting old age support in South Asia are conditioned by gender inequality.

Hypotheses

This study tests the following hypotheses:

1. Those who are more educated, urban residents, or engaged in non-agrarian occupations, are less likely to live with children or receive familial support (modernization factors).
2. Elders who are widowed, have lower economic status, or are in poorer health, are more likely to live with children and receive familial support, rather than those whose needs are less and resources / power are greater (need-based models vs. power / bargaining models).

3. Older women's receipt of support will be governed by need, whereas older men's receipt will be governed by familial resources.
4. Older women in South India will be as likely to live with children and receive financial support from them, compared to older men, controlling for socioeconomic and demographic characteristics.

Data and Methods

We test these hypotheses in a sample of 1755 elderly persons (664 women and 1091 men) in three states of South India (Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka). The Aging Survey 1993, a study on the elderly in India, randomly selected one district in each of these three states. Two rural areas and one urban area were further randomly selected from each district, and a total of 7,500 households then sampled. Household interviews were conducted which identified families with elderly persons (those aged 60 plus) for the detailed survey. In households with more than one eligible elderly person, all were interviewed. The incidence of refusal to participate or non-response was negligible.

A standard survey schedule answered by the older persons gathered cross sectional information on socio-economic variables, health status, residence patterns, and support networks among family members. Material support, social contact, and life satisfaction on various dimensions were also ascertained.

The dependent variables are:

1. Residence pattern of elder: alone with spouse (includes seniors living alone) coded as 0, or with children (includes those living with spouse and children) coded as 1, analyzed through logistic regression techniques.
2. Older persons' report of receiving financial support from children, coded 1 if yes and 0 if no, again analyzed through logistic regression techniques.

Explanatory variables include demographic factors such as age (in years), and gender (male = 1; female = 0). Numbers of living male and female children, and living brothers and sisters of the respondent, indicate kin availability revealing the potential for familial support.

Variables associated with modernization and social change include: literacy (1 = yes; not literate = 0), rural/urban residence (rural = 1; urban = 0), whether the elder is currently engaged in an agricultural occupation, a non-agricultural occupation, retired, or never worked (dummy variables in each case who never worked as the reference category).

Variables suggesting need include: marital status, i.e. whether or not the respondent is currently widowed (coded 1 if yes). Increasing age (in years) is another indicator. Physical health status is indicated by two variables: first, subjective health perception; those who report feeling in excellent health or in OK health (coded 1 in each case) are contrasted with those who feel in bad health (reference category). Second, a dummy variable indicates whether the respondent suffered any illness in the previous month. No information on the nature of the illness is available.

Variables that indicate elders' power and status include economic status measured by an index comprising household land ownership and numbers of household possessions; and individual receipt of pension and ownership of bank account. We include both household and individual indicators in the measure to capture both dimensions of sources of economic status.

Other background socioeconomic variables include religion (Hindu=1, other=0). Weekly contact (exchange of letters, or gifts, or visits) with children elsewhere and siblings elsewhere is included, to examine whether residence patterns are associated with increased interaction with non co-resident kin. These are coded 1 in each case and 0 otherwise, and summed to create an index of contact for children and siblings respectively.

We examine the relative impact of different variables of interest in a multivariate equation; and analyze sex differences in equations stratified by sex.

Sample characteristics

Of the total respondents, almost 90% were Hindu, 38% were female (N=664) and 62% male (N=1091). Table 1 presents other characteristics of the respondents, by sex. Men and women in the sample are similar in average age: 65 and 66 years respectively. Women's lower literacy and lack of access to productive resources

or assets is significant. Sources of economic support also vary by sex, with men relying more on self only, or self and children combined, while women rely more on children only.

Significant sex differences are apparent in widowhood, but not in % residing with children. Very small proportions resided alone. Eighty-three percent of men, contrasted to 26% of women report being currently married; and 84% of men and 26% of women report that their spouse lives in the house with them. Thirteen percent of men versus 71% of women report being widowed. Those who never married, or divorced, or are separated, account for less than 2% of each sex, reflecting South Asian marriage patterns.

Table 1: Sample characteristics

Variable	Men	Women
Socio-economic characteristics		
Respondent own land? (% yes)	50	34
Any household member owns land? (% yes)	56	57
House in own name? (% yes)	68	38
Have savings for emergency? (% yes)	26	14
Bank account in own name? (% yes)	29	10
Have pension or regular cash income? (% yes)	53	37
Per cent currently engaged in agricultural work	27	12
Average number household possessions owned	2.4	1.7
Can read and write? (% yes)	48	18
Per cent Rural residents	78	78
Per cent Hindu	88	87
Mean Age	65 yrs	66 yrs
Kin availability :		
Currently Married	83%	26%
Widowed	13%	69%
Never married / Divorced / Separated	1.8%	1.8%
Average number of children	3.0	3.4
Average number of siblings alive	1.6	1.8
Co-residence :		
Lives with spouse	84%	*30%*
Lives with children	86%	85%
Lives alone	1%	7%
Average number of people living with	4.1	3.8
Source of economic support :		

Children only	25%	51%
Self only	20%	12%
Other relatives only	0.6%	0.9%
Other sources only	0.1%	0.5%
Self and children	51%	30%
Emotional support :		
Average weekly interaction with children living elsewhere	1.9	1.7
Average weekly interaction with siblings	1.6	1.4
Feel left out by family	30%	32%
Family respects or consults	98%	94%
Physical health status :		
Report illness within last month	28%	27%
Subjective health perception :		
Very Healthy	28%	29%
Fairly all right	68%	66%
Unhealthy	5%	6%
N	**1062**	**634**

Significant sex differences do not emerge in considering subjective health perception and self-reported physical health status. Nor do they emerge in considering contact with children or siblings living elsewhere.

Bivariate relationships not presented here show that there is a strong and significant positive cross-sectional association between living with children, and receiving financial assistance from them. The association is significant for both sexes, and it is stronger for women than men. That is, coresidence and financial support do not appear to be substitutes for each other, but are supplementary to each other, going hand in hand. Therefore, we do not pursue the mutual association between coresidence and financial support in a multivariate context.

Multivariate analysis results

In Table 2 we examine the likelihood of older persons living with, and receiving financial support from, children (Panel A and Panel B respectively). Those who are widowed, have more economic assets, male, are more likely to live with children. Contrary to expectation and against the need-based familial

relationship model, older persons appear less likely to live with children. Compared to those not working, those in any other occupation (except professional) are more likely to live with children. Those who have more sons or daughters (i.e. greater kin availability) are more likely to live with children. Most health related factors are not associated with the likelihood of coresidence; however, reporting feeling in OK health (vs unhealthy) is associated with a greater chance of living with children. Other than age and health factors, similar factors are associated with the likelihood of receiving financial support from children.

In Table 3 we examine whether the pattern of residing children differs among men vs. women. Broadly speaking, other apart from and rural residence, similar patterns are seen among the determinants of coresidence for men and women. These patterns are in line with the results seen in Table 1. That is, those who are more wealthy, or have a history of working, or who have more children or either sex, are more likely to coreside with children. Health status and surprisingly, widowhood, have no impact. Among men, but not among women, rural residents (in line with the modernization hypotheses) and those who are Hindu, are more likely to coreside.

Table 4 examines the covariates of receiving financial support from children among men vs, women. For both sexes, being widowed, having more assets and having more children of either sex, are associated with more likelihood of receiving financial support from children. In other covariates, some gender differences appear. For women, rural residents are less likely to receive financial support; and contrary to expectation, those in better health are more likely to receive financial support. Work history has no association. Among men, those who are older and Hindu are more likely to receive financial support from children; while having any kind of work is associated with less chance of financial support.

Broadly speaking, the picture that emerges is that modernization related factors receive less support, except in some situations among men. Among need-related factors, widowhood appears the most important, but health status plays little role. Considering widowhood, older men and women who have more assets are consistently likely to receive residential and financial support, lending support to the power / bargaining hypothesis.

Table 2: Likelihood of A. living with and B. receiving financial support from children: both sexes

	A Exp(B)	95.0% C.I for EXP(B) Lower	Upper	B Exp (B)	95.0% C.I for EXP(B) Lower	Upper
AGE	.932***	.908	.958	1.016	.991	1.041
LITERATE	.839	.574	1.229	.879	.646	1.195
HINDU	1.344	.786	2.298	1.356	.883	2.083
RURAL	1.451	.940	2.239	.737	.507	1.070
HIGH LEVEL OF ASSETS	1.152***	1.100	1.207	1.064**	1.025	1.105
MALE	1.767***	1.154	2.707	1.085	.755	1.559
CURRENTLY WIDOWED	1.613*	1.063	2.447	1.566**	1.102	2.227
AGRICULTURAL WORK	.471***	.300	.740	.797**	.555	1.145
LABOUR	.295***	.144	.601	.447*	.259	.772
PROFESSIONAL WORK	.575	.326	1.012	.627**	.402	.980
NUMBER OF SONS	1.868***	1.608	2.170	1.784***	1.578	2.017
NUMBER OF DAUGHTERS	1.653***	1.419	1.925	1.429***	1.267	1.612
NUMBER OF BROTHERS	1.010	.857	1.190	.848***	.749	.960
NUMBER OF SISTERS	1.122	.934	1.348	.995	.864	1.145
SICK IN THE LAST MONTH	1.252	.873	1.794	.943	.708	1.256
SELF-RATED HEALTH GOOD	.757	.349	1.642	1.759	.981	3.155
SELF-RATED HEALTH OK	.779*	.378	1.609	1.838	1.064	3.175
INTERACT WITH KIDS ELSEWHERE WEEKLY	.747	.422	1.321	1.634	1.067	2.503
INTERACT WITH SIBLINGS ELSEWHERE WEEKLY	1.674*	1.093	2.565	1.529	1.086	2.154
Constant	24.879					-2.688
	-2LL chisq	284.38 sig .000		-2LL chisq		1522.93 sig .000

*p #.05; ** p#.01; ***p<.001
a Reference category: housewife or did not work
b Reference category: feel unhealthy

Table 3: Likelihood of residing with children: by sex

	Women			Men		
	A	95.0% C.I for EXP(B)		B	95.0% C.I for EXP(B)	
	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	Exp (B)	Lower	Upper
AGE	.950***	.910	.991	.914***	.881	.948
LITERATE	.771	.379	1.569	.909	.568	1.453
HINDU	.888	.369	2.139	2.186***	1.055	4.530
RURAL	.969	.493	1.905	2.102***	1.167	3.784
HIGH LEVEL OF ASSETS	1.157**	1.069	1.251	1.151***	1.085	1.221
CURRENTLY WIDOWED	1.740	.970	3.120	1.452	.805	2.621
AGRICULTURAL WORK	.479***	.269	.853	.412***	.187	.906
LABORING WORK	.070***	.015	.325	.318***	.119	.849
PROFESSIONAL WORK	.764	.326	1.787	.437	.180	1.063
NUMBER OF SONS	1.632***	1.316	2.024	2.187***	1.773	2.698
NUMBER OF DAUGHTERS	1.666***	1.322	2.099	1.704***	1.383	2.099
NUMBER OF BROTHERS	1.008	.782	1.299	1.029	.817	1.296
NUMBER OF SISTERS	1.136	.866	1.491	1.217	.926	1.598
SICK IN THE LAST MONTH	1.339	.754	2.378	1.172	.723	1.899
SELF-RATED HEALTH GOOD	.746	.234	2.377	.700	.227	2.159
SELF RATED HEALTH OK	.766	.262	2.241	.676	.232	1.970
INTERACT WITH KIDS E LSEWHERE WEEKLY	1.030	.480	2.211	.474	.186	1.209
INTERACT WITH SIBLINGS LSEWHERE WEEKLY	1.821	.934	3.549	1.538	.848	2.789
Constant	10.920					124.488

a Reference category: housewife or did not work b Reference category: feel unhealthy

b MALE = .00 -2 LL chisq 453.21 / .000 b MALE = 1.00 -2LL chisq 645.87 / .000

Table 4 Likelihood of receiving financial support from children: women vs. men

	Women			Men		
	A Exp(B)	95.0% C.I for EXP(B) Lower	Upper	B Exp (B)	95.0% C.I for EXP(B) Lower	Upper
AGE	.975	.938	1.014	1.045***	1.010	1.080
LITERATE	.872	.464	1.637	.920	.633	1.338
HINDU	.632	.278	1.435	2.056***	1.192	3.547
RURAL	.260***	.121	.558	1.135	.715	1.799
HIGH LEVEL OF ASSETS	1.106**	1.030	1.188	1.057**	1.010	1.106
CURRENTLY WIDOWED	1.747***	1.036	2.945	1.738***	1.026	2.942
AGRICULTURAL WORK	1.015	.608	1.692	.593	.328	1.073
LABORING WORK	.306	.061	1.544	.365***	.180	.741
PROFESSIONAL WORK	.756	.344	1.661	.480***	.250	.920
NUMBER OF SONS	1.541***	1.277	1.859	2.056***	1.742	2.426
NUMBER OF DAUGHTERS	1.329***	1.106	1.596	1.591***	1.350	1.876
NUMBER OF BROTHERS	.891	.721	1.101	.799***	.677	.942
NUMBER OF SISTERS	1.120	.890	1.408	.981	.815	1.181
SICK IN THE LAST MONTH	.760	.462	1.249	1.081	.748	1.561
SELF-RATED HEALTH GOOD	3.099**	1.185	8.109	1.346	.621	2.915
SELF RATED HEALTH OK	1.995	.841	4.733	1.754	.838	3.675
INTERACT WITH KIDS ELSEWHERE WEEKLY	1.269.6	502.477	1.734	.975	3.085	
INTERACT WITH SIBLINGS ELSEWHERE WEEKLY	1.501	.836	2.695	1.559	.989	2.458
Constant	3.665					.006

a Reference category: housewife or did not work b Reference category: feel unhealthy
b MALE = .00 -2 LL chisq 521.98 / .000 b MALE = 1.00-2LL chisq 952.69 / .000

Discussion

The purpose of our paper was to examine three different models related to familial support in old age in Southern India. Our first hypothesis concerned the impact of modernization related factors. This hypothesis receives limited support from our study. Older persons who are more educated, working in more "modern" occupations, who live in urban areas, or who are literate, are not less likely to receive familial support. Only among older men, rural residence and work history are associated with support. However, one of the key variables in the modernization model: the kinds of occupations that older persons' children participate in (e.g. paid work participation of daughters / daughters in law) were not measured, and thus cannot be addressed by this study. In sum however, our study provides little support for the idea that modernization in general is associated with lower support of older persons.

Our second hypothesis had dealt with two other models of family support: the power / bargaining model and the need-based model. In a bivariate association, women were as likely to live with children, but more likely to report financial support from children, than men. In a multivariate analysis, men were more likely to live with children (even controlling for widowhood), but equally likely to receive financial support from children, compared to women. Separate analyses by sex suggest that broadly similar variables affect receipt of support among men and women. These appear to relate more to power (higher economic status of parents and household), than to need (age, health, or widowhood). Kin availability is strongly stressed, as numbers of children are among the strongest predictors of receiving residential or financial support. Need based models receive limited support, because apart from widowhood, poor health status or poverty of older persons does not appear to trigger support from children. Widowhood however is a strong determinant of support.

There also appear to be broad similarities between men and women in the pattern of determinants of receiving support, other than work status and rural residence. For both sexes, widowhood, kin availability and familial economic status appear associated with support.

Based on the data in our study, we suggest that the sources of vulnerability and support for older persons in Southern India are not related to the commonly feared situations of modernization, but are more closely related to asset ownership (given importance in the power / bargaining model) and to a lesser extent, need (only widowhood, and not health status). Modernization in our study, even in its limited form, appeared to affect men rather than women. The emerging picture that higher asset ownership promoted familial support, and that need factors (other than widowhood) did not, suggests that poverty in general is more a source of vulnerability for older persons of both sexes in India rather than modernization. In fact, if modernization factors promote prosperity, then we speculate that they may promote well being among older persons by increasing wealth and therefore triggering familial support.

Our study, being cross sectional in nature, has several limitations. First, because of the cross sectional nature of the data, we cannot be sure whether patterns of support may change over time with variations in levels of need or asset ownership. Second, some factors related to modernization (such as extra-familial employment of women in the younger generation) have not been measured. Third, only the older persons' report of support is recorded. We do not have any information from the younger generation on their reports of support they give to their parents. Fourth, we do not have any information on reciprocity, i.e. support given as well as received by older persons. Despite these limitations, however, our study casts some light on the applicability of different models of familial support with regard to older persons in Southern India.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 466-475

Grandmothers : Needed or Avoided?

Archna Kaushik Panda

ABSTRACT

Present paper attempts to look into the role and status of aged women as grandmothers and to explore the factors facilitating or inhibiting their role as grandmothers. In this regard, information has been gathered from 350 aged females (over 60 years of age) from a government colony in South Delhi. A structured interview schedule was developed to collect the data. Results show that activities performed by grandmothers for their grandchildren is independent of socio-demographic variables like age, marital status, educational level and occupational status. Even poor health condition does not interfere sharing of activities with grandchildren. However, there is a strong relation between psychological variables like loneliness, worry and tension, life-satisfaction and willingness/unwillingness to take up child care activities. Also, aged women who have greater adjustment abilities often willingly perform child care activities and they often enjoy love and respect of their family members.

Keywords : Roles of Grand Mothers, Grand Children, Lonliness Adjustment.

It is often said that in old age shrinkage of roles bring about a chain of deteriorative changes in the life-style of the people (Sati, 1987). However, grey years does bless people with a very significant and satisfying role of grandparent. "*Mera pota mujhe zindagi se mili hui sabse badi amanat hai*" (my grandson is the biggest gift given by the life to me), says an elderly lady with pride while her 6 months old grandson was playing in her lap. Another granny, with her 8 months old granddaughter in her lap, says, "*Bhagwan ne mujhe yeh jeeti-jagti gudia dedi hai khelne ko, ab yeh zindagi aram se kat*

jayegi" (God has given me this living doll to play with, now my days would be spent with ease). Becoming grandmother is one of the most cherished moments of an elderly woman. With the conventional saying that 'as interest is more appealing than the actual amount, so are the grandchildren dearer for grandparents than their own offspring', the instant and natural love for grandchildren can be easily understood.

In the agrarian and medieval time, grandparents would play an important role in the socialization of the infants and children. The joint family system was predominant and elderly used to enjoy unconditional respect and authority. Though female subordination was the fact of life, still women at elder age would show considerable assertion especially in the matters related to females. They would have full authority over the younger females of the household. Moreover, with marriages being held at a young age, daughters-in-law would often look at their mothers-in-law for every little family matter. Elderly ladies would teach the young untrained daughters-in-law the skills of home management, kitchen work and child care. They would guide the young mothers almost all aspects of child care beginning from how to hold and feed newborns to their bathing, dressing and protecting them from cold and heat. Their small tips of home-remedies would become quite handy in dealing with small discomforts and ailments like indigestion and fever among the newborns, infants and children.

Elderly women would also play salient role in the socialization of their grandchildren. Story telling by grandmothers used to be not only a recreation for grandchildren but also an important instrument of inculcating manners and values among them. During marriage-fixation and performance and also functions associated with newborns like *annapressana* (rice-eating ceremony), their advice and contributions were often considered pivotal. Also, they would play active role in performance of cultural practices, rituals and obligations (Kakkar, 1982; Jamuna, 1995).

However, in modern times, social matrix has undergone changes due to factors, say, commercialization, industrialization and urbanization. Along with, modernization has profoundly influenced the values like inter-dependence, co-operation and self-sacrifice giving way to independence, personal mobility and personal

achievement. All these factors have contributed to changes in the structure and functioning of the family system. In this regard, Chaney (1990) asserts that opportunities for empowerment at an older age tend to diminish with modernization. Truly, several salient roles of elderly females have been eroded due to these social changes having an influence over their social acceptance too. To exemplify, now-a-days, cheap plastic goods have replaced handcrafted traditional articles; doctors have replaced midwifery and curing arts of aged females. Similarly, television and computers have blunted indigenous lore, making story telling by grandmothers an outdated task. And, once elderly females begin to be less productive and socially less useful, their position tend to become increasingly marginal.

Nevertheless, currently also, a granny does several activities just after the little baby comes into the world. She helps the baby sleep, changes nappies, bathes and dresses the baby and gives the newborn full protection from harmful environmental conditions. Her long years of experiences in child rearing become handy for mothers in rearing up their child. She further helps the toddler learn sitting, standing, walking and speaking. Grandmother's stories not only have recreational elements but also inculcates in the child values and manners. In urban areas her role becomes all the more important when the young female is working. Though crèche facilities are available in cities but they can never be compared with the warmth of love and care provided by a grandmother to her grandchild. Granny acts as a friend, a guide, a counsellor, a teacher to the child.

In a study Roberto and Stroes (1992) find that grandchildren reported stronger relationships with grandmothers than grandfathers. Grandchildren perceived their grandparents, and grandmothers in particular, as influential in their value-development. Khan (1997), in his study on elderly of Delhi, observes that majority of the elderly consider their grandchildren as closest to their heart and share a friendly and cordial relation with them. On the other hand, Kapur (1997) mentions incidences of elderly abuse by family members ranging from neglect to physically throwing them out of the house. Quite often print and electronic media also report such incidences of elderly abuse.

In order to study the roles played by grandmothers, their acceptance and respect in the family in urban families, a study has been done in Pushp Vihar, South Delhi. The neighbourhood has 6000 residential flats (for government employees) and about 20,000 people live in there. Through simple random sampling, a sample of 350 elderly women (aged 60 years and above) is taken. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected.

The study has following objectives:

1. To know the role and status of elderly women as grandmothers.
2. To study whether socio-demographic variables like age, marital status, educational and occupational status influence roles of grandmother played by aged women.
3. To study the linkage, if any, between physical health, loneliness, worry and tension and the role of grandmothers played by aged women.
4. To find out the linkage between life-satisfaction and role of grandmother.
5. To study the association adjustment abilities of elderly women and its linkage with their role as grandmother.
6. To assess the acceptance and respect of aged women in their families vis-à-vis their roles as grandmothers.

Findings

Data show that almost one-third (28.9 per cent) of the respondents have 1 to 2 grandchildren and 23.4 per cent 3 to 4 grandchildren. Another 30 per cent respondents have 5 to 14 grandchildren. Most common trend is having two grandchildren and mean is 3.48. Looking into the number of respondents' grandchildren living in the same household, almost one-fourth (24.6 per cent) of respondents have no grandchildren, 14.3 per cent only one, 35.4 per cent two and 25.7 per cent respondents 3 to 7 grandchildren.

Quite significant proportion of respondents (21.7 per cent) have never got the opportunity to perform the activities like bathing, dressing, feeding, their infant grandchildren, though they are grandmothers. The main reasons for this are grandchildren living in other cities or abroad or differences with daughters-in-law.

In this study, the respondents were asked to name the most common activity they have performed or are performing while caring

for their infant grandchildren. Table 1 shows commonly performed activities of respondents with their infant grandchildren. The activities are arranged in the ascending order in terms of level of difficulty and quality of interaction. Helping the baby in sleeping is the easiest, followed by changing nappies, bathing and dressing, feeding and baby-sitting. The table below shows that the proportion of respondents helping the baby sleep and bathing and dressing are almost equal. The proportion of respondents doing baby sitting is the lowest.

Table 1. Most commonly performed activities by grandmothers during care of their infant grandchildren

Activity	Per cent
Bath & dress	22.6
Help in sleeping	20.0
Feeding	16.9
Nappies change	11.1
Baby sitting	7.7
NA/DK/NR	21.7

The respondents show active interactions with their somewhat grown up grandchildren. They have reported to perform several activities, say, story telling, looking after them after school hours, going to morning and evening walks, playing in-door games and sharing experiences and problems. Such activities go a long way in building an amicable and cohesive bond between grandmother and grandchildren. Data show that 20 per cent respondents look after their grandchildren after school hours, 15.2 per cent go out with them for walks, 14 per cent talk casually with them. For analysis purposes, similar types of activities have been grouped as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Commonly performed activities by grandmothers with their grandchildren

Activity	Per cent
Story telling, sharing experiences, talking	22.8
Caring after school	20.0
Playing games, going for walks	16.3
Problem solving	11.1
NA/DK/NR	29.8

Is the age of the grandmother comes in the way of performing certain activities with grandchildren? Analysis shows that activities done during rearing of grandchildren is independent of age, marital status, educational level and occupational status of the respondents.

The respondents were asked whether the childcare activities they do is their own choice or they do it out of compulsion. Data show that 84.7 per cent respondents undertake the activities related to care of their grandchildren willingly. However, there is a substantial proportion of those respondents who do not do so. Among them, 9.1 per cent aged females report to feel some compulsion and 6.2 per cent have no choice to refuse.

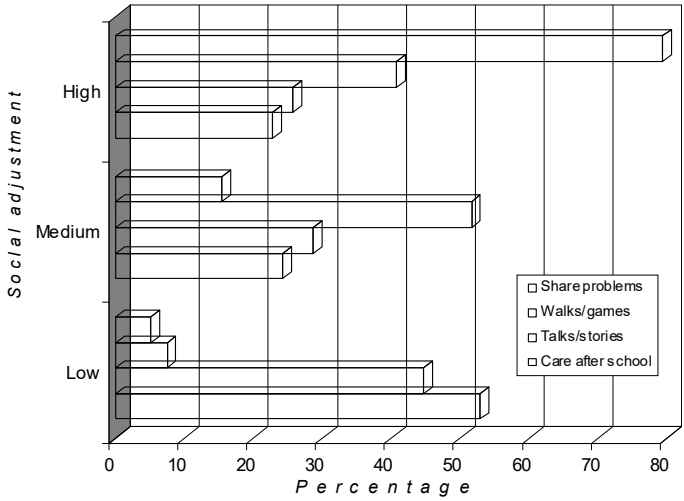
Apparently, deteriorating health condition influences sharing activities with grandchildren like playing with them, going for walks, etc. However, data of the present study show that even ill-health does not come in the way of grandmothers in the performance of certain activities with their grandchildren ($r = 0.13$). Coming to the mental health indicators, data show that among the respondents who willingly do the child related activities 76.7 per cent do not have anxiety and tension. On the other hand, 88.2 per cent respondents who feel compulsion in doing these activities, often have anxiety and tension. Relevant statistics reinforce the strong association between the variables, having anxiety and tension and willingness-unwillingness in doing activities related to child-care ($r = -0.34$). Likewise, among the respondents who often feel lonely, the proportion of those unwillingly doing the work related to their grandchildren (88.2 per cent) is almost four times (3.7) higher than their counterparts who work with interest (23.7 per cent)($r = -0.37$).

Similarly, respondents who willingly take up the activities related to child-care often score higher on life-satisfaction ($r = +0.42$). Data show that among the respondents who willingly do the activities related to their infant grandchildren, 18.5 per cent report to have low, 34.5 per cent have medium and 47 per cent have high life-satisfaction.

Analysis brings out some interesting findings about type of activities shared by the respondents with their grandchildren and their social adjustment. It shows that among respondents sharing problems with their grandchildren the proportion of those with high social adjustment is more than fifteen times higher than their

counterparts with low social adjustment (see Diagram 1). Similarly, respondents with high social adjustment more frequently play games and go out for walks with their grandchildren than those with low social adjustment. However, among the respondents caring their grandchildren after school hours, the proportion of those with low social adjustment is more than double the proportion of those with

DIAGRAM 1.01
SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT AND ACTIVITIES SHARED WITH GRANDCHILDREN.



high adjustment. Similar trends are seen in the case of casual talks and sharing experiences. It seems that caring after school hours and casual talks are the activities having some degree of compulsion while sharing problems, playing games and going out for walks are indicative of higher quality of relationship between grandmothers and grandchildren. That might be the reason for sharp difference seen in the last two activities between the respondents having low and high social adjustment. It may be noted that, 14 respondents having low scores on social adjustment, though live in the same household, do not have any interactions with their grandchildren for days together.

Do the aged women who take interest in activities related to caring of grandchildren show greater acceptance in their family? Logically, aged females helping in the care of infants would have enjoyed greater social acceptance in their family. Data of the present study show that grandmothers who willingly participate in child care activities are often involved in the decision-making, say, buying gifts for relatives (r = +0.30), household assets (r = +0.24) education of grandchildren (r = +0.26) and marriage of grandchildren (r = +0.35). It signifies their acceptance and respect in the family.

In the study, one respondent, with her one-year old grandson in her lap, says, "*Mere pote ne mujhe jeena sikha diya, iske saath khelte hue main apne saare dhukh bhool gai"* (my grandson has taught me how to live, playing with him I forget all sorrows). Another old respondent, blessed with a great-grandson utters, "*Maine padpote ka munh dekh liya, ab seedhe swarg jaungi marne ke baad"* (I have seen the face of my great-grandson, now I shall straight go to heaven after death). Grandchildren provide happiness and contentment to their grandparents, make them forget their loneliness, tension and anxiety and fulfill their life with several roles and activities, which obviously increase their acceptance in the family. They also provide satisfaction of successful performance of obligations to ancestors and myths associated with religious-spiritual aspirations of aged women.

Conclusions

In urban context, the role of aged females as grandmothers is one of the most crucial factors for their well-being. The elderly women, through the role of grandmothers, can compensate for their diminishing or diminished roles as home-maker, mother, etc. A number of child-care activities they perform like making the infant sleep, feed, bathe, and playing indoor and outdoor games with grown up grandchildren, sharing their experiences at school and outside home, taking care of them when their mothers are out at work, if performed willingly, often facilitate them in getting and ensuring acceptance from their family members. They do not feel lonely, tense and anxious. The aged women, as grandmothers, play a crucial role in the care and socialization of their grandchildren. However, those elderly females who do not take keen interest in these activities often lose out on psychological well-being and social acceptance.

Suggestive Interventions

1. Grandparents can be a great help to young parents in all kinds of ways. In many parts of the world, grandmothers are considered experts, and a young mother often approaches her with quarries regarding child care. This can act as a platform to enhance the cordial relations between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. Grandmothers have rich experience, which young mothers can utilize for the well-being of her kids. There is a need for sensitization of the family members about the importance of elderly.

2. School social work and Socially Useful and Productive work can help the grandchildren and young kids to respect the contributions of their grandparents and elderly in their life.

3. Crèche facility is often available as an alternative to young working parents. However, their credibility to ensure well-being of kids and sensitivity in handling the children of tender age with love, affection and compassion cannot be ensured irrespective of the amount of charges paid for their services. There is a need to create an environment where the younger generation realizes the invaluable role elderly play in the socialization of their children.

4. Print and electronic media should also highlight the immense importance of elderly people in the society.

5. The urban community is often characterized by impersonality, which acts as a big factor in making the elderly feel alienated and avoided. Resident Welfare Associations may involve the elderly in various activities like overseeing the security, civic amenities, organizing the functions on various festivals, which would not only keep the elderly utilize their leisure time effectively but also give them feeling of being needed.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 476-484

Intergenerational Issues in Old Age: A Study in Gulbarga District of Karnataka

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ABSTRACT

The study is based on a sample of the aged above 60 years from couple of villages and old age homes in Gulbarga district of Karnataka. The article probes empirically on socio-cultural, psychological, economic, physical and health aspects of ageing and their bearing on intergenerational relations and life satisfaction among the elderly. Further, it makes an effort to evolve possible social work intervention for strengthening the relation between the young and the old with holistic perspective. The study used life satisfaction index-A, semi-structured interview schedule, informal interviews and case studies. The results showed that the elderly who are educated, take an active part in family and society and continue to work, have better health and are good to the young. Also, the elderly who own property, get recreation and do not feel isolated/loneliness are found to have good relation with the young. Further, the elderly whose relation is good with different generations are found to have greater life satisfaction.

Keywords : Intergenerational relations, Life satisfaction, Health, Hospital Perspective

"Solidarity between the generations at all levels – in families, communities and nations, is the fundamental for the achievement of a society for all ages" (United Nations, 2002).

In the year 1995 World Summit for Social Development made efforts to bring social integration between the old and the young. Thereafter, in 1999 International Year of Older Persons was celebrated in order to construct "a society for all ages". The

Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development and Programme of Action of World Summit for Social Development has incorporated the concepts and issues of intergenerational relations (United Nations, 2002). In India, the National Policy on Older Persons was directed to develop and promote the family values. With this, it also intended to have counselling services to sensitise younger generation in order to strengthen intergenerational relations and resolve inter-familial stressors (Tyagi, 2000).

Intergenerational Programmes for the developing countries was devised in International Conference on Intergenerational Relations 2002. The issues like, sensitising the young about their role and educating adults in this regard were identified. In case of India, it has been suggested that people's participation and involvement of local leadership need to be taken into consideration while implementing intergenerational programmes (Chadha, 2002). However, the efforts made by the Government and non-government organisations are mostly in urban than in rural areas.

The population of elderly in India (over 60 years) rank second in the world. The absolute population of the aged over 60 was about 76 million in the year 2001, and expected to increase to 137 million by 2021. Medical advancement has led to the enhancement of life span and increase in the population above 60 (Nickols and others, 1995). This increased life expectancy has given a scope for the young and old to live together for more years (Hagestad, 2000:4).

The relation between young and old was harmonious in the past. The elderly were respected and comfortable due to the existence of values like non-materialistic approach, morality and impersonal thinking. The associations and institutions like joint family, kinship, caste group, religion, village panchayat and traditional ethos have made the younger to have unquestionable regard towards the aged. Thus, better relation between the young and old promoted greater life satisfaction among the aged.

The increasing processes of industrialisation, modernisation and urbanisation, as a result of globalisation and economic liberalisation, have had a negative impact on traditional welfare institutions and socio-cultural values. These processes have also resulted in growing individualism, vulgar materialism and selfishness. In this way, the changes in value system and institutional set up have had a negative

impact on the relations between the young and old. It is now all the more essential to emphasise on intergenerational relationships (Phillipson, 2002).

Intergenerational relation is a belief, thought and value system to be adopted by both the young and the old. Different conditions of the elderly influence the relations, either positively or negatively, with the young. The factors that determine intergenerational relations include socio-cultural, psychological, economic, physical and health aspects (Ramamurti, 2002:24; Bajpai, 1998:216). Therefore, while looking at intergenerational relations, one has to adopt a holistic approach and comprehensive understanding. Such understanding would help the policy makers, academicians and voluntary organisations to formulate appropriate policies and programmes. Further, it would also help to evolve possible intervention in strengthening the intergenerational relations.

The present paper attempts to understand the intergenerational relations in a holistic perspective taking into consideration the aged living under different conditions such as in rural, semi-urban and Old Age Homes.

Changing Intergenerational Relations: Social, Cultural and Economic aspect*s*

There has been a shift in the nature of intergenerational relations in all societies over the years. The lifestyles and expectations of the generations are rapidly changing. With an increase in geographical and social mobility there occurs a change in intergenerational relationships and the magnitude of shared experience among family members. The large-scale migration of youth in search of jobs and education disturbed the emotional relationship between the young and old. These changes are isolating the aged and making it difficult for them to manage and cope with changing conditions. It also becomes difficult for the aged to have cordial social relations with the young (Raju, 2002; Lowenstein, 2002 and Hegstad, 2001).

The changes in life expectancy, social and economic opportunities are altering people's expectations and desires with regard to their families. This accelerated change has generated a conflict between the young and the old leading to modification of traditional expectations and social understandings (United Nations,

1998:36). Lane (2003) identified the determinant variables for change and conflict in intergenerational relations. These are class, gender, values, change in beliefs and socio-economic transformations.

The socio-cultural and economic aspects have a bearing on the intergenerational relations. Joint family, kinship and value system in the past ensured emotional help, physical security and social support to the aged (Mangala, 1994; and Ramamurti, 2002). The situation varies according to the economic condition and the social status of the aged in the family and society. The elderly who have adequate financial resources and who take care of the family affairs, who are productive and involve in income generation activities and contribute to family, and who also have good social networks are looked after well and held in good esteem by the young. On the contrary, in many cases where the old are resource poor, young neglect them intentionally or unintentionally, and refuse or fail to fulfil a care-taking obligation (WHO/ INPEA, 2002). Kohli (2003) and Pannu (1999) in their study reveal that there is an increase in leading householdship by the young. In many cases, besides ill-treatment, the elderly parents are forced to work and do odd jobs despite their deteriorating physical condition and poor health (Bajpai, 1998; and Ikkin and Tilburg, 1999).

The elderly, men and women, who are disabled, frail, and those who still try and work in the unorganised sector are in more vulnerable conditions. They largely include landless agricultural workers, small and marginal farmers, artisans in the informal sector; skilled labourers on daily casual or contract basis; and informal, self-employed and domestic workers (Raju, 2002). These sections of the aged generally get into conflicts and differences with the young due to a variety of reasons. Further, they face myriad problems due to poor socio-economic conditions and end up in family disorganisation.

Psychological, Physical and Health aspects

Aging itself is a typical perception and understanding among old and young. The old generally are characterised by the stereotypic behaviour, like, slovenly, uncouth, unhygienic, conservative, etc. In fact, these factors generally promote ageism. Similarly, the stereotypes characterise the young, like, active, impulsive, rash, and

easily hurt, etc. (Ramamurti, 2002). The distances between the old and young are also due to differences in their interests, likes and dislikes, ideas and practices. Both have their own self-concept and self-regard. Opposing and protesting attitudes among the youth become common and they prefer to live on their own will, rather than listen and obey the old. These attitudes generate a distance between the generations (Ramamurti, 2002 and Raju, 2002).

The role and needs of the elderly are not similar with the young. Adoption of new ideas is either difficult or not acceptable to the old. Coping with old values and traditional practices is not difficult to the young. However, in the prevailing conditions they do not feel comfortable in adopting lifestyle of the old. Loss of personal authority is the basic concern for the aged, which usually disturbs them physically and psychologically. This problem is more in case of elderly women who feel that her daughters-in-law replace them. This makes them uncomfortable and sometimes results in quarrels (Bajpai, 1998). In many cases, the young abuse the aged verbally and make them unhappy. Such condition causes stress, depression and dissatisfaction with the life amongst the aged.

Old age is also associated with higher rate of illness, disability and multiple chronic conditions. Modern system of medical facilities and treatment is more expensive and affordable to only those families, which are economically affluent. Obviously, the economically unsound families face difficulties in providing proper treatment to old. Most of the younger generations feel that the expenditure made on health of their aged parents is a wasteful investment. In many cases, it is found that the younger members fail to take care of their aged parents. The failure of care-taking obligation would lead to certain differences between the young and old (Nikolas and others, 1995; and Ramamurti, 2002). Therefore, the psychological, physical and health aspects of the aged have a bearing on the intergenerational relations.

A glance at the available literature on the intergenerational relations shows that there are hardly any studies that are holistic in nature which deal with multiple factors of old age and intergenerational relations. Further, no studies are made on Old Age Homes linking with intergenerational relations with a social work perspective. Therefore, it is imperative and worthwhile to see the

socio-cultural, psychological, economic, physical and health issues and their bearing on the kind of relation between the young and old at rural, semi- urban and institutional settings. Hence, an attempt is made in this paper to understand the multiple factors of aging and their influence on intergenerational relations and life satisfaction under different settings. In this regard, our paper focuses on the following objectives:

1. To understand the socio-cultural, psychological, economic, physical and health aspects of aging and their impact on intergenerational relations;
2. To explore the association between intergenerational relations and life satisfaction among the elderly; and
3. To evolve possible social work intervention for strengthening intergenerational relations.

Hypothesis

It is hypothesised that the socio-cultural, psychological, economic, physical and health parameters have no bearing on intergenerational relations. Also, the relation between the old and young have no bearing on life satisfaction of the elderly.

Methodology

To satisfy the objectives of the study, qualitative as well as quantitative methodologies were employed. Two villages and two Old Age Homes were selected from different Talukas of Gulbarga district. The list of the aged (above 60 years) was prepared by referring to household register maintained by Anganawadi Teachers working in respective villages under ICDS programme, and list of inmates of Old Age Homes is procured from the respective Old Age Home Superintendents.

To collect information on socio-cultural, economic, psychological, physical, health aspects and intergenerational relations, semi-structured interview schedule, and in-depth interviews with the help of detailed checklist were administered. Besides, case studies were also collected. Further, to assess the level of life satisfaction among the elderly, Life Satisfaction Index-A prepared and standardised by Prof. P.V. Ramamurthy was used.

Analysis and Discussion

The descriptive and qualitative primary data was subjected to quantification. The Chi-square test was carried out using statistical package of social sciences with the help of computer to test association between various parameters and intergenerational relations and life satisfaction.

It is observed that more than one fourth of the respondents own house/land; continue to take up household activity; and involves in social activities. It is also found that about half of the elderly still continue to work. It is also observed that about fifty percent of the respondents do not get recreation, feel lonely and isolated; and three fourth of the respondents reported deteriorating physical fitness and health condition.

A significant proportion of the elderly reported good relation with children and grand children. Those who do not have good relations with the young reported that their differences are due to opposing attitude of the young (21%), not productive or useful (19%), difference of opinion (2.7%) and different lifestyles (3.2%).

To see the association between the intergenerational relations and other selected parameters, the chi-square test is applied. The elderly, who are educated, own house/land, continue doing some job, who take some part in the family and society, get recreation, and do not feel isolated / lonely, are found to have good relation with the young. Thus the null-hypothesis stands rejected. The case study of Muttavva, a widow, aged 85 living with three generations illustrates the point clearly.

Muttavva's husband died when she was 24. She had no property other than a house. For livelihood she started a Kirana (provision) shop and provided all facilities to her two sons. Both children were educated, married and well settled. She continues to work even now and earns Rs.3000/- per month to family. Every one in the family respects and loves her and she is satisfied with her life.

On the contrary, the case of Sharnappa, a retired teacher, who is 66 years old, and living with his wife and married sons shows that the old are considered as inflexible and a burden.

Sharanappa is a diabetic and has high blood pressure. He is taken care of by his wife. Children as well as daughters-in-law do not like him because of his inflexible thinking. Children ignore him and

feel that he is a burden and problem. The eldest son expresses that 'until our father is alive we do not progress'. In this family both the aged parents and the young are not happy. He frequently shouts and scolds if any one does not listen to him. There is no day without quarrel in the home.

The difference in lifestyle also creates differences between the young and old as it happened with Laxaman, 72 years old, who is living with his wife in a village.

Laxman, who is an agriculturist, got his sons educated who are now well settled in a nearby city and they are unwilling to come and stay with their aged parents. They also do not want them to come to city and stay with them because their parents still wear traditional Lambani dress and are not ready to leave their traditions. They do not feel comfortable by staying with them.

Table-1: Different parameters bearing on Intergenerational Relations

Attributes	ψ^2 and level of significance with Intergenerational relations	Result
Education	17094/.002	Significant
Present role in the family	78.082/.000	Significant
Social status	45.729/.000	Significant
Owning house	71.359/.000	Significant
Owning land	67.813/.000	Significant
Present work	62.511/.000	Significant
Recreation	145.596/.000	Significant
Feeling isolation and loneliness	90.462/.000	Significant
Physical fitness and Health deterioration	62.740/.000	Significant

The variables such as physical condition and health deterioration found to have a bearing on intergenerational relations. Thus, it calls for the rejection of null hypothesis (See table-1). The elderly, who have serious health problems, hailing from families with poor economic conditions, are largely neglected by their children and other family members. This is clearly noticeable in the case of Parvathi, a 68 year old widow, who is a paralytic. She has four married sons and all of them are settled in different places. She needs regular medical attention and lots of care. No daughter-in-law is ready to take care of her. The daughters-in-law even threatened

their husbands stating that they will go to their natal families if they try to bring their mother home. Presently, Parvathi is staying with one of her married daughters. None of her sons are ready to take her to their home because they do not want to spend money on her and feel that she is a liability.

The elderly whose relation is good with their children, grand children and great grand children are found to have greater life satisfaction. Therefore, it calls for rejection of null hypothesis (See table-2).

Table-2. Relations with different generations and Life Satisfaction

Attributes	ψ^2 and level of significance with Intergenerational relations	Result
Relation with children	77.700/.000	Significant
Relation with grand children	9.885/.000	Significant
Relation with grate grand children	16.010/.000	Significant

While the above analysis showed the relationship between the aged from different backgrounds living with their family members have positive or negative relationship with their offspring, the case of the aged in Old Age Homes show similar trend in intergenerational relationships.

The sample of the aged from Old Age Homes reveals that quite a few of the inmates joined the Old Age Home because they have no caretakers or have children and grand children but they do not take care of them. The following case of Savithri, a 69 year old widow who has two married sons and daughter illustrates the plight of the aged in Old Age Homes. Her elder son is in Government service and the younger son is self-employed. She had neither property nor any source of income and both her sons have refused to take care of her. She was harassed continuously by her children and daughters-in-law. Their intention was to send her out. Looking at her plight, a Panchayat member of the village referred her to the Old Age Home. She strongly feels that Old Age Home is a better place than home and she will stay here till death.

More than one-fifth respondents reported to have differences and conflicts with their children and daughters-in-law. In most of the cases it is observed that their children forcibly sent them out of

their home. The case of Jagan Nayak is a case in point. Jagan Nayak, who is a 71 years old widower, has three married sons. Jagan Nayak deposited part of the sale proceeds in the bank, both in his as well as his sons' names. His elder son is working as construction labour and is heading the family. He spends most of his earning on liquor. The story is same even in case of Jagan Nayak's other children. Every day they used to fight with their father for money. Many times, they had beaten him. Already, his sons emptied the money in their account and forced their father out when he refused them money from his account. Following this, he joined the Old Age Home. He is willing to donate his money to Old Age Home but not to his children.

Conclusion

The study made an effort to understand the socio-cultural, psychological, economic, physical and health aspects and their association with intergenerational relations and life satisfaction among the elderly in couple of villages and Old Age Homes in Gulbarga District of Karnataka. The relation between the young and old is increasingly becoming materialistic. The young expect their aged parents to contribute property, money, supervision and manpower to the family in the lieu of care, respect and regard. The elderly with poor economic conditions certainly face differences with young. In case of those in Old Age Homes, most of the inmates have children but refused or failed to take care of them only because they are not resourceful.

The time has come to draw more integrated policies and programmes on intergenerational relations. As a matter of policy there is an urgent need to address the problems of the aged who are resource poor. Social case work and group work can modify behaviour of young and old to promote self-esteem and satisfaction in life. The community organisation method of working with people can bring awareness and educate the old and young to cope with the changing conditions. There is a need to start counselling centres exclusively for strengthening intergenerational relations. The communicable media can take a major part in developing intergenerational relations.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 488-500

Inter-generational Relationships and Well-being of the Elderly

Surjit Singh Dhooper

ABSTRACT

Aging is a global phenomenon and in many countries, the aged are increasingly being considered a burden on their families and societies. It is vital that they be encouraged to continue playing productive social roles and that the inter-generational relations be fostered. This paper presents major theories of inter-generational relationships, findings of empirical research validating the assumptions of those theories, and suggestions for enhancing inter-generational relationships.

Keywords: Elderly, Inter-generational relations, Family relations, Relationship theories, Enhancing relationships.

Aging is a global phenomenon. It is no longer an exclusive characteristic of industrialized societies. The population of the elderly is growing everywhere. The world is experiencing an actual demographic graying of the planet (Galambos & Rosen, 1999, p. 73). During the year 2000, the worlds' elderly population (aged 65 and over) grew by more than 795,000 people a month. By 2010, the net gain of this population is projected to be 847,000 per month. In many countries, oldest old (those aged 80 or over) are the fastest growing portion of the total population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). This aging of the world population, on one hand, represents a human success story. Societies now have the luxury of aging (Bengtson, Lowenstein, Putney, & Gans, 2003, p. 3). On the other hand, it has the potential for affecting almost every human and societal

arrangement and every social and economic institution, raising a host of ethical, moral, scientific, social, and economic questions (Cornman,1997, p. 857). It is obvious that as the overall number of the elderly grows so does the number of those who fall into the various high-risk categories such as physically ill and disabled, emotionally distressed, cognitively impaired and demented, financially disadvantaged, physically and emotionally abused, and socially isolated. Ageing invariably involves losses of health and vitality, social roles and relationships, economic status, and positive identity, although these losses are more marked in some cultures and societies than in others. Even in cultures that have traditionally venerated the elderly and valued their competence and wisdom, the status of the elderly is changing. Their skills and wisdom are increasingly becoming irrelevant to the economies and social situations of their countries. The needs of the elderly in those countries are often viewed as problems of an unproductive minority. This was reflected in the reported abandonment of several thousand elderly by their families at the last Kumbh Mela (a religious fair) in India some time ago. Ageism pervades and influences the behaviors of individuals and institutions alike. Old age is stereo-typically viewed as associated with decline, disease, depression, dementia, disengagement, death, and a drag on the society. However, an objective view reveals that in the cycle of life, every generation becomes the other with the passage of time and all generations are interdependent for their physical and emotional health and sharing of group culture and human values. It is vital that inter-generational relations be fostered and the elderly be allowed and encouraged to continue playing productive roles on the stage of life. The United Nations declared 1999 as the International Year of Older Persons and sought to have its member countries develop specific programs based on a conceptual framework that replaces the idea of an aging population as a burden on the society with the concept of a society for all ages (Sidorenko,1999). It is noteworthy that inter/multi-generational relationships is one of the four major dimensions of that framework (Galambos & Rosen, 1999). This paper endeavors to discuss: (1) conceptual bases for inter-generational relationships, (2) salient findings of empirical research on family relations and their impact on the elderly, and (3) suggestions for enhancing inter-generational relationships.

Conceptual Bases for Inter-generational Relationships

Family is the medium through which inter-generational relationships have traditionally been fostered and maintained. These relationships have also been explained and studied in terms of changes in the structure and functions of the family and roles of its members. Extensive theoretical work in this area has been done over the past several decades. Theories that explain the what and why of inter-generational relationships are clustered in different ways. For example, Katz and his colleagues (2003) have divided these into four groups: (1) Retrospective, (2) Situational, (3) Prospective, and (4) Mixed theories. We are briefly reviewing these and important concepts related to these theories.

Retrospective theories : These highlight early socialization and cultural patterns as influenced by norms associated with such factors as race, religion, ethnicity, caste and gender. Of considerable importance in this group is the role theory that explains human behavior in terms of an individuals social roles. A social role is a pattern of expected behavior associated with the individual's status in a social system. It specifies obligations and rights as well as norms and values for appropriate behavior. Concepts germane to this theory are role conflict, role ambiguity, role confusion, role strain, role loss. Role conflict, e.g. can be self-role conflict i.e. conflict between the self-perceived role and the role one is supposed to play and role-role conflict which refers to behavior deviations. Modernization and Aging theory also belongs to this group. This theory explains the weakening of inter-generational relationship as the result of industrialization and urbanization. These phenomena lead to the weakening of the traditional norms of familism and filial obligations on one hand and erodes older peoples power to wield the familial, economic, and religious sanctions to enforce the norms.

Situational theories: These point to factors and characteristics that are barriers or motivators for inter-generational solidarity, and legitimate excuses for failing in one's inter-generational obligations. Examples of barriers include geographical distance, poor health, demands of work, and economic situation marked by wide-spread unemployment and underemployment, and rising costs of living.

Prospective theories: These seek explanations in expected future consequences of present actions and choices. The role and

impact of self-interest and other forms of utility arguments belong here, including how people more or less rationally relate to perceived norms.(Katz et al., 2003, p. 311). The theory of reasoned action used to understand the relationship between norms, attitudes and intentions on one hand and actual behavior on the other is an example of theories in this group.

Mixed theories: These seek to explain the impact of past, present, and future directed factors in an integrated manner. *Social Exchange theory* belongs to this group. It looks partly back to the reciprocal obligations for earlier contributions, and partly to the present attractiveness of an exchange partner in terms of his or her resources for exchange now or in the future (Katz *et al.,* 2003, p. 312). This theory emphasizes that social interaction is the process of exchange of materialistic and psychological rewards between actors on the basis of a norm of reciprocity (Turner, 1987). It also provides a strong conceptual approach to the study of social processes and social structures. It views (1) social behavior and social interaction as an exchange process, and (2) social exchanges as the basis for social structure. The repetition of exchanges result in patterned social interactions which become institutionalized over time. The various inter-generational solidarity models also belong to this group. The concept of solidarity and its opposite expressed in conflict models have been extensively used to understand and explain family relationships. The concept of inter-generational ambivalence has been recently added to this group. Proposed by Luscher and Pillemer (1998) and expanded by Connidis and McMullin (2002), this concept is claimed to“ provide a more useful way to conceptualize and theorize family relationships. Two types of ambivalence are delineated: (1) sociological or structural ambivalence which stems from a person’s location in the social structure, and (2) psychological or individual ambivalence which refers to a person’s feelings when faced with structural ambivalence (Luscher & Pillemer,1998). According to Connidis and McMullin (2002), since ambivalence is embedded in social structures, fundamental changes in structured social relations can be made through social policy with resultant relief from ambivalence. However, Bengtson and his associates (2002) are of the opinion that the concept of ambivalence only enriches the solidarity-conflict model, and that concepts of ambivalence, solidarity and conflict are not competing approaches to

understanding iner-generational ties. They suggest that ambivalence comes from the intersection of solidarity and conflict. Another useful concept is inter-generational reciprocity that holds that the behavior of previous generations influences how a present generation treats future generations (Wade-Benzoni, 2002). She tested hypotheses based on inter-generational reciprocity in a series of four studies and found that inter-generational reciprocity operates in allocation of both benefits and burdens.

Competing Hypotheses: All the above mentioned sociological theories of inter-generational relationships have elements of truth but none of these explains the reality of those relationships in its entirety. Human life and its dimensions are too complex to be captured by any descriptive or explanatory theory. Other theoretical perspectives also have been proposed. We are listing below a couple of them. Social Network theory holds that a person's social environment can be a source of social support. A network is a meaningful collection of personalties that people maintain and it may include their relations with family members, friends, neighbors, workmates and significant others. Networks can be described in terms of their composition and structure or the content of particular relationship (e.g. friendship versus kinship). The non-kin network relationships supplement and sometimes supplant familial sources of social supports (Pahl & Spencer, 1997; Wellman,1990). Politics of inter-generational relations emphasizes the critical role of politics and political ideology in determining the nature of inter-generational relations through social and socioeconomic policies. Walker (2002), a proponent of this view concludes that social policies rather than the attitudes of younger generations pose the main threat to the solidarity of inter-generational relationships in Britain and other western welfare states. Old-age pensions and other social programs for the elderly can be so described that the elderly are viewed as a burden on the economy, a view that is likely to encourage weakening of the desire of the younger generations to support the older ones.

Salient Findings of Empirical Research on Family Relations affecting the Elderly

Over the years, the ideas and assumptions generated by the above-discussed theories have led to the creation of appropriate research instruments and approaches as well as conduct of numerous

empirical studies for testing the validity of those ideas and assumptions. The space does not permit even the mention, let alone a discussion, of most research efforts and findings. What follows is a discussion of the findings of a smattering of recent studies that reflect the emerging picture of the inter-generational relationships.

Families are changing enormously in their composition, roles of their members, and quality of the intra-familial relationships. These changes are much more visible in developed countries than in the developing world. In the U.S., for example, it has become difficult to talk about a typical family. We have nuclear families, single-parent families, remarried and step families, non-marital heterosexual and homosexual cohabitation families, foster and adoptive families, and multi-adult households. Nearly one in three Americans is a member of a blended or step family (Ahlburg & De Vita, 1992). The existence of these complex groupings who may not be sharing a household and a set of family roles and values, has led Widmore (1999) to talk about family contexts,a type of cognitive network. Increasingly, unlike in the family of the past, inter-generational relationships in these groupings are more affection-based than necessity-based or norm-based and hence are more complex and variable (Koyano, 2003). Even in less changed situations, the family's ability to care for its elderly appears to be diminishing. In a study of adult children's perceptions of their responsibility to provide care for dependent elderly parents, adult children rated the amount of financial, emotional and physical support families should and could give to elderly persons described in four vignettes. All scores were high, with should consistently higher than could for every vignette and for each of the three types of support (Wolfson et al., 1993).

However, family has not entirely lost most of its traditional functions and roles but is sharing most of these with formal organizations. Even the two functions that traditional family theorists reserved solely for the family — early socialization of children and adult tension management are being managed in partnership with large formal organizations, both governmental land non-governmental (Litwak et al., 2003). Similarly, family is sharing its functions with many informal non-kin networks of social support and other non-traditional primary groups. These are based on the concept of social support groups in the field of health such as Alcoholics

Anonymous, Alzheimers caregivers groups, and AIDS buddy groups. The main thing that characterizes these groups is the assumption that the goals of the group are achieved by the information, instrumental help, and emotional support that members provide to each other based on their everyday experience. It is also important to note that members of these groups are not motivated by economic rewards but by some internalized commitment of affection and duty (Litwak *et al.,* 2003, p. 34).

The elderly are becoming more diverse. This diversity is both horizontal and vertical. Horizontally, the diversity is marked by racial, ethnic, cultural and other differences. Vertically, age-based subgroups within the elderly population are becoming increasingly more distinct highlighting the fallacy of viewing the elderly as a monolithic group. In the future, many more years and generations (i.e. 40-50 years and three to four generations) will separate the younger from the older Aelderly. Already, there are more years of co-survivorship between generations (Bengtson,1996) than ever before. On one hand, this can be seen positively as a remarkable increase in multi-generational kin, representing a latent network (Riley & Riley, 1993) that can be mobilized for support. Viewed negatively, on the other hand, this Alonger years of shared lives involves protracted years of care-giving for dependent elders and likely protracted conflict (Bengtson *et al,* 2003). In a study of the most common themes of conflict between aging parents and their adult children Clarke and his associates (1999) found six types: conflicts over (1) communication and interaction style; (2) habits and lifestyle choices; (3) child rearing practices and values; (4) politics, religion and ideology; (5) work habits and orientations; and (6) household standards and maintenance. Moreover, the growing age gap between the young and the old may result in the younger generations being farther removed, emotionally and physically, and more uninvolved in the life and care of the older generations.

Whether in the industrialized countries or in the developing world, increasingly more and more elderly are living in urban areas. It was estimated that by the year 2000, 75% of the population in most countries will be concentrated in cities where even the available health services are already inadequate (Novaes,1997). The urban world imposes its own conditions on the lives of its people. Along

with the generally unhealthy physical environment, cultural diversity, impersonality, lack of social supports, complexity of social roles, and competition characterize those conditions. A culture of violence becomes a common phenomenon as the heterogeneity of a society and complexity of life increase.

It is likely that the attention and resources devoted to the needs of the elderly will generate animosity toward them on the part of younger generations. There will be more and more longer-living elderly who will assert their claim to societal resources, younger generations will become resentful of the elderly, the traditional care-givers will become increasingly less available, and care giving will become more impersonal (Dhooper,1997). The combined effect of all these conditions is likely to result in the elderly feeling socially isolated. The elder abuse situation may worsen.

There is considerable support for many assumptions of the exchange theory leading to such conclusions as: (1) Elderly with more resources can stay involved in reciprocal giving and receiving and initiate new exchanges; (2) In more intimate and stable relationships (e.g. old parents and adult children), reciprocity can take place over a long period of time and the exchange can involve different types of support; and (3)Where parents have nothing to give, they become passive recipients and lose their social status. (Kohli & Kunemund, 2003).

Research has also pointed to the importance of interrelations between various micro and macro systems for the well-being of the elderly. It has become evident that the care of the aged is a mix of public and private resources, with the characteristics of this mix varying from the one country to another. The specific mix is related to three factors: (1) the norms and preferences of families with regard to care, (2) the family culture that guides the level of readiness to use public services, and (3) the availability, accessibility, quality, and cost of those public services (Lowenstein & Bengtson, 2003, pp.374-375).

Suggestions for Enhancing Inter-generational Relationships

Based on the material presented in the foregoing sections, some helpful ideas for enhancing inter-generational relationships can be suggested.

1. Recognize that despite changes in its form and functions, family is still a viable organization that can be enabled to provide high quality care to all its members including the aged.
2. Emphasize the idea of interdependence between and among generations, at all levels of discourse. As people start to realize the richness of this idea and meaningfully operationalize it, inter-generational conflict will wane.
3. Identify factors that promote family cohesion and those that create conflict, and devise approaches and services that will strengthen the former and weaken the latter. Remember that despite significant commonalities among families in a country or region, families are also different in vital ways. Cultural, ethnic, religious, and other variables define their intra-familial conflicts as well as provide directions for cohesion-building efforts.
4. Help individuals and families to take advantage of the advances in communication technology that have reduced geographical distances. Inter-generational relationships can be maintained and strengthened even at a distance. In many developed countries, long-distance care-giving has become a viable option for adult children who are physically away from their old parents. Familiarize yourself with the what and how of long-distance care-giving.
5. Advocate for and promote social policies that support productive aging so that older people can continue to play meaningful roles in the lives of their families and communities. So long as they are contributing and giving something to the familial group, reciprocity will stay alive and feed inter-generational relationships.
6. Work for the expansion of resources at the community and societal levels that the elderly can access so that they can achieve balanced inter-generational relations.
7. Recognize and appreciate the fact that in many developed countries increasingly more grandparents are raising grandchildren. Often they need help in revising their personal goals, reorganizing their lives, learning how to parent (in the present social environment), dealing with the stress of care-

giving, knowing their rights, and availing of children-related societal services.

8. Combat aging stereotypes. Almost everywhere, negative images of old people are a norm. In the United States, for example, print and television media are portraying them as feeble, ineffective, helpless, and irrelevant (Butler, 2000).
9. Explore the possibility of launching an inter-generational program for changing the attitudes of children and young people toward the elderly. Several models of successful inter-generational programs are available. These programs have been implemented in early childhood settings (Kaplan & Larkin, 2004; Middlecamp &Gross, 2002), elementary schools (Bales, Eklund & Siffin, 2000; Schwalbach & Kiernan, 2002; Cummings, Williams & Ellis, 2003), middle and high schools (Ballantyne, Fien & Packer, 2001), college and a residential community for older adults (Pogorzala & Krout, 2001), nursing home (Ward, Los-Kamp & Newman,1996), and in the homes of the isolated seniors (Bullock & Osborne, 1999).
10. Recognize the possible reality of elder abuse. In many countries, there are laws on child abuse requiring reporting, investigation and intervention but nothing on elder abuse. However, there are models for policy-level advocacy and micro-level interventions. Familiarize yourself with that literature.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 501-508

Improving Intergenerational Relationships through Mentoring Programs

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ABSTRACT

With increased longevity and multigenerational groups in population, inter generational relations assume crucial importance. There is a growing body of able and healthy 'senior citizens' who wish to engage in meaningful roles. There is also in all communities young people needing guidance and care. Combining the needs of these two groups through mentoring programs could bring about increased intergenerational harmony. This replaces the lost roles of the elderly, and enhances their sense of self worth. Children and adolescents get valuable assistance from the wise elderly and the community benefits from such interactions.

Keywords : Intergenerational relations,Meaningful roles, Harmony, Self worth, Mentoring, programme

Family still continues to be the primary institution where people find physical and psychological support and security. In India, even today, families continue to provide care, some times prolonged care, to older people. Though majority still continue to live in families, there are changes in both composition and quality of interactions

amongst the members. In recent gerontological literature, there have been repeated references to the changing family scene and its impact on elder care and well being. The ‘generation gap’ is predicted to widen due to the fast changing life style, globalization, migration of the young and influence of diverse ideologies. The clash between young and old due to differences in attitudes and perceptions are also likely to enhance.

Intergenerational support is not always one sided. It is not true that once a person grows old, he or she becomes automatically a recipient of care and support from the young. Usually intergenerational transfers, both material and non material, flow either way. Yet, it is true that with old age there is more and more dependence on younger members. It is also true that with increasing migration of the young, old people face loneliness more often now than ever before. With shrinking of family size, there may not be many young people like grandchildren around the old. With increasing longevity, and better health prospects, people may find a large chunk of their adulthood without much interaction with younger people. The predicament of the present generation is that for them, with longevity and health comes loneliness and acute sense of role loss.

There is evidence that intergenerational relations are undergoing transitions due to social and cultural changes. Teenagers especially perceive their grandparents (and others in that age category) in a different way. How the young and old judge one anther is crucial for harmonious living under one roof (Gayathri Devi, 2004). In a series of Focus group Discussions with older and younger people it was found that these groups have mixed feelings regarding one another. While both age groups realize that social factors are responsible for differences in behavior, this understanding does not get translated into accepting the behavior of other age group. Teenagers feel irritated by the beliefs and practices of elders and the older group have a negative view of almost everything that the youngsters do. There are obvious tension lines in the relationship (ibid).

It is not only the family relationships that require re-working now. There is another concern, that of improving the morale and quality of life of older generation. If the demographic predictions run true to type, then we can expect a large group of relatively healthy

and able old people, who are pushed out of paid labour force due to governmental rules. They have time on their hands, but feel lonely and do not know how to compensate for the lost roles. They need a 'second career', which may not exactly be a second job. It is a new role that keeps them occupied, make them feel wanted and useful. In many cases, the 'post retirement blues' are not just to due to increased leisure, but the feeling that one has become useless or unwanted. There is a tendency for policy makers and governmental agencies to treat 'senior' citizens as beneficiaries. Studies show that when people are pushed away from the mainstream activities, the rate of emotional problems increases. The feeling of being cut-off from social system becomes intense immediately after retirement when there is a sudden drop in the activity level.

Changes in family and community are affecting not only the old. Even the young face problems. Large joint or extended families provided a support system for young people especially during vulnerable periods of life. Now a days, such natural and spontaneous support system is not forthcoming. Just as the old are feeling lonely, isolated, the young too face similar situations in small, nuclear or single parent families. Sometimes, the pace of urban life does not provide enough opportunities to relate to one another in a healthy manner. Grandparental support and supervision is often not readily available.

It becomes essential to search for new methods and strategies to enhance intergenerational understanding and at the same time promote activity among elders. New roles have to be invented so that people continue as active members of the community. It is in this regard that Mentoring is considered as the new role for active elderly to maintain their health and sense of well-being. This is a role that is beneficial both to the older persons and to the younger generation.

Mentoring as a new role

In recent years, in the West, Mentoring is becoming more and more popular. The International Year of Older Persons Information Kit describes five key areas of importance for older people. One of them is 'participation' described as an active role in decision making and communicating in the family, community, and society as a whole. Now with longevity and better health status, old people have opportunity to test out new areas of interest of work without money

as volunteers. The role of volunteer provides social contact, active involvement, a sense of satisfaction and also helps other people. Mentoring is a volunteering role.

Mentoring relationships are helping relationships that provide psychological, practical help and a role model to a younger person. A Mentor is a mature, older person who takes on a nurturing, protective role with a younger protégé. Mentoring is essential for children. Every child needs a dependable, consistent and positive relationship with at least one adult in order to achieve optimal overall health. Today's youth crave for belongingness, connectedness and meaning with a significant other. They need someone to guide, support, coach, and in some cases, simply attend to them. Such support occurs less frequently in natural social systems today. Roles and responsibilities previously undertaken by family, school and community have now become focus of organizational and government programs. These try to compensate for lack of adult attention, education, guidance and support for the young. Effective mentors have listening skills, they can establish and maintain a shared agenda, they develop a trusting relationship and encourage positive interactions.

Mentoring helps both the mentor and the 'mentee'. For the mentor, it is 'generativity' as Erikson describes. When an older person chooses to take the responsibility by caring for, and fostering the growth and development of a young person, he or she is fulfilling of an important productive role. Personal satisfaction, feelings of accomplishment are gained during mentoring process. For the youth, it helps in enhancing sense of self-worth, reduce feelings of loneliness, provide direct assistance and models to shape one's behavior. Research has shown that mentoring is a powerful way to provide adult contacts for youths who receive little guidance in their schools, homes and communities (Dondero, 1997).

Mentoring, as Schachter-Shalomi (1995) puts it, is the 'seeding of the future with wisdom'. Mentoring preserves valuable life experience from disappearing with decay of physical body. Mentors are awakened elders who can transmit wisdom of a life time to fertilize the young minds with knowledge and seasoned judgement. Mentor best serves as a 'permissionary' who gives the younger person permission to carry on the work of self- exploration.

Mentoring, he says helps people 'sage' rather than 'age'. People could be trained to be mentors so that both in their own families and in communities at large, they can engage in productive activities. When instead of just aging, people sage as mentors, intergenerational harmony in families would be preserved. Communities would also benefit from the experience and wisdom of older people.

Experimental work on Mentoring Street Children

One of the vulnerable groups of children is that of the street children. In India, some 18 million children live and / or work on the streets. For them, street has become the real home. There is no protection, supervision or direction from responsible adults. These are the weakest members of society and are most deprived. They are driven to the streets due to broken homes, family violence, abuse, maladjustment, desire for economic independence or due to peer influence. Corda and Kulkarni (2004) draw interesting parallels between street children and old people. They say, 'both are regarded as dependent, as economic burdens and useless. Both are neglected and face isolation. Both face identity crises and lack self esteem. Both are subject to feelings of loneliness and emptiness. Both have limited attention span and erratic moods. For both availability and accessibility to opportunities tend to be limited'. Though one may not agree with all of the above generalizations, one can say that like street children, some elders do face the problem of marginalization.

It has been proposed that one can create a mutually beneficial relationship between the two groups. The active elderly who need to spend their time and energy meaningfully and the street children who need adult love, care and direction could be brought together in a mentoring relationship. This relationship can provide human contact, support and guidance to the children. Older persons may feel that they are contributing to community well-being in a significant way.

Shelter Don Bosco, Mumbai which works with street children is a volunteer group. Workers in this shelter have tried mentoring programs by senior adults targeting youth who are considered 'at risk' for truancy, criminal activity and drug abuse. Senior tutors provide permanence, reliability and a consistent environment for these youth, often bringing about dramatic changes in their lives. Intergenerational dialogue permits the two groups to come together and help strengthen and deepen understanding of one another. In

their survey, Bosco workers found that most older people felt that they were not ‘retired from life’ though retired from work. They wanted to feel useful and work with children. Working with such children as mentors gave them a new zest for life.

At the Bangalore University, under the Aging and Development project, a workshop was organized to train people as mentors. During the several awareness programs carried out with senior citizens, many had expressed the feeling that their abilities and resources were not utilized by the society. Many felt lonely as their children were not with them. Bangalore has a sizeable number of street children. BOSCO is a voluntary organization that rescues street children, provides safe shelter, and rehabilitates them. There is always a need for volunteers who can help in the job of parenting these children. In collaboration with BOSCO, a program was designed. In the workshop, first information regarding street children, their condition and needs was given. This was followed by training in skills especially, communicating skills and nurturing skills. Interactions were arranged with people who are working with vulnerable children, and NGOs working with disadvantaged children. A panel discussion was held with members of children’s helpline, children’s shelters and orphanages. Finally, avenues for possible involvement of seniors as volunteers were explored.

All the forty members, both men and women, who had participated in this workshop realized for the first time, the condition of street children. They were sensitized to their plight. They realized that they could involve themselves usefully as volunteers. They expressed the opinion that they could educate members of their clubs, organizations or neighbourhood on this issue. They wanted to create awareness among others through newsletters and bulletins. Some explored the possibility of adopting a few children and allowing some to visit them during holidays or festivals.

Mentoring in families

It is not only the street children who benefit from mentoring. Even in so called ‘normal’ families, children may be vulnerable. Very often the relationship between the young and old is one of reluctantly ‘putting up’ with one another. Old people could learn the art of grandparenting. For many people, becoming a grand parent is a source of biological renewal or continuity. It is a source of emotional

self fulfillment in a way that parenthood had not done. It is a new role as a teacher and resource person. For a few, it is an extension of self in the grandchild who will achieve for them vicariously what their own offspring could not.

Given the longevity revolution, it may be a rewarding time for people to relate to their grandchildren and take an active role in their upbringing. Basic to grandparenting is the ability to nurture the young. Most parents pay attention to providing adequately for the physical needs of the children. Emotional nurturing may be overlooked and this is where grandparents can step in. However, even grandparenting role, that of being a mentor not just an authority figure, could be learned.

Training workshops on the art of grandparenting focus more on older people as nurturers and mentors. People are taught the art of paying attention to the children and their needs. Mirroring is to make a child feel valued and feel that they are a source of delight to others. Understanding requires listening to what they say, willingness to hear their thoughts and feelings, fears and fantasies. It means appreciating how it feels to be a child. Accepting the child and respecting its individuality are equally important. Smoothing the pain of the child by allowing the child to heal on its own while supporting it, fostering self esteem by removing blocks to active listening are skills taught to people to be effective as grandparents. There are several simple exercises that help people recognize their faulty style of interacting with youngsters. People need to understand that child has to be treated as individual and treated with respect. When practiced, grandparenting can be a fulfilling role that rewards all-both young and old.

Mentoring thus could be considered as a new role that older people should actively embrace. It helps families strengthen their intergenerational ties. It helps people serve communities in which they live. It helps reduce the vulnerability of children and youth at risk. It also empowers older people by giving them a new meaning in life.

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Indian Journal of Gerontology
2004, Volume 18, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 509-521

From Distance : Experiences of Long-Distance Indian Caregivers

Jyoti Savla and Adam Davey

ABSTRACT

Ample research has examined stress of caregivers but has not documented the experiences of siblings who do not give hands-on care. One group at particular risk are Asian-Indian men who live in a different country than their parents, due to the cultural scripts of obligation that these adult men carry with themselves. This study uses phenomenological interviews to explore the experiences, emotions and opposing scripts among Asian-Indian eldest sons living in U.S. Analyses reveal that these men endure a lot of stress due to the opposing scripts that they carry with them. They feel responsible for their elderly parents and accountable for their family, children and jobs. Participants reported that frequent contact was insufficient to overcome the feelings of guilt, worry, pain, depression and helplessness. Cultural scripts do not bestow the caregiving role only on the eldest son in the family, but can differ for every member of the family depending on their role. Future research needs to identify and address these cultural scripts for other children in the family and explore the mediators of stress so that intervention programs could be designed to assist these long-distance caregivers.

Key words : Long distance caregives, Asian Indian Cultural Scripts, Items International Programe

An increasing number of adult children leave the communities where their parents live to go to a university, find an attractive job, accompany a transferred spouse, or experience another part of the world. Frequently, such adult children do not return to their home community but resettle far away from their parents and their geographic place of origin. Asian Indians represent a large and rapidly growing segment of the American population, with the 2000 census indicating

that nearly 1.9 million indivviduals (16% of the U.S. Asian population) reported that they were Asian Indian (Barnes & Bennet, 2002). While parents are able to provide for themselves, they can live far from their children with no serious problems. However, as their health declines, the adult children face the challenges of caregiving. Already, 22 million American households, i.e. 1 in 4 households are involved in caring for an older person. As people will live longer and families grow more scattered, elder care specialists predict that a demographic tidal wave will dramatically increase the ranks of long-distance caregivers. With greater numbers of elderly requiring care and living farther from those most willing to provide it, adults in midlife who feel responsible for their parent's living situation face a challenging dilemma.

This dilemma is more daunting for the migrant populations who have to provide care for their parents who live thousands of miles away, often in regions where services for the aged might not be readily available.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Geographical distance - An important predictor

Most researchers in the field of gerontology who have studied caregiving practices by adult children for their parents have assumed a close relationship between caregiving and geographical proximity. For example, it has been argued that geographic distance reduces not only frequency of visiting and telephone contact, or help with chores, but it also limits the support that could be provided from a distance, such as giving advice or comfort (Rossi & Rossi, 1990, p. 455). The adult child who is geographically closest then tends to take on the role of caregiver (Aldous & Klein, 1991). Other researchers such as Lin and Rogerson (1995) concluded on the basis of such findings that “because caregiving often requires close proximity, it is important to understand the demobrpahic and geogrpahical availability of adult children” (p. 304). Thus, there is a persistent tendency to assume that caregiving is dependent on close proximity, with the implication that parents who do not have children living close by are bereft of their children's support.

On the other hand some other researchers are of the opinion that the preoccupation with geographical proximity in the caregiving literature has resulted in very little research done on the relationships between aging parents and adult children who live at a distance, consequently, these relations remain invisible. Climbo (1992) found that although some services required proximity, distant children still

gave a great deal of help and support. Cicirelli (1996), in another important study, showed that differences between siblings in caregiving of aging parents disappeared as geographical distance increased. Baldock (2000) found that these relationships were characterized by lengthy periods of absence followed by brief and intense reunions along with an ongoing dialogue over many years and even consideration of remigration as the consequence of family obligations and the perceived need for caregiving.

Asian-Indian culture stipulates the older son to care for the aging parents

The issue of long-distance caregiving is unique for adult children who have migrated from eastern countries like India where filial obligation is one of the most important norms. Every culture provides a set of prescribed behaviours and norms which govern family life (Hendricks & Hendricks, 1979). Indian culture has been based on the Vedas, the oldest Hindu scriptures, which has prescribed certain norms that govern familial behaviour in each of the life stages.

There are explicit laws regarding the relationship between parents and their sons. One of the verses from the Vedas reads "Matri devo bhavah, Pitra devo bhavah" (Mother and father are equivalent to deities). These scriptures describe the filial service that must be fulfilled by sons. They note that every son is considered to be immensely indebted to his parents. As sons could never compensate their parents for giving them life, they are required to show respect to his parents by obeying them and by taking care of them when they grow old. According to the Vedas, the ideal son lives with his parents. Once married, the son would bring his wife to live with his parents. This meant that his wife would also assist him in taking care of his parents.

These values have been promoted over time through the extended family system (Bisht & Sinha, 1981). Even today, it is not unusual to find three or more generations living under one roof. In a survey of middle class elderly in India, Biswas and Tripati (1990) found 83% of them living in extended families. Studies of elder's family life in India produce two consistent findings. Over 80% of elders live in joint families (Dharmalingam, 1990; Lal, 1990; Rani, 1989; Rani *et al.,* 1989; Srivastava, 1994; Vlassoff, 1990; Vlassoff &

Vlassoff, 1980) and a great majority of elders expect assistance from their sons (Reddy, 1989).

Hinduism also prescribes a hierarchy of status and roles based on age. Thus, the elder members of the family rank over the junior members of the family and the eldest living male has the highest rank. This position comes with responsibilities and obligations. In case of caregiving of the older parents, it is the eldest son and his wife who are obliged to play this role.

Since the values of the Vedas and Hinduism are embedded in everyday life, knowledge of customs and norms and compliance with these traditions is expected of every member of the family. Indians are thus embedded in an in-group of which family is the most important in-group.

Migration results in long-distance caregiving

Hindu family values are often at odds with the migration experience. Migration of an Indian adult child, especially the oldest son, dissolves the complex system that has been passed on from generation to generation. The geographic barrier prevents the fulfillment of obligations and creates dissonance between values and reality. Many of the emigrant Asian-Indian workers come on temporary visas and therefore are unable to bring their parents with them to U.S. Even if they can, many of the older parents are unwilling to leave their home country. Infact, McFarland (1997) notes that eight out of ten parents said that they wanted to live in their own homes in spite of the increasing limitations and the distance from any of their children.

Ambivalence - A result of incongruent beliefs and behaviours

Let us now understand the phenomenon of long-distance caregiving among Asian-Indian through another paradigm, namely social psychology. One of the key areas where apparently irreconcilable discrepancies have been observed, and the language of ambivalence systematically explored (e.g. Amritage & Conner, 2001; Maio, Fincham, & Lycett, 2000; Priester & Petty, 2001), is within the area of social cognition concerned with accounting for the fact that there is often very little correspondence between attitudes and behaviour (e.g., Ajzen, 2001; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). Several researchers (Bengston, 2001; Davey, Belliston, Savla & Cook, 2001), following this paradigm have exmined the corollary of

attitude-behaviour relations applied to intergenerational relationship in order to determine the extent to which older parents and their adult children "walked the walk" (behaved in accordance with their expressed beliefs) as opposed to simply "talking the talk" (behaved inconsistently with their expressed beliefs) (Davey, Belliston, Savla & Cook, 2001).

Emigration to a foreign country results in a double-bind of long-distance caregiving as well as the inability to follow the cultural norms, thus producing a natural sort of ambivalence. However, this incongruency in the scripts of long-distance caregivers has not been examined.

Available literature not enough

There are many books available today that suggests various adult-care services and other resources that long-distance caregivers could use. However, these services and resources are limited to the Western nations. Not much is addressed for caregivers whose parents live 10,000 miles away and in areas where caregiving services are not readily available.

Besides that, although migrants from various countries have faced the dilemma of long-distance caregiving, most family studies of immigrants to the United States focus on the process of adjusting to living in U.S. (Dworkin & Dworkin, 1988; Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Mehta, 1998), on the relationship between first generation immigrants and their American born children (Osaka & Liu, 1986) or on the relationship between first generation immigrant adult children and their immigrant aging parents (Ying, 1994). The experience of the immigrant adult child when they have an aging parent left behind in their home country has been a neglected topic in all immigrant groups (e.g. Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, etc.). Of the immigration literature reviewed, only two studies were found to have some focus on the topic of transnational long-distance caregivers.

Out of these two studies, Miltiades (2002) examined the experiences of the Asian-Indian parents of the immigrated children. She used semi-structured interviewes and found that most of the parents relied on hired help in the absence of their sons. Very few relied on their daughter for help even in the times of need. Most older parents also complained of feelings of loneliness and depression. However, her focus was on the older parents and not the migrant children themselves.

Baldock (2000) on the other hand studied migrants in Australia. She found that the distant caregivers make a big contribution to the caring process through letters and phone calls and brief but intense visits to their parents. However, this study does not take into account the cultural scripts of caregiving which the adult children carry with them.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Research question and purpose

There are two main reasons why this study is then important in the area of caregiving. Firstly, there is a dearth of studies in the area of long-distance caregiving among Asian-Indians. Secondly, Asian-Indian migrants who are involved in long-distance caregiving might have opposing and ambivalent scripts (incongruence of beliefs and behaviours). The purpose of this study is then to understand the experiences and emotions of adult children in a situation in which due to distance, caregiving would appear particularly difficult. Using social construction as our epistemology, phenomenological interviews were conducted to understand the following two research questions :

- What is the experience of an emigrant long-distance caregiver ?
- What are the opposing scripts, if any ?

For the purpose of this study seven Asian-Indian men who were the eldest or the only son and had at least one of their parents living in India were selected from two towns in South-East US. Most of the participants had white-collar jobs. Few of them were also small-business owners who ran family-owned businesses. The age of the participants ranged from 45 years to 58 years. All the participants were married and had been living with their wives and children in US for over 10 years. Additionally, except for one of the participant, all the others had at least one sibling living in India either in the vicinity of the parent or with the parent.

Phenomenological interview which lasted for approximately one hour each were conducted. A phenomenological interview involves an informal, interactive process and utilizes open-ended comments and questions. The interviews were tape-recorded and were later on transcribed verbatim by the researchers and sent to the participants for verification. The transcripts were then coded and analyzed using selective or highlighting approach (Van Manen, 1990) in which the text was searched for statements that seemed to

answer the research question. Table-1 describes the themes that evolved from these interviews.

Table 1 : Themes, Keywords and Phrases based on the research questions

What are the emotions involved in being a long-distance caregiver	Emotions	Depressed, guilt, painful, emotionally tough, hypocrite, gnawing pain, nagging sense of guilt - not overpowering, not able to accept, bond, sense of gratitude, helpless, worry, gap, vacuum, unfulfilled.
Do Asian-Indian long-distance care-givers have any opposing scripts ?	Participant Scripts	Not a good son, not able to sacrifice, not did the right thing, values are superficial, excuses, weak, no will power, not being selfless, should have been there, if older brother than less guilt, share with me what's happening, let me feel guilty, didn't tell me about it, younger brother is doing his duty, I am not doing mine, responsibility to children, wife and work.
	Cultural	Duty towards parents, indebted, no money can repay, role of son most important, should depend on son and not daughter, last rites of death of parents, place is with parents, no bond necessary, values, morals, traditions, they took care of you when you were young, now it is your turn.
	The Imbalance	Being objective, logical, practical, imb alance, struggle, open-ended commitment not possible, emotional tug of war, dilemma, vicious circle, gap, vacuum, unfulfilled, worthless, other responsibilities - children, work/profession.

RESULTS

Past research in the area of caregiving have looked at the experiences of caregivers and the caregiving career in much depth (e.g. Aneshensel, Pearlin, Mullan, Zarit & Whitlach, 1995). However, their focus has been on the adult children who give hands-on care to the older parent. Researchers have completely overlooked the experiences of siblings who are not involved in the hands-on caregiving, especially those who live at a greater geographical distance from their parents. This issue becomes especially important for Asian-Indian men who live in United States and their parents continue to live in India.

In the present study, each participant felt that there was an enormous "debt" that they would never be able to repay to their parents. One of the participants defined an ideal son as the one who "takes care of his or her parents regardless of his own personal situation, period, No ifs or buts". In the present study all the seven participants described their emotions of not being able to fulfill their role of an ideal son. These emotions ranged from worry, pain, depression, to guilt and helplessness. Four of them also expressed that no matter how much they tried to compensate their absence by trying to call their aprents almost everyday and sometimes even twice a day, or by visiting them once every year, they were still not able to fill that "gap", that "vacuum" that these men were experiencing and the hopelessness of "not being physically present".

Each participant also described at length the imbalance that they felt because of the opposing scripts that they had. On one hand they have a cultural script that defines who is a good son and what their duty should be and are reminded over and over again of the sacrifices that their parents have made for them. On the other hand, the participants mentioned their personal responsibilities towards their own spouse, children, jobs and careers which holds them back. One of the participant describing this imbalance said, "Whevever there is that kind of discrepancy of that conflict between what your values are telling you what is the right thing to do and the logic is telling what's the right thing to do, and that's when you run into this internal struggle".

In the struggle between "the logical side" and "the emotional side", one of the participant remarks that the"....(emotional part of

the cultural script) was not strong enough to make me do it (stay back in India). But it was strong enough to make me feel guilty, when I did not do it....". This imbalance in their personal scripts and their cultural scripts put the participants in a unique "dilemma" which made them feel "unfulfilled" and a "hypocrite".

Interestingly, two of the participants have at least one other sibling living close to their parent in India and yet they felt that they were responsible for their parent. One of the participant has his younger brother and his extended family close to his parents said, "...it alleviate the feeling <of guilt> to some degree... he is doing his duty that does not absolve me of my duty...He is doing his part, I am not doing mine...". Another participant who has a younger sister living close to his parents and is the principle caregiver for his parents said,"...A son doing to his parents and a daughter after marriage, is a lot of differnce...I am not trying to discriminate but that's the reality of life...I am the only son, I am responsible for them".

In contrast to these situations, another participant who had a younger brother living with his parents, however after the death of his younger brother, this participant felt that the caregiving responsibility now fell on him. He remarked, "...when I had my brother, I felt secsure...I never worried about my parents because he (younger brother) always took care of them, as long as he was there I never bothered...But now I feel more responsible because I am the only child of my parent".

Thus a slightly different pattern emerged from the experience of this participant. In the first two example, the participants remarked that regardless of another sibling taking care of their parent, they were not "fulfilling their duty". However, the participant in the third example felt that his role had become more important only after his brother's death. This may be because this participant was the only educated member of his family, and thus it seemed that his role in the family was to get more educated, get a good job and so on. Whereas, his younger brother's role in the family was to take care of the parents, the family land and the family home in India. This points to the fact, that the cultural script does not bestow the caregiving role only to the eldest male child in the family, but in fact these cultural

scripts differ for every member of the family depending on their role in the family.

FUTURE RESEARCH AND CONCLUSIONS

Previous research has overlooked the important issue of long-distance caregiving. In this study, we considered a group of individuals with cultural norms and scripts suggesting that they should be primary caregivers for aging parents, but who are prevented from doing so by geographical distance. While a great many factors are likely to determine which individuals move away from family, and their reasons for doing so, the conflict and ambivalence experienced by these individuals warrants greater attention.

This research has specifically focussed on the role of the eldest sons in the family. However, the results from this study notes that cultural scripts do not bestow the caregiving role only to the eldest male child in the family. Future research needs to address caregiving in the light of these cultural scripts and perceived roles for each child in the family, including the other children in the family, sons and daughters, as well as the daughter-in-law and the son-in-law of the family. Additionally, the parents also need to be interviewed to explore their perceptions of the roles of the children in the family.

Since this was an exploratory study, it only begins to highlight the experience of long-distance caregivers. Even from a distance, these oldest sons remain vitally concerned with the well-being and care of their aging parents. Future research needs to further explore the mediators of stress for these long-distance caregivers, and the extent to which factors pertaining to the direct care provided to their parents such as siblings, and parents' health status may aid in the resolution of the conflicting emotions generated by being a long-distance caregiver.

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