Social Studies Collection
No. 23

Intergenerational programmes

Towards a society for all ages

Mariano Sánchez (director)

Donna M. Butts
Alan Hatton-Yeo
Nancy A. Henkin
Shannon E. Jarrott
Matthew S. Kaplan
Antonio Martínez
Sally Newman
Sacramento Pinazo
Juan Sáez
Aaron P. C. Weintraub

Obra Social
Fundación "la Caixa"

Published by
the "la Caixa" Foundation

Av. Diagonal, 621
08028 Barcelona

GOVERNING BODIES OF "LA CAIXA" WELFARE PROJECTS

WELFARE PROJECTS COMMITTEE

Chairman
Isidro Fainé Casas

Deputy Chairmen
Salvador Gabarró Serra, Jorge Mercader Miró, Manuel Raventós Negra

Members
Marta Domènech Sardà, Javier Godó Muntañola, Inmaculada Juan Franch, Justo B. Novella Martínez, Magín Pallarés Morgades

Secretary
Alejandro García-Bragado Dalmau

Chief Executive Officer of "la Caixa"
Juan María Nin Génova

Executive Director of "la Caixa" Welfare Projects
José F. de Conrado y Villalonga

BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE "LA CAIXA" FOUNDATION

Chairman
Isidro Fainé Casas

Deputy Chairmen
Ricardo Fornesa Ribó (Deputy Chairman 1st), Salvador Gabarró Serra, Jorge Mercader Miró, Juan María Nin Génova

Trustees
Ramon Balagueró Gañet, Mª Amparo Camarasa Carrasco, José F. de Conrado y Villalonga, Marta Domènech Sardà, Manuel García Biel, Javier Godó Muntañola, Inmaculada Juan Franch, Juan José López Burniol, Montserrat López Ferreres, Amparo Moraleda Martínez, Miguel Noguer Planas, Justo B. Novella Martínez, Vicente Oller Compañ, Magín Pallarés Morgades, Alejandro Plasencia García, Manuel Raventós Negra, Leopoldo Rodés Castañé, Luis Rojas Marcos, Lucas Tomás Munar, Francisco Tutzó Bennasar, José Vilarasau Salat, Nuria Esther Villalba Fernández, Josep Francesc Zaragozà Alba

Secretary (non trustee)
Alejandro García-Bragado Dalmau

Deputy Secretary (non trustee)
Óscar Calderón de Oya

Managing Director
José F. de Conrado y Villalonga

Social Studies Collection

Director
Rosa M. Molins

Coordinator
Mònica Badia

Social Studies Collection
No. 23

Intergenerational programmes

Towards a society for all ages

Mariano Sánchez (director)

Donna M. Butts
Alan Hatton-Yeo
Nancy A. Henkin
Shannon E. Jarrott
Matthew S. Kaplan
Antonio Martínez
Sally Newman
Sacramento Pinazo
Juan Sáez
Aaron P. C. Weintraub

We would like to thank Dr. Feliciano Villar Posada, professor of the Department of Evolutive Psychology and Education at the University of Barcelona, for his work as an external reviewer of this study.

Electronic edition available on the Internet:
www.laCaixa.es/ObraSocial

Obra Social
Fundación "la Caixa"

MARIANO SÁNCHEZ Professor of Sociology at the University of Granada, technical coordinator of the IMSERSO Social Network of Experiences with Intergenerational Relations (www.redintergeneracional.es) and co-editor of *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*. Director of *La evaluación de los programas intergeneracionales* (2007) and member of the Management Committee of the International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes.

DONNA M. BUTTS Since 1997, Executive Manager of Generations United, a leading North American organisation in the promotion of intergenerational policies, strategies and programmes. In 2004 she was awarded the Jack Ossofsky award by the National Council on the Aging for her leadership capacity, creativity and innovation in programmes and services for the elderly. She currently chairs the International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes.

ALAN HATTON-YEO Director of the Beth Johnson Foundation since 1998 and responsible for its Centre for Intergenerational Practice. Co-editor of *Programas Intergeneracionales: Política Pública e Implicaciones de la Investigación. Una Perspectiva Internacional* (2001) and author of *Intergenerational programmes: An introduction and examples of practice* (2006). He is also the secretary of the International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes.

NANCY A. HENKIN Founder and Executive Director of the Temple University Center for Intergenerational Learning. She is the co-editor of *Linking Lifetimes. A Global View of Intergenerational Exchange* (2002) and co-author of *Connecting Generations, Strengthening Communities. A Toolkit for Intergenerational Program Planners* (2005). She received the Jack Ossofsky and Maggie Kuhn awards for her promotion of intergenerational programmes and active ageing.

SHANNON E. JARROTT Associate Professor at the Department of Human Development of Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University and research director in the university's Adult Day Services unit. She is one of the most renowned international experts on the subject of intergenerational centres and responsible for Neighbors Growing Together, the first intergenerational centre to be created on a North American university campus.

MATTHEW S. KAPLAN Associate Professor of Intergenerational Programs and Ageing at Penn State University. He is responsible for developing the syllabus, teacher training seminars and leading the implantation and assessment of intergenerational programmes in the United States, Hawaii and Japan. He is the co-editor of *Linking Lifetimes. A Global View of Intergenerational Exchange* (2002).

ANTONIO MARTÍNEZ Head of the IMSERSO State Gerontological Plan (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs). He co-authored the *Libro Blanco sobre las personas mayores dependientes en España* (2005) and *Residencias y otros alojamientos para personas mayores* (2007) and is the director of the Ethics and Legislation Group of the Spanish Geriatrics and Gerontology Society.

SALLY NEWMAN Professor emeritus of the University of Pittsburgh, she was the founder and first executive manager of Generations Together, a pioneer in the promotion of intergenerational programmes in the United States. Besides co-authoring *Intergenerational Programs. Past, Present and Future* (1997) and editing the *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, Professor Newman promoted the International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes.

SACRAMENTO PINAZO Professor at the Department of Social Psychology at the University of Valencia and co-director of its Postgraduate Course in Social Gerontology. She is responsible for *La Nau Gran,* the University of Valencia's programme for students over 55. She is the co-director of *Gerontología. Actualización, innovación y propuestas* (2005) and the forum of the *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*.

JUAN SÁEZ Professor of Social Pedagogy at the University of Murcia's Faculty of Education and deputy director of the same university's *Instituto de Ciencias de la Educación*. He has edited *Pedagogía Social y programas intergeneracionales* (2003) and *Educación y aprendizaje en las personas mayores* (2002). He also has published widely about professionalisation processes, especially in relation to the fields of Social Pedagogy and Social Education.

AARON P. C. WEINTRAUB Student of the doctorate programme on adult development and ageing at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute. He is an experienced investigator and coordinator of intergenerational centre programmes. He is the co-author of the paper entitled *Intergenerational programming: Older persons' perceptions of its impact* (2007).

Table of contents

Preamble

The ageing of the population and its consequences have become an issue of enormous importance for policy-makers. In June, 2000, the United Nations General Assembly therefore decided to convene the Second World Assembly on Ageing, in order to present recommendations concerning how to best combine socioeconomic development and demographic ageing.

This Second Assembly was held in Madrid in April, 2002, and one of its most important outcomes was the approval of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing, a document including 238 measures related to older persons and the development of health and welfare in old age, and how to create more favourable environments for ageing.

The novelties of this Plan relative to the International Plan approved in Vienna in 1982 after the First World Assembly on Ageing include one which is of special significance: the consideration that intergenerational solidarity in households, communities and nations is fundamental if our societies are to be for all ages, as proposed by the United Nations since 1995.

With this new issue of the Social Studies Collection, "la Caixa" Welfare Projects aims to make a contribution to the efforts made by the United Nations in favour of the construction of societies for all ages. How? By providing an in-depth analysis of one of the possible ways in which solidarity between generations can grow: by fostering intergenerational programmes. This contribution is made precisely when, five years after the Second Assembly, an initial review and assessment is being made of what has been accomplished since the Madrid International Plan of Action was approved.

This Study, under the leadership of Professor Mariano Sánchez, clarifies the concept of *a society for all ages,* explaining what intergenerational programmes are, describing their fundamental benefits and presenting some of the best practical models for achieving suitable community services and development for such a society. It also provides some information about the status of these programmes in Spain, where they have undergone unprecedented development in the last few years.

This Study not only shows that intergenerational programmes can help to reduce discrimination against older persons, but it also provides specific examples showing how they are a source of intergenerational solidarity and can thus be classified as suitable instruments for increasing the integration and cohesion of our societies. The eleven Spanish and international authors who have been involved in this project, some of whom are leading the promotion of intergenerational programmes in Europe and North America, provide the general public, the professional community and policy-makers with material which could help them to ensure practical progress in creating societies for all ages.

José F. de Conrado y Villalonga
Executive Director of ”la Caixa” Welfare Projects
and Managing Director of the ”la Caixa” Foundation

Barcelona, December 2007

Introduction

This project is focused on two planes. On the one hand, we have reality, the reality of contact between people of different generations and the impact of this contact on those involved. On the other, we have the ideal plane, where we discuss how to progress towards a *society for all ages,* a goal defined by the United Nations in the mid-nineties. The question underlying this project arises where these two planes overlap. Based on the reality of the current status of intergenerational contact and relations, how could we foster a social change to bring us closer to the ideal of a *society for all ages*? The conclusion we have reached is that if we appropriately increase and organise the opportunities available to the people from one generation to relate to people from other generations, more of these people will decide to make use of such opportunities and there will be more intergenerational interaction. Obviously, the more the interactions and positive relations between generations, the closer we will be to demolishing some of the barriers currently preventing our societies from truly being societies for all ages.

What is the current status of intergenerational relations in Spain? The data available does not enable us to reach final conclusions, but merely to obtain an idea of what the situation is like. For example, the Spanish Survey on the Living Conditions of the Elderly (*Encuesta sobre Condiciones de Vida de los Mayores*) (*Observatorio de Mayores*-IMSERSO, 2004) asked a sample of older persons what they had done during specific week to which the survey referred. The answers showed that 18% of them had been with children or young people every day. However, the percentage was as high as 40.5% for those who had been with people of their own age *every day*. Adding together the answers of those who had been with children or young people *every day* or *nearly every day,* the percentage was 31.4%; the figure was much higher,

however, as much as 65.2%, for elderly people who had been with people of their own age *every day* or *nearly every day* of the week. According to the same survey, being with children or young people was only the tenth most common activity of the elderly.

If, instead of considering older persons in general, we focus on those in special living facilities, the figures were even more overwhelming. In this case, only 3.8% of these people claimed to have been with children or young people *every day* or *nearly every day* in the last week and only 3.5% of those who had not recently been with children and/or young people, said that they would like to do so in the future.

What does this information suggest? That most older persons apparently have no regular contact with children or young people. Why? There are many possible reasons. In the context of this project, one of them is of particular interest and it is two-fold: is there no more contact because there are not enough opportunities or because the opportunities are not attractive enough? This question, however, leads to another two: can a *society for all ages* even be contemplated where each individual has his or her rights guaranteed but no opportunity to relate with other individuals of different ages on a daily basis? Is wellbeing enough in this ideal *society for all ages* or do we prefer the possibility of «*being well*» together?

In the conclusions of the Second World Assembly on Ageing held in Madrid in 2002, the United Nations recognised «the need to strengthen solidarity between generations and intergenerational partnerships, keeping in mind the particular needs of both older and younger ones, and encourage mutually responsive relationships between generations» (United Nations, 2002: 4). One way of doing this, also according to the United Nations, is to «encourage and support traditional and non-traditional multigenerational mutual assistance activities with a clear gender perspective in the family, the neighbourhood and the community» (United Nations, 2002: 18).

Intergenerational programmes were created forty-odd years ago in the United States in order to correct what was then perceived as a threat for its society: the growing distance and confrontation between different generations. Over the last forty years, these programmes have shown, in North America and elsewhere, that they can help to eliminate, or at least diminish, some of the

barriers preventing intergenerational contact and relations. This is the belief of the eleven authors who have written the eleven chapters in this Study, presented as an attempt to respond to the call made by the United Nations, and explaining why and how intergenerational programmes can help to bring the initial situation (reality, in which there is little intergenerational contact, particularly between non-relatives) closer to the goal identified by the United Nations (the construction of what is as yet an ideal, a *society for all ages*).

The authors involved in this project are experts in the design, creation and assessment of intergenerational programmes. We have not attempted, however, to create a practical manual (indeed, some texts are now being published with that objective, both in Spanish and English: Kaplan and Hanhardt, 2003; Bernard and Ellis, 2004; McCrea, Weissmann and Thorpe-Brown, 2004; Bressler, Henkin and Adler, 2005; Sánchez, 2007). Our goal was to explain what intergenerational programmes are, identify the components of the best of these programmes, define their benefits for the participants and define the role to be played by intergenerational programmes in the social policies required to create a *society for all ages*. We believe that answers to these questions must be provided in order to create a solid basis for intergenerational programmes; otherwise, we are likely to create programmes which, their great impact notwithstanding, are no more than a *pleasant experience.* In the words of Generations United, the organisation which best represents the United States in its defence of intergenerationality, we believe that intergenerational programmes should not only be *pleasant* but also *necessary and effective.*

The Study approaches the above and other issues in a given order. In Chapter I, we start by providing a detailed explanation of what the United Nations means when it refers to a *society for all ages*; it is evident that if intergenerational programmes are to bring us closer to such a society, we first need to know what we are talking about. This done, Chapter II presents the concept and history of intergenerational programmes, aspects of those which have been most successful, and some information about and examples of intergenerational programmes organised in Spain (of which there is indeed little information available to date). As, once we know what intergenerational programmes are, most people will want to know what they are for, Chapter III answers this question in some detail; obviously, an intergenerational

programme does not automatically guarantee benefits, but we do know, thanks to research such as that described in this chapter, that in the right conditions, these programmes have positive outcomes. What kind of outcomes? Many kinds. We have decided, however, to directly address two specific issues of concern for the United Nations, providing the answers to two questions related to these possible benefits: can intergenerational programmes help to eradicate discrimination against older persons? And, how can intergenerational programmes help to enhance social cohesion and intergenerational solidarity? Chapter IV addresses the first of these questions and the second is considered in Chapter V.

We continue by presenting two specific intergenerational programme models showing how, in practice, such programmes bring us closer to a *society for all ages*. Chapter VI describes what intergenerational shared-sites consist of, how they work and their pros and cons; such sites are places where, usually under the same roof, services are provided for people from different generations, making use of the extra potential derived from their daily physical proximity. Chapter VII refers to the model known as *Communities for All Ages*, currently being put into practice in the United States; we believe that this model, of which we present the basic ideas and some examples, is one of the best developed and boldest ways of promoting a *society for all ages.*

The last two chapters address issues which are of the utmost significance if intergenerational programmes are to take hold in our societies: on the one hand, we need professionals who know how to make use of the intergenerational potential involved in these programmes and, on the other, we need social policies appropriately designed and applied to promote positive intergenerationality. These two chapters aim to encourage the reader to consider the concepts and dilemmas behind these two issues; their authors believe that their in-depth analyses are essential in order to necessarily renew the language and way of thinking involved in both the professional aspects and social policies related to intergenerationality.

This introduction ends by referring to those the project is addressed to. The authors are aware that intergenerational programmes are new, if not unknown, even though they are increasingly found in Spain. We therefore considered the need to include basic aspects to increase the reader's familiarity with the idea: the vocabulary, ideas, concepts and examples most commonly used in

the intergenerationality field. We assume that the reader will reach his or her own conclusions; we also imagine that social policy-makers will find ideas for improvement, that those who investigate intergenerational processes and relations will find suggestions for new research projects, that those who are involved in the field on a practical daily basis will discover what lies behind the activities performed by people from different generations, and that those who are merely curious enough to read about the subject for the first time will be encouraged to consider participating in, or even organising, an intergenerational programme.

We sincerely hope that this Study will help to guide the development and organisation of intergenerational programmes so that we can gradually come closer to building a *society for all ages*.

I. A *society for all ages*

Mariano Sánchez *(University of Granada)*
Antonio Martínez *(Instituto de Mayores y Servicios Sociales, IMSERSO)*

1.1. Introduction

The concept of a *society for all ages* is the focal point of this book. The first chapter can thus be expected to verse on the subject. This will take on the form of an exercise in interpretation: our interest does not lie in how we understand the concept, but in how it is seen by the organisation promoting the idea: the United Nations.

The following pages therefore provide an answer to the following question: what does the United Nations mean when it refers to a *society for all ages*?

Like all good slogans chosen to promote political activities, a *society for all ages* is an expression which is initially easy to understand. On the one hand, it refers to a society made for people of all ages (babies, children, adolescents, young people, adults, older persons) to live in; on the other, considering the organisation behind it, we can imagine that the idea is not only for a society with room for different ages, but designed for different ages and capable of covering their needs and ensuring their wellbeing and happiness. A *society for all ages* is not just a concept, but also an ideal and a goal.

The problem with using ideal images when representing an objective is not a new one. When we consider things in the form of an ideal model, as in this case, questions like these immediately arise: how to progress from where we are to another, ideal situation defined as our goal? To what extent is an ideal attainable? How feasible or impossible is this ideal image?

1.2. A *society for all ages*: initial formulation

The United Nations General Assembly, in a resolution dated June 16, 2000 (A/RES/54/262), decided to convene the Second World Assembly on Ageing devoted to the «overall review of the outcome of the First World Assembly, as well as to the adoption of a revised plan of action and a long-term strategy on ageing, encompassing its periodic reviews, in the context of a *society for all ages*» (United Nations, 2000). Thus, a *society for all ages* became the focal point of the meeting planned for 2002. Eventually, the term was used as the slogan of the Second World Assembly.

The *society for all ages* concept was formulated as such by the United Nations in the process of preparing 1999 to be the International Year of Older Persons. Indeed, in 1992, by means of resolution 47/5, the General Assembly of the United Nations had decided that 1999 would be the International Year of Older Persons. Three years later, specifically on March 22, 1995, the Secretary General of the United Nations presented the Assembly with a proposed conceptual framework (Conceptual Framework for the Preparation and Observance of the International Year of Older Persons in 1999 (A/50/114)) in which he defined the key aspects of the concept. The General Assembly, in resolution 50/141, of December 21, 1995, took note of the conceptual framework established by the Secretary General and invited the member States to adapt it to their national conditions and formulate programmes accordingly in order to appropriately celebrate 1999.

The roots of this concept, however, are found earlier; the World Summit for Social Development, held in Copenhagen from March 6 to 12, 1995, had ended just ten days before the presentation of the conceptual framework. According to Chapter IV of the Summit report, on Social Integration:

«The aim of social integration is to create a society for all, in which every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, has an active role to play. Such an inclusive society must be based on respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms, cultural and religious diversity, social justice and the special needs of vulnerable and disadvantageous groups, democratic participation and the rule of law» (United Nations, 1995a: 66). The impression is that the expression a *society for all* was an invitation to create the term *society for all ages*.

In his presentation of the conceptual framework for 1999, the Secretary General of the United Nations explained that a *society for all* is one which «adjusts its structures and functioning, as well as its policies and plans, to the needs and capabilities of all, thereby releasing the potential of all, for the benefit of all. A *society for all ages* would additionally enable the generations to invest in one another and share in the fruits of that investment, guided by the twin principles of reciprocity and equity» (United Nations, 1995b: 9).

The conceptual framework defined four facets of ageing converging on the idea of a *society for all ages*:

1) The situation of older persons;
2) Lifelong individual development;
3) Multigenerational relationships; and
4) Development and ageing populations.

We will now explain in more detail how the United Nations characterised each of these four facets.

The situation of older persons[1]

This first facet connects the *society for all ages* concept with the Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing adopted in 1982 after the First World Assembly on Ageing. This connection is found in the proposal to build the concept of a clearly multigenerational *society for all ages*, based on caring for older persons. The Vienna Plan made older persons the object of different ageing policies; not in vain was it the result of the first World Assembly convened «to establish an international plan of action aimed at guaranteeing the economic and social security of older persons, as well as opportunities for them to contribute to the development of their nations» (United Nations, 1983). As we can see, so-called *older persons* were placed centre-stage and the next question was what they needed and what could be done for them.

Furthermore, all the practical measures adopted in Vienna had to help to comply with the 18 United Nations principles in favour of Older Persons, formulated in 1991 and referring to five fields: independence, participation, care, self-fulfilment and dignity.

(1) This chapter uses the term *older persons* when it appears in United Nations documents or to refer to the Organisation's discourse.

As we can see, the focal point of the *society for all ages* concept is gradually being delimited: it basically refers to older persons (and not everyone, although we are all of a certain *age*).

Lifelong individual development

In line with the approaches contemplating ageing from a life-cycle perspective, this second aspect of the *society for all ages* concept established that older persons could only be truly understood by considering that ageing is a lifelong process: «Ageing is a lifelong process and should be recognised as such. Preparation of the entire population for the later stages of life should be an integral part of social policies and encompass physical, psychological, cultural, religious, spiritual, economic, health and other factors» (United Nations, 1983: 25i).

From this perspective, we deduce that older persons are, first and foremost, *persons,* that is, human beings capable of lifelong development; they are, however, also *older* but the fact that these persons are at an advanced stage of their lives does not mean that they have no potential for development and certainly does not authorise us to consider them as a separate group.

This new approach to ageing, which rejects the idea of *old age* as a specific stage of life, opened the door for support for healthy ageing, closely followed by active ageing. Societies must be *for all ages* because all their members, regardless of age, must be able to continue contributing to their wellbeing providing that societies, in turn (including families and communities), provide persons of all ages with all the necessary support so that their participation becomes actually feasible, and not only desirable. The right to participate alone, for example, is not enough unless people are provided with real opportunities and the faculties and resources required to do so.

This second characteristic of a *society for all ages* was even more original when it was formulated. When it sustained that the conditions of older persons depended not only on themselves but also on their interaction with the environment, this meant that society in general and all of its members are responsible for the quality of life of older persons.

Multigenerational relations

A long-living society is also a society in which different generations have to live together for longer. This opens the door to possible new forms of interaction between generations in families, communities and society in general. For example, how can older persons receive the care they need when they need such care for longer periods? Or how to guarantee that they have sufficient income when growing numbers of people are entitled to a pension?

The *society for all ages* concept is multigenerational by definition. Moreover, it must be intergenerational. Collaboration between generations (as we shall see in chapter II, this involves more than their mere juxtaposition or co-existence) is a key factor in the maintenance of social structures capable of responding to the needs of older persons; needs which, by the way, are linked to the needs of people of other ages.

This third dimension of the concept, as approved by the United Nations, represented a call to reconsider and foster multigenerational relations in families and promote the same relations in neighbourhoods and groups defending specific interests (such as senior associations and youth organisations).

The United Nations thus emphasised the multigenerational nature of a *society for all ages*, not as a mere descriptive feature (if society is for all ages, the presence of people from multiple generations is unquestionable) but as a driving force to be strengthened in order to guarantee the continuity of our increasingly long-living societies.

Development and ageing populations

In this fourth and last factor of the *society for all ages* concept, the term *development* did not refer to individuals but to social structures, particularly the relationship between demographic and economic structures. According to Sidorenko (2007: 6), the idea was to harmonise an ageing population with continued socioeconomic development. The key to this fourth dimension was the *(inter)dependence of the population*. What does this mean? That ageing can only become a developmental factor if we collaborate with one another, maintaining a kind of contract according to which it is acceptable for all of

us to depend on what we all contribute. The clearest example is the pension system: it can only be maintained if those who work pay for those who no longer work to receive a pension. Some of us depend on the others.

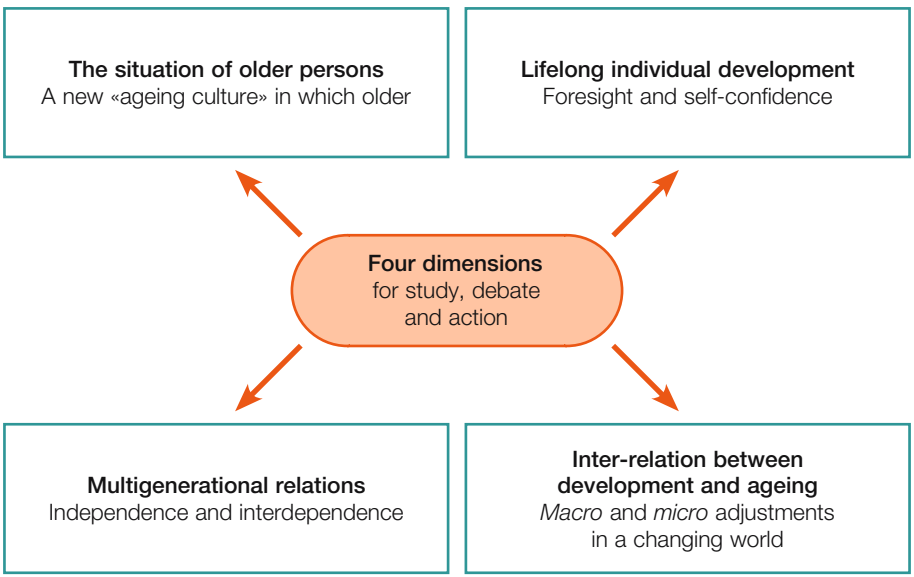
Finally, two aspects which have also been referred to in other dimensions of the concept are repeated here: the need to favour multigenerational sharing and promote active ageing at the site of residence.

To conclude, what did the United Nations mean in 1995 when it started to refer to a *society for all ages*?

The answer to this question can be illustrated by two charts: graph 1.1, proposed by Gary Andrews (1999: 6) and our own graph 1.2.

GRAPH 1.1

Dimensions for approaching the *society for all ages* concept



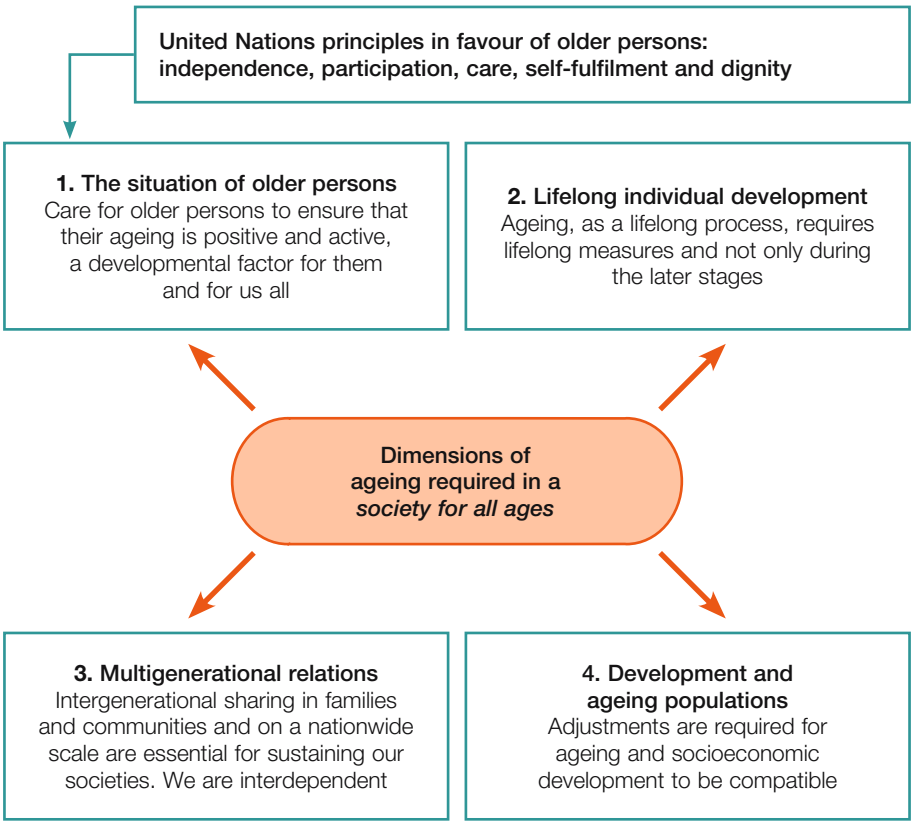
Source: Andrews (1999).

We propose a different approach, which we believe is more fitting for the implicit sense of the conceptual framework we have considered above.

GRAPH 1.2

Reformulation of the dimensions for approaching a *society for all ages*

Proposed according to the conceptual framework of 1995



Source: based on United Nations (1995b).

What is the difference between these two representations of the same conceptual framework? There appear to be four significant differences:

- First difference: the centre of our graph shows that the United Nations was not only attempting to present four dimensions for debate, which it was, but that these four dimensions were all defined in relation to ageing; the United Nations aimed at accomplishing a *society for all ages* with ageing as the focal point and fundamental guideline. This is of the utmost importance.

• Second difference: our graph clearly shows that, as a result of the above, the framework of a *society for all ages* was based on the United Nations principles in favour of older persons. This component is fundamental, as it reveals one of the framework's possible contradictions: if, as the second dimension claims, ageing is a lifelong process, how can the framework be based solely on principles in favour of older persons?

• Third difference: our graph includes the term *development* in three of the four dimensions (1, 2 and 4), so this factor's overall importance in the *society for all ages* concept is even more evident.

• Fourth difference: in dimension 3 (multigenerational relations), our graph shows how the conceptual framework appeared to indistinctly use the terms *multigenerational* and *intergenerational*. Do they both mean the same thing? Why did the United Nations appear to be more inclined to use the former than the latter on this occasion? And, more important still, what are the consequences for the basic aspects of its concept of a *society for all ages*? These are open questions encouraging us to delve deeper into our analysis.

Without having witnessed the debates concerning how to articulate the *society for all ages* concept, it would appear that all these questions are of interest if we consider the remarks of someone who did experience the situation on the inside (Sidorenko, 2007: 7): «When first put forth in the late 1990s, the concept of a *society for all ages* appeared as an innovative approach to ageing –and to some as a controversial deviation from earlier commitments to care and support for older people. The controversy was based on a presumption that efforts to achieve a society for all ages could lead to abandoning the policies that address specific and often difficult situations of older persons, shifting already limited resources to other social groups, such as children and youth».

As Sidorenko explains, in view of this paradoxical but realistic perception of a *society for all ages* becoming an obstacle for policies addressing the welfare of older persons, «the UN Programme on Ageing emphasised that although the concept of a society for all ages took a broad and long-term approach to individual and population ageing, improving the situation of older persons would remain a paramount task for future action on ageing» (Sidorenko, 2007: 7).

In the end, although the conceptual framework did not go as far as was thought by those who saw it as threatening, it became clear that ageing continued to be perceived as a lifelong process, but that United Nations policies of action would still focus on the part represented by older persons.[2]

To end this section, we can now answer the question from which it takes its title. What did the United Nations mean in 1995 when it started to refer to a *society for all ages*?

- It meant that ageing is an issue which should be a focal point of our societies, to be approached by all policies.
- It meant that, within this ageing process, priority should be given to older persons (people over 60 years of age).
- It meant that, of all the needs of older persons, five factors are of outstanding importance: independence, participation, care, self-fulfilment and dignity.
- It meant that care for older persons can be compatible with socioeconomic development.
- It meant that generations are (inter)dependent and resource-sharing between them should therefore be fostered.

1.3. From the conceptual framework of 1995 to the Madrid International Plan on Ageing of 2002

Seven years passed between the presentation of the conceptual framework analysed above, in March, 1995, and the Second World Assembly, in April, 2002. In that time, the idea of a *society for all ages* suffered new vicissitudes. However, it was still in good health at the time of the Second Assembly: Sidorenko and Walker (2004) confirm that the *central* (*sic*) concept of the Madrid International Plan on Ageing (the Madrid Plan, from now on) was a *society for all ages*. Indeed, this is recognised in Article 1 of the Political Declaration derived from the Second World Assembly: «We, the representatives

(2) With regards to the expression *older persons*, as used in United Nations documents, the Population Division of the UN Secretariat defines them as 60 years of age or older. Therefore, although it was not explicitly mentioned in this document, this can also be taken as the implicit definition of the subjects to which it refers.

of Governments meeting at this Second World Assembly on Ageing in Madrid, Spain, have decided to adopt an International Plan of Action on Ageing 2002 to respond to the opportunities and challenges of population ageing in the twenty-first century and promote the development of a *society for all ages*» (United Nations, 2002: 1).

In a detailed analysis of the Madrid Plan, Sidorenko and Walker (2004: 152) explain that the concept of a *society for all ages,* as it appears in the Plan, is articulated in several themes approached in the document:

- Human rights.
- Security in old age, including the eradication of poverty.
- Empowerment of older persons.
- Individual development.
- Personal fulfilment and lifelong wellbeing.
- Equality of gender among older persons.
- Intergenerational interdependence, solidarity and reciprocity.
- Healthcare, support and social protection for older persons.
- The collaboration of all major stakeholders in the Plan's implementation.
- Scientific research and experience.
- The ageing situation of indigenous persons and emigrants.

To delve deeper into this analysis, we can examine the specific use of the expression in the texts of the Second World Assembly. The Political Declaration already refers to a *society for all ages.* Article 6 specifically refers to the need for concerted action «to transform the opportunities and the quality of life of men and women as they age and to ensure the sustainability of their support systems, thus building the foundation for a *society for all ages*» (United Nations, 2002: 2). Opportunities to participate and make a contribution, quality of life and guaranteed support are proposed as the foundation on which to build a *society for all ages*. Where the concept is defined in more detail, however, is in the text of the Madrid Plan.

Briefly, the general objective of the Madrid Plan was to adapt and adjust to an ageing world; its success will depend on *i)* the ability of its measures to enhance the quality of life of older persons and *ii)* its ability to ensure the sustainability of lifelong welfare systems. The first of these two ways in which to measure the Plan's success specifically refers to older persons, whereas the second has

a broader scope and appears to include us all, in as much as wellbeing is a constant lifelong goal. This approach appears to be an attempt to maintain the double language used in 1995, when the conceptual framework supported the lifelong approach to ageing but focused on a single stage of life (that of older persons –aged 60 or more).

The contents of the Madrid Plan are articulated in 132 points in which the expression *society for all ages* only appears on five occasions. Our remarks on the use of the term in the Madrid Plan can also be summarised as five:

1) The Second Assembly clearly makes use of a continuist approach by literally accepting the dimensions proposed in 1995 and used as the conceptual framework in 1999. This is certainly not surprising, but besides continuism, we also find some progress in three of the achievements which the Plan claims are due to the International Year of Older Persons: increased *i)* attention paid to the four dimensions of the concept, *ii)* introduction of ageing as a cross-sectional political topic, and *iii)* opportunities for all, regardless of age.

2) The concept of a *society for all ages* is linked to rights and freedoms. However, the main point of reference is not specific to older persons but has a broader scope, including the fundamental human rights applicable to all; this is certainly new. Later, and only later, it refers to the participation, non-discrimination and dignity of older persons (the subject of chapter IV in this book).

3) Intergenerational relations and dialogue appear as a factor to be promoted which, as we shall see later, is given unprecedented attention by the Second Assembly.

4) When the second of the dimensions of the *society for all ages* concept was explained, reference was made to opportunities to make a contribution to society (lifelong individual development). The Madrid Plan, however, goes even further when it specifies that the contributions of older persons are not limited to those which can be measured in economic terms or in exchange for remuneration. This not only aligns the Madrid Plan with active ageing but with productive ageing (Caro and Sánchez, 2005: 459). This is real progress.

5) If the conceptual framework of 1995 had embraced multigenerational relations, the Madrid Plan underlines the importance of intergenerational

solidarity. It also identifies a specific objective consisting of strengthening such solidarity by equity and intergenerational reciprocity. It proposes the following seven actions to do so:

> «a) Promote understanding of ageing through public education as an issue of concern to the entire society;
>
> b) Consider reviewing existing policies to ensure that they foster solidarity between generations, thus promoting social cohesion;
>
> c) Develop initiatives aimed at promoting mutual, productive exchange between the generations, focusing on older persons as a social resource;
>
> d) Maximise opportunities for maintaining and improving intergenerational relations in local communities, inter alia, by facilitating meetings for all age groups and avoiding generational segregation;
>
> e) Consider the need to address the specific situation of the generation that has to care at the same time for their parents, their own children and grandchildren;
>
> f) Promote and strengthen solidarity among generations and mutual support as a key element for social development;
>
> g) Initiate research on the advantages and disadvantages of different living arrangements for older persons, including familial co-residence and independent living in different cultures and settings» (United Nations, 2002: 19-20).

At this point, it is important to remember that the issue of interest is how, based on the current status of intergenerational relations, we could promote a social change to bring us closer to the ideal of a *society for all ages*. We now know that, in the Madrid Plan, the United Nations responds by proposing action such as fostering intergenerational relations and associations, facilitating the participation of older persons in intergenerational community groups or encouraging the design of homes aimed at intergenerational co-existence. It does not specify, however, how all this can be put into practice. We suggest that the promotion and growth of intergenerational programmes is a way of making these proposals come true. We therefore aim to link the proposals formulated at the Second World Assembly in relation to the concept of a *society for all ages* to the foundations, practical development and impact of such programmes, the objective of which is to jointly

address the needs of different generations. Our objective is thus clearly pertinent to the goals defined by the United Nations.

In sum, what did the United Nations mean in 2002 when it continued to refer to a *society for all ages*?

After all the above, we ask ourselves whether the concept of a *society for all ages* changed in any way between its initial formulation in 1995 and the Madrid Plan of 2002. Once again, we make use of a chart to answer this question (see graph 1.3).

Based on this graph, what are our conclusions concerning significant changes in the initial concept of a *society for all ages*?[3] They are as follows:

- First: primarily, two of the four dimensions have clearly been strengthened: *i)* concern for the situation of older persons, in view of old and new characteristics and problems (A), and *ii)* the belief that multigenerational relations, reformulated as intergenerational solidarity (B), facilitate (C and D) mutually beneficial relations between older persons and the socioeconomic development of ageing societies (in the Madrid Plan, this last dimension tends to be seen as just another aspect (E) of the first: *the situation of older persons*).

- Second: further consideration of ageing as a process adds (F) a generic concern for protecting and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms, not only of older persons but of us all, and this perspective (ageing is not limited to older persons) leads to another factor (G): the even stronger suggestion that ageing should be part of all policies, regardless of the age group (older persons) they could be seen to affect.

- Third: with regards to the situation of older persons, new emphasis is placed not only on their participation but on their possibility of contributing to society, underlying the idea of active (H), and even productive, ageing.

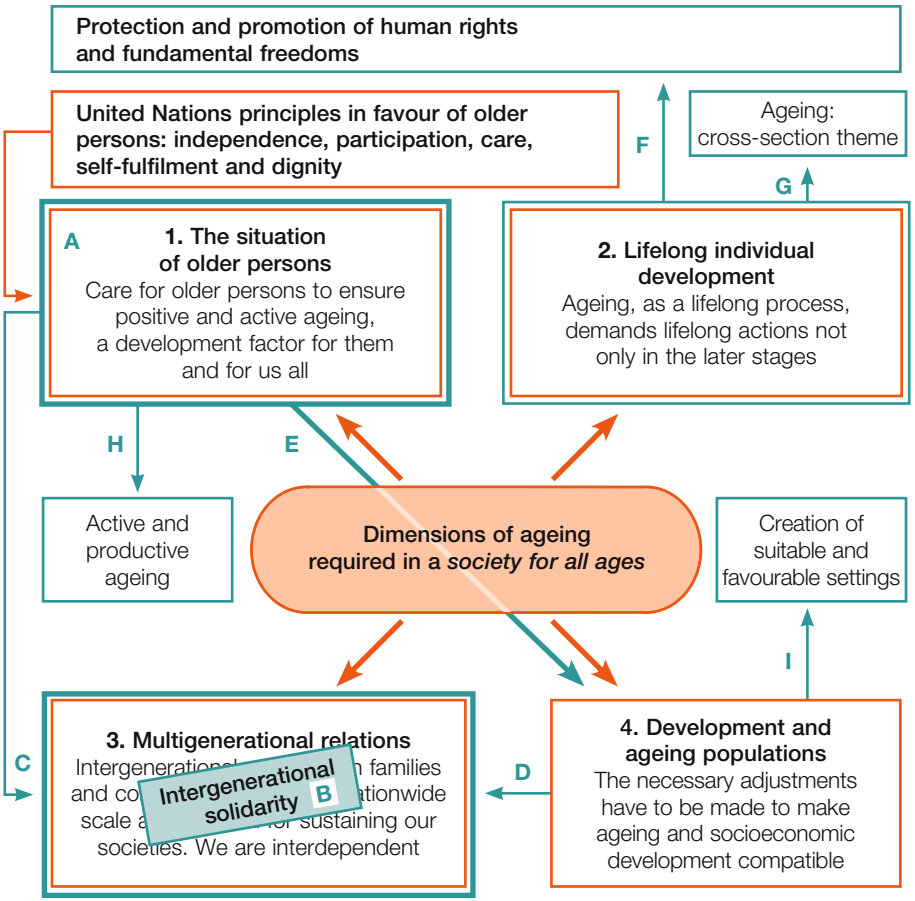
- Fourth: concern for populational development and ageing leads to a new theme given priority in the Madrid Plan: socioeconomic development should provide (I) more suitable and favourable settings for older persons.

(3) Upper case letters are used in the graph for reference purposes when reading the text. The blue lines represent the innovations found in the Madrid Plan relative to the initial conceptual framework shown on graph 1.2.

GRAPH 1.3

Dimensions of ageing required in a *society for all ages*

Proposal according to the 2002 Madrid Plan



Source: based on United Nations (2002).

We believe that the Madrid Plan, based on the initial concept, approved in 1995 and used in 1999, of a *society for all ages,* underlines two of the four dimensions of the concept: *the situation of older persons and multigenerational relations*. As we mentioned earlier, according to the interpretation put forward by Sidorenko (2007), the Second World Assembly fulfilled the commitment for «improvement of the situation of older persons to continue to be of the

utmost importance for future action related to ageing» (Sidorenko, 2007: 7). This is confirmed by our analysis.

However, we return to the interesting basic issue to which we earlier referred, consisting of how to reconcile an outstanding concern for the situation of older persons with the idea of promoting and strengthening intergenerational solidarity, which implies relations in which exchange satisfies all our needs and not only those of the elderly. This is certainly possible, but we believe that it cannot be achieved without method. If the intergenerational scales are too heavily weighed down in favour of older persons, we run the risk of other people perceiving not that they are making a contribution to the common good (including their own) but that they are only favouring a single age group. It is one thing to believe that we are all responsible for the needs associated to ageing processes and something entirely different to systematically give priority to the needs of older persons (even when it is all based on equity and reciprocity criteria).

The promotion of intergenerationality requires careful consideration before launching actions which could have the opposite effect; hence the importance of supporting the professionalisation of intergenerational projects (Sánchez and Díaz, 2005), the issue contemplated in chapter VIII of the Study.

We now repeat the same scheme used in the previous section when referring to what the United Nations meant in 1995 when it used the expression *society for all ages*. But our question has now been updated. What did the United Nations mean in 2002 when it referred to a *society for all ages*?

- It meant that intergenerational relations are not only necessary if we are to attain such a society but that such relations must successfully promote and increase solidarity.
- It meant that this intergenerational solidarity is precisely what is needed to reconcile the ageing of older persons with socioeconomic development.
- It meant that intergenerational solidarity not only consists of supporting older persons but of fostering the conditions in which they can participate in and contribute to social development and welfare.
- It meant that a *society for all ages* should be concerned with ensuring the means in general, and the settings (physical spaces, social rules,

legislation, etc.) in particular, for intergenerational solidarity to be possible (chapter VI of the Study describes and explains an innovative way of creating such favourable settings: the construction of intergenerational shared-sites.

1.4. Multigenerational and intergenerational aspects of the Madrid Plan

The last part of this chapter focuses on the dimension comprising the leit motif of the entire book: *intergenerational relations.* We believe that such monographic attention is justified: we have to know what the Madrid Plan adds to the idea of (inter)dependence (intergenerational exchange in families, communities and societies are essential for the latter's sustainability) to which the initial conceptual framework of 1995 referred.

To what does the Madrid Plan refer with the term multigenerational? The adjective only appears on four occasions in the text of the Plan. The original text does not specify what the Plan means by the concept, other than that it is used to refer to actions (multigenerational mutual care), organisations (intergenerational communities) or spaces (intergenerational homes) involving the participation or co-existence of people of different generations. In our opinion, the use of the term adds one interesting facet: older persons' organisations (initially, monogenerational) are considered to be appropriate instruments for fostering multigenerational interaction (between older persons and people of other ages (generations)). To conclude, the use of *multigenerational* in the Madrid Plan does not shed light on its meaning. Let us consider another of our terms of interest.

Intergenerational appears in the Madrid Plan twice as often as *multigenerational*. Indeed, *intergenerational* is used to explain what it means by bringing generations closer together for their mutual benefit. Intergenerationality is recommended in families and communities and throughout society, with special emphasis on the needs of older and younger persons. Intergenerationality is related to interdependence, solidarity and reciprocity so it does not merely consist of *generations being together*. Within a group, intergenerationality can be a way of developing and making full use of the potential of older persons, as well as referring to a *place for living* and not only to relations and interactions; from a socioeconomic perspective, formal and informal intergenerational solidarity

is necessary for social cohesion (this is discussed in depth in chapter V) and of key importance for the required balance between economic development and the guaranteed provision of services.

According to the United Nations, intergenerationality is, on the one hand, a consubstantial feature of how a life cycle progresses but, on the other, it has to be an option: respect is due to the wishes of older persons who prefer not to share their lives with younger people. Besides being inherently human and an ideal objective (considering the horizon of a *society for all ages*), intergenerationality is an objective which can be attained by means of specific actions.

We have seen that the Madrid Plan has updated and, to a certain extent, put into practice what was a mere desiderata in the conceptual framework. Progress has certainly been made.

1.5. Conclusion

This chapter started by asking what the United Nations meant when it used the expression a *society for all ages* as the context for and ideal objective of its ageing policies. We believe that this question has been answered to the extent that the organisation's own texts allow. We have reached a bitter-sweet conclusion. On the one hand, it is evident that the level of abstraction of this political discourse makes it difficult to actually define its goals and proposals; and the concept of a *society for all ages* is no exception. On the other hand, however, we have seen how the formulation of this concept and, more important still, its possible operationalisation, improved between March, 1995 and April, 2002.

With the expression a *society for all ages*, the United Nations is attempting to tell us, from the ageing perspective, that it is the responsibility of us all and that people should be able to become involved in the actions required to live better in societies where we are all going to live longer. The message, however, has been somewhat complicated by the United Nations' custom of focusing its concern and ageing policies on what it calls *older persons*.

Precisely to simplify such a complication, the following chapters will be analysing the foundations of intergenerational programmes and their potential for enabling the *society for all ages* discussed in the first.

The United Nations' view of a *society for all ages* provides useful arguments for those interested in organising intergenerational programmes. The use of these arguments, as we have explained them, could be an effective practical strategy for supporting the need for spending resources on an intergenerational programme.

II. Intergenerational programmes: concept, history and models

Sally Newman *(University of Pittsburgh)*[1]
Mariano Sánchez *(Universidad de Granada)*

2.1. Introduction

Article 16 of the Political Declaration of the Second World Assembly on Ageing, organised by the United Nations, reads «We recognise the need to strengthen solidarity between generations, and intergenerational partnerships, keeping in mind the particular needs of both older and younger ones, and encourage mutually responsive relationships between generations» (United Nations, 2002). In this respect, intergenerational programmes (which we will refer to from now on as IPs for reasons of simplicity) are appropriate instruments for encouraging and strengthening solidarity between generations.

Although the different chapters of this book refer to the same idea in different ways, we will attempt to establish a foundation for better understanding what IPs are. We will be considering the following three questions: *i)* what an intergenerational programme is and which are its basic components, *ii)* why these programmes arise and, finally, *iii)* how to distinguish between different IP models.

We will end by providing information about the status of intergenerational programmes in Spain. Although we are aware that we are not in a position to provide final conclusions, because there is a shortage of thorough fieldwork about IPs, we do have some data concerning a sample of the IPs currently in place in our country.

(1) Professor Sally Newman drafted this chapter while she was a guest of Oxford University's Oxford Institute of Ageing.

2.2. What an intergenerational programme is

By now, the question of what an intergenerational programme is has become relatively clear. We can resort to definitions like these:

- «Activities or programs that increase cooperation, interaction and exchange between the members of any two generations. They involve sharing skills, knowledge and experience between young and older people» (Ventura-Merkel and Liddoff, 1983).

- Intergenerational programs «bring together both the young and old to share experiences that benefit both populations. […] Intergenerational programs are designed to engage nonbiologically linked older and younger persons in interactions that encourage cross-generational bonding, promote cultural exchange, and provide positive support systems that help to maintain the wellbeing and security of the younger and older generations» (Newman, 1997).

- «Intergenerational programmes are vehicles for the purposeful and ongoing exchange of resources and learning among older and younger generations for individual and social benefits» (Hatton-Yeo and Ohsako, 2001).

- «An organised program to foster interactions between children and youth, and older persons that are ongoing, mutually beneficial, and result in the development of relationships» (McCrea, Weissman and Thorpe-Brown, 2004).

- «Activities or programmes that increase cooperation, interaction and exchange between people from any two generations. They share their knowledge and resources and provide mutual support in relations benefiting not only individuals but their community. These programs provide opportunities for people, families and communities to enjoy and benefit from a *society for all ages*» (Generations United, undated).

As we can see, there are different ways of defining the IP concept. Three aspects, however, are found as the common denominators of IPs however we define them:

a) People from different generations participate in all IPs.

b) Participation in an IP involves activities aimed at goals which are beneficial for all those people (and hence to the community in which they live).

c) Thanks to IPs, participants maintain relations based on sharing.

This chapter, however, will do more than merely define what an IP is. As shown on graph 2.1, we intend to connect the IP concept, with all its potential, with another two concepts: intergenerational relationship and ageing.

According to this chart, IPs, in interaction with ageing processes, could be one of the foundations on which to build a *society for all ages*.

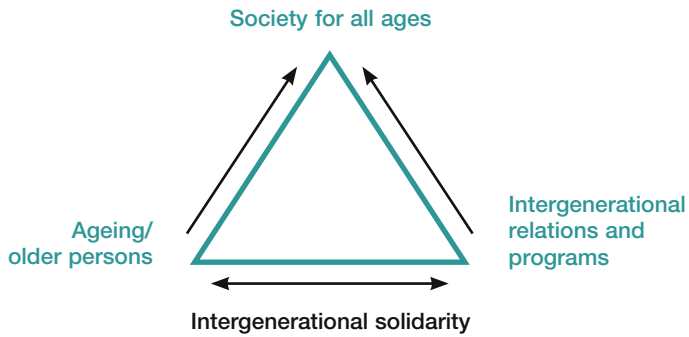
Generations and relations between generations

It has already been said: IPs can help to create or improve intergenerational relations. This has been proved by the history of these programmes, which we will briefly consider later. However, we first have to explain what we mean when we refer ro generations and intergenerational relations.

What do we understand by *generation*? This has been discussed on many occasions. *Generation* is a polysemic term so we have to choose one of its different meanings. What are they? As explained by Sánchez and Díaz

GRAPH 2.1

Conceptual framework of the Study



Source: the author.

(2005), the proposal presented by Italian sociologist Pierpaolo Donati (1999) about the different meanings of *generation*, as shown on table 2.1, is one of the most complete.

In general, the intergenerational program field, at least in its original context, the United States, uses the concept of generation in its *socio-anthropological sense* (for example, grandparents, parents, children or grandchildren) or as an *age group* (such as, for instance, children, adolescents, young people, adults and elderly people); with one interesting precision, however: the generations involved in IPs should not be consecutive. «Although both intergenerational studies and family studies consider cross-generation interaction, family scholars utilize a broader definition of intergenerational relationships than the one widely accepted in the field of intergenerational studies. Specifically, family studies include parent-child relationships, and other kin relationships, among those relationships that are viewed as intergenerational, while intergenerational studies focus on non-kin relationships and family relationships that skip a generation» (Hanks and Ponzetti, 2004: 8-9).

TABLE 2.1

Five meanings of the term generation

MOST EXACT TERM	OPERATIONALISATION OF THE CONCEPT
Cohort (generation in a demographic sense)	Set of persons born in the same year or range of years (generally few)
Age group (generation in a historic sense)	A cohort of N years considered as a social group
Generational unit (as proposed by Manheim)	A sub-age group which produces and guides social and cultural movements
Generation in a socio-anthropological sense	A set of persons who share a position regarding descendency relationships (or vice versa). In other words, according to biological and cultural succession, relationships which are socially mediated (by society)
Generation in a relational sense	Set of persons sharing a relationship linked to their position in the descendency of a family (son, parent, grandfather, etc.) with a position in society depending on their social age (young people, adults, older persons, etc.). This meaning combines historic-social age with descendency relationships

Source: based on Sánchez and Díaz, 2005: 397.

This North American criterion is not universally accepted. Some claim that the term *intergenerational programme* can also be used when persons from consecutive generations, such as young people and adults or adults and older persons, are involved. In any event, the investigators studying IPs have placed special interest in analysing the singularity of the relations between people from non-consecutive generations (usually children-older persons, adolescents-older persons and young-older persons) in these programmes. Some of these investigators have pointed out the singular power of relations between cohorts and individuals from these non-adjacent generations in relation to enhancing intergenerational solidarity: «Intergenerational programs owe their existence to the convergence of a number of social, economic, and political factors, as well as to a unique synergy that seems to exist between older adults and young people» (Newman and Smith, 1997: 3).

Let us now consider the concept of *intergenerational relation*. Generically, such a concept can be said to refer to any interaction between individuals or groups from different generations. Indeed, it is so used by Villar (2007), who also distinguishes between the terms intergenerational and multigenerational. He says that «The term *intergenerational* implies the involvement of members of two or more generations in activities that potentially can make them aware of different (generational) perspectives. It implies increasing interaction, cooperation to achieve common goals, a mutual influence, and the possibility of change (hopefully, a change that entails improvement). In contrast, *multigenerational* is usually used in a related but far broader sense: it means to share activities or characteristics among generations, but not necessarily an interaction nor an influence among them» (Villar, 2007: 115-116).

We believe that to refer to intergenerationality, *being together* is not enough; it is important to *do things and grow* together; in other words, a relation is more than a mere interaction. We conclude, therefore, that intergenerational relations are those which, based on consensus, cooperation or conflict, involve two or more generations or generational groups as such. In other words, belonging to a given generation is the characteristic of reference of the individuals convened to relate or become involved in a relationship. After all, although we refer to relations *between generations*, these relations are actually between individuals. The key to the term *(inter)generational*, therefore, lies, as explained in detail in chapter IX, not in the *generational* but in the *inter*, in the *between.*

Taking this into consideration, it is surprising to find that the United Nations uses the terms *intergenerational* and *multigenerational* indistinctly when it refers to relations between generations: «It appears that the United Nations uses the term multigenerational relationships interchangeably with the term intergenerational relationships. In the gerontological literature, however, these terms have distinctly different meanings. In the view of the authors, the United Nations would be more accurate in using the term intergenerational relationships in documents that refer to the relationships between the generations» (Brownell and Resnick, 2005: 73-74).

It is evident that, without a more precise use of the terminology, it is more difficult to progress in the promotion of intergenerational solidarity, as desired by the United Nations itself.

And one more thing: not all relations between generations are beneficial for those involved. In this respect, what we are saying is that IPs have been seen to be capable of fostering intergenerational solidarity; it is not said, however, with the false rhetoric which sustains that all intergenerational relations are good. To steer away from this risk, we will now attempt to define the concept of *intergenerational solidarity*.

On the concept of intergenerational solidarity in the context of intergenerational programmes

The two world assemblies on ageing held to date have referred to intergenerational solidarity. But they have done so in quantitatively and qualitatively different ways.

The Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing only included the following direct reference to the subject of intergenerational solidarity: «An important objective of socio-economic development is an age-integrated society in which age discrimination and involuntary segregation are eliminated and in which solidarity and mutual support among generations are encouraged» (United Nations, 1983: 25h).

Twenty years later, in the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing, the term *solidarity* appears on nine occasions referring to relations between generations. This document also contains a complete section on the subject (number five in priority direction I) in the following terms (United Nations 2002: 19):

- «Solidarity between generations at all levels –in families, communities and nations– is fundamental for the achievement of a *society for all ages*».
- «Solidarity is also a major prerequisite for social cohesion» (chapter V of this book analyses this issue: the relationship between intergenerational programmes, intergenerational solidarity and social cohesion).
- «[Solidarity] is a foundation of formal public welfare and informal care systems».
- «At the family and community level, intergenerational ties can be valuable for everyone».

Once again, United Nations documents use the expression without explaining what it means. We will attempt to do so within the context of IPs.

Earlier, we referred to the importance of the *inter* in *intergenerationality*. When referring to *intergenerational solidarity*, we are, however, referring to a specific *inter*. In Chapter V of the Study, Alan Hatton-Yeo suggests that the concept of intergenerational solidarity should be understood in a broad sense, in terms of formal and informal systems, practices and agreements enabling the generations to collaborate with one another to their mutual advantage. Based on this approach, we could add that said collaboration does not necessarily consist of a strict exercise in symmetrical reciprocity (as in the case, for instance, of «I'll help you if you'll help me») but can adopt other practical forms (such as altruistic conduct, a case of solidarity in exchange for nothing, where there is indeed no reciprocity).

Tesch-Römer, Motel-Klingebiel and von Kondratowitz (2000: 9), in the framework of an analysis of the ways of securing solidarity between generations, define solidary acts as those including «certain forms of helpful, supportive, cooperative behaviour which is based on a subjectively accepted commitment or a value ideal». They also distinguish between the intergenerational solidarity found in the family and that found in society. IPs primarily focus on the latter, although there can be expected to be points of connection between the two types of solidarity (indeed, one interesting challenge for the intergenerational field consists of explaining how movements are made between these two solidarity sites: families and society).

Ultimately, help, support and cooperation, and even reciprocity, are terms characterising intergenerational solidarity as acts related to the relations established in intergenerational programmes. IPs are vehicles for practising such solidarity; at least, that is the intention. From a methodological perspective, moreover, these programmes aim at ensuring that this solidarity is mutual, between different generations, and not merely unidirectional.

2.3. Components of the best intergenerational programmes

Earlier in this same chapter, we referred to IPs having the same common denominator. We will now analyse the elements which are most often found in the most successful intergenerational programmes and which best fulfil the objective of establishing positive ties between generations.

Our starting point is the recent analysis of the issue by Sánchez and Díaz (2007), as shown on graph 2.2.

The graph provides a single image illustrating four different proposals, each of them represented by a circle. We are not only able to separately identify the basic components of each proposal, but also see where they overlap, either taken in pairs of all four at once.

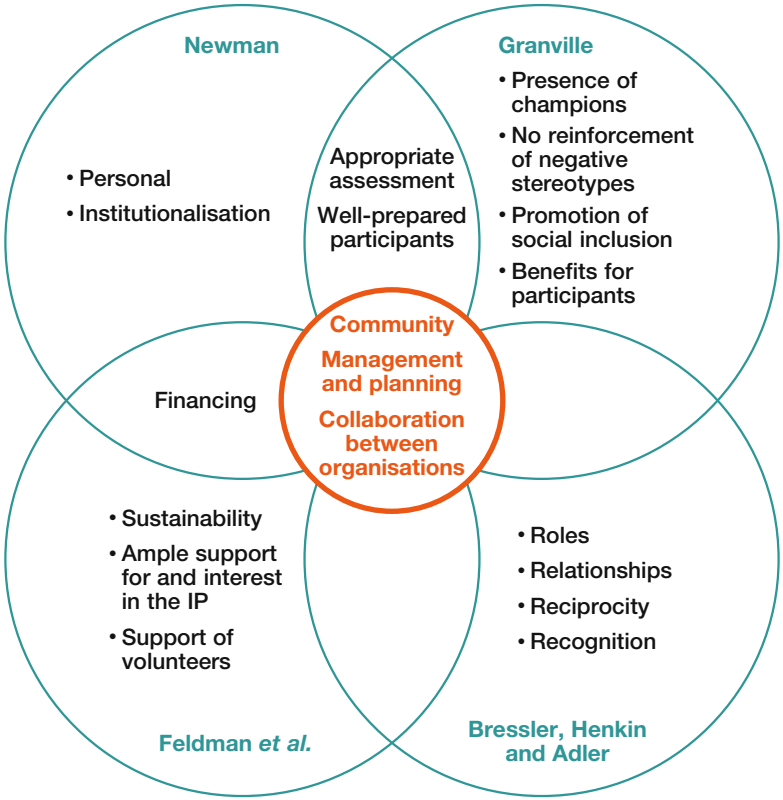
We are able to reach two conclusions:

- What are the success factors most commonly found in intergenerational programmes? Connection between the IP and the local community (in other words, the IP satisfies the needs of its local setting), good programme management and planning and, finally, the collaboration of different local organisations (what could also be called *networking*).
- What other success factors are also important? Appropriate assessment of the programme, suitably qualified personnel and sufficient funding.

This analysis is now completed by adding a fifth source to the four included in graph 2.2. It is a recent project undertaken in Australia by MacCallum, Palmer, Wright, Cumming-Potvin, Northcote, Brooker and Tero (2006), which concludes that all intergenerational programmes have the following features:

GRAPH 2.2

Components of the best IPs I



Source: Sánchez and Díaz (2007: 16).

• They provide opportunities to develop *relationships*: IPs last long enough for relationships to be established and stereotypes eliminated; their activities favour relationships, which are nurtured to be open, tolerant and non-judgmental; reciprocity is promoted.

• In different ways, they are supported by both organisations and the local community.

• They provide the participants with opportunities to do a wide range of things together in order to break the ice and bring them closer together: the

programme thus helps them to feel capable of performing all the activities; all this is related to the *activities* contained in the programme and the management of the *roles* to be played by the IP participants.

- These programmes are *able to adjust* to better respond to aspects such as the difficulty of participating in IPs for more timid groups, a lack of motivation or the absence of awareness of the importance of gender and culture on leadership and the relationships created thanks to these initiatives.

This proposal by MacCallum *et al*. (2006) enables us to add several components to our graph, all of which can forecast the success of an IP. The first element mentioned by the authors, *relationships*, is already on the diagram; the second, *support,* does not appear as such but can be taken as implicit in the *management and planning* component (assuming that the programme is supported by an organisation), *collaboration between organisations* (making the same assumption) and *community* (support from local people). Thirdly, they referred to what we have interpreted as management of the participants' *roles:* everyone must have a role to play in the programme and those roles must be both appropriate and well-defined. The *roles* component was already on the diagram; not so *activities*, which forms part of the fifth model, by MacCallum *et al*. (2006). Finally, we have a new component: the *programme's adjustment* to the diversity of its context.

If we add these authors' opinions to what we already knew, we find a new, more complete chart (see graph 2.3).

All this represents a practical lesson for those who are, in the field, planning and organising intergenerational programmes: there is a degree of consensus on the elements to be secured for an IP to be successful. They are at least the following three:

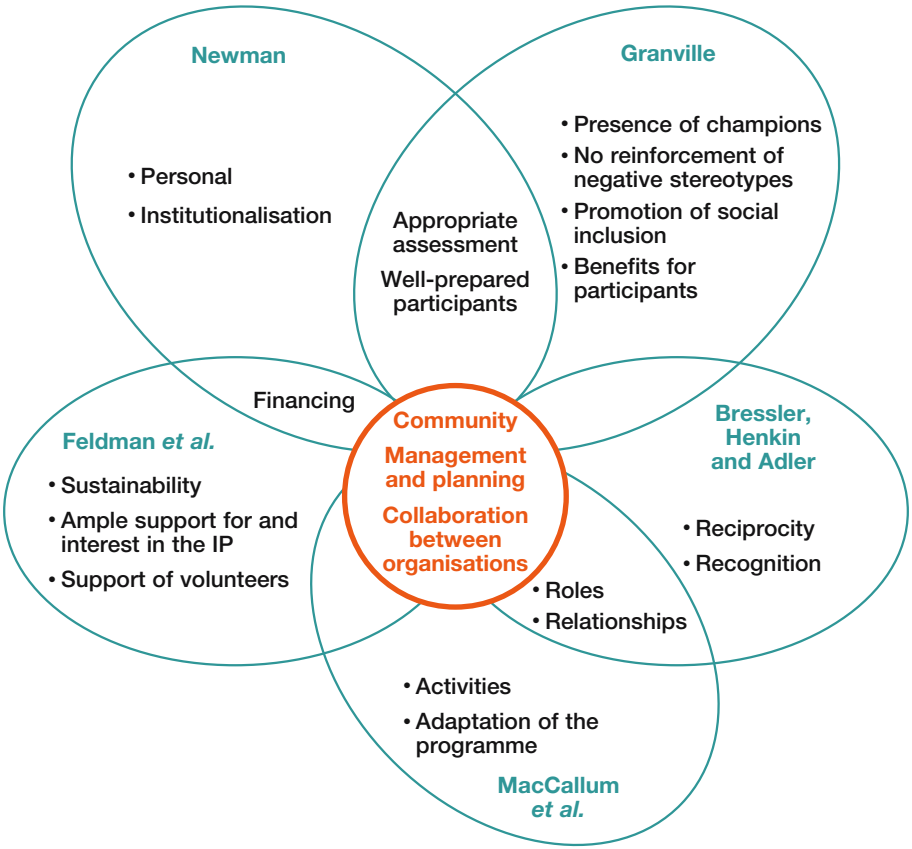
a) The IP must respond to real local needs.
b) The programme must be well managed and planned.
c) It needs the collaboration of different local organisations (networking).

But an attempt must also be made to secure the following five components:

a) Appropriate assessment of the programme.
b) Good preparation of the persons participating in the IP.
c) Sufficient funding.

GRAPH 2.3

Components of the best IPs II



Source: based on Sánchez and Díaz (2007).

d) Each participant must have a role to play in the programme.

e) The IP should not only ensure that the participants meet and spend time together but that they establish relationships.

2.4. The *intergenerational field* concept

All the above IP elements, which are recommended in order to ensure a positive outcome, should be accompanied by such programmes being not

isolated activities but part of a broader framework: the intergenerational field. This idea is of the essence if IPs are not to be organised for their own sake, without forming part of a broader outlook.

Our definition of the concept of *intergenerational field* is the following: set of knowledge (theory, research, practice) and actions (especially public policies and intergenerational programmes) aimed at benefiting from the potential of intergenerationality as a meeting place for sharing between persons and groups from different generations.

British professor Miriam Bernard (Bernard, 2006) sustains that the intergenerational field is based on four dimensions: research, policies, practices and theories concerning intergenerationality. But this investigator not only describes these four dimensions, but also relates them to each other: for her, research (including IP assessment) is the foundation and it is essential for facilitating and understanding the links between practice, policies and theory. She therefore classifies research as the central dimension of the intergenerational field, as shown in graph 2.4.

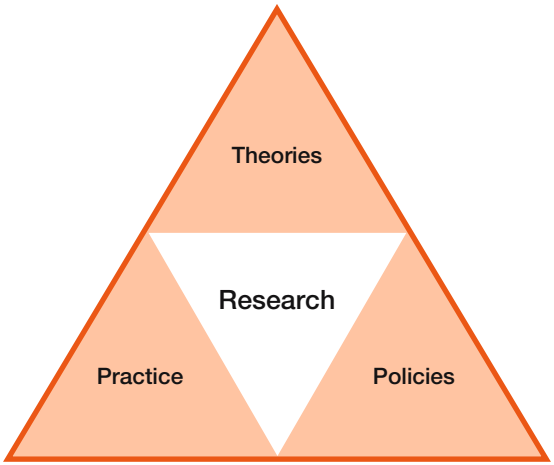
Analysing the inspiring proposal of this renowned investigator, we can conclude that although the four dimensions are well identified, this is not true of their mutual inter-relations. A change in the order of the dimensions could be suggested, as shown in graph 2.5.

This new representation considers that the intergenerational field starts not with research but with intergenerational practices, which are therefore found in the centre. This term includes all kinds of formal or informal, intentional or unintentional, and solitary or continued interactions between individuals or groups of different generations, in as much as said interactions are preferably interpreted from the perspective of their generational identity.

It seems evident that if there are no practices, no activities, no projects or no programmes, there is nothing to investigate; investigation, explanations of different intergenerational practices (the definition of theories) and, of course, the design and application of intergenerationality policies, come later. However, research and theories appear at the bottom of the triangle, supporting both practices and, indirectly, policies. The intergenerational field thus has need of a solid foundation of research and theories (the definition of theories is actually just a highly significant part of research) to guide intergenerational

GRAPH 2.4

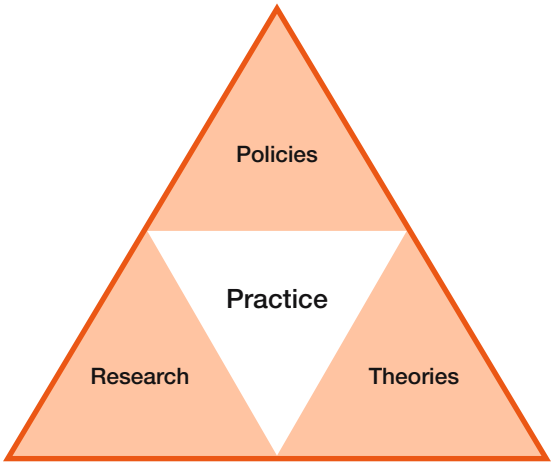
The intergenerational field I



Source: Bernard (2006).

GRAPH 2.5

The intergenerational field II



Source: the author.

practices (especially programmes) and decision-making concerning the best policies for promoting intergenerationality.

Indeed, whereas there are countless examples of intergenerational practices, the development of research and assessment in the field is still in its early stages, as explained by Valerie Kuehne: «The result of such studies is that the findings are necessarily tentative, the conclusions are weakly supported and the recommendations to practitioners, other researchers and policy makers are equivocal» (Kuehne, 2003: 146).

This leads us to a clear conclusion for the practical organisation of intergenerational programmes: IPs cannot be based on intuition («I've got a feeling that this will work») or experiments («let's bring these groups of children and older persons together, and see what happens») but must be based on and directly related to research. Only then will their quality be ensured.

2.5. History and evolution of intergenerational programmes

At the beginning of this chapter, we said that as well as considering the concept of *intergenerational programme* and its fundamental components, we would also talk about how they came about. Here is that explanation.

The historic development of IPs can be divided into several phases. The first is found in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s; the reason for such programmes was related to a patent divide between generations. The second phase, up to the 1990s, and also in North America (United States and Canada) was characterised by the use of IPs to approach social problems related to cultural, social and economic needs. Finally, the third phase, which we are now witnessing, involves not only the growing use of IPs for community development purposes but the emergence of such programmes in Europe.

The first IPs were created in the late 1960s as a result of growing awareness that the geographical distance between the younger and older members of families derived from a changing labour market was having negative effects on their relationships. This separation was reducing interaction between older and younger people, isolating the elderly and favouring the appearance of mutual incorrect perceptions, myths and stereotypes in these generations. The first IPs were organised to respond to these changes and effects.

Twenty years later, in the second phase, the purpose of IPs changed: they started to be concerned with mitigating the problems affecting two highly vulnerable populations, children/youngsters and older persons, which can be summarised as low self-esteem, drug and alcohol abuse, poor academic performance, isolation, the lack of appropriate support systems, unemployment and the lack of familial and social ties.

In the early 1990s, IPs broadened their scope of action in an attempt to revitalise communities which, in the long run, could be expected to re-connect different generations. This objective is the most consistent with the construction of a *society for all ages*.

At the end of the same decade, IPs started to grow with some force in Europe. They appeared in response to problems such as the difficult integration of immigrants, in Holland, political issues related to inclusion and the new roles to be played by the elderly, in the United Kingdom, or the perception of a crisis affecting traditional family solidarity models and interest in fostering active ageing, in Spain. The best evidence of this awakening of IPs was the creation, in 1999, of the International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes, the objectives and reasons for which will be discussed in chapter IV.

During this forty-year period in which IPs have been developing, there were some particularly significant milestones which are shown, in schematic form, in table 2.2.

2.6. Intergenerational programmes in Spain

The third of the issues we intend to approach in this chapter refers to different IP models. As IPs were proposed and put into practice, a need arose for a system for their classification, thus distinguishing which were the best for which objectives. Initially, they were classified by a simple descriptor system, identifying the interactions occurring between groups of older persons and children/youngsters.

The first classification criterion was service: who provides a service and to whom? According to this criterion, four different types of IP were identified (Sánchez and Díaz, 2005: 395):

TABLE 2.2

Milestones in the history of intergenerational programmes (IP)

1960-1970	The systematic development of IPs led to the appearance of new programmes organised by both local and State governments and foundations
1980s	The publication of manuals explaining how IPs are organised helped to create sustainable long-term programmes
	The publication of training manuals led to the appearance of the professional figure of the intergenerational specialist
	The establishment, in the United States, of Generations United, as the national agency supporting intergenerational initiatives, provided the opportunity to contact a spokesperson in Washington DC capable of promoting IPs and lobbying for legislative support for the issue
	Generations Together, a centre of reference linked to the University of Pittsburgh, organised the first Intergenerational Certificate, providing an opportunity for many professionals to obtain accreditation in this new field
	Some North American universities started to introduce intergenerational learning as part of their student syllabi; students had the opportunity to become involved in intergenerational projects as part of their practical training
1990s	Development of IPs related to questions related to community development, individual involvement and intergenerational communities
	The International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes was created in 1999
Year 2000 on	2001. Creation of the Beth Johnson Foundation's Centre for Intergenerational Practice, in the United Kingdom
	2003. Launch of the Journal of Intergenerational Relationships (JIR), a journal created to promote communication in the intergenerational field. JIR exclusively publishes papers about practices, research and policies related to intergenerationality
	2005. Creation of the *Red de Relaciones Intergeneracionales* of the *Instituto de Mayores y Servicios Sociales* (IMSERSO), in Spain (www.redintergeneracional.es)
	2007. The universities of Pittsburgh, in the United States, and Lampeter, in Wales (United Kingdom) create IP training courses

Source: the author.

a) Older adults provide a *service* to children and youngsters (as tutors, mentors, preceptors and friends or carers).

b) Children and youngsters provide a *service* to older persons (among other things, they visit and accompany them or tutor some of their activities).

c) Older persons collaborate with children and youngsters to provide a *service* for the community (in environmental development projects, for instance, or in relation to specific social problems).

d) Older persons, youngsters and children provide a mutual *service* in informal activities which, among others, can involve learning, entertainment, leisure or sport.

Although this classification is still valid, it has been questioned because it is difficult to clearly distinguish between who provides the service and to whom: «Increasingly (...) intergenerational specialists are emphasising the reciprocity of intergenerational exchange programs (e.g. Hatton-Yeo and Ohsako, 2001), 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» (Kaplan, 2001: 9).

Evidently, *service* is by no means the only criterion used to distinguish between different IP models. For example, MacCallum *et al*. (2006), based on Whitehouse, Bendezu, FallCreek and Whitehouse (2000), distinguish between four types of intergenerational practice, depending on the level of interaction:

- Level 1 (*juxtaposition*): different generational groups share a site and are sporadically in contact; an attempt is made both for the group involved to perceive that they are in a safe environment and to encourage relationships and collaboration between them.

- Level 2 (*intersection*): the participants start to interact; they are not only on the same site but perform an activity together. The degree of interaction is still low and each participant continues to refer to his or her own generational group. Visits by children or youngsters to homes for the elderly are one example of a programme of this kind; they do not

imply that the children, youngsters and older persons involved cease to see themselves as members of their respective generations.

• Level 3 (*group-forming*): children, young people and older persons form new groups (or pairs) to work together on organising an IP. Innovation is evident at this level and interaction is continued throughout the duration of the programme. IPs in which older persons visit a school during the academic year, to act as the mentors and tutors of children learning to read, are a good example of this type of programme.

• Level 4 (*co-existence*): at this level, the best examples of intergenerational programmes are the *shared sites* discussed in chapter VI of the Study. More than joint activities organised for a period of time, we are referring to a daily situation of intergenerational co-existence, where people decide about and plan their relationships, objectives and shared tasks. This level is the closest to the idea of a *society for all ages*.

Another investigator who has considered the different types of IP is North American professor Ronald J. Manheimer. From his viewpoint (Manheimer, 1997), IPs range from programmes based on the idea of *doing something for others*, whether the others be children, youngsters or older persons, to programmes consisting of *learning with* in which collaboration and mutual benefit are paramount. It is actually another way of positioning IPs in a continuous spectrum with different degrees, intensities, relationships and processes.

So far, we have seen three different ways of categorising IPs, according to criteria such as the service recipient, the amount and type of interaction or the nature of the shared activity. In any event, the conclusion is that we should be able to distinguish between them because we need to be able to identify the best programme in each case, given the situation, the participants and, above all, its goals. The specific content of IPs and what these programmes do in practice, regardless of how they are classified, varies enormously.

In any case, this variability of issues (what needs are covered?), roles (what do the participants do?), scope (what is the impact of the programme?), design (is it a planned and assessed programme?) or resources (does the programme have a suitable budget and qualified personnel?) can only be truly identified by analysing specific cases. For example, with regards to the roles played by the participants, the older persons involved in an IP may act as mentors, tutors, carers, coaches,

visitors, friends or storytellers, among others. Children and young people can perform similar functions; after all, the latter are not delimited by age but by what each individual in the IP can do to help to secure the defined goals. The *Fundación Esplai*, for instance, through its *Conecta Joven* programme, has been showing for years that young adolescents are fully capable of acting as the monitors and tutors of adult and older persons so that they can learn to use the new information and communication technologies; in this case, it is not the older persons who teach, but the young. This role reversibility, instead of automatically assigning fixed positions to people from different generations, is an indicator of the flexible approach and adaptability which characterise the most successful IPs.

In the case of Spain, the «INTERGEN: description, analysis and assessment of intergenerational programmes in Spain. Models and good practices» research project, financed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs' *Instituto de Mayores y Servicios Sociales*, and currently in progress, is attempting to produce a directory of intergenerational practices in the country. Of all those identified to date, following is some information about IPs now in place in Spain. This small sample illustrates the enormous variability found in the intergenerational programme field.

2.7. Intergenerational programmes in Spain. Profile of a sample

Following are some descriptive results obtained from a sample of 133 identified intergenerational programmes, the coordinators of which were sent an especially designed questionnaire.[2]

With regards to the autonomous region housing the IPs, we found the following geographical distribution (see table 2.3).

In relation to the types of organisation organising these IPs, 63.2% are public and 29.3% are private (see table 2.4 below).

The number of participants in these intergenerational programmes (see table 2.4) ranges from less than 25 (18%) to more than 300 (18%) with enormous variability. For example, one of the intergenerational programmes organised

(2) The information was collected and analysed by the INTERGEN project research team.

TABLE 2.3

Autonomous region of IP site

AUTONOMOUS REGION	No. OF IPS	PERCENTAGE
Andalusia	29	21.8
Aragón	5	3.8
Asturias	14	10.5
Balearic Islands	3	2.3
Canary Islands	6	4.5
Castilla y León	10	7.5
Castilla La Mancha	4	3.0
Catalonia	9	6.8
Valencian Community	5	3.8
Extremadura	7	5.3
Galicia	2	1.5
Madrid	8	6.0
Murcia	19	14.3
Navarre	1	0.8
Basque Country	6	4.5
Two or more autonomous regions	5	3.8
Total	133	100.0

Source: Sánchez, Pinazo, Sáez, Díaz, López and Tallada (2007).

in schools in the Valencia region involved the participation of 40 older persons and 27,500 children.

One of the most interesting variables to be analysed in a support group like those created by IPs is contact frequency. We therefore asked the intergenerational programme coordinators about how often such programmes were organised (see table 2.4). Nearly half (49.7%) of the intergenerational programmes found involve intergenerational activities with some frequency (11% daily, 38.7% from once to four times a month). Some of them (14.1%) have not clearly established the time of meetings and claim to organise regular activities without first determining the date or time of the sessions. Other IPs (37%) only have from one to three meetings per year (see table 2.4), although some of them are intensive. This is the case, for example, in the IP established in the AMMA-Mutilva Alta Residence (Pamplona), which organises an activity

TABLE 2.4

Type of organisation, number of participants, frequency and year of creation of the IPs in the sample

	No. OF IPS	PERCENTAGE
Type of organisation		
Public	84	63.2
Private	39	29.3
Public and private	9	6.8
Number of participants		
Up to 25	24	18.0
26 to 100	39	29.3
101 to 300	31	23.2
Over 300	24	18.0
Frequency		
Daily	14	11.0
Once to four times per month	48	38.7
Once to three times per year	47	37.0
Not fixed, not established	18	14.1
Year of creation of the intergenerational programme		
1980-85 (specifically, 1982)	2	1.5
1986-91	no data available	
1992-99	15	13.5
2000-05	47	42.4
2006	32	28.8
2007 (first quarter)	15	11.3

Source: Sánchez, Pinazo, Sáez, Díaz, López and Tallada (2007).

called «Camping with my grandparents»; children and older persons live together for two weeks.

If we ask how long an intergenerational programme has been operating, we can discover something about their sustainability and also about how they have developed in this country. The first data available refer to 1982, which saw the start of two of the IPs we have identified. 15% of the intergenerational programmes in this sample have been operating for 15 to 25 years, and 42.4% for 2 to 7 years. For example, thanks to the Bestalde programme organised

by *Fundación ADSIS* and *Residencia San Prudencio* in Vitoria, field work has been going on for fifteen years with volunteers, prison inmates and older persons, for a fortnight in July and one week at Christmas.

If we look carefully at table 2.4, we see a growing progression: in 1992-1999 (seven year period) fifteen of the selected intergenerational programmes were created, whereas 47 were set up in 2000-2005 (five years). In 2006 alone, 32 new IPs were organised. We have even found 15 programmes which were launched in the first quarter of 2007. Should this trend continue, 2007 will be the year with the most new IPs. These data reveal sustained growth of IPs in Spain.

Another characteristic about which information is available is the site of IP intergenerational activities (see table 2.5), as physical space limits and delimits interactions. Some of the meetings between participants from different generations took place in spaces designed for children and youngsters (such as pre-school facilities or schools) (17.3%) –this is the case for school programmes such as *Tenemos mucho en común* or *El día de les padrines*–; others took place on sites designed for older persons (such as old people's homes, day centres or sociability centres for the elderly) (19.5%) –one example of this is the *Escuela de Abuelos* programme organised in Aldaia-Quart de Poblet, Valencia. However, on many more occasions (63.2%), the sites chosen for interaction were multigenerational venues (such as cultural centres, civic centres or libraries)– this is the case for the *Una biblioteca para todos* programme which uses an intergenerational strategy to encourage reading. It takes place in the Municipal Library of Galapagar, in the Madrid region.

As for the participants in intergenerational programmes, of the 133 cases analysed, we found that nearly half (see table 2.5) involve older persons and children (39.1%), although the elderly relate to young people on numerous occasions (14.3%) and there are even cases (45.9%) which we should actually describe as multigenerational programmes, either because the participants are older persons, children, youngsters and adults (26.4%) or because they clearly involve all the generations (19.5%).

Information was also obtained about who are believed to be the beneficiaries of the IPs (see table 2.5). In this respect, two out of every three (66.9%) intergenerational programme coordinators believe that the beneficiaries are all the participants or *society in general* (26.3%), possibly referring to the

TABLE 2.5

Site, participant generations and beneficiaries of the IPs in the sample

	No. OF IPS	PERCENTAGE
Site		
Spaces designed for children and young people	23	17.3
Spaces designed for older persons	26	19.5
Multigenerational sites	84	63.2
Participating generations		
Older persons and children	52	39.1
Older persons and young people	19	14.3
Older persons and adults	1	0.8
Older persons, children and youngsters	11	8.3
Older persons, children and adults	9	6.8
Older persons, youngsters and adults	15	11.3
All the generations	26	19.5
Beneficiaries		
Especially older persons	7	5.3
All the participants in the intergenerational programme	89	66.9
Society in general	35	26.3

Source: Sánchez, Pinazo, Sáez, Díaz, López and Tallada (2007).

reduction in the negative stereotypes associated to old age or the activities of community interest contemplated in many of the programmes analysed. For example, when the Bestalde (Vitoria) programme coordinator was interviewed, he said «I believe that the volunteers benefit because they grow in solidarity; the prison inmates because they learn to take responsibility for someone else; and the elderly, because they change their routines, do different things and cease to feel alone».

In order to further analyse the benefits of intergenerational programmes linked to active ageing, we asked the coordinators of these IPs about their programme's relationship to five typical active ageing factors. Their answers, in descending order, were as follows (see table 2.6): 94% of the IPs in the sample are related to active involvement in the community, 92.5%, to intergenerational solidarity, 91% to leisure activities, 90.2% to the individual rights of older

persons, 84.2% to the health of the elderly, 71.4% to equal opportunities and, finally, 55.6% have dependent persons among their participants.

When the coordinators were questioned about the management of their respective IPs (see table 2.6), our attention was drawn to the fact that nearly half of them (45.1%) were not familiar with other intergenerational programmes in their own or another autonomous region, so nearly all of them would like to receive specific training, including information about some good practice models in the IP field. Not all of these IPs (only 59.4%) have organised specific training for the participants and only three out of four of the selected IPs have been assessed (71.4%), although some of these assessments consisted of merely counting the number of participants in different activities.

Some of the preliminary results found to date in the intergenerational programmes subject to an initial analysis and assessment are as follows:

- Increased *curiosity and discovery* of new realities, both for younger and older persons.
- Older persons become increasingly motivated to learn new things and how to use new tools (such as the use of the new technologies) as a result of a wish to continue to be socially active.
- The *reversibility of the roles of teacher and pupil* is a significant possibility in this context of exchange between younger and older persons. Young people, for instance, often teach *computing* to older persons, who in turn teach children about *values* by telling stories and acting as behavioural models, to mention just a couple of examples.
- IPs often enable *mutual support* or the possibility of sharing *free time,* whereas others simply bring the participants together for a *shared art project.*
- For children and young people there is evidence of greater self-esteem and greater motivation to learn, showing more tolerance and respect for older persons.

In sum, this analysis shows that the IPs organised in Spain are producing direct benefit for the participants (generally older persons, children and youngsters), with an impact on their families, sociability networks and the community. On a more individual level, the analysed IPs appear to produce improvement in self-confidence,

TABLE 2.6

Active ageing factors and management of the IPs in the sample

	FREQUENCY OF AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES	PERCENTAGE
Benefits		
Is the IP related to active involvement in the community?	125	94.0
Is the IP related to intergenerational solidarity?	123	92.5
Is the IP related to leisure activities and free time?	121	91.0
Is the IP related to the individual rights of older persons?	120	90.2
Is the IP related to the health of the elderly?	112	84.2
Is the IP related to equal opportunities?	95	71.4
Is the IP related to dependent persons?	74	55.6
Intergenerational programme management	**109**	**82.0**
Do other organisations collaborate?	109	82.0
Does the IP have funding?	110	82.7
Does it have paid staff?	93	69.9
Do volunteers participate?	89	66.9
Specific training for participants?	79	59.4
Has the IP been assessed?	95	71.4
Are you familiar with other IPs?	60	45.1

Source: Sánchez, Pinazo, Sáez, Díaz, López and Tallada (2007).

self-esteem and perceived health, facilitating greater community integration and involvement, in line with what is required for a *society for all ages*.

2.8. Examples of good practices in Spain

The INTERGEN project which we mentioned earlier was based on the following description of the status of IPs in Spain:

- Lack of systematic information representative of the use of intergenerationality, in the form of programmes, as a social intervention strategy.
- Ignorance of the impact of intergenerational programmes organised elsewhere.

- Absence of an analysis of the needs of those who support and/or organise intergenerational programmes in order to improve them.
- Lack of guidance about the best practices related to the conception, design, implementation and assessment of an intergenerational programme.
- This lack of guidance also affects those who design social ageing and dependence policies, leading to the infra-utilisation of intergenerational programmes.
- Lack of visibility of Spanish intergenerational programmes, both at home and abroad.

This chapter ends by confirming that, in spite of all these shortcomings, which have to be solved, IPs are being successfully organised all over Spain. Here is a small sample of some of these good practices:

- *La memoria industrial* (Donostia, Basque Country).

This programme saw the light in 2005 and it was designed and implemented by the person responsible for education in the Rezola Museum. Its goals are two-fold: on the one hand, it aims at older persons and children participating together in activities not usually organised in a museum (traditional games, talks about old trades illustrated by photographs in the museum, etc.) and, on the other, it aims for the older persons to transmit their industrial memory to the children.

- *La pequeteca. Cuentos para educar en valores* (Coaña, Asturias).

This IP started in 2002 and has been coordinated since then by the librarian. The programme is successfully *i)* involving families and schools in encouraging the habit of reading, *ii)* attracting children to the library, bringing them to the reading centre and encouraging them to participate in organised activities, *iii)* increasing the family use of the service, teaching families and children how to make correct use of such a public space, and *iv)* extolling the virtues of older persons, making them the focal point and valuing their wisdom and thus fostering enriching intergenerational contact. The Ministry of Culture acknowledged the worth of this IP when it was awarded the 2007 María Moliner Award.

• Intergenerational programme to increase the quality of volunteer work in the Alzheimer's field (Zamora, Castilla y León).

This was a social assistance intergenerational programme operating from March to December, 2006 thanks to the collaboration of *Fundació Viure Conviure* with the Association of Relatives and Friends of Patients with Alzheimer's and other Dementias, of Zamora. The programme was successful in *i)* improving the quality of life of the relatives and carers of patients with Alzheimer's or other dementias; *ii)* enhancing volunteer training from a perspective linked to the patient's socio-familial status, and *iii)* achieving intergenerational exchange between two groups with different sociodemographic characteristics.

• Cultural interchange programme (Valladolid, Castilla y León).

This programme, involving older persons and university students has been operative throughout the academic year since 1997. The defined and accomplished objectives are: *i)* to provide a large number of older persons with a place for activities aimed at promoting personal growth, social interaction and the active use of free time, *ii) to* promote free time, and *iii)* to reinforce solidarity between generations and transmit experience, knowledge and values through relations between older and younger persons.

• *El dia de les padrines* (Palma de Mallorca, Balearic Islands).

Programme organised in the Cas Capiscol school in collaboration with the local social services' Centre for the Elderly. The *padrines* (grandmothers) visit the infants' classroom every Tuesday during the academic year, where they help and support the teacher in the crafts field, teaching the children how to behave in class and transmitting local traditions (cooking local dishes, etc.). Each grandmother sits at one table and the children (in groups of five) rotate among the different tables during the different sessions.

• Intergenerational exchange educational project (Rubí, Catalonia).

This programme's activities are divided into four major blocks: older persons teach children (*Tell me your story*, *Explain a story and Sing a song, Teach me games, Teach me to make toys*), older persons teach older children (*Tell me your story, Teach me traditional cooking*), youngsters teach older persons (*Teach me to use the Internet, Teach me Digital Photography, Teach me how to use a mobile phone*) and youngsters and older persons share (*Let's talk, Experience*

sharing, Let's share music and dancing, Let's do craftwork together, Let's sew together, etc.).

• *Disfruta de la experiencia* (Andorra, Aragón).

Older persons from the Old People's Home, the Old People's Centre and the Old People's Association visit the 2nd, 3rd and 5th years of primary school and the Special Education school to teach the children stories, traditions, local cooking, dances, street games and how to make toys with recycled material. Before and after the visit, the children work on the subjects for each session in class. The teacher makes use of the enriching visits for weeks.

• *Tenemos mucho en común* (Valencia).

After specific training, and using an entertaining game of dice and cards with questions and answers, a group of older persons visit the 5th and 6th years of primary school promoting healthy lifestyles among the pupils (healthy diet, physical exercise, street games, group games) while explaining what life was like «when I was your age».

• *Escuela de abuelos* (Aldaia-Quart de Poblet, Valencia).

The programme addresses grandparents from the Retired People's Club and pensioners responsible for the education of their grandchildren. Both children and grandchildren participate and it takes place in the Adult Training Centre. The programme's primary goal is to promote the development of older persons, not only as carers but also as educators, by increasing the information available to them with which to cover their own needs and those of their families.

• *Gent gran, gent petita* (Menorca, Balearic Islands).

As part of the *Salud Jove* programme, schools are given the opportunity for an older person to visit their infants' classrooms (5 years old) to tell the children about his or her life, life in traditional Menorca, fishing, farming, breeding livestock, etc. These individuals are later visited by the children at *home,* in their old people's home, where they invite them to take part in their psychomotility, cognitive stimulation or crafts workshops.

• *Campo de Trabajo Fundación ADSIS. Residencia San Prudencio* (Vitoria, Basque Country).

The Bestalde programme combines two different realities: that of the older persons living in *Residencia San Prudencio* and that of the inmates of the Nanclares de Oca prison. The two groups enjoy leisure opportunities which demolish all stereotypes. Stimulation workshops, memory lane chats, trips, walks and parties are all aimed at favouring autonomy and healthy lifestyles in order to control the cognitive and motor decline affecting older persons.

• *De acampada con mis abuelos* (Pamplona, Navarre).

The intergenerational experience organised every year for a fortnight in July in the AMMA group's *Multiva Alta* home, helps around thirty boys and girls from 4 to 13 years of age to share educational activities and free time (crafts workshops, cooking and the environment, games, competitions, trips, fancy dress parties and plays) with their resident relatives (grandparents, great grandparents, uncles and aunts, etc.) in the centre's facilities.

• Intergenerational encounters (Meco, Madrid).

The infants from the MICARE school get together with their *neighbours*, the older persons living in *Centre Care Meco*, located in the same building as the school. The educators and occupational therapists organise these encounters to make the most of the fact that the school and the old people's home are under the same roof.

• *Marca las diferencias* (Barcelona, Catalonia).

Thanks to this intergenerational workshop organised by the "la Caixa" Foundation, children and older persons think and play in order to discover the advantages of using fair trade products. This programme has an Internet platform providing universal access to its content.

2.9. Conclusion

IPs attempt to provide older participants with ways of optimising their opportunities for involvement, health and safety, so they are in line with the keys to promoting active ageing as defined by the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2002) at the time of the Second World Assembly on Ageing. But

they also involve people from different generations (not only children and/or youngsters); the support of parents, relatives and other adults such as teachers or social workers is often essential for creating or ensuring the continuity of an IP), first enabling intergenerational encounters and, subsequently, relations.

With regards to the status of such programmes in Spain, we have seen that, initial shortcomings notwithstanding, the practical exercise of intergenerationality through IPs is a growing field.

III. The benefits of intergenerational programmes

Sacramento Pinazo *(University of Valencia)*
Matthew Kaplan *(Penn State University)*

3.1. Introduction

On October 1, 2004, Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the United Nations, on occasion of the International Day of Older Persons, insisted on the important role they play in their families, communities and societies. He did so with the following words: «The Second World Assembly on Ageing marked a turning point in our thinking. The Madrid Plan of Action encouraged Governments to review policies to ensure generational equity, and to promote the idea of mutual support and solidarity between generations as key elements of social development. Only in this way can we hope to build a truly intergenerational society» (United Nations, 2004).

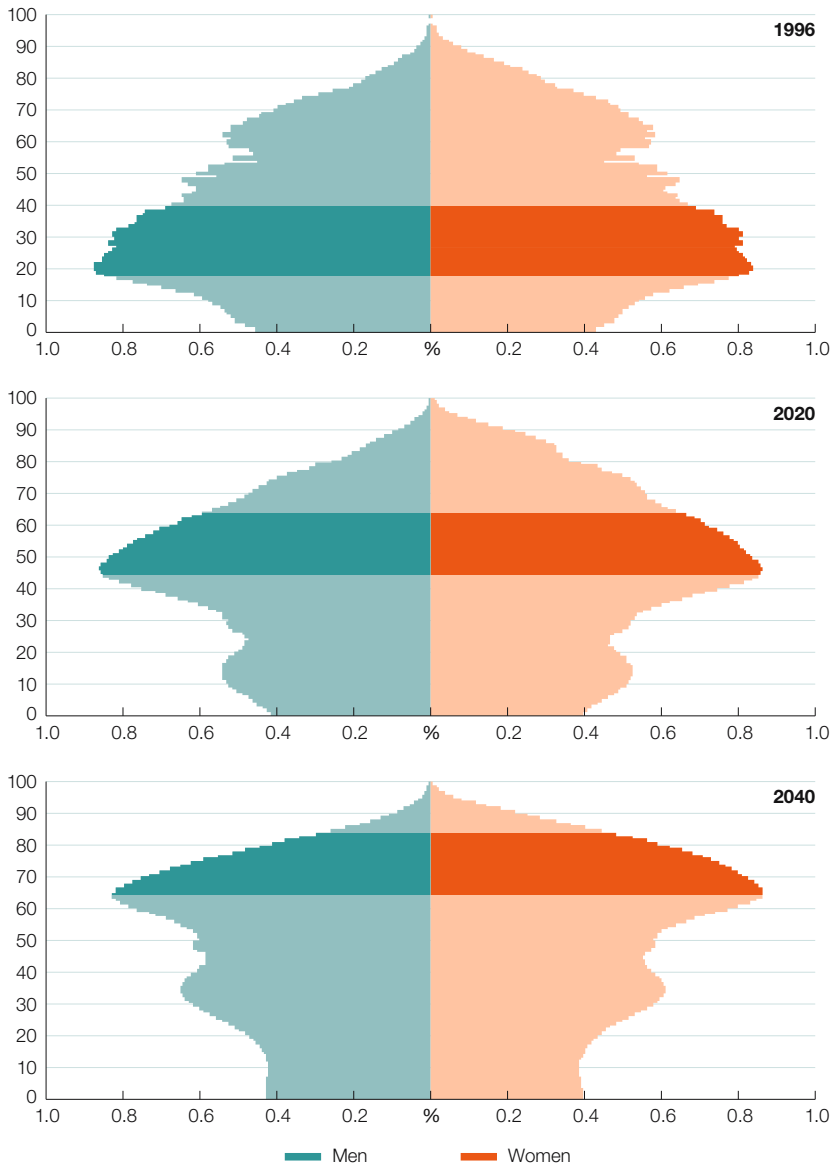
Three years after this message to the international community, and five years after the Second World Assembly on Ageing, why is it still difficult to find the concept of a *society for all ages* on the public policy agendas of central or local governments? In this chapter, the authors intend to show the benefits of intergenerational programmes at different levels, from individuals to communities. We assume that, although these programmes can involve risks and possible negative impacts, they can help us in our efforts to ensure that our societies are really for all ages.

One issue which justifies our interest in intergenerational programmes is related to demographic change. From this perspective, as we see on graph 3.1, Spain is characterised by the rapid ageing of its population and a life expectancy which has increased to an advanced age, together with a very low birth rate. From 2001 on, Spain will experience an uninterrupted increase in the number of older persons, which will accelerate in 2020 with the arrival of the first generations of the *baby boom*. The *baby boom* started in Spain in

GRAPH 3.1

Spanish population pyramids. Impact of the baby boom

Positions of the baby boom generations



Source: IMSERSO (2002), *Envejecer en España*. Madrid: IMSERSO.

1955, ten years later than in the rest of Europe, as a result of the long post-war period. Starting in the year 2020, the so-called *baby boom generation* will reach retirement age and be able to spend more time on its families and communities.

The 80-84 year old cohort will also undergo heavy growth starting in 2011, an increase which will be transmitted to the oldest cohort during the following ten years. Spanish society will benefit from this demographic ageing process if these older persons can be actively involved in their communities, making important contributions to them. Intergenerational programmes are a way to help older persons remain productive and highly valued in society. According to Butts (Butts and Chana, 2007), intergenerational programmes build significant ties between persons of different ages and provide older persons with a means to transmit culture and traditions to new generations, while enhancing the way in which older persons perceive themselves.

Young people also benefit from intergenerational interaction: those involved in intergenerational programmes learn about and become more familiar with old age, which they start to fear less; they also benefit from intergenerational relationships with other different age groups which can provide them with guidance, advice, wisdom, support and friendship.

3.2. The evaluation of intergenerational programmes

Many of the research and evaluation studies in the literature on intergenerational programmes considered the different programme sites and the significance of such contexts for achieving their goals. Some investigators video recorded the interaction and also used a variety of tools to measure the interpersonal relations involved in intergenerational programmes (Newman, Morris and Streetman, 1999). Although there are relatively few process evaluations, there is plenty of evidence of the positive benefits in the form of support, smiles and gestures of affection. For example, Osborne and Bullock (2000) used qualitative interviews. When they analysed them, they saw how the older participants had enjoyed themselves with increased social interaction. The young participants said that they had learned a great deal about both themselves and the needs of older persons.

A large number of intergenerational programmes of different types and sizes are now operative worldwide. They were possibly originally designed merely to favour contact between the old and the young but, over time, intergenerational activities have been seen to produce much more than the expected benefits. However, the evaluation of benefits has not always gone hand in hand with the implementation of new programmes as, according to Kuehne (2003a), compared with the rapid growth in the number and variety of intergenerational programmes on an international scale, the number of documented assessments and published evaluation studies is relatively small. Why is this? Kuehne (Kuehne and Kaplan, 2001) herself suggests some possible reasons:

a) International programmes often start with a small number of participants, so it is difficult to perform a thorough statistical analysis.

b) Many evaluation results merely provide descriptive data, with limited statistical power (few of them use an experimental and a control group, few use pre and post-test designs).

c) The information available to the evaluators is not always systematic and often based on anecdotes told by some of the participants, with no sampling, producing studies in which the findings are neither clear nor generalisable or replicable and the conclusions are not solidly founded. On occasions, they even include incorrect recommendations.

On the other hand, Boström, Hatton-Yeo, Ohsako and Sawano (2000) described the need in the intergenerational field for: *i)* well-developed and conceptually and theoretically well-founded research; *ii)* paying more attention to the description of results and their international comparison, and *iii)* adopting intergenerational programmes to act as models on an international scale, based on research outcomes.

According to these authors, research is fundamental, among other things because it has to be explained and shown that *intergenerational programmes* have more potential than community or social programmes. In the text published in 2004 by the Beth Johnson Foundation, entitled *How do you know that intergenerational practice works?*, Bernard and Ellis provide the following ten reasons for evaluating intergenerational programmes. These reasons are shown on table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1

Reasons for evaluating an intergenerational programme

1. To explain how our work develops and goals change
2. To help us identify gaps
3. For our clients, consumers or stakeholders
4. For our volunteers
5. To demonstrate accountability
6. As a sign of our professionalism
7. As a sign of commitment
8. To illustrate the good we claim to do
9. To help us secure funding
10. To influence and respond to policy and practice

Source: Bernard and Ellis (2004).

Having recognised the importance of evaluating intergenerational programmes, we ask ourselves how we can examine the interactions occurring in them? Are tedious statistical analyses always necessary? Interesting evaluations have often been performed based on observation, using qualitative methods (Kuehne and Collins, 1997). Here, for example, are two ways of performing an assessment:[(1)]

a) The observers record the interactions using a list of verbal and non-verbal conduct. During a specific period of time, they observe the interaction between pairs of, for instance, children and older persons. Their interactions are recorded and encoded for a number of pre-selected verbal and non-verbal variables. These variables include touching, caressing, showing, thanking, greeting, paying complements or encouraging.

b) Interaction is recorded: a camera focuses on small groups of older persons and children, recording their behaviour during a pre-defined period of time. For instance, Newman, Faux and Larimer (1997) and Newman, Morris and Streetman (1999) encoded conduct by randomly selecting ten-second segments from each tape recorded for each group. Independent

(1) For further information on how to evaluate intergenerational programmes, we recommend a book by Sánchez, M. (2007) (dir.), *La evaluación de los programas intergeneracionales.* Madrid: IMSERSO. The text provides a full description of what the evaluation of intergenerational programmes means, why it is necessary, techniques and methods, data analysis and interpretation.

encoders subsequently allotted a score to each segment and then compared their scores.

Having explained the need for evaluation, either quantitative or qualitative, all the authors agree on the need for said evaluation to be planned. In other words, it should be considered before an intergenerational programme is organised. This enables us, among other things, to identify in advance the techniques to be used, the most appropriate evaluation tools or how to train the evaluators. Table 3.2 shows the suggestions of Bernard and Ellis (2004).

The type of activity performed in an intergenerational programme varies a great deal, depending on where the interactions take place, the participants involved, the time they spend together, etc. There are, however, some points in common which can be underlined (Kuehne, 2003b):

a) *Activities are usually related to the individual needs of each group of participants*.

For example, Hanks and Icenogel (2001) organised a learning-service intergenerational programme in an American community. The programme was established to provide occupational training and addressed workers of different ages: on the one hand, young people needing training before entering the labour market and, on the other, older workers in an ongoing training process. The training was welcomed both by the youngsters and the older participants and focused on developing self-esteem, handling stress in the workplace, development, computing skills and other specific topics. Involvement in the programme also improved the attitudes of the young adults to older workers in general.

In another, very different, field, Camp *et al.* (1997) based their intergenerational programme for older persons with dementia and pre-school children on the theoretical proposals of María Montessori. Learning methods based on María Montessori's ideas are currently used in infants' schools in which the atmosphere and activities are designed to enhance the children's skills and learning. The authors discovered that, during the intergenerational sessions, the demented older persons showed no episodes of disassociation from their social and physical setting, compared with the times when there was no intergenerational interaction in shared activities.

TABLE 3.2

Phases in the evaluation process

The process of evaluation should be systematic, continuous and cyclical, involving feedback about what works and what does not. It also has certain identifiable components and phases:
1. Establishing the background and context
2. Identifying the broad aims and specific evaluation objectives
3. Examining what we do to achieve these aims and objectives
4. Setting up systems for collecting and analysing the information needed to assess whether these aims and objectives are being met
5. Exploring the outcomes

Source: Bernard and Ellis (2004).

b) *Intergenerational programmes aim to benefit the generations involved.*

Knapp and Stubblefield (2000), for example, described a programme in which youngsters and adults together attended a course on ageing with a learning-service component. When these students were compared with others who had not been involved in an intergenerational activity, they not only knew more about ageing but also had more positive perceptions in relation to older persons.

Larkin and Newman (2001) present an investigation in infants' centres in which older persons were involved as members of the management team. Their presence showed *familial* types of conduct which benefited the children, the families, the atmosphere and even the management team itself.

3.3. Impact of intergenerational programmes on the participants

The value of intergenerational communication cannot be clearly delimited and it is difficult to identify who benefits the most. The type of effective and close communication found in many intergenerational programmes tends to benefit all the participants. During their lifetimes, people benefit from the possibility of sharing and reaffirming their experience and the meaning of their lives, and from being involved in mutual support relationships enabling them both to dispense and receive care at different times. The participants in intergenerational programmes also develop skills which generate expected

changes (changes in themselves, changes in their organisations and changes in the communities in which they live). In programmes aimed at developing a *community for everyone,* the participants learn important leadership skills including, for instance, how to effectively form strategic alliances with key organisations and individuals.

Following is a summary of the principal benefits obtained by participants (older persons, children or young people) from intergenerational programmes.

Benefits for older persons

MacCallum *et al.* (2006) recently analysed the intergenerational programmes developed in Australia. After obtaining information about 120 different programmes, they were able to identify the benefits. As we can see on table 3.3, the benefits found by the authors for older persons range from individual (ability to cope with mental disease, increased motivation) to relational aspects (making friends with young people) and benefits for the community (reintegration in community life, for instance).

Several terms and phrases were used to refer to a positive view of ageing societies. The concept of *productive ageing*, for example, introduced by Robert Butler, underlines the importance of active roles for older persons, adding significance to their daily lives. This significant activeness, which includes from involvement in intergenerational programmes and activities to paid work and familial assistance, has clear psychological effects which are beneficial for older persons.

In the gerontology field, the health (both physical and mental) of older persons is seen in terms of relationships, social connections and active involvement in the community; it is awarded the utmost importance. This is consistent with how many adults define satisfactory ageing, in terms of relations and particularly of caring for and being dedicated to others (Ryff, 1989).

Following are some of the findings of specific studies about the impact of intergenerational programmes on the health and activeness of older participants:

- According to their involvement in a volunteer programme in a school, mentors claimed to have increased their self-esteem, be in better health and enjoy the satisfaction of feeling productive (Newman and Larimer, 1995).

TABLE 3.3

Benefits of intergenerational exchange

For older persons

Better mood, more vitality
Increased ability to cope with physical and mental illness
Increased perception of self-worth
Opportunities to learn
Escape from isolation
Renewed appreciation for their past experiences
Reintegration in the family and community life
Friendships with younger people
Receipt of practical help, such as for shopping or transport
Spending time with young people combats feelings of isolation
Increased self-esteem and motivation
Sharing experiences with an audience which appreciates their achievements
Respect, honour and recognition of their contribution to the community
Learning about young people
Development of skills, especially social skills and the use of new technologies
Transmitting traditions, culture and language
Enjoy themselves in physical activities
Exposure to diversity
Increased strength to cope with adversity

Source: MacCallum *et al*. (2006).

• There is evidence of enhanced memory and other cognitive skills for the participants in an intergenerational programme at a school (Newman, Karip and Faux, 1995).

• In an investigation conducted by Experience Corps –a U.S. programme organised in schools which relates the local retired community to primary school children–, after four months of intensive participation, the older persons showed a reduction in depressive symptoms, watched less television every day, developed more problem-solving skills and increased their mobility (measured, for instance, by how long it took them to stand from a seated position). No changes were found in overall happiness (Fried *et al.*, 2000).

• To provide an idea of how gratifying the older volunteers find the experience provided by Experience Corps, Freedman (1999) quotes the words of Laurie Chilcote, a disabled person who defined his experience with Lent Experience Corps (Portland, Oregon) as something that had made a positive turn in his life «It's the opposite of a thread you pull and the sweater comes unravelled. You pull on this thread, and you find yourself connected» (Freedman, 1999: 211).

But not all the benefits of older persons participating in intergenerational programmes are psychological. In many cases, particularly initiatives in which students become involved in learning-service strategies, the results have a real impact on older persons' lives. Cuevas (2000), for example, describes how collaboration between Coral Park Senior High School and the Miami-Dade Fire Department gave rise to the I CAN HELP programme (an acronym for Intergenerational Corps And Neighbours Helping Elderly with Life safety Procedures) and finally ended with the installation of smoke detectors in older persons' homes.

Similarly, the integrated home programme for older persons of Toronto, Ontario (Canada), which teaches young unemployed people at high psychosocial risk how to make minor household repairs, clean and paint, results in better living conditions which increase safety and save energy and also has an overall impact on the quality of life of the older persons concerned (Varley, 1998).

There is also some scientific evidence supporting the notion of the attitude of older persons to youngsters being highly influenced by direct intergenerational interaction. In a study on the involvement of young people in social or community changes, conducted by investigators from the University of Wisconsin (Zeldin, McDaniel, Topitzes and Calvert, 2000), the older persons who had the opportunity to work alongside young people in leadership positions, showed enormous changes in their opinions of them. Many of the older people even referred to a very strong sense of community in connection with their proximity to young people involved in citizen participation tasks. Those who merely interacted with the young people, however, did not change their views on youth. The investigators found that the older people only changed their attitudes to youth when the interaction had a specific goal and when contact was prolonged, in which case it produced significant outcomes. Seeing young people competently working favours a change of attitude in

older persons, especially if there are opportunities to talk to them about it (Zeldin *et al.*, 2000).

Benefits for children and young people

According to Goff (2004), intergenerational learning-service provides participants with opportunities to develop qualities such as initiative, flexibility, openness, empathy and creativity, to obtain a sense of social responsibility and to understand the value of lifelong learning. Following Taylor, LoSciuto, Fox, Hilbert and Sonkowsky (1998: 81), these qualities develop resiliency in the young: «One factor that may contribute to enhanced resiliency in youth is participation in work that benefits others in direct and personal ways». VanderVen (2004) also referred to the potential benefit of intergenerational programmes for enhancing resiliency in youth.

As summarised by Marx, Hubbard, Cohen-Mansfield, Dakheel-Ali and Thein (2004), the benefits for children participating in intergenerational programmes include positive changes in perceptions of and attitudes to older persons, increased empathy towards them, more knowledge about ageing and institutionalised older persons, enhanced pro-social conduct such as sharing, increased self-esteem, greater school attendance, better attitudes to school, better behaviour at school and better bargaining skills and social relations.

Also in the case of young people, and continuing with the study by MacCallum *et al.* (2006) we find benefits in different fields. As we can see from table 3.4, benefits range from developing skills (improved reading habits) to relational aspects (less loneliness and isolation), to community benefits (enhanced sense of civic and community responsibility).

Many studies have emphasised the positive effect of intergenerational programmes on the lives of young people; others have underlined the mutual benefits for old and young alike. In many of these programmes, the older persons are not so much the recipients of services but mentors, tutors, carers, friends or *coaches*.

Furthermore, successful intergenerational practice helps young people to gain confidence, build a sense of personal worth, providing them with practical skills (particularly when they are involved in caring for the elderly), adult support at difficult times and ideas from others who have more experience in life.

TABLE 3.4

Benefits of intergenerational exchange

For children and young people

Increased sense of worth, self-esteem and self-confidence
Less loneliness and isolation
Access to adult support at difficult times
Enhanced sense of social responsibility
More positive perception of older persons
Greater awareness of the heterogeneity of older persons
More practical skills
Better school results
Better reading habits
Less involvement in violence and drug use
Better health
More optimism
Strength in times of adversity
Increased sense of civic and community responsibility
Learning about one's history and origins and the history of others
Building one's own life history
Enjoyment and fun
Gain respect for the achievements of adults
Receive support for one's own professional career
Alternative leisure activities to cope with problems, particularly drugs, violence and antisocial conduct

Source: MacCallum *et al*. (2004).

Those proposing intergenerational programmes have often claimed that participation makes a positive difference in the lives of those involved. Some specific outcomes in children and young people include: better health, better academic results and reduced behaviour involving health risks in adolescents (such as substance use and unwanted pregnancies).

Health, emotional development and social skills

There is little literature directly referring to health outcomes for the children and young people participating in intergenerational programmes (Kuehne,

2005), but there are reports of results indirectly affecting their health and quality of life. Here are a few examples:

- Across Ages is a mentoring programme created by the University of Temple Centre for Intergenerational Learning. In this programme, which has been copied in over 20 communities in the United States, it has been shown that the participating students enhance their self-esteem and self-confidence, reject situations involving substance abuse and show more positive attitudes to school, the future and older persons in general.

- Hope Meadows is a community planned on an intergenerational basis, where families receive free or low-cost accommodation in exchange for either caring for 3-4 children awaiting adoption, many of whom have been neglected or abused, or for authorising or supervising children's outdoor games. No improvements directly related to health have been described, but the Hope Meadows reports refer to better health and wellbeing in these children than in others living in social services institutions awaiting adoption.

The importance of intergenerational contact for enhancing personal development often appears in the intergenerational literature focused on children and youth (VanderVen, 1999). The young people participating in mentoring programmes are less involved in substance abuse and go to school more; they obtain better academic results and are able to build healthier relationships (Tierney, Grossman and Resch, 1995); they increase their social skills and self-esteem and reduce family stress, loneliness and isolation; their participation in the programme helps them to relieve the pressure on their parents, provides more personal time for family members, increases their awareness of the consequences of substance abuse and enhances their satisfaction with attending school. The young people participating in intergenerational programmes, particularly those involved in community services, have a more positive perception of older persons and greater awareness of their heterogeneity.

Better grades and behaviour at school

The literature on mentoring reveals that support relationships involving adults and young people can have positive effects on children and adolescents, such as better school attendance and attitude to learning, more self-esteem,

better relationships with parents and less substance abuse (Freedman, 1999). Traditionally, adults have naturally mentored children based on the identification of mutual needs and goals, as soon as one or more young people without experience met their mentors, often accidentally. Nowadays, this mentoring function has been developed in order to tackle the growing isolation and limited resources of disadvantaged young people, thanks to a new commitment by social structures to find new intervention strategies for handling the population's problems (Rogers and Taylor, 1997).

In the evaluation performed by Benard and Marshall (2001) of the mentoring programme organised by Big Brothers/Big Sisters (a well-known American association in which older persons mentor children and young people at psychosocial risk), with information about 959 students from 10 to 16 years of age (70% of them from 11 to 13), the most remarkable outcome was the delay with which they started to use drugs and alcohol, and the overall positive impact on academic performance of the mentoring experience in these children and adolescents. The group was divided into two with half of the participants involved in the project and the other not, with the latter acting as a control group. The two groups were compared after 18 months. The group of programme participants missed school half the time that the other group did, felt more capable of completing their school work and obtained better grades; they showed less antisocial behaviour and better family relations, considering that most of the kids in both groups came from high-risk families: single parent households (90%), households on the poverty threshold (83%), homes receiving aid from social services (40%), homes with a history of substance abuse (40%), homes involved with domestic violence (28%), kids receiving sexual, emotional or physical abuse (27%).

As we can see from table 3.5, the significant changes found in this evaluation showed a reduction in antisocial conduct (less violent acts), better academic results (less absenteeism, higher grades), better family relations (better relations with parents) and better relations with colleagues or close friends (enhanced emotional support).

Other mentoring programme evaluations (Jucovi, 2002) have also shown that close direct relationships between young people and supportive, older persons can have a large number of positive effects. They are, among others, better

TABLE 3.5

Benefits of the Big Brothers/Big Sisters programme for young people

As a percentage

OUTCOMES	CHANGE
Antisocial activities	
Initiation in substance abuse	–45.8
Initiation in alcohol consumption	–27.4
Number of times they hit others (violent acts)	–31.7
Academic results	
Grades	3.0
Scholastic competence	4.3
Skipped class	–36.7
Skipped day at school	–52.2
Family relations	
Better parental relationship	2.1
Trust in parents	2.7
Lying to parents	–36.6
Peer relationships	
Emotional support	2.3

Note: All impacts in this table are statistically significant at at least a 90 per cent level of confidence.
Source: Tierney, Grossman and Resch (1995). Making a difference. Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures.

academic results, a strong feeling of personal worth, better relations with parents, a reduction in substance abuse and alcohol consumption.

Some studies examine the connection between participation in intergenerational programmes and the academic results obtained by children and young people, in the form of development of specific skills and knowledge, academic achievements in a broad sense and regular attendance at school. In the Experience Corps programme, for example, voluntary older persons act as the mentors and tutors of elementary schoolchildren. Their activities centre on reading and arithmetic but they also help with extracurricular activities. Schoolteachers associate participation in the programme to numerous academic improvements, including reading, concepts and mathematical skills, better understanding and study techniques, better language development, more self-confidence, better behaviour, more regular attendance and better socialisation skills. It appears that programmes like these do more than merely enhance academic performance

and, although they were initially aimed at academic achievements or skill development (such as reading), they often affect other areas of development or behaviour.

Brabazon (1999) describes a programme organised in New York with secondary students with behavioural problems. The students spend 10-12 hours per week working in old people's homes. This type of work helped to enhance the students' self-esteem, coping strategies, motivation, attitudes and planning skills. Indeed, this intergenerational work resulted in a higher rate of school attendance than other, non-intergenerational, projects.

Intergenerational programmes can provide adults with validation of their knowledge and contribution, assistance in some of the tasks or activities of the young people with whom they work, help with shopping or transport and a reduction in their sense of isolation and subsequent depression. Involvement in intergenerational work is intended to provide older persons with opportunities to continue to learn, receive individual attention and recognition, develop friendships with young people, become reintegrated in family and community life, feel needed, care for their health, renew their capacity for amazement and sense of humour and refresh their own appreciation of their past experiences.

Knowledge and attitudes in relation to ageing

Chamberlain, Fetterman and Maher (1994) described the value of intergenerational programmes for helping to change age-related stereotypes: with no positive role models for a long life, the children living in a society segregated by age are particularly vulnerable to gerontophobic or ageist influence. What children are not used to seeing or reading is the concept of ageing as a process which forms part of a long life of growth and development. It is generally only in the context of educational programmes about ageing or gerontology and intergenerational programmes where children can perceive an idea of ageing as the development of an active life of service, seeing older persons as community resources even at an advanced age (Chamberlain, Fetterman and Maher, 1994: 196).

Well designed intergenerational programmes are effective in helping participants to overcome age-related stereotypes. The goal is not to emphasise generational differences; indeed, these programmes provide the participants

with opportunities for discussing and considering intergenerational differences (real or imagined) at the start of and during the programme. The interest of each discussion lies in new experiences with people from other generations. Carefully constructed programmes involve participants in group reflection processes designed to foster critical thinking about how stereotypes tend to weaken the ability to perceive that there are individual differences between people and that generalisations are never completely accurate.

Clearly, the largest field of research related to intergenerational programmes aims at improving the attitudes of children and adolescents to older persons. Intergenerational practice helps to increase tolerance, the level of comfort and closeness between young and old, helping to demolish clichés and myths related to the ageing process (Manheimer, 1997). Many authors have evaluated the positive impact of intergenerational programmes on the attitudes of the young to older persons (Aday, Sims, McDuffie and Evan, 1996; Fox and Giles, 1993). We must, however, emphasise that some investigations produced contradictory results in relation to how some naturally occurring interventions or interactions can affect the attitude of the young to older persons.

Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that the investigators studying the relationship between intergenerational contact and attitudes to the elderly are not agreed upon how to define a «quality contact». The variables related to quality contact which have a significant impact on the attitude of the young to older persons range from «proximity» (Chapman and Neal, 1990), «familiarity» (Kocarnick and Ponzetti, 1986), and «potential friendship» (Pettigrew, 1998), to a «perceived general preference» (Schwartz and Simmons, 2001).

With this broad repertoire of variables used when designing plans to promote interaction with the elderly, it is not surprising to find that young people do not consistently show changes in how they view ageing or that they fail to show better attitudes to older persons, except when referring to persons to whom they have been directly related (Couper, Sheehan and Thomas, 1991). It is also important to underline that there are large differences between investigations with regards to duration of contact and established intervention conditions (Schwartz and Simmons, 2001). It would be unreasonable, for instance, for a single hour of interaction to evoke outcomes similar to that of fifteen hours of working together.

Self-discovery and personal development

As participants learn to change their ideas about others, we simultaneously find self-reflection and a process involving understanding oneself (McGowan and Blankenship, 1994). For example, a young person who is unaware that he tends to underestimate the physical or intellectual capabilities of older people could start to see himself in a new light according to how he perceives his communication skills or ability to make new friends.

3.4. Intergenerational relations in the family

Many studies have shown the importance of intergenerational relations and sharing resources among relatives (for a good example of this, see Attias-Donfut, 1995). Growing numbers of investigations refer to the role of grandparents in the family, the support they provide and their own needs and attitudes to grandparenthood. As the scientific literature on grandparenthood has developed, it has become more evident that the experience of being a grandparent is complex and diverse. Care and support can range from legal custody to sporadic care, with different levels of support and involvement. Some research has shown that appropriate support from grandparents, especially grandmothers, is highly useful, especially for very young mothers and families with divorced parents. Among the children of separated parents, closeness to their maternal grandmothers is associated to better adjustment to changing family circumstances.

Interaction with grandchildren is a primary source of satisfaction and affection for most grandparents, but this relationship can also directly benefit the family. As suggested by Bengtson (1985), grandparents can perform four different functions:

a) They can be *stabilisers*, a firm presence which remains constant and provides security at times of transition or crisis. While grandparents are alive, their home can be an ideal meeting place for family contact.

b) They can act as *family guardians*, particularly in troublesome times (divorces, family conflicts, etc.).

c) They can act as *referees and mediators* between parents and children, relieving intergenerational tension.

d) They can act as *family historians*, helping the family to relate its past to the present and understand how the family has evolved.

For older people, grandparenthood is often seen as a highly-valued, positive aspect of life, associated to the joy provided by a new involvement with living. Different studies have shown that the support provided by grandparents, whether it be material or instrumental (providing support or help in the home, for example) or emotional (providing advice without being judgmental, active listening), is generally highly valued. In the case of grandparents with disabled grandchildren, informal support related to their care is evidently an important resource.

But this grandparent role is played with stress and anxiety on more than one occasion. Grandparents who substitute parents need support for specific tasks (caring for and raising their grandchildren, conflict-solving, prevention of risk-related behaviour), economic support (help to pay educational or healthcare costs), emotional support and training in specific skills (communication with adolescents), which is why grandparent schools, associations and support centres have been created in some places.

Basically, three types of intergenerational programme has been developed to improve the grandparent experience:

- Support for older persons who volunteer to act as the grandparents of children who have no contact with their own grandparents or occasionally even with their parents. The Foster Grandparents Program (www.fostergrandparents.org) was created by the U.S. Federal Government in the mid-sixties in order to introduce a group of volunteer older persons into a relationship of affection with children at social risk who had lost the support of their families or had special needs. The AARP Foundation Grandparent Information Center (GIC) (www.aarp.org) contains a large variety of resources to help the grandparents perform their different functions and to support the professionals working with them.

- Support for grandparents in their functions as such. There are organisations which provide information and support for grandparents who wish to improve their ability to raise and care for their grandchildren (The Foundation for Grandparenting, Grand Parent Again) (www.grandparenting.org;

www.grandparentagain.com) and even teach the new technologies and organise activities such as weekend camps for grandparents and grandchildren, or summer courses (Grandkids and Me Programs, Grandparents University) (www.grandkidsandme.com).

• Support for grandparents who are forced to act as parental substitutes. In low income families, families in which the parents are in prison, families in which the parents are incapable of acting as such and/or in single-parent families, many grandparents are forced to act as «substitute parents», so there are programmes, such as the Brookdale Foundation Group, Grandparents Support Groups or Grandparents as Parents Program (www.brookdalefoundation.org; www.essentialgrandparent.com), which provide these grandparents with training and support (including economic support) whenever necessary.

3.5. Impact on the community setting

The principal emphasis of many intergenerational programmes is on obtaining benefits above and beyond those obtained by the participants. This goal often involves an improvement in the community or the provision of services for another group (Kaplan, Higdon, Crago and Robbins, 2004). Intergenerational programmes have been developed to preserve local history (Generations United, 1994), promote recycling and other environmental preservation activities, conduct research on the community (Kaplan, 1994) and reduce crime (Friedman, 1999). In the community then, continuing with the study by MacCallum *et al.* (2006), we also find many varied benefits, as we can see on table 3.6.

Since 1990, the Bankstown Youth Development Service (Bankstown, a town to the south-west of Sydney, Australia) has undertaken three different projects based on oral histories. In each project, secondary students interviewed people from other generations in relation to different aspects of their personal lives. The project represented a valuable contribution to the construction of community life in different senses: the interaction between students while they prepared the interviews, the commitment between community members from different generations during the interviews, reduction of stereotypes, new or renewed contact between neighbours and relatives, story-sharing between participants even through plays (MacCallum *et al.*, 2006).

TABLE 3.6

Benefits of intergenerational exchange

For the community

Reconstruction of social works
Development of sense of community
Construction of a more inclusive society
Breaking down barriers and stereotypes
Enhanced social cohesion
Construct and strengthen culture
Relieve parental pressure
Build social networks and develop bridges in the community
Change stereotypes
Provide civic behaviour models
Build, maintain and revitalise community opportunities and public infrastructures
Produce public art
Develop volunteer work
Provide volunteers for community services and encourage people to work with others in community groups
Create stories in common
Care for the environment

Source: MacCallum *et al*. (2004).

The interaction between the young and old strengthens the community as a result of mutual understanding. This is the opinion of Granville and Hatton-Yeo (2002) when they say «Intergenerational exchanges can rebuild social networks, develop community capacity and create an inclusive society for all age groups» and of Kaplan and Chadha (2004), who claim that «At the root of intergenerational programmes 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».

Sense of community and citizenship

Intergenerational practice emerges as a general approach which can help to lead young people into close contact with other members of their communities.

Thang (2001) conducted intensive ethnographic research in Tokyo, Japan, in a multigenerational centre combining four different services: infant care, a day centre for the elderly, a home for older persons with dementia and a home for poor older persons who were alone, finding that, beyond the defined objectives, there was close and warm contact between generations and an interaction setting reminiscent of a three-generation family.

Intergenerational programmes are often designed to create community service opportunities in which young and older participants work together to study possible opportunities in the community, improve the condition of the premises and help needy people (Kaplan, 1997a). Initiatives involving community services based on collaborative work help their participants to better understand their role as citizens. Penninx (1999, *cit.* in Hatton-Yeo and Ohsako, 2001) describes these initiatives as a way of making people feel more responsible for their peer groups and community. All together, these approaches represent important efforts to build intergenerational communities.

Changes in the setting and in community resources

Intergenerational programmes form part of a larger intergenerational strategy to build more inclusive and involved communities providing more care, in which all the generations can give and receive support. This can be found in an effort to renew the «social pact» (Henkin and Kingson, 1999): each generation learns from its families and society and receives resources from its predecessors. In turn, it teaches and transmits resources to its successors. A social pact extends the obligations of each member of a society towards the others. As well as a feeling of interdependence, we also need to feel that we belong. In this context, intergenerational specialists are increasingly emphasising goals and outcomes in relation to the concept of «social inclusion» (Granville and Hatton-Yeo, 2002).

Let us now consider a case which could act as a model for intergenerational programmes and community development. Neighbourhoods 2000 provides an example of an intergenerational programme at school which involved schoolchildren and older community members in activities aimed at learning about and changing the community. The outcomes included a greater sense of *responsible citizenship* among the participants, a feeling of continuity between generations and cultures and a reduction in the stereotypes associated with ageing.

Neighbourhoods 2000 was implemented in seven American districts (Long Island City, Mount Vernon and East Harlem, in New York, and Downtown Honolulu, Ala Wai, Ewa, and Waikiki, in Hawaii) for seven years (from 1987 to 1994). Each of the projects had the same group of activities, although they were adapted, on the one hand, to the setting, problems, local improvement strategies and available resources and, on the other, to the perception and creativity of the older volunteers, students, management team members and school staff (48 older persons and 4th, 5th and 6th grade students). The final format consisted of a series of eight activities performed in 22 sessions. They included photographic investigation of the district, the use of maps, memory interviews in which older people recreated their experiences in the community, autobiographical walks, construction of models of the district and public presentation of the projects to the competent authorities.

The many interesting results of this macro-project were grouped by Kaplan (1997b) into the following four categories:

a) The need to be understood: stereotypes associated to age were eradicated.

b) The perception of intergenerational continuity: a feeling of comradeship emerged. With these types of shared activities, the participants learned about the similarities and differences in their lives, and a feeling of comradeship grew among the generations. Many of the older participants underlined the importance, for them and for the students, of being in contact with the youth of today (Kaplan, 1997b). As one of the participants said, «The children are the future, and will inherit our country. We seniors hope to teach them that, even though lifestyles of different generations change rapidly, we must not have our moral values disrupted. Yes, the years are many that exist between us, but the basics –the foundations of love, respect, sacrifices and caring for one another– must always be carried on, without change» (Kaplan, 1997b: 218).

c) The construction of a sense of *responsible citizenship* and community activism trends. In the words of one of the participants, «[The project] breaks down the four walls of the classroom and encourages us to look beyond and see how the actions of others in our community affect us and how we have the power to affect others positively» (Kaplan, 1997b: 218).

d) Improvement of the community in general and the spread of a sense of cultural continuity.

Based on their experiences in the project, the participants learned to have more critical thoughts and enhanced their communication and decision-making skills. These skills are of incalculable value when preparing people to cope in a world of social, political, economic and environmental changes.

As a result of their involvement in what they found was a successful community participation experience, many of the participants showed more civic behaviour. Intergenerational projects like this, focused on community services, also have cultural continuity aspects, as they not only help people to look back but also to look to the future. In the context of community development, this represents the construction of communities strengthened by the roots of the past while centred on future changes. When the participants in the project focused on the past, present and future of their neighbourhoods, they were also referring to values, to how life should be lived. This type of dialogue was a dialectic rather than linear way of changing values. As a result, many of the participants learned to change their ideas of what progress means: the children learned that new is not always better and the older persons became more familiar with current issues such as equality of the sexes, technological development and how young people express themselves. Furthermore, in multicultural neighbourhoods, respect for other cultures was fostered through walks, songs and conversations with neighbours from other ethnic groups and races. Intergenerational programmes like this one, in which the participants share information and discuss social and cultural values, act as an important bridge between the reality experienced by different generations.

Following Kaplan (1997b: 227): «If there is continued growth in the number and scope of intergenerational community services projects, it is possible that this will have implications for revitalizing popular conceptions of intergenerational respect and support, citizenship responsibility, experiential education, and political activism». Are all these ingredients not required in a *society for all ages*?

Social integration of immigrants

Magic Me (http://www.magicme.co.uk) is a British organisation which since 1989 has been connecting cultural diversity with intergenerationality. Among

the organisation's many projects, there is one in which, based on photography, painting, poetry, pottery and dancing projects, children aged from 9 to 16 (from the Bengali and Somalian communities, among others) come into contact with older persons living in homes or day centres, some of whom suffer from Alzheimer's disease. For example, in a project linking older persons (Caucasians) from a day centre with children from a nearby school (most of them from Bangladesh), the end result was the joint creation of a book of drawings and pictures with information about all their lives. The Magic Me programmes are a clear example of the integration of different communities in the neighbourhood, fostering dialogue and tolerance to immigrants, cultural understanding and intergenerational exchange.

The Ajoda organisation (mentioned in Hatton-Yeo, 2006) established a project with 5-year old children, most of them of African origin, and African seniors, finding that the resulting benefits represented more than learning English, geography, history or about religions, as the children also learned citizenship, personal development, social skills, tolerance and self-esteem.

One initiative developed in Spain is the MENTOR programme, an intergenerational project aimed at increasing the reading skills and habits of immigrant children living in Granada, created by the OFECUM (www.ofecum.com) association and inspired by the successful North American Experience Corps intergenerational programme. In MENTOR, twelve immigrant children (from China, Morocco, Rumania, Bolivia and the Ukraine, aged from 6 to 12) attending a national school are helped by a group of older persons from the OFECUM association. The benefits include:

a) Improvement of the real possibilities of successful socio-cultural integration for immigrant children by fostering the reading of Spanish texts (comprehension, pronunciation).

b) Guidance for the socio-cultural integration process in the community.

c) Support for the socio-educational and cultural work carried out by the parents of the immigrant children.

d) The appearance of an adult acting as a point of reference and support, creating an atmosphere of trust, ties and friendship.

e) Reinforcement of the children's teachers' work, after school.

f) The creation of a stable group of older persons capable of acting as tutors and mentors (including retired teachers and Spanish emigrants who have now returned home).

g) An improvement in the identity of the older persons, who feel useful and productive by being involved in work of social significance and relevance.

h) The positive organisation of how the older persons make use of their time each week.

i) The creation of new friendship networks for older persons.

To use the words of some of the volunteers, taken from the programme report (OFECUM, 2006: 22):

–«I'm no longer anonymous. People recognise me on the street».

–«When we were together we did a bit of everything: singing, reading stories and poetry […]. He sometimes doesn't understand some sentences and words when he reads, so I try to help him [...], but what pleased him the most was to learn to tie his shoelaces. We also talk about a lot of topics: about the rich and the poor, about their behaviour at school, about their country, about giant pandas».

A programme based on memories of the neighbourhood was established in the Netherlands to promote better relations among new immigrants (such as Turks) and old German residents (Mercken, 2003). One final example of how these programmes help to bring people closer to new residents: a programme organised in Hamburg (Germany) enabled holocaust survivors to return to Hamburg and relate to German students through conversations and visits (Ohsako, 2002).

3.6. Conclusion

As we have seen, the answer to the question of who benefits from intergenerational programmes is a complex one. The same occurs when we refer to different family dynamics. We certainly know from the scientific literature on family studies that not all family types lead to the same outcomes. There are very different types of family, as there are different intergenerational

programmes and practices, ranging from those which strengthen friendships to those which foster social cohesion in the community.

Good intergenerational programmes do not arise by change: they require careful planning, training, monitoring and consistency. Many of the variables affecting them, which have been associated to effective practices, include detailed management throughout the programme and training sessions for the participants (Hawkins, Backman and McGuire, 1998), designing interaction-promoting activities to help the participants to get to know each other and explore issues of common interest (Angelis, 1996), and ensuring that the programme activities are culturally appropriate to the evolutive status of the participants. The evaluation of such practices, identifying what works and what does not, teaches us more about our daily work, helps us to improve subsequent programmes and increases the likelihood of them having a positive impact.

For example, programmes which represent a single meeting or involving superficial contact are qualitatively different from those leading to more intense experiences and stronger and more continued communications; the latter tend to lead to more significant relationships, and their participants believe that they have a profound impact on their lives. Another important variable establishing differences in the impact of intergenerational programmes is related to how the participants are involved in their planning and development: from an *empowerment* perspective, most of the participants should be involved as much as they wish in planning the programme and decision-making, to ensure that the programme effectively addresses issues which they consider relevant.

In this chapter we have been able to see the diversity of intergenerational programmes in place in this multidisciplinary research field, and we have also learned about where they take place and the different activities performed by participants. However, we would like to emphasise, once again, how well-designed intergenerational programmes which intentionally seek to share resources and learning between generations, build significant relationships and ensure mutual benefits not only for the participants, but also for families and the local community (taken from Kaplan, Liu and Hannon, 2003).

The chapter ends with a fragment taken from the conclusions of the MENTOR intergenerational programme (OFECUM, 2006) to which we referred earlier:

«Wherever intergenerational programmes have been established, they have provided something of which there is a shortage in Spanish society: opportunities, spaces and activities where intergenerational (familial and other) relations are a natural means for satisfying our own needs and those of others. Many older people would like to relate to children and young people but they don't know how, and vice versa. Moreover, many people have never even had the opportunity to discover the importance of giving an "intergenerational twist" to their lives. What is this twist? It consists of overcoming all the barriers preventing intergenerational relations from arising naturally, and discovering intergenerationality where, although never evident, it can usually be found» (OFECUM, 2006: 24).

IV. Intergenerational programmes and social inclusion of the elderly

Donna M. Butts, Executive Director *(Generations United, USA)*

4.1. Introduction

Intergenerational programs provide effective means to achieve social inclusion and combat discrimination based on age, ability, ethnicity and income. In neighborhoods and villages, elders offer oral history, wisdom and insight based on experience that provides stability for subsequent generations. Younger generations offer new perspectives, untarnished by time, that embody hope for the future. While intergenerational programs are generally considered positive strategies, advocates continue to struggle to bring intergenerational approaches into the common realm of practice. This inhibits the ability of these programs and their practitioners to combat discrimination against older persons. As long as aging is viewed as a time to disengage that holds little value, there will be discrimination. If elders are seen only as an economic drain in need of services and financial support, the debate about their worth, or lack thereof, will continue. The 2002 Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing included the goal of moving older persons «from social exclusion to integration and participation». This concept supports several of the themes that provide the foundation for implementing the plan including inter-generational inter-dependence and solidarity and reciprocity. Its intent demonstrates what the compact between generations exemplifies: it is not a competition, it is a community.

4.2. Role of intergenerational programs

Four year old twins, Michael and Michelle, arrive each morning at their pre-school which is attached to an independent living facility for older adults. They run to find Clara, their 78 year old wheelchair-bound friend. After

good morning hugs and a discussion about the day's events, they all head to class where they join others engrossed in an art project painting bread with colored water to then toast and eat as a snack. Throughout the day their paths will cross whether during reading lessons, playing computer games or engaging in physical activities. Clara and other *grandfriends* provide extra support for the classroom teacher and a warm lap for the children. She has the time to patiently assist the young ones as they sound out new words, reminds them to be polite and mind their manners, and delights in their accomplishments lavishing them with praise. She has purpose. She is their friend.

According to studies (Rosebrook, 2006; Foster, 1997; Rebok *et al*., 2004), children in intergenerational programs are as likely to view a seven year old as a 70 year old as someone who could be their friend. They have an enhanced perception of older adults, are less concerned about wheelchairs and canes, and demonstrate improved reading scores and fewer behavioral problems than their peers. Intergenerational programs help to build social cohesion and create an inclusive environment that allows elders to participate fully to the extent of their abilities.

Renowned anthropologist Margaret Mead said «The closest friends I have made through life have been people who also grew up close to a loved and living grandmother or grandfather». Whether related by blood or connected by close proximity, those engaged in intergenerational friendships look beyond stereotypes and do not use the filter of age to differentiate themselves. So if intergenerational programs positively connect people of different generations, what prevents them from becoming more generally accepted and widespread?

Intergenerational Programs and Ageism

Intergenerational is defined in the American Heritage Dictionary as «being or occurring between generations». Intergenerational programming refers to activities or programs that increase cooperation, interaction and exchange between people of different generations. Through intergenerational programs, people of different generations share their talents and resources and support each other in relationships that benefit both the individual and their community. These programs provide opportunities for individuals,

families and communities to enjoy and benefit from the richness of an age-integrated society (*Generations United*). The *International Consortium of Intergenerational Programmes* defines these programs as «social vehicles that create purposeful and ongoing exchange of resources and learning among older and younger generations» (International Consortium of Intergenerational Programmes). They provide purpose while offering a way for people of differing generations to meet, relate, and accept each other. They provide a face beyond the numbers and statistics and make it more difficult to generalize about another age group.

Two additional definitions help explain their importance; first, discrimination which «is based on group, class or category versus individual merit» followed by prejudice, «an adverse opinion or leaning formed without just grounds or before sufficient knowledge» (Dictionary.com). These definitions were applied to aging by Dr. Robert N. Butler who in 1969 coined the word «ageism». As defined by Butler, ageism is prejudice and discrimination against members of a group, in this case older people. He asserted that unlike other prejudice such as racism or sexism, ageism will affect everyone. In other words sexism, racism and other isms single out particular sub-groups but everyone is aging. Given Butler's observation that all persons are at risk of ageism, it is in everyone's best interest to change the negative perception of age (Palmore, 2004).

«The great issues of aging in America –poverty, elder abuse, and loneliness– are by-products of our society's tacit acceptance of ageism», Dr. Butler wrote in his preface to issue brief *The Future of Ageism*. «It can be seen in the failure to enforce basic standards in nursing homes, leaving the most vulnerable populations at risk. It is on display in the workplace, where ageism undermines the ability of older persons to remain productively employed and economically independent, and in the efforts of some corporations to transform pensions into "cash balance" programs that rob older workers and their families of retirement security. Ageism is at work when physicians dismiss the complaints of older patients ("What can you expect at your age?")».

«As we age, we crave the same respect and consideration that we garnered in our youth», said Dr. Butler. «We must work together –as a society– to promote positive, optimistic attitudes and portrayals of older people. If we fail to show compassion for and protect the rights of older people today, we are destined to suffer from the same ageist injustices tomorrow» (Butler, 2004: 1).

While the Pulitzer Prize winning Butler pioneered the concept of ageism, researchers in the intergenerational field have sought to determine the impact that intergenerational programs have on preventing ageism. Most intergenerational programs are designed to promote positive exchange between generations. The dosage, quality and type of program affect their ability to influence participants' perceptions. Negative attitudes about aging may vary according to situational, contextual and social factors. The positive exchange that occurs in intergenerational programs may override the negative perception between the generations (Vernon, 1999). Because of this potential, they remain an important mechanism to impact the future of ageism.

Using Built and Outdoor Space to Confront Ageism

Intergenerational programs support the social contract between generations and encourage the transfer of knowledge and culture. These programs can occur in a variety of settings but one model is beginning to gain more interest in the USA. Intergenerational shared sites and space use built and outdoor environment as a means to connect generations. While these intergenerational shared sites may vary in structure, their common thread is that they provide at least two program components: one that serves children or youth and one that serves older adults. This may include an adult day care co-residing with a child care center, an assisted living housing facility with an after-school program or a school that houses a senior center (Generations United, 2005).

As communities confront the need to provide services across the lifespan, more innovative cities and towns are using their limited resources to connect generations rather than separate them. One shared site example is from the greater Phoenix Arizona area which now builds and retrofits existing buildings to create Multigenerational Centers. Rather than build separate senior centers, teen centers and recreation centers, their municipalities, such as Apache Junction, have constructed quality model facilities that are used during the day for senior lunches and special interest clubs, after school for youth basketball, and in the evening for families to take classes, scale the climbing wall or make crafts together. A child care center provides a convenient spot for parents to leave children while they exercise. As one mother said, «…she doesn't get to see her grandmother very often so it's great she sees older people here and greets them» (Generations United, 2007).

The proximity that occurs between generations in shared sites mirrors society as it once was; age integrated rather than segregated, encouraging the interaction and social supports that were prevalent in neighborhoods and families that lived their lives close together and with mutual support.

Intergenerational Programs Enhance well-being & meaning

Older adults find that volunteering provides a venue for better health and well-being. Research has shown that volunteers have greater longevity, higher functional ability, lower rates of depression, less use of canes, and less incidence of heart disease (CNCS 2007; Civic Ventures, 2005). Volunteering and the resulting good health counter the perception that elders are more vulnerable, have multiple physical limitations, and diminishing cognitive skills. The Center on Ageing and Health at Johns Hopkins University found «significant health benefits» for the older adult participants. They reported they were more likely to be physically active boasting a 31% increase in the number of blocks walked over the study period compared to non-participants who reported a 9% decrease in their walking, and 44% reported feeling stronger versus 18% of the control group. They also reported they were more likely to engage in social interaction, read books and watched less television (Civic Ventures, 2005). These volunteers are more likely to be out mixing and mingling with the public rather than isolating themselves. Other studies have found positive and optimistic attitudes protect the elderly from becoming frail. Positive attitudes aid in healing. Another study concluded that building and maintaining relationships with others is associated with better mental health, less disease and disability, and increased survival (Ostir *et al*.).

In addition to combating ageism, intergenerational programs add to the well-being of older adults and help to reduce social isolation. Intergenerational programs can be platforms for mutual assistance across the generations. In line with other studies, older adults involved in one intergenerational community reported that they feel better, have purpose in their lives, and take better care of themselves (Generations of Hope, 2006).

These positive outcomes are illustrated by a program entitled *Cranes, Boats and Trains*, an intergenerational heritage program that took place in the North East of England. Its purpose was to «involve older volunteers and sixth form students supporting each other to produce a DVD about the heritage of

Tyneside's shipyards». Young and old worked together to record oral histories and document a fading industry. One retired shipyard worker, at the successful conclusion of the project, said «I had no idea I was of use to anybody» (Centre for Intergenerational Practice, 2005).

Intergenerational programs are often the only opportunity for children, youth and young adults to share time with older adults and hear their stories and perspectives. During an intergenerational photography project held at Dorot, a Jewish faith-based organization in New York City, a teen participant shared one of her photographs in which she expressed her view of aging. It showed an empty bottle next to an overflowing bottle. She explained that being young was like being an empty bottle, ready to be filled with experiences and stories. The overflowing bottle depicted an elder, someone whose wisdom was spilling generously over the top, ready to help fill the empty bottle. An elder in the class commented on the role of the camera and how it had acted as an equalizer allowing the generations to interact and work together with a common goal of learning to capture quality images (Generations United, 2007).

Protecting dignity and providing goals

Intergenerational programs engage people of all backgrounds and provide a sense of dignity and goals. A recent report by the Harvard School of Public Health pointed to the important role intergenerational programs can play in engaging older adults in meaningful volunteer roles. «These programs build community by integrating the old with the young, transmitting knowledge and experience to future generations and re-enforcing the value of people of all ages» (Harvard, 2004). Intergenerational programs offer opportunities across socioeconomic and demographic groups. For example, George, an elder Wisconsin resident, could not read or write until after he turned 13 years old. In 2003 he was recognized in the USA as one of the top honorees of the National Association of Area Agencies on Aging and MetLife Foundation's Older Volunteers Enrich America Program. A retired blue collar worker with little formal education and a recent widower, George was depressed and alone. He was encouraged by the local senior volunteer coordinator to think about sharing his skills with a younger generation. He decided to teach young people at risk of breaking the law how to use power tools to fix and build things at a local juvenile detention facility. Faced with skeptics concerned about

showing troubled teens how to use potentially dangerous tools, he persevered. George began the class and recruited his friends to join him and teach young people eager for the attention that the elder craftsmen shine on them (National Association of Area Agencies on Aging, 2003).

Another example, this one from Australia, is a program called *Hand Break Turn,* which recruited older motorcycle enthusiasts, otherwise known as bikers, to mentor and teach marginalized young people who have a history of motor vehicle theft and/or are unemployed. The purpose of the program is to teach disadvantaged youth the skills they need to be able to find employment in a field they love, in this case, automobiles. The program recruits and engages a segment of older society that often is overlooked as good role models for younger generations and honors their skills and talents (Feldman, 2005).

In addition to volunteer opportunities, another avenue is developing for aging adults who want to continue to be productive and have purpose in their later years. Civic Ventures, a San Francisco-based think tank, is beginning to create a path that will enable aging adults to pursue paid work alternatives. These options are important in particular for elders who do not have the financial resources to devote themselves to unpaid volunteer work. Marc Freedman, Civic Ventures founder, is focused on developing opportunities for what he has labeled «encore careers» for older individuals at the intersection of continued income, new meaning, and significant contribution to the greater good. In their efforts to promote a new way of viewing later life, Civic Ventures launched the Purpose Prize designed to bring attention to social entrepreneurs who make significant contributions after the age of 60. The group has also contributed to research about what motivates older adults as they retire and look forward to the years ahead of them. Upon retirement they found relationship with others linked with purpose to be critical to many elders. They missed their co-workers and sense of contributing to something larger than themselves (Civic Ventures, 2001). While benefits have been well documented, intergenerational opportunities continue to be limited.

4.3. Struggles and barriers to overcome

The International Consortium of Intergenerational Programmes (ICIP) believes one of the main contributions intergenerational programs may make to national

policy is to promote social cohesion, national unity and shared responsibility. Members found intergenerational programs form a system, an approach and practice in which all generations, irrespective of age, race, location and socioeconomic status, bind themselves together in the process of generating, promoting and utilizing ideas, knowledge, skills, attitudes and values in an interactive way for the improvement of self and community (Hatton-Yeo, 2002). Still, intergenerational programs can be difficult to implement and face many obstacles that inhibit their success. Some of this is due to narrowly focused policies and funding sources. For example, charities concentrating on ageing programs seldom include intergenerational practice in their funding priorities. The same is true for children and youth funding entities. Public policies are often segregated by age as well. An administration or department charged with protecting children may discover that regulations governing their work prohibit them from using resources to engage older adults as aids in their important work. At the same time, conflicting policies can be enough to dissuade an enthusiastic practitioner from taking on the burden of engaging in multigenerational programming. An example of this is found in America where an agency serving children is required to provide a certain number of meals, a specific staff to child ratio, and that these services be offered with a certain square footage per child. However if they want to serve older adults also, they find completely different regulations which are often in conflict with those governing programs for children.

Another issue is the size and scope of the programs. They are often small, underfunded, and lack quality evaluation to document outcomes. Assumptions also abound. Some believe home-bound, frail seniors cannot participate in intergenerational programs. In fact these elders can be called upon to hold and feed babies and provide telephone support to children who find themselves alone after school. Others believe older adults want to be around babies and small children not realizing that many excel in relating to older youth and adolescents and prefer to interact with this age group. Believing intergenerational programs only occur between babies and elders reinforces the nice but not necessary perspective that haunts intergenerational practice.

Where intergenerational programs are housed is also a factor. Traditionally the aging field has championed intergenerational programs. They have been framed as either elders in need of services and support from younger

generations or the important contribution elders can still make to the life of their communities. These frameworks fail to take into account one of the fundamental values of intergenerational programming, that of reciprocity. Acknowledging the reciprocity that exists across the life course is fundamental to quality intergenerational practice; the understanding that each person gives and receives throughout their lifetime and that people of all generations have value and can contribute to civic life. Unless children and youth champions endorse intergenerational programs they will be left in the realm of aging specialists and the risk remains that others will perceive them as only serving the interests of the aging field. This can continue to perpetuate the belief that elders are only the recipients of services and care and not contributors.

4.4. Intergenerational practice and social inclusion

The United Nations Focal Point on Ageing, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, has worked to change the global perspective on ageing. The Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing was released following the Second World Assembly on Ageing in 1982. It addressed ageing from the humanitarian needs or welfare state of older people. The Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing, which followed the 2002 World Assembly, included the goal of moving older persons «from social exclusion to integration and participation» and offers a view of ageing from a developmental perspective. This built on the 1999 concept of «A Society for All Ages» developed for the UN's International Year of the Older Person. This concept supports several of the themes that provide the foundation for implementing the Madrid Plan including intergenerational interdependence and solidarity and reciprocity. Intergenerational programs provide opportunities to realize these key elements in the plan. This will entail encouraging not only broader application of intergenerational practice but adherence to best practices that have been identified by researchers in the field.

Quality Intergenerational Programs

High quality intergenerational programs value each generation that is participating. The nature of intergenerational program activities is important

for achieving positive attitudinal outcomes. When poorly designed and implemented, intergenerational interaction can result in a negative assessment of another age group. Preparation, quality of contact and duration of the program all impact a project's effectiveness. Researcher Valerie Kuehne identified four factors related to intergenerational program activities that seem to be critical to their success:

1) activities should be related to the individual needs of those in one or, preferably, both participant groups (i.e., young and old);

2) activities can be created for purposes that are both related to the individuals involved and for the benefit of others as well (e.g., community);

3) intergenerational program participants should have a role in planning activities; and

4) a clear link should exist between program goals, activities and research and/or evaluation outcome measures (Kuehne, 2004).

Kuehne cites one example of a program developed in Alabama, an intergenerational service-learning opportunity for younger and older adults to work together in a community-based training program. The goal was to train college-aged workers for an age-diverse employment environment. Younger workers were being prepared to enter the multigenerational work force, while older workers were being re-trained for the workforce in mid-life. Both groups needed to learn to manage conflict effectively in an increasingly age-diverse work environment.

The researchers found that the training was well received by both younger and older participants, appropriately focusing on self-esteem building, workplace stress management, résumé development, computer skills and other specific training. Additionally, involvement in the program improved young adults' attitudes toward older workers more generally.

While individual intergenerational programs can be effective in changing perceptions between age cohorts, efforts are also underway to take a more comprehensive approach to building intergenerational solidarity.

Community and Neighborhood-wide Initiatives

Late in the last century efforts emerged designed to move the focus of intergenerational practice from individual programs to potentially wider impact taking a neighborhood or community based approach. These initiatives ranged from a country-wide effort in the Netherlands to community-based developments in the United States. On the ground, efforts were coupled with awareness-raising campaigns to provide a mass message. For example in the United States advertisements have included slogans such as «Volunteering: think of it as a facelift for your spirit» and «Ready, Wrinkled and Able» (Civic Ventures, 2005). These efforts are combining best practices from the fields of community development, environmental protection and human development. Going beyond a single program, these approaches were intended to engage people where they live their lives and prevent old and young from being marginalized.

Engaging youth advocates and organizations

As mentioned earlier, intergenerational proponents continue to come primarily from the aging field. In the USA, the first documented intergenerational programs were conceived as a part of the War on Poverty back in the 1960s. Foster Grandparents and other programs were created to fight the growing isolation of low income seniors and connect generations as well as provide health care and a small income. Most of the support for program development stemmed from institutions whose missions were to serve the elderly. Children, youth and family focused advocates and organizations have been less inclined to integrate intergenerational practice. When they do think about engaging intergenerational strategies, it is usually from the vantage point of how older adults can contribute to the populations they seek to serve, not how younger generations can fulfill the mutual web of support between generations.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation has taken a more expansive approach. Founded in 1948, the primary mission of the foundation is to foster public policies, human-service reforms, and community supports that more effectively meet the needs of today's vulnerable children and families. Why does a foundation focused on the well-being of disadvantaged children turn its attention to older people? Because they believe they are integral members of the families that raise the children –and

of the communities in which they live. When attention is paid to their powerful assets and attitudes, people discover that elders can and do provide support, skills, leadership and social capital that improve the lives of these children. The foundation has developed an *elders as resources* portfolio to encourage their program officers and the communities in which they work to find ways to engage older adults in their work (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2007).

Seniors4Kids provides another example of leadership among children and youth groups. This initiative, developed by Generations United, mobilizes older adults as the advocates for children. Piloted in Florida with the Children's Campaign, the project recruits *elder captains* or *captains for kids* as a key voice on behalf of quality pre-school education and seeks to make college degreed teachers mandatory in early childhood classrooms. All of the living former governors of the state and one widowed former first lady agreed to serve as honorary co-chairs lending their credibility and support. Seniors4Kids has raised the visibility of the debate and helped to confront the misconception that older adults think only about their own needs. The project provides a platform for elders to make a meaningful contribution to their towns and state through making public statements, appearing in bright elder captain tee shirts at public events and writing letters to elected officials. Seniors4Kids is an initiative that demonstrates that older adults can continue to contribute to public discourse and fights the stereotype that older voters are focused only on themselves and do not support quality services for children when such increases are provided by their taxes. Concrete examples like Seniors4Kids help to deflect discrimination against older adults (Generations United, 2007).

Public Policy and Leaders as Encouragers

Champions promoting intergenerational solidarity are rare and need to be encouraged. In the last century the late Senator Claude Pepper said «If politicians spent as much time worrying about the next generation as they do the next election, it would be a better country and indeed world». More recently Queen Elizabeth II of England called for bridging the generation gap when. during her annual Christmas message in 2006. She said modern life was loosening familial ties and the traditional bond between generations. She went on to say «The pressure of modern life sometimes seem to be weakening the links which have traditionally kept us together as families and communities. As

children grow up and develop their own sense of confidence and independence in the ever changing technological environment, there is always the danger of a real divide opening up between young and old, based on unfamiliarity, ignorance and misunderstanding» (New York Times 26/12/2006).

Country policy can also encourage intergenerational practice, helping to eliminate discrimination based on age. In Canada, the Ontario Human Rights Commission in its report *Time for Action: Advancing Human Rights for Older Ontarians* recommended that programs and activities be developed to encourage better understanding and a more positive view of older persons and suggests that intergenerational programs are an integral part of this kind of education. Community service is now required for high school graduation and some believe this service, if in intergenerational programs, could help address some of the growing distance between generations (Davis, 2003).

In the USA, recent changes in federal policy are designed to encourage inter or multigenerational programming. In the 2006 reauthorization of the Older Americans Act (OAA), advocates were able to work with policy makers to include language that specifically supports these types of programs. The OAA authorizes grants to fund opportunities for multigenerational civic engagement. Examples named in the Act include:

- support for grandparents and other older adults who are raising children;
- involving older volunteers in providing support to families who are in need, perhaps because a child is ill or disabled; and
- promoting multigenerational activities.

To be eligible for a grant, an organization must provide opportunities for older adults to use their time, skill and experience, and must have a multigenerational coordinator. A multigenerational coordinator is a person who:

- builds the capacity of public and non-profit organizations to use the time, skill, and experience of older individuals to serve those organizations; and
- nurtures productive, sustainable working relationships between individuals from older and younger generations.

While these programs are included in the OAA, the US Congress failed to appropriate the funds for their implementation (Generations United, 2007).

State and local municipalities have also been challenged to encourage the participation of elders. For example in New York State a comprehensive set of bills have been introduced that include a tax abatement program for older adults volunteering with children and calls for the creation of a Mature Workers Task Force.

At the local government level, the city of Falcon Heights, Minnesota committed itself to becoming an intergenerational city. Mayor Sue Gehrz and the city council made intergenerational interaction a high priority. The mayor gathered a diverse group of eighty-seven people from the ages of 12-88 to participate in a dialogue in response to the tragedy of 9/11. The group, representing all faiths, ethnicities and nationalities, developed 126 action steps to improve safety in the community and prepare for future acts of terrorism and naturally occurring disasters like tornadoes and hurricanes. The city created the Intergenerational Commission on Homeland Security. This group laid the foundation for the Neighborhood Commission, now one of four permanent Commissions or advisory groups that help to guide city government in Falcon Heights. Every effort is made to incorporate the voices and concerns of all generations into policy decisions that are made by the mayor. This is done in part by creating formal structures within city government that facilitate communication and decision-making by all generations. Intergenerational participation is encouraged in all Falcon Heights' activities and programs as well as in private events held in public spaces. Specifically, the city requires that: intergenerational interaction is a public policy goal of the City Council; policy proposals must incorporate the ideas and concerns of multiple generations; there is intergenerational participation on city advisory boards; and use of city facilities is free to intergenerational groups.

Educational institutions and advocates of lifelong learning also have an important role to play in connecting generations. In Europe, Cyprus' Ministry of Education and Culture supports a national program that facilitates older adults returning to primary and secondary schools. The young students learn about the aging process and benefit by having older people as students alongside them in their classrooms. These elders provide personal accounts of what life was like in earlier decades and share stories that make history come alive (Mercken,

2004). In the USA, state and local education policies have broadened to encourage older adults to continue their education and keep their minds active. The state of Kentucky, for example, allows anyone over the age of 65 to attend classes at no cost at state colleges and universities. Several universities have opened their campuses or nearby locations for the development of senior housing. Older adults are invited to join campus life and take classes for free or low tuition.

4.5. Looking to the future

Worldwide demographic changes provide a tremendous opportunity to enhance social cohesion and solidarity between generations. While change occurs at the local level, national and regional policy can play an important role in encouraging the engagement of people of all ages and decrease discrimination against older adults. Additionally, international efforts can provide the impetus for this movement as the work of the United Nations has demonstrated. The UN's Madrid plan offers a new direction when compared to the Vienna plan, one that shifts the focus from fixes to inclusion. The UN continued to build this theme when selecting the title for 2007 International Year of the Older Person «Addressing the Challenges and Opportunities of Ageing: Empowering Older Persons».

International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes

The work of the UN has inspired member countries to consider intergenerational practice as a way to promote social inclusion and increase social capital. This growing interest led to the creation of the International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes (ICIP), an all voluntary NGO, which in turn has provided the venue for fledgling global partnerships. ICIP is the only international membership organization focused solely on promoting intergenerational programmes, strategies and public policy from a global perspective. Launched at an international meeting of intergenerational specialists in The Netherlands in October 1999, ICIP represents the culmination of the vision and work of many people who saw the importance of bringing together policy makers, academics and practitioners to promote intergenerational practice worldwide. ICIP's aims are:

- To promote and develop intergenerational programs and practices nationally and internationally.
- To develop a systematic approach to understanding why intergenerational programs and practices work.
- To promote the importance of intergenerational programs and practices as agents for global social change (ICIP, 2007).

ICIP members have proposed that the following characteristics are essential to the success of such programmes:

- They demonstrate mutual benefits for participants.
- They establish new social roles and/or new perspectives for young and old participants.
- They can involve multiple generations and must include at least two nonadjacent and non familial generations.
- They promote increased awareness and understanding between the younger and older generations and the growth of self esteem for both generations.
- They address social issues and policies relevant to those generations involved.
- They include the elements of good program planning.
- Intergenerational relationships are developed (Hatton Yeo *et al.,* 2000).

To date, ICIP has conducted four international conferences, developed and maintained a website that includes a program database, issued a quarterly electronic newsletter and sponsored symposia at other conferences, all with the goal of sharing intergenerational practice and encouraging the adoption of these strategies. ICIP's benefits have reached beyond these products. Members of ICIP have connected efforts underway in their countries with the aim of developing a global learning network that encourages best practices. Tri-country collaboration currently exists between Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, which is proving to be beneficial to the member countries.

ICIP has also encouraged the development of emerging intergenerational networks in countries with relatively new intergenerational practices.

Following the 2006 ICIP conference in Melbourne, Australia, the conference conveners have worked to establish the Australian Intergenerational Network. In 2006, ICIP also participated in the launch of the Japan Intergenerational Unity Network.

4.6. Conclusion

In an aging and increasingly global society, we have a unique opportunity to build awareness, shape attitudes, and strengthen relationships across the lifespan with the aim of ensuring social inclusion for people of all generations. While interaction between generations may occur randomly and without thought, intentional intergenerational opportunities must exist to ensure persons of all ages have the value of truly knowing individuals belonging to other generations. Without this, negative stereotypes and harmful assumptions can threaten the delicate thread that binds the past to the future and advances our world community. UN Ambassador Julie Tavares Alvarez captured this sentiment well when she said «Make no mistake about it; my vision is not about simply shifting resources in the spirit of giving, but rather the creation of a true world community of feeling and consciousness. This is a world in which people have the same status. This is a vision that is not about charity, but rather, solidarity» (Álvarez, 2007: 148).

Intergenerational programs, while still struggling to integrate into common practice, hold an important role in eliminating discrimination against the world's elderly. They can and should be incorporated into mainstream policy and practice because, indeed, all generations are stronger together.

V. Intergenerational programmes, intergenerational solidarity and social cohesion

Alan Hatton-Yeo *(Beth Johnson Foundation)*

5.1. Introduction

In the social policy of the European Union, the concept of *solidarity* has acquired an increasing importance because it represents both an appeal to a central value in European thought, as well as a flexible means of developing services through the progressive extension of networks. One aspect of these networks concerns solidarity between generations. The term was used in 1993, the «Year of Solidarity between Generations», in relation to a series of policy-related activities in Europe, mainly concerned with welfare for elderly people, though the term can with equal justice be extended to refer to the responsibilities of parents for children.

The European «Year of Solidarity between Generations» arose from a concern over the ageing of the population and was rooted in a traditional welfare model of caring for the elderly. The concept of *solidarity* was grounded in a desire for the continuation of the traditional reciprocal relationship between the generations against a background of concern over conflict over resources between the generations and changing family and social structures partly as a consequence of globalization.

The United Nations has equally adopted the concept, and the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) declares that «Solidarity between generations at all levels –in families, communities and nations– is fundamental for the achievement of a s*ociety for all ages*» (United Nations, 2002). The plan goes on to acknowledge that changing demographic, economic and social circumstances will necessitate adjustments in policies relating to the pension, social security, health and long-term care systems in order to sustain economic growth and development; this process will require a review of existing policies to ensure

generational equity as well as efforts to promote the idea of mutual support and solidarity between generations as a key element in social development.

The *United Nations World Youth Report* (2003) expands this: «One of the central themes running through the Madrid Plan is "recognition of the crucial importance of families, intergenerational interdependence, solidarity and reciprocity for social development". The Plan links the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms –including the right to development– to the achievement of *a society for all ages*. Again, reciprocity between the generations is emphasized as key. Time and again at the United Nations, Member States have pointed to the maintenance of intergenerational solidarity as a priority concern when they speak about the situation of older persons, even if the means of achieving this objective have not always been clearly identified. Interestingly, in articles on youth and children, there is a dearth of references to the importance of intergenerational relationships».

This chapter seeks to explore what the concept of *intergenerational solidarity* means in practice, how this (inter)relates to social cohesion and how intergenerational activities can contribute to the development and strengthening of both. In undertaking this analysis the chapter will also draw on the concept of social capital as one measure of social or community cohesion.

5.2. Intergenerational solidarity

It must be noted that the body of research relating to intergenerational approaches to community building and social cohesion outside the family is still limited. Pain (2005) commented that existing work can be divided into four interconnected areas:

a) issues of transfer and transmission between generations.

b) a focus on personal relationships and the amount and nature and implications of contact between the generations, in most cases who are related.

c) a smaller amount of work examining issues of personal identity.

d) a burgeoning concern with the evaluation of intergenerational policy and practice.

However, there is a broader base of work exploring issues of intergenerational solidarity.

Martin Rein (1994) has attributed intergenerational solidarity primarily to a sense of identity and belonging: the term *solidarity* is based on the idea that the feeling of togetherness, based on close family ties, provides a basis for identification which, in turn, leads to a willingness to provide mutual assistance. Spicker (2003) argues Rein is mistaken. Mutual assistance is not only dependent on identification; the ties of solidarity are also the ties of mutual support.

Intergenerational relationships, and what is referred to as the *intergenerational contract*, are governed by rules, norms, conventions, practices and biology, with the *contract* being implicit rather than arrived at through individual negotiation. Some people have also used the term *social compact* to articulate the concept of *intergenerational interdependence* (Henkin and Kingson, 1998/99; Kingson, Cornman and Leavitt, 1997).

Though perhaps not as common today, it was standard for some cultures in the past to take steps to ensure that power over resources and assets lay with older persons (and invariably with older men, not older women). In many Western countries, the welfare of older persons has become more a community rather than a family concern; in some countries the conventional role of the family has been reduced (United Nations 2003). These examples point to the fact that all societies have different starting points in their perceptions of what constitutes the intergenerational contract, solidarity and relationships and of how formalized those relationships are.

Alan Walker (2001) asserts that policy makers «have not grasped the fundamental importance of intergenerational solidarity… they perceive only a funding/spending relationship». He maintains that the economic relationship is but one consideration; the intergenerational contract also includes an ethical dimension that represents the social cohesion of societies, achieved by ensuring security for all citizens –not only those able to pay for it.

The point Walker makes is that the increasing promotion of individual responsibility for old age as the primary, if not total, focus of policy may contribute not only to a decline in intergenerational solidarity but also to a general weakening of overall social cohesion. He argues that while it

makes sound economic sense to adjust to the demographic realities of an ageing society, a one dimensional interpretation of the intergenerational contract or intergenerational relationships will undermine efforts to maintain intergenerational solidarity.

Another dimension of intergenerational solidarity is that assets and pensions enable older people to maintain their status through continuing contributions to the family. In South Africa the social pension, a non-contributory basic pension for all older members of society, increases the income of poor older persons and has also been found to constitute a source of support for unemployed adults, young grandchildren and other relatives; a large proportion of the pension is used to cover schooling expenses (Devereux 2002). Similar evidence of the resources of older persons being overwhelmingly invested in family maintenance and the education of the young has been reported in Latin America and the Caribbean (Help Age International 2002).

Thus intergenerational solidarity needs to be broadly characterized in terms of those formal and informal systems, practices and understandings that enable the generations to engage in a collaborative fashion to provide mutual benefit. Such a model resonates with much of the current debate around the need to promote social cohesion and civic engagement. Cross generational relationships can be identified as one of the key networks that can tie communities together (Hatton-Yeo, 2006a).

A recent study by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Hudson, Phillips, Ray and Barnes, 2007) into community cohesion in ethnically diverse communities found that intergenerational tensions were at least as significant as cultural and ethnic divisions in militating against social cohesion. Some key informants in the study stressed the importance of recognizing and addressing intergenerational fears and tensions, cultivating respect across the generations and acknowledging the need to recognize the multiple identities of individuals for community relationships.

5.3. Social cohesion in theory and in research

The meaning of *social cohesion* is open to debate. The literature broadly emphasises two principal elements to the concept: «the reduction of disparities,

inequalities and social exclusion» and «the strengthening of social relations, interactions and ties» (Berger-Schmitt, 2000, p. 28).

The idea of social cohesion links well to the concept of *social capital*. Social capital is associated with «people's sense of community, their sense of belonging to a neighbourhood, caring about the people who live there, and believing that people who live there care about them» (Portney and Berry 2001, p. 71).

Positive attitudes towards and beliefs about one's neighbours contribute to cohesion within local community, and thus to residents' willingness to participate in local affairs and to cooperate in everyday matters. As a result, life in communities with high levels of social capital –so called *civic communities*– is good: «the presence of social capital –individuals connected to one another through trusting networks and common values– allows for the enforcement of positive standards for youths and offers them access to mentors, role models, educational sponsors, and job contacts outside the neighbourhood. Social networks may also provide emotional and financial support for individuals and supply political leverage and volunteers for community institutions» (Putnam 2000, p. 312).

In the United Kingdom the promotion of a stronger sense of community along with greater community involvement, particularly in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, is an important strand of current government thinking, cutting across a range of departments. The Government's sustainable communities strategy identifies «a sense of community identity and belonging», along with «tolerance, respect and engagement with people from different cultures, background and beliefs» as requisites for sustainable communities (ODPM, 2005). There is a suggestion in this policy debate that a sense of community belonging is best developed at the neighbourhood level, and indeed *neighbourhood* and *community* are generally assumed to coincide and are often talked about interchangeably. The Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) in their report «Our Shared Future» also make specific reference to the importance of programmes to build intergenerational understanding and respect in developing social cohesion.

This idea that intergenerational work can contribute to the development of social capital and cohesion is supported by recent research from Hong

Kong (CIIF Evaluation Consortium 2006). The Community Investment and Inclusion Fund (CIIF) was launched in Hong Kong in 2002 to support community initiated projects that promoted mutual aid and concern and promote community participation. It aimed to promote social cohesion, strengthen community networks and support family and social solidarity. A consortium of five universities was formed in 2004 to evaluate the impact of the CIIF project.

The final report of the consortium concluded that intergenerational solidarity is vital to the development of social capital. The study found that all the selected intergenerational projects that were implemented effectively did not only enhance intergenerational solidarity but also the development of social capital in Hong Kong. The study also confirmed that intergenerational programmes can enhance the solidarity between generations through enhancing positive image as well as reciprocal support.

The Joseph Rowntree report (2007) and other research (Letki, 2005) highlight that the economic status of a community is one of the strongest influences on social cohesion. Poverty has a more corrosive effect on cohesion than ethnic or generational difference and it is therefore important in developing intergenerational activities to promote solidarity and cohesion to consider activities that not only seek to build positive relationships but also seek to encourage aspiration and achievement and break intergenerational cycles of poverty.

«Therefore, the efforts to revive social cohesion through programmes focused on intercommunity relations are misplaced if they under-emphasise material deprivation, intergenerational disadvantage, crime and low community socioeconomic status. To maintain social solidarity and community cohesion, 21st Century Britain needs more social and economic equality, rather than more cultural unity. Until the link between diversity and deprivation is alleviated, British communities are likely to continue to face a crisis of solidarity and collective identity» (Letki, 2005).

A further area of challenge to intergenerational solidarity relates to future pension costs. Evidence collected in the countries of the European Union shows that a large majority of people in employment believe they have a duty to contribute to the support of the elderly. There is, however, a high degree of

pessimism emerging about the future of pensions. A survey conducted in 1992 found that 51% of respondents expected that in future people would get less pension for their contributions. In a 1999 repeat of the survey that proportion had risen to 63%. So there is a growing sense that the basic element of the social contract will not be honoured in the future (Walker, 2001).

It is important not to regard changes in generational relationships purely as exercises of individual choice but to take account of the social and political context. Modern welfare states are based on the notion of the social contract. There is a general obligation on those who are young and fit enough to be economically active to make provision for those who are not, and each generation of workers expects the next generation to contribute to their support in old age. A study by AARP in the United States of America (Beedon, 2004) has shown that even though younger workers do not expect to receive the same level of pension in real terms as the current generation of older people they are still committed to their current level of contribution.

A further issue addressed by the Madrid Plan of Action is the importance of kinship relations. The Plan refers to the fact that close family ties have largely been maintained in the face of major societal change, with all generations providing contributions; it is acknowledged, however, that all sectors of society must work to strengthen those ties by promoting dialogue aimed at boosting solidarity and providing for the specific needs of caregivers.

Changes in the family structure, namely, high rates of divorce and single parenting, are a dimension of the perceived decline of the family (Popenoe, 1993). The increase in individualisation and the existence of alternative society based systems for the fulfilment of basic human needs, has weakened the role of the family as a socialization agent and as the source for child rearing, nurturing and support. However, studies of intergenerational family relationships reveal that reports of the demise of the extended family had been exaggerated (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997), and that adult children are not isolated from their parents but frequently interact with them and exchange assistance, even when separated by large geographic distances (Lin, Rogerson, 1995). The strength of obligation and positive regard across generations was hardly diminished by geographic separation. On the basis of empirical evidence, family sociologists pointed out that the extended family maintains cross-generational cohesion (Bengtson, 2000) and the nuclear family had retained

most of its functions in partnership arrangements with formal organizations (Litwak, Silverstein, Bengtson and Hirst, 2003).

5.4. The promotion of social cohesion

The first part of this chapter has given a broad description of the concept of social cohesion and the need to maintain and strengthen intergenerational connection and solidarity if we are to achieve the vision of a *society for all ages* where all citizens are valued for their contribution irrespective of age but with a collective understanding that such contribution will change across the life course and that this is underpinned by an implicit social contract.

The second part of this chapter explores a number of practical activities that have been developed in different countries to strengthen social cohesion. These examples have been chosen to reflect diversity in terms of the type of setting and programme approach.

Amtzell is situated in the western part of the Allgäu region, approx. 20 km from Lake Constance, Germany. Population development has remained relatively stable in this region, yet the proportion of people above 80 is disproportionately high. Here, a future-oriented policy for senior citizens aims to raise the village's attractiveness as a place to live, and thereby create an opportunity for economic growth (Bardey, 2007).

In Amtzell different age groups are intentionally mixed, and an experiment named *generation village* has been undertaken. «During the preparatory phase, people thought we were completely mad», says Paul Locherer, Mayor of Amtzell, thinking back to the time when he decided to build a *kindergarten* next door to the old people's home at the edge of the town. Despite all the prophecies of doom, however, the experiment has proven worthwhile, and the children and old people profit from one another. The smaller children in particular show absolutely no shyness in approaching the senior citizens –and those suffering from dementia benefited especially from these encounters.

Once the nursery school had been built close to the old people's home, a residential development named «Young and Old» appeared, providing space appropriate for both families and senior citizens to live in and meet one another.

A sports field allows people to run and walk in a way which is gentle on the joints; there is a bowling green and much more besides.

«Young and Old» is the name of the network which the village seeks to especially promote. Besides the *kindergarten* and old people's home, the network includes the school, private nursing services, clubs and even individuals. For example, there is the «Senior Citizen's Kindergarten Group», and the «Youth Cellar» which is currently working to beautify the old people's home with graffiti. Senior citizens are offered the chance to eat lunch or attend a computer course in Amtzell's school.

«The inclusion of all age groups with their different abilities creates a sense of "us" and of self-worth which is what sets our village apart as a genuine community –the complete opposite of the omnipresent dog-eat-dog, consumer society», is how Paul Locherer describes the situation in Amtzell. Financially speaking too, the project is beginning to pay off –Amtzell has already been able to reduce the number of costly acute care units as the health of its citizens improves (Bardey, 2007).

There are various accounts of intergenerational community advocacy or action projects that have taken root in the United States of America (Kaplan and Lawrence-Jacobson, 2006; Kaplan and Liu, 2004). One such initiative is the Intergenerational Citizens Action Forum in Miami, Florida. In this model, high school-aged youth and older adult volunteers come together to learn about public policy issues of mutual concern and, in a non-partisan effort, work to effect public policy change. Older adults serve as mentors to the students and help them to organize town meetings that address issues such as Social Security reform, crime and environmental protection. After the intergenerational teams define and prioritize critical issues to address, they receive training in how to conduct advocacy campaigns, and then initiate a community organizing campaign aimed at promoting desired community changes.

The ultimate goal is to develop concrete solutions that can be obtained through legislation or other forms of political action such as contacting legislators and policy makers, drafting legislation that is presented to relevant committees during the state legislative sessions, and writing letters to the editors of local newspapers to raise public awareness and urge action. Intergenerational teams reflect upon and evaluate the success of their projects. What worked well? What should be changed?

Participating project teachers introduce legislative, intergenerational and service-learning themes into the core academic curriculum, and students receive service-learning credit for their involvement. According to project evaluation results, participating youth display an enhanced sense of civic responsibility and an increase in their competence as community change agents (Kaplan and Liu, 2004).

Another intergenerational community action endeavour, focused on environmental advocacy, is «Wildfriends», an organization named for connections created between *wild animals*, *wild teenagers*, and *wild older people*. This programme, sponsored by the Center for Wildlife Law, University of New Mexico, brings middle school students together with older mentors who love wildlife. Together, they write and support legislation to protect endangered species. The programme has been successful in passing state level legislation to help protect wild life and resources (Ingman, Benjamin and Lusky, 1998/99).

The EAGLE national report on Germany (EAGLE, 2007) shows a landscape of intergenerational activities that is rich and highly diversified. The variety of intergenerational activities in Germany on both programme and project level is remarkable; they address almost the entire spectrum of possible themes and involve a multitude of different actors and stakeholders. The report suggests that existing intergenerational policies, programmes, initiatives and projects aiming at re-uniting separated generations and sharing resources between them, can be categorised by the following aims and objectives:

- Learning from each other (e.g. skills and capacity development, digital literacy, employment, oral and local history, reminiscence, preserving cultural heritage);
- Helping and supporting each other (e.g. childcare support for single parents, mentoring and mediation for pupils and youngsters, support for migrants, interaction between day care centres for children and retirement homes, civic participation);
- Living together (e.g. multi-generational living, neighbourhood/ community living);
- Experiencing together, opening up collaborative spaces (e.g. pedagogical initiatives in museums, community centres and work);

- Playing, acting and performing together (e.g. arts, theatre, music, festivals, work-shops).

Measures to foster intergenerational practice in Germany are furthermore strongly related to programmes aiming at strengthening civil engagement, active citizenship and voluntary work as many programmes, initiatives and projects are trying to engage citizens of all ages on an honorary basis. Two good examples of projects that contribute to building civil engagement and cohesion in Germany are TANDEM and the federal model programme for multigenerational houses (EAGLE, 2007b).

TANDEM is aimed at developing sustainable vocational qualifications for long term unemployed young people and at fostering the re-employment of long term unemployed older workers by utilising the skills and competencies of older people to vocationally train young people in real life settings such as car repair, carpeting, plumbing, electronics, metal work and gastronomy.

The federal model programme Multigenerational Houses is aiming to transfer the cooperation of the generations from private to public settings. Today 200 houses are working, and by 2010 it is envisaged that 450 houses will be active in Germany. The funded houses are using the expertise and potentials of all generations by being open community drop-in centres where all generations can meet. A multigenerational house is a meeting place for people of different ages in a specific city or community. It is planned as an open place, where young and old people offer and take mutual support, and furthermore a network, which brings services and demands of people of different age groups together. The main distinguishing feature of the multigenerational house in Nürnberg is that it shows an example of how intergenerational learning can be organised based on volunteers in a mainly informal setting.

Besides various services for people of different age groups (e.g. support services for very old seniors, open meeting places for seniors, second-hand shop for young parents), also typical intergenerational learning procedures take place (e.g. young people help old people and are certificated for these services; mentors help young people during the transition between school and job; seniors are mentors for young families; children are helped with homework; open child care).

The multigenerational house in Nürnberg clearly indicates that a wide variety of services can be offered and various informal learning processes between different generations can be initiated with relatively low budgets, if an open drop-in centre exists, where people of all generations can meet freely.

In the United Kingdom there has been a similar growth in interest in intergenerational solutions to building more cohesive communities often against a context of concerns over community safety and cross cultural conflict.

Within the United Kingdom, one the most fully evaluated intergenerational programmes was the mentoring programme of the Beth Johnson Foundation (Ellis, 2002; Ellis, 2004). These were developed in Stoke on Trent, an area of significant deprivation and one of the worse performing education authorities in England with high levels of generational transmitted disadvantage.

The project took a mentoring approach that had three core aims:

- To raise the achievement and aspiration of pupils who were at risk of failure.
- To promote the sense of identity and value of older people.
- To connect local schools to the community and promote the understanding of the importance of education.

Evaluation of the projects demonstrated that they were highly effective in the first two aims. However, some of the most interesting outcomes came from the development of community generational connections as a result of the programme. Older people, who had previously been very critical of the schools and young pupils, took on a championing role, took on a variety of other voluntary roles and became very involved in linking the schools to their communities.

In Newport, South Wales, Charter Housing which provides sheltered housing for older people has developed a number of intergenerational projects particularly addressing building community connections to counter older people's concerns over the significant increase locally in the number of young migrants (Hatton-Yeo, 2006). One such project was with the locally based ethnic minority women's group Ta'aleem Alnyssa. The group offers education and training for women from ethnic minorities in a safe and friendly environment.

The project's volunteers have helped members of Ta'aleem Alnyssa practice for their driving theory exam, a particularly daunting exam for those who don't have English as a first language. One volunteer was even brave enough to give a young Somali woman driving practice. They have also held literacy for women who want to improve their written and spoken English.

Four senior volunteers have been involved in working with Ta'aleem Alnyssa and 42 ethnic minority women have taken part in projects including a sewing class, driving theory classes, desktop publishing classes, and literacy classes. Since our volunteers' involvement with Ta'aleem Alnyssa, one woman has passed her driving theory exam and another has passed with distinction a written English exam, which will greatly assist in her ambition to teach.

The partnership with this group has grown from strength to strength. Ta'aleem Alnyssa now has its base in a converted bed-sit at the sheltered housing scheme. Weekly desktop publishing courses are held for members of the group. There are also plans to produce language tuition books to support a local children's Arabic class. A weekly sewing class takes place in the lounge at Kirby Daniel containing women from nine different ethnic backgrounds. The older people have learned much of the enterprise culture from this eclectic mix of nations. Many of the women are keen to be self-employed whether as seamstresses, graphic designers or taxi drivers.

The Sixty Plus Intergenerational Language project was developed after a number of people approached SixtyPlus about their elderly parents who were speakers of other languages (Hatton-Yeo, 2006). With 100 different languages spoken locally, many people arriving in England were remaining in their ethnic communities without learning English. As they became older, however, and their need to access services increased they became heavily dependent on their communities for help with translation. Providing an opportunity to learn English as a second language informally in their own homes helps develop their confidence in English speaking environments and keeps house bound people mentally stimulated and challenged.

In the Netherlands the Government funded NIZW to pilot a number of innovative intergenerational programmes. One such programme, «A neighbourhood full of stories», (Mercken, 2003) aimed to particularly address the growing concern over the lack of social cohesion. It describes how more

and more citizens felt unsafe on the streets; neighbours barely knew each other and meaningful relationships were rare. The programme took as a basic assumption that a certain level of social cohesion was needed to offer residents a liveable community in which they felt safe and included.

«A neighbourhood full of stories» uses neighbourhood reminiscence to promote integration across generations and cultures. The method uses memories and stories of residents to promote exchanges, mutual respect and understanding between different age and cultural groups. The programme has three phases. The first is *learning how to reminisce*, the second *learning to exchange stories* and the third *learning how to create a narrative neighbourhood*. The ultimate aim of each programme is to start an enduring process of social integration in the local community.

A second NIZW programme, *Generations in action*, introduces a method for the joint participation of the young and old to empower young and older people (Mercken, 2003). Its aim is to promote participation, social solidarity and citizenship; to encourage integration of the generations in the neighbourhood; to promote mutual understanding and communication between the age groups and to gather policy information about the needs and perceptions of younger and older people. The model is an integrated approach that brings together youth work, work with the elderly and community development to promote mutual understanding and social cohesion in the community.

In Romania the project «The Actor's House» recognises the precarious status and needs of retired actors and identifies means and opportunities to revitalise their creativity and value their experience in order to counter their marginalisation, social isolation and exclusion (EAGLE, 2007). Instead the actors become a valuable resource interacting with younger actors, children and youth from different schools and marginalised and homeless children. The actors benefit from becoming socially included and valued, the young people benefit through gaining increased self confidence, the opportunity to reflect and learn from their own and others' experiences and the acquisition of knowledge around culture, history and society.

In Italy «Orto in Condotta» aims to create *school gardens* as an educational opportunity where pupils can interact with expert older adults to discover the value of traditional gardening activities with all of its related implications in

terms of environmental awareness, knowledge of traditions and understanding of local heritage (EAGLE 2007). The gardening grandparents who support these projects commit to work over the three year lifespan of each programme.

In Finland, the project «Promoting networking among generations» was devel-oped to promote the wellbeing of children and adolescents by providing adequate adult contacts for children and young people and by supporting the everyday life of families with children (EAGLE, 2007). The adults in the project volunteered as mentors and adult friends to the children and young people. The project's main goal was to put intergenerational relationships in place through a mentoring model supporting the development of young people.

5.5. Conclusion

Pain (2005) reiterates the point made earlier about recognising the complexity of community relations and seeing intergenerational activities as only part of the mechanism to build community cohesion. She also notes that there is a rich array of contextual factors that need to be taken into account when considering and trying to improve intergenerational relations in any particular society. Focusing on the United Kingdom, she draws attention to various factors that have contributed to concerns about intergenerational relations in recent times.

«A range of other factors is also held to have worsened intergenerational relations…:

- Economic changes in the UK which have increased and entrenched poverty in marginalised places.
- The erosion of traditional family structures.
- A weakened sense of community, and young people not being prepared for citizenship.
- Increasing proportions of young men in particular growing up disaffected from society.
- Review of the welfare state and the support it is able to provide».

(Hatton-Yeo and Watkins, 2004).

As has been already been described it is also important to acknowledge the impact of diversity and poverty on social cohesion. However, even given these caveats, a powerful argument evolves for the contribution that activities which build intergenerational connectivity and solidarity can make to building social capital and cohesion.

What the programmes described above all have in common is that they highlight a view of citizenship that involves people of all ages as active participants in local issues. Social cohesion works effectively at a community or neighbourhood level, and the activities we have described reflect this in being socially inclusive approaches to building community networks. The contribution of intergenerational activities toward building a more cohesive and caring society is hard to question. The greater challenge is to locate these approaches alongside broader social programmes that also address other challenges to social cohesion such as poverty and disadvantage, so that we can indeed advance towards a *society for all ages.*

VI. Intergenerational shared sites: A practical model

Shannon E. Jarrott, Ph. D. *(Associate Professor, Dept. Human Development. Director of Research, VT Adult Day Services. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University)*

Aaron P. C. Weintraub, M. S. *(Doctoral Student, Dept. Human Development. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University)*

6.1. Rationale of the model

Shared site intergenerational programs (SSIPs), which provide ongoing services to young and old people concurrently (Goyer, 2001), support mutually beneficial interactions and are one way to address the service needs presented by global demographic changes (Jarrott, Gigliotti and Smock, 2006). Rising life expectancies and declining birth rates will result in the old and young representing an equal share of the world's population by 2050 (United Nations, 2002). Developmental, familial, and community objectives identified by the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) can be effectively addressed via capacity building efforts such as SSIPs.

While the SSIP model can address a substantive number of issues affecting individual, familial, and community outcomes, the recognition of social and cultural differences precludes a one-size fits all approach to implementing SSIPs. The SSIP model possesses great plasticity to accommodate varied needs and resources. As developing and developed countries work with different political structures and economies, SSIPs respond to cultural and demographic variability.

In industrialized countries most adults and a growing number of children spend the majority of their days in networks of non-family members. As an increasing number of children are raised in single parent homes and households in which both parents work, more children are enrolled in day care and wraparound school care programs (Smith, 1997). Older adults are living longer and with a corresponding increased risk of experiencing physical and cognitive disabilities. Growth is most rapid in the portion of the population comprised

of the oldest old (85+ years) (Sidorenko and Walker, 2004); these individuals face significantly greater risk of physical and cognitive impairments that limit daily functional ability. In developing nations, while a large portion of older adults live in multi-generational households (United Nations, 2002), the effects of globalization and modernity have led to migration in search of work and education and a shift away from traditional village life in favor of urban centers (Hanspal and Chadha, 2006). Consequently, an increasing number of adults live alone (United Nations, 2002).

Complicating the trends that separate families, as birth rates drop and female labor force participation rises, families increasingly seek formal care services to supplement family care-giving and meet the needs of aging relatives (Daatland, 1996). At the same time as more people turn to formal networks to provide care and supervision to family members, many formal care-giving services strain under budget cuts, increasing care loads, and demands from administrators for greater efficiency (Ewen and Hart, 2003; Greenberg, Mezey and Schumacher, 2003).

In developing countries, formal care services may not be an option and families turn to their community to help meet the care needs of young and old alike. For example, The AIDS pandemic sweeping sub-Saharan Africa has caused immeasurable disruption to traditional family structures (White and Cook, 2006), with more than 40 million people infected. The missing generation of HIV/AIDS victims has eroded the traditional familial, social, and institutional supports for the old and young. The SSIP model demonstrates the capacity to support individuals, families, and communities by serving multiple generations together. SSIPs may take shape in developing countries to reflect contextual qualities and address the needs of multiple generations of community members.

The communities in which people spend their days affect individual development, including attitudes and behaviors. Important works by Elder (1974) and Bronfenbrenner (1989), for example, demonstrated the role of multiple environments and processes in individual development. While attitudes and behaviors are influenced by individuals present in the community, they can also be influenced by the absence of groups of people (Shoemake and Rowland, 1993).

The networks to which young people and adults belong are often age-segregated (Hareven, 1986). While these networks may support many aspects of development, lack of interage contact may negatively affect attitudes towards members of other generations (Gorelik, Damron-Rodriguez, Funderburk and Solomon, 2000). The influential work of Kidwell and Booth (1977) revealed a generational gap between young and old despite considerable intergenerational solidarity within families (Bengston, Rosenthal and Burton, 1990). Both young and old respondents reported the greatest perceived social distance existed between themselves and older adults (Kidwell and Booth, 1977). The findings indicate a negative perception of old age that limits the potential for positive intergenerational contact and the possibility of experiencing old age as a positive time of life. At a time when generational segregation stems from institutional separation in developed countries, rural emigration of young adults in poor communities (United Nations, 2002), and economic wealth (or lack thereof) globally, programs that bring elders and children together afford unique benefits that cannot be achieved in single generation settings (Deutchman, Bruno and Jarrott, 2003).

Intergenerational programs, designed to link members of younger and older generations for mutual benefit (Newman and Smith, 1999) embody one way to foster positive contact and decrease the social distance between generations (Jarrott *et al*., 2006). Further, they can empower older adults to enjoy a life of fulfillment, health, security, and active participation in the economic, political, social, and cultural life of their societies (United Nations, 2002). SSIPs are unique in that they represent an age-integrated community that can meet the diverse care needs of families without duplication of services. SSIPs provide ongoing programming and services simultaneously to older adults and children/youth at the same site (Goyer, 2001).

In the 40-year history of intergenerational programs, the SSIP model has been most visible within the United States, due largely to demographic and human services trends observable to some extent in other Western cultures. Sanchez (2007) suggested that intergenerational programming, for example, has been slow to catch hold in Spain because of the enormous importance Spaniards place on family, which sustains familial intergenerational contact and reduces the need for formal care services. Economic and demographic trends suggest that different, but equally powerful, effects of disease, economic pressure, and

modernity may necessitate an SSIP model in countries and cultures where it has previously been inhibited by cultural irrelevance.

The current chapter details the components of SSIPs, reviews related research, and describes a framework for capacity building within such programs. We conclude with a discussion of how SSIPs, through best practices and policy, can contribute to a *society for all ages.*

6.2. A call to build community

SSIPs represent a micro-community within the setting of a larger community. The component programs may be closely woven or loosely knit together with sparse or dense connections to the larger community. SSIPs attract attention from service providers and policy makers because of their potential to build community while simultaneously meeting family care needs in a cost-effective way. US human services increasingly rely on privatized and non-profit organizations to meet developmental and community needs of young and old. European countries are challenged by the prospect of maintaining both a robust economy and current levels of social welfare. The burden on health and social services will increase as European nations grow older. China faces a similar challenge of balancing demographic policy and economic reform where the one-child policy has had a major impact on the level of social support parents can expect from their children (Silverstein, Cong and Li, 2006). The potential to expand resources and staff through co-location of intergenerational programs should appeal to legislators and community planners interested in cost-effective programming. In the following, we define the elements of the shared site community: (a) settings, (b) services, and (c) members, before considering the role of shared site programs in meeting care and development needs of community members.

Settings

Shared site programs are found in a variety of human services settings. The most common locations for a shared site program are: (a) nursing home with childcare program or wraparound school care, (b) adult day services program with childcare or wraparound school care, and (c) senior center with wraparound school care or early childhood program (Goyer, 2001). Other

SSIPs include parks and recreation programs, youth centers, and centers for youth with cognitive impairment. The diversity of SSIP components increases annually as evidenced by Generations United's Intergenerational Shared Site Grant Program (www.gu.org), which has supported library, Native American heritage, and family support programs.

Services

The types of programs housed within the SSIP determine the services provided and the types of persons involved. Residential care services, found at nursing home care facilities, offer supervision, medical care, and support with activities of daily living similar to services provided at adult and child day programs. Educational and leisure opportunities predominate at senior and youth centers and parks and recreation programs. Youth development programs targeting disabled youth provide rehabilitative, vocational and life skills training. Finally, recreational and therapeutic activities are standard across most types of SSIPs. The variety of services and programming available at SSIP facilities are designed to match the varied needs and interests of young and old participants.

Members

By definition, intergenerational programs involve older adults and young people (Newman and Smith, 1999). According to Goyer (2001), most young SSIP participants are under the age of 12, while the adults are typically over 48. However, since adult day services and assisted living facilities are the two most common older adult components of SSIPs, most adults are 65 or older. The type of programs housed at the SSIP determines the members served. For example, most adult participants at SSIPs including a nursing home or adult day services program require care and supervision for a combination of physical and cognitive impairments (Goyer and Zuses, 1998). While it is less common for programs to serve children with physical and cognitive disabilities, early childhood development programs include special needs children, and some SSIPs target youth and young adults with mental retardation.

Besides the adults and youth united at the SSIP, the program's success and sustainability depends upon other members of the shared site and larger communities. Key stakeholders include parents and family caregivers, program

staff, representatives from other community services accessed by shared site clients, and members of the larger community who interface with the SSIPs. The links between network members are critical because of the potential for reciprocal support and capacity building through positive interage contact (Mancini, Bowen and Martin, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). The unique terms and conditions associated with such facilities need to be identified before considering the effects of SSIPs on community members.

6.3. Intergenerational Shared Sites: similar yet unique

Most of the opportunities and challenges SSIPs experience can also be found among non-shared site intergenerational programs. However, SSIPs encounter some unique issues due to their co-location. Service providers should consider benefits as well as challenges when contemplating the potential in co-location of adult and youth services.

Unique Opportunities

The co-location of services for elders and children eliminates the need for transportation services that can limit contact between generations served at different sites. Transportation issues such as liability, wheelchair accessibility, and poor weather may prove so challenging that an intergenerational partnership is deemed impossible. For example, an adult day services (ADS) program with an active intergenerational program during the academic year had virtually no intergenerational contact during the summers when the co-located lab school was closed. The ADS director sought to coordinate intergenerational programming with off site children's programs; however, transit limitations prevented groups from visiting the adult day program. While transportation can potentially be coordinated between most sites, the physical distance between the youth and adult programs is often compounded by the perceived effort of coordinating participant transit that may include special permission from caregivers and additional staffing.

Proximity of «neighbors» at SSIPs not only alleviates transportation hassles but enables more frequent scheduled and informal intergenerational contact (Deutchman *et al*., 2003). While non-shared site intergenerational programs may meet monthly or even weekly, these activities are typically brief and

structured and may not support the same level of contact for relationship development that can be found with SSIPs. On the other hand, SSIP participants may come together for weekly or daily visits; they can also drop by to borrow an item or share participants' latest accomplishments.

At the same time that frequent and informal interactions can be maintained at SSIPS, we must note that not all SSIPs avail themselves of these opportunities. The level of interaction that occurs between program participants ranges from those with multiple daily opportunities for contact (Jarrott and Bruno, 2003) to those who share a building and parking lot but little else (Goyer, 2001). In general, programs with longer, more intense contact sustain lasting partnerships (Bressler, Henkin and Adler, 2005).

SSIPs present the opportunity for frequent structured and informal activities. ONEgeneration Daycare, a co-located program in Los Angeles, provides ADS participants with multiple daily opportunities to join scheduled intergenerational activities with the children's rooms (children can join 1-2 scheduled intergenerational activities daily). Additionally, individual adults and children find unique opportunities for informal interactions. An elder may visit the toddler room, with an adult care staff member, to help the children during lunch. Not all intergenerational activities appeal to all adults or children, and frequent, varied intergenerational opportunities increase the chance that adults and children will find an appealing activity they wish to join. The potential to provide this high level and variety of contact is an opportunity unique to SSIPs.

The potential to share space, resources, and staff through co-location of intergenerational programs appeals to program developers and policy planners interested in cost-effective programming. Though it is important for each program to have its own space (Salari, 2002), co-location can increase access to space that may be used separately or conjointly with other programs (e.g. the gym or lunchroom). Additionally, resources utilized by both groups' clients or staff, such as musical instruments, a garden, washing machine, or staff soda machine can be shared without duplication of equipment. An early study (Chamberlain, Fetterman and Maher, 1994) determined cost benefits of locating a children's day care center in a residential program for elders. Currently, Generations United is preparing to conduct a cost-effectiveness study specific to SSIPs.

Co-location of adult and child/youth programs does not ease client-staff ratios or change the requirements for staff qualifications but can increase the availability of specialized staff. For example, licensure for some states in the US requires that a nurse be on site at ADS programs. Depending on the program's size, the nurse may also be able to provide care to children who become sick while at the co-located child/youth program, where nurse staffing is not required. By pooling resources from the child and adult care programs, a specialist such as a music therapist can be paid to work more hours and serve children and older adult clients separately or together during a single visit. Consequently, co-location can result in clients receiving more comprehensive services and programming than at a single site program. Along with multiple unique benefits of co-located programs, unique challenges present themselves as well.

Unique Challenges

Few of the challenges SSIPs face differ from those of other intergenerational programs. Policies that inform the regulations for construction, staffing, and operation of care facilities vary widely from state to state in the US and differ greatly between child and adult care programs (Goyer, 2005). Policies are specific to single generation programs, and regulations for one generation's program can conflict with those of the other generation. Licensing concerns may present seemingly insurmountable obstacles to co-location of programs. For example, building code in California prohibits the co-location of child and adult care programs within a single building. The ONEgeneration program accommodated this regulation by building their child care program 30 feet from the adult day program with a covered breezeway joining the two buildings. As the number of successful SSIPs grows, stakeholders can leverage support for modified policies that support, rather than deter, co-location of programs (see Turner, 2005 for a review of policy issues related to designing and building SSIPs). Relevant areas to target include architectural and building code, staffing and staff qualification requirements, and funding. Readers are directed to chapters by Goyer and Turner in the Generations United Publication, *Under One Roof* (Steinig, 2005), which highlight specific policy and regulation issues related to licensing, accreditation, and building design.

Concerns about health can be more keenly felt at an SSIP accustomed to frequent scheduled and informal intergenerational activities. When an outbreak of chickenpox brings intergenerational contact to a halt for two weeks, non-shared site intergenerational programs might have two less intergenerational visits. For an SSIP with high levels of interaction, such an outbreak could eliminate many opportunities for intergenerational contact and significantly disrupt programming. Staff communication with each other, clients, and family members can limit confusion and concern over potential health risks of intergenerational contact and procedures. The SSIPs should have a clear, shared policy about cessation, modification, and renewal of IG contact related to health issues.

Intergenerational contact should be offered as a voluntary activity for child and adult participants. As such, children and adults may be highly involved in intergenerational relationships at an SSIP, or they may choose not to engage in any intergenerational exchange with members of the other program. For example, Weintraub and Killian (2007) found that older adults at a SSIP perceived social-emotional benefits from the presence of children even when they did not participate directly in planned activities. SSIP administrators face a unique challenge if potential participants' family caregivers wish that their relative not join any intergenerational activities. If a family does not wish for the participant to join intergenerational programming, perhaps for perceived health or safety risks, concerns may be allayed by honest discussion about the program and intergenerational policies. For example, a caregiver may be concerned that her/his child could be left alone with an elderly client from the ADS program. If caregiver concerns cannot be resolved, an SSIP is not the best program in which to enroll their relative.

Similarly, applicants for staff positions at an SSIP, who typically possess expertise in early childhood development or adult development and geriatrics, need to collaborate with staff from the other program to plan and facilitate intergenerational programming. Applicants who are uncomfortable or unwilling to do so are not good candidates for employment at an SSIP even though they may be highly qualified to work with one generation of clients.

Administrative and staff support for intergenerational programming must be present for an SSIP to build a strong sense of community between programs. Scholars and practitioners emphasized the importance of garnering support

from central figures with the power to direct resources and energy to intergenerational programming (Gigliotti, Morris, Smock, Jarrott and Graham, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). Findings from Jarrott and colleagues (2006) illustrated the value of authority support from stakeholders in crafting a long-term intergenerational program at a shared site care program. SSIP staff experienced differential levels of support; those who experienced high levels of support sustained regular intergenerational programming; however, other respondents pointed to obstacles created when support was absent. Respondents felt that a lack of support contributed to feeling inadequately prepared to facilitate interactions between participants. This speaks to the importance of institutional support ranging from executive directors to direct care staff.

Intergenerational professionals have described a tendency for intergenerational programming to belong to one or two committed employees (Deutchman *et al*., 2003; Rosebrook and Bruno, 2005). Without support from key stakeholders, intergenerational programming ceases when these individuals leave the program or take different positions in the agency. To avoid such dependence on a single individual, intergenerational practitioners and scholars advocate designating an Intergenerational Coordinator to demonstrate authority support and promote program fluidity. Many programs, however, do not have budgets to support a part- or full-time position dedicated to intergenerational coordination. These programs often function fine with strong collaboration between programs (Bressler *et al*., 2007); however, without exceptional commitment of staff, intergenerational programming can fall by the wayside. Without an Intergenerational Coordinator, shared activities take place with less frequency and purpose (Goyer and Zuses, 1998). Creation of an Intergenerational Coordinator role does not shift the burden of staffing and sustaining the program to one person. The role should also be used to garner stakeholder support, leverage resources, and educate others about the program.

Besides hiring an Intergenerational Coordinator, other steps can contribute to sustaining programming. Efforts may involve crafting a shared mission statement (Goyer, 2005), creating an intergenerational advisory board, developing job descriptions for staff members that include support of the intergenerational program, and providing intergenerational cross-training (Rosebrook and Bruno, 2005; Rosebrook and Larkin, 2003; Travis, Stremmel, Duprey, 1993).

Intergenerational cross-training provides staff members with instruction about the developmental and generational characteristics of both groups of participants. Participants receive training to facilitate interactions and prevent or manage challenges. Individuals can receive cross-training through intergenerational training programs such as the Rose Brook Journey (http://www.mackliniginstitute.org/), the Intergenerational Training Network (http://www.templecil.org/training), an online course (http://www.gt.pitt.edu/), or by working with experts in child development, gerontology, and intergenerational relationships. Others may attend child and adult development courses, while some SSIPs develop site-specific cross-training materials (e.g. Jarrott, Gigliotti, Gladwell, Papero, Cummings and Milne, 2005). Rosebrook and Larkin (2003) advocated for the creation of standards of training for intergenerational programming, which could optimize SSIP outcomes and raise the professionalism of intergenerational programs.

The success of an intergenerational program is not guaranteed by co-locating programs. Obstacles faced by other intergenerational programs are shared by SSIPs, as are many of the benefits community members experience. At the same time, co-location minimizes some challenges faced by other programs and enables unique opportunities for SSIP participants. Challenges, such as contradictory regulations and the need for staff to possess knowledge of multiple generations can be addressed through careful research, planning, and cross-training (Goyer, 2005; Rosebrook and Larkin, 2003; Turner, 2005). A strong commitment from stakeholders to linking child and older adult members for mutual benefit further enhances the sustainability of an SSIP (Mancini and Marek, 2004; Pettigrew, 1998). As many SSIP administrators and staff members will attest, the benefits can greatly outweigh the costs. Research evaluation supports the benefits of SSIPs for its community members.

6.4. Research on Intergenerational Shared Sites

Article 11 of the Report of the Second World Assembly on Ageing emphasizes the importance of international research on ageing and age-related issues (United Nations, 2002). Research on the effects of intergenerational programming at SSIPs is limited and has focused primarily on one group of participants. However, researchers have recently begun to consider the

effects of SSIPs on both generations and other community members, such as staff and family members (Epstein and Boisvert, 2006; Gigliotti *et al*., 2005; Hayes, 2003; Jarrott *et al*., 2006). In addition to the SSIP literature, research of non-shared site intergenerational programs serving clients similar to those commonly attending SSIPs provides further insight into the potential benefits and challenges of linking young and old. The following review focuses on SSIP research.

Participants

Participants at SSIPs are typically young children and older adults with care and supervision needs (Goyer, 2001). Although the adults and children share in activities and should experience mutual benefit from their cross-age contact, researchers regularly evaluate the experiences of only one group of participants (e.g. Middlecamp and Gross, 2002; Salari, 2002). SSIPs may include senior centers, youth programs, and parks and recreation organizations; however, evaluation literature has only described SSIPs with co-located nursing homes or ADS facilities and childcare programs. All of the adults studied possessed care needs for physical and/or cognitive impairments, and most of the children were five years of age or under (e.g. Jarrott, Gladwell, Gigliotti and Papero, 2004; Middlecamp and Gross, 2002). Few of the studies assessed the experiences of both generations of participants (Epstein and Boisvert, 2006; Gigliotti *et al*., 2005; Hayes, 2003).

A review of research on the experiences of older adults at SSIPs yields generally positive results. For example, Short-DeGraff and Diamond (1996) studied the introduction of a nursery school program at an adult day program serving a small group of elderly adults requiring care for a variety of disabilities. Two groups of children attended the nursery school 2-3 days each week. Control observations of the older adult participants were collected prior to the school's opening and during the school's winter vacation. Treatment observations were based on intergenerational interactions between the children and adults. The authors identified significantly higher levels of social interaction among the older adults during the intergenerational sessions than when the school was out of session. The children were not studied.

Mixed results from interage contact were reported by Salari (2002), who utilized an ethnographic approach to compare SSIPs involving adult day and

child care programs. Salari identified important distinguishing characteristics at the sites; staff at one program treated the adults age-appropriately while the other program's staff frequently infantilized the adults. Salari concluded that the most effective intergenerational activities typically involved the adults in a helping role, while child-oriented environments, activities, and behaviors limited the positive effects of programs. Variations in the physical environment, staff demeanor, and activity content of intergenerational programs yielded vastly different responses from participants.

At the ONEgeneration Daycare program, Jarrott and Bruno (2003) used the Dementia Care Mapping observational technique to explore the behavioral and affective responses of adult participants with dementia during intergenerational and unigenerational activities. Older participants demonstrated more positive affect during intergenerational activities than other elders exhibited during unigenerational activities. Cognitive function was not associated with participation in intergenerational activities or level of affect during the activities. However, those who attended the program more days per week were more likely to join the intergenerational activities, suggesting the value added of frequent opportunities for intergenerational contact.

In conjunction with the observational assessment, Jarrott and Bruno (2007) collected survey and interview data from adult participant, parent, and family caregiver clients of ONEgeneration Daycare. Respondents were asked to identify benefits and challenges for their family members associated with the facility's intergenerational programming. Challenges for the adults included noise and commotion associated with intergenerational programming, while some parents indicated that their children were initially reluctant to join shared activities. Benefits named by parents and caregivers included social interaction and greater affection. Additionally, parents frequently named undivided attention and exposure to diverse individuals as benefits for their children. Older adult participants reported enjoying the children's affection and reported that they felt loved, interested, and needed when they were with the children.

One recent SSIP evaluation focused on the child participants. Middlecamp and Gross (2002) compared attitudes towards older adults of children enrolled in an SSIP child care program to those enrolled in a non-intergenerational care program. The SSIP provided at least two weekly opportunities for

intergenerational contact. The authors concluded that the children's attitudes towards older adults and aging were not influenced by the intergenerational contact. Without information about the level and nature of interaction among participants, we cannot determine the reason for null effects of intergenerational contact.

Hayes (2003) worked with a newly established co-located adult and child day program in New York to develop increased contact between children and older adults. Participants joined intergenerational cooking, music, gross motor, and arts and crafts activities developed by adult and child care staff. Observers identified themes from the intergenerational activities. Both groups of participants demonstrated increased *generational empathy* characterized by children and adults offering each other support. Staff found that, over time, the need to prompt child and adult participants to help each other diminished. Another theme that emerged was the importance of supporting elders in the helping role, which mirrors Salari's (2002) findings that intergenerational contact was experienced more positively by elders when they had a mentoring role. Hayes' study revealed the power of time, coupled with regular opportunities for interaction, in building an intergenerational community that share more than an address.

Researchers have also been developing new scales to identify and assess components critical to the success of intergenerational programs. Epstein and Boisvert (2006) developed a structured observational scale for evaluating the intergenerational setting, schedules, and staff behaviors with a focus on interactions between and within generations. The authors reported good levels of interrater reliability. The Intergenerational Observation Scale (Jarrott, Smith and Weintraub, 2007), which focuses on the social behaviors of children and elders during intergenerational programming, provides outcome data and may yield insight to the relationship between intergenerational contact and other targeted outcomes (e.g., physical health or attitudes). Such tools are useful to practitioners and researchers who can use results to evaluate their program's quality over time and as a result of changes in the program. Furthermore, use of a standard scale allows for comparisons to be made across programs.

TABLE 6.1

Links to common types of SSIPS

SSIP PROGRAM TYPE	NAME OF PROGRAM	CONTACT INFORMATION
Adult Day Services and Early Childhood Education	*Neighbors Growing Together* Virginia Tech Adult Day Services and Child Development Center for Learning and Research	www.intergenerational.clahs.vt.edu/neighbors/index.html
Assisted Living and Child Day Care	Bent County Healthcare Center: Prairie View Village and Kountry kids	www.bentcountyhealthcare.com
Continuing Care and Child Day Care	Messiah Village Retirement Community and Children's Family Center	www.messiahvillage.com www.childrensfamilycenter.org
Nursing Home and Preschool/ Wraparound School care	Josephine Sunset Home and Josephine Intergenerational Learning Center	www.josephinenet.com
Senior Center and Middle School	ROCORI Senior Center and ROCORI Middle School	www.rocori.k12.mn.us
Housing for Seniors and Homeless Mothers	West End Intergenerational Residence	www.intergenerational.org
Adult Day Services and Child Development Center	Easter Seals Miami Dade Inc.	www.miami.easterseals.com
Retirement Housing and College/University	Ithaca College Longview Retirement Community	www.ithaca.edu/icgi/longview.php www.ithacarelongview.com

Source: the author.

Community Members

Although parents and staff frequently serve as proxy reporters of children's or older adults' experiences during intergenerational activities, their experiences with SSIPs remain largely unknown. The perspectives of these stakeholders should be tapped as they can influence the presence, frequency, nature, and sustainability of intergenerational programming. Hegeman's early research (1985) revealed long term care administrators' perceptions that co-location of childcare programs at the nursing home enhanced their facility's image within the larger community. In an investigation of child and adult care administrators' perceptions of the benefits and challenges of intergenerational programming, respondents endorsed socio-cultural benefits and expressed concern about

adequate staffing and space to support intergenerational contact (Stremmel, Travis, Kelly-Harrison and Hensley, 1994). The group went on to develop the Intergenerational Exchange Attitude Scale, which taps into child and adult care administrators' attitudes towards cross-generation exchange (Stremmel, Travis and Kelly-Harrison, 1996). Using this scale, they associated more positive attitudes towards intergenerational contact with a greater willingness to implement such programming.

More holistic assessments of SSIPs are found in recent literature (Epstein and Boisvert, 2006; Gigliotti *et al*., 2005; Hayes, 2003; Jarrott *et al*., 2004; Jarrott *et al*., 2006). For example, Hayes (2003), who also studied SSIP child and elder participants, learned from staff journals that intergenerational facilitators were surprised by the amount of work involved with linking the generations. His findings may point to the value of training staff how to prepare and what to expect during intergenerational sessions. The scale developed by Epstein and Boisvert (2006) was designed in part to assess the effects of staff intergenerational training on staff behaviors during interactions with young and old participants.

The experiences of staff involved with facilitating intergenerational programming at a shared site care facility were the focus of one recent study (Jarrott *et al*., 2006). Interviewees revealed the importance of infrastructure to intergenerational programming. Respondents emphasized the need for authority support, intergenerational cross-training, collaborating partnerships, and effective communication. Jarrott and colleagues used the findings from the focus group interviews to develop an SSIP community building project (Jarrott, Morris, Kemp and Stremmel, 2004). Components included enhanced administrative collaboration and support for intergenerational programming, creation of intergenerational training materials, and delineation of intergenerational programming schedules, staff partnerships, and procedures. Evaluation of the program revealed high levels of intergenerational programming and corresponding benefits. Furthermore, those staff most actively involved with intergenerational programming demonstrated the greatest positive change in attitudes towards intergenerational exchange. With a focus on community building, Jarrott and colleagues subsequently (Jarrott, Gigliotti, Brossoie, Mancini and Fenyk, 2005) developed a survey that taps perceived trust, comfort, and community among SSIP staff.

Children's parents and program administrators and staff of an SSIP care program were the focus of an evaluation conducted by Gigliotti and colleagues (2005). Their investigation revealed several new findings. Parents reported a sense of pride that their children were comfortable interacting with older adults in a variety of settings outside of the SSIP. Administrators reported that intergenerational programming was an attractive marketing feature for families of potential clients (both children and elders). Additionally, intergenerational programming helped to build collaborative relationships among staff members of the two programs. Identified challenges included the need for greater levels of communication among staff of both programs and the ongoing need for training to support «buy-in» at their programs, which experience typically high staff turnover.

Both research (Stremmel *et al*., 1994) and anecdote indicate that attitudes and values of care staff and family members (e.g. that it will help grandparent/grandchild relationships or that older adults may be hurt by rowdy children) can support or limit intergenerational opportunities. Consequently, a holistic approach to evaluating the impact of intergenerational programming is essential (Kuehne, 2003). Practitioners and researchers will be better able, as a result, to understand SSIPs, build on program strengths, address limitations, and sustain programming.

Expenses: The bottom line

SSIPs are established for multiple reasons. The social service paradigm within the US tends towards privatized and non-profit organizations with limited government support. Western European cultures' tradition of social welfare supports individual choice in care. Developing countries, of necessity, rely heavily on community support, which is promoted and reinforced by cultural values. From an economic perspective, co-location may represent a cost-effective means to meet care needs of community families worldwide. Besides stakeholder support, funding is a critical element of program sustainability (Mancini and Marek, 2004). Shared space, resources, and staff may save facilities money. At the same time, however, intergenerational professionals have recommended that SSIPs employ intergenerational coordinators and provide ongoing cross-training to adult and child care staff, which often represent additional costs (Deutchman *et al*., 2003; Rosebrook and Bruno,

2005). Consequently, practitioners may question what cost savings are accrued through co-location.

Chamberlain and colleagues (1994) used economic data from a co-located child care and nursing home to calculate cost-effectiveness of co-location for a variety of adult/child care program configurations. They determined that a facility serving six older adult residents, six adult day clients, and 14 day care children could break even at 50% occupancy, indicating a financial benefit of co-locating the child care at the nursing home. Hayden (2003) conducted a financial analysis of successful SSIPs involving adult and child day programs to consider financial issues for replication. The report revealed that administrators sustained the SSIP through careful financial planning, intentional marketing, and continuous fundraising efforts. Such efforts reward program administrators with the economic strength to sustain programming and fund unique program components such as intergenerational coordinators and cross-training. Furthermore, shortfalls in one area of funding (e.g. the ADS) can be offset by availability of funds from other areas (e.g. the site's early childhood development program). Significant work remains to determine the cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness of SSIPs, and groups such as *Generations United* have begun exploring this area of study. Savings and costs may both be experienced, and these must be considered in light of the less tangible outcomes of co-location, such as improved attitudes towards aging, greater activity of frail elders, and enhanced affect of participants.

In reviewing the extant literature on SSIPs, evidence of important benefits for children and adults emerges. Jarrott and Bruno's (2003) association of days of ADS attendance with increased chance of joining intergenerational activities suggest the value of frequent, regular opportunities for intergenerational contact. Instances of negative effects of intergenerational contact identified by Salari (2002) resulted from adults' negative interactions with staff and the physical environment but not with the children. Infantilization may be avoided with a person-centered approach (Kitwood, 1997) that includes collaborative planning between adult and child/youth care staff (Jarrott *et al*., 2006; Rosebrook and Bruno, 2005). Person-centered care involves using knowledge of the individuals' interests and abilities to identify meaningful, appropriate activities (indeed, even children can be infantilized) for participants. Staff intergenerational cross-training further enhances caregiver abilities to foster

positive interactions (Rosebrook and Bruno, 2005). Finally, the use of a logic model to identify goals, objectives, and appropriate practices supports SSIP success. Employing these techniques sustains programs and alleviates some of the challenges inherent to intergenerational programs and unique to SSIPs.

6.5. Future Directions

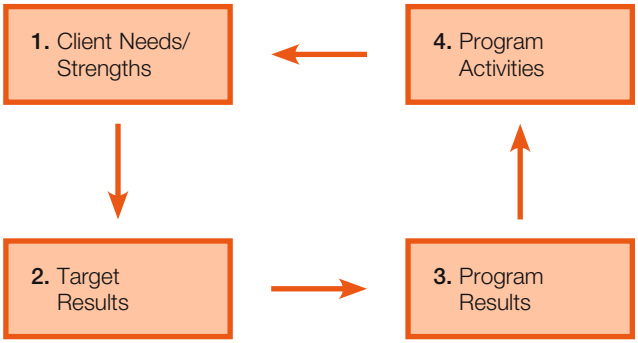
SSIPs have the potential to build a sense of community among members of shared site programs and to develop extensive links with members of the informal and formal networks outside of the SSIP community. In so doing, SSIPs enrich the developmental opportunities afforded by their clients (Mancini *et al*., 2005). However, community building efforts often fall short due to a focus on activities rather than community and programmatic goals (Orthner and Bowen, 2004). Indeed, intergenerational programs typically last no more than two years (Hamilton *et al*., 1999). Termination of contact between generations, even at SSIPs, may result from staff turnover, lack of administrative support, or programming that is not generationally and developmentally appropriate for participants (Deutchman *et al*., 2003; Salari, 2002). Facilitators recognize the potential in linking younger and older generations but often fail to develop long-term goals and are surprised by the amount of work required by intergenerational programs (Hayes, 2003).

A framework developed by Orthner and Bowen (2004) provides an effective results management strategy for planning, facilitating, and evaluating community building activities (Bowen, Mancini, Martin, Ware and Nelson, 2003; Bowen, Orthner, Martin and Mancini, 2001). Agencies such as the United Way have employed similar logic models to develop community-based programs (Orthner and Bowen, 2004), and Bowen and colleagues (2001; 2003) used the model to support family services programs with the US Air Force. SSIP researchers effectively used the results management model to build *community capacity*, the sense of shared responsibility felt by community members (Jarrott *et al*., 2004; Mancini *et al*., 2005).

While programs focus on intergenerational activities without identifying goals or evaluating outcomes, the results management model begins its five steps towards community building with the end in mind (see figure 6.1). First, administrators, staff, and evaluators must conduct an assessment of the SSIP

FIGURE 6.1

Result management design



Source: Result management design (Orthner and Bowen, 2004). Permission to reproduce provided by Dr. Dennis K. Orthner, Professor of Social Work and Public Policy and Associate Director, Jordan Institute for Families, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

community's needs and assets. For example, an identified intergenerational need may be positive, close relationships with members of other generations. From a programmatic aspect, community needs might include cost-effectiveness of the SSIP. Community assets may include the diverse talents of older adult clients, children's openness to differences, and convenient co-location of programs.

Second, information from the first step is used to develop a logic model of desirable long-term goals related to the individual programs at the SSIP and the shared site community as a whole. Such long term goals might range from increased employee retention to more positive attitudes of children towards their own aging.

Identification of short-term goals follows in the third step of the results management model. At an SSIP, the short-term goals would be directly linked to the intervention activities, such as increasing adult care staff knowledge of child development or increasing the frequency of informal intergenerational contact between participants.

The identified long- and short-term goals subsequently drive the fourth step of the results management model, which is to identify theory- and evidence-based practices that inform intervention and prevention activities consonant with program goals. For SSIPs, this step could entail provision of

intergenerational cross-training for program staff and use of evidence-based practices to enhance intergenerational contact among community members. *Generations United*'s *Under One Roof* (Steinig, 2005) manual, along with the High Scope publication, *Let's Do Something Together* (Epstein and Boisver, 2005), the *Intergenerational Activities Sourcebook* (Kaplan and Hanhardt, 2003), and the *Tried and True* manual (Jarrott, 2007) provide best practices and ideas for effectively connecting the generations. Finally, as the cycle of inquiry continues, assessments of the activities' effectiveness in meeting community needs and building community assets inform modifications of goals and intervention activities (see chapter 7 of *Generations United*'s *Under One Roof guide* for a review of assessment strategies appropriate for SSIPs).

The results management model provides practitioners and evaluators with valuable tools for identifying the unique assets of SSIPs. Most such programs seek to provide cost-effective services while they strive to build relationships and enhance the well-being of participants through intergenerational contact. However, the specific needs and assets of programs will vary from site to site. Consequently, inputs to the results management model will be as distinct as the participants, staff, families, and programming involved, and the desired outcomes will vary as well. The results management model can effectively accommodate these variations and support practitioners' efforts to generate more evidence-based practices that can feed back into the cycle of inquiry and inform continued use of the model. Kuehne (2003) advised practitioners not to work in a vacuum but rather to share experiences with professional networks so others can learn from their growth experiences.

Orthner and Bowen (2004) emphasized the need for periodic reassessment in their results management model. While benefits predominate in the research on SSIPs and other intergenerational programs, and while the drawbacks identified may be linked to inadequate use of theory- or evidence-based practices, intergenerational researchers must raise the bar as they continue to explore the field. Scholars need to improve upon earlier research that involved small, non-representative samples, individualized assessment tools rather than established measures, and cross-sectional methods instead of longitudinal analyses. Intergenerational researchers (Jarrott, 2005; Kuehne, 2003) call for enhanced intergenerational programming and methodology that incorporate theory, multiple perspectives, larger, more diverse samples, longitudinal data

collection, and the development and use of reliable, valid measures. In concert with the Madrid Conference on Aging recommendations to provide information that facilitates elders' participation in intergenerational community groups, SSIP scholars and practitioners can advance related theory and research while building organizational capacity.

6.6. Conclusion

Global demographic and fiscal changes demand non-familial care-giving options that can be provided in a cost effective manner. While US programs dominate SSIP research and literature, the trends that lend themselves to SSIP development (longevity, divorce rates, female labor force participation, and the longevity, wealth, and compressed morbidity of older adults) are emerging in Western and developing countries. The nature of the program will necessarily vary depending on cultural needs and resources, and SSIPs represent a unique opportunity to address the spectrum of human needs and social capital.

Developmental theory supports the value of intergenerational relationships across the lifecourse. SSIPs represent a unique and valuable opportunity to meet the converging needs of families and human services providers globally. Some SSIPs find it difficult to sustain the energy and enthusiasm with which they began as key staff members leave the program or unanticipated costs arise. As a result, many SSIPs become shared resource programs (Goyer, 2001) without the valuable contact between generations. A results management model applied to SSIPs draws on social organization theory to outline the means to achieve important long-term fiscal and developmental goals as well as short-term goals directly related to intergenerational contact. SSIP development and evaluation efforts need to match the rigor of this model. Human services professionals develop SSIPs with the intention to create a small community that contributes to a *society for all ages*. As such, researchers need to work with each group of stakeholders to identify their assets and needs. Additionally, stakeholders must advocate to policymakers for appropriate, adaptive regulations that support achievement of programmatic goals. SSIPs are not only capable of building and sustaining a community within their shared site, but that they are able to enrich the lives of their SSIP community members by strengthening reciprocal ties to become more fully integrated within a *society for all ages*.

VII. *Communities for All Ages*: A practical model

Nancy Z. Henkin, Ph. D.

7.1. Introduction

The vision of moving toward a *society for all ages*, a concept formulated for the 1999 International Year of Older Persons and a critical component of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging (MIPAA), is one that has been embraced by many around the world. This is due in part to the major impact of the longevity revolution on individuals, families and communities as well as on the nature of age relations. The traditional family pyramid with more youth supporting elders is changing to an inverse pyramid that has two generations of older adults depending on fewer children. Economic, employment, urbanization and migration trends are threatening intergenerational ties and contributing to age-segregation in many societies. Individuals in both developed and developing countries are experiencing an eroding web of support that has deleterious consequences for all age groups.

A recent report by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (United Nations, 2007) underscores the importance of strengthening intergenerational solidarity through initiatives aimed at promoting «mutual, productive exchange between generations, focusing on older persons as a societal resource» (United Nations, 2007: 2). Though this *vision* of a society that is multigenerational and age-inclusive has been embraced by many nations, there is a lack of information on how to *operationalize* this concept at the local level. Moving toward a society for all ages will require policies and practices that strengthen both individual lifelong development and enabling environments of families, neighborhoods, communities and institutions.

Over the past two decades, there has been a significant increase in the number and diversity of intergenerational programs that intentionally link older adults and younger generations to address community needs. As noted by some experts in the field, «there is a body of knowledge and experience that is capable of moving the approach from a collection of model projects to a more formalized strategy for strengthening communities and improving the quality of people's lives» (Henkin and Kingston, 1999: 99). But intergenerational programming *alone* cannot produce the significant changes in norms, attitudes, institutions and practice needed to achieve the *society for all ages* vision. Programs must be embedded in communities that are committed to the well-being of all age groups and embrace the values of interdependence and reciprocity.

In an effort to take the concept of a *society for all ages* to a more local and concrete level, in 2002 the Temple University Center for Intergenerational Learning in Philadelphia developed *Communities for All Ages* (CFAA) –a holistic framework for community building that intentionally promotes the wellbeing of children, youth, and older adults, strengthens families, and fosters interaction and interdependence across ages. CFAA is both a vision and a life span approach to community building. It focuses on improving the quality of life for entire *communities*, not specific age groups, and transforming varied age groups from competitors to allies. *Communities for All Ages* describes an intentional network of relationships, amenities, formal and informal activities and services that support the wellbeing of people at all stages of life. It is based on the belief that the aging of the population is opening up opportunities for a wide range of people to think differently and act differently –for the greater good– with regard to both our human and natural resources. With sustainability as a major goal, *Communities for All Ages*:

- addresses the needs of current generations across the lifespan without passing on burdens to future generations,
- uses financial, human, and natural resources wisely by looking for *economies of scope* –single solutions that solve multiple problems, and
- makes decisions that have lasting impact because it takes the future into account when setting current directions (Viable Futures Toolkit, 2006).

The *Communities for all Ages* framework provides a way of looking at community building with the potential to stretch and leverage limited resources and to build inclusive constituencies for neighborhood and community change. It suggests the power of alliances built around convergent policy interests, such as access to care and social supports, lifelong quality education, and a physical infrastructure that is responsive to changing needs across the life course. Programs and policies designed within this approach embrace age-group defined priorities, while moving forward the entire community. Working towards more comprehensive and responsive systems across the life span can make a substantial contribution to improved wellbeing and quality of life for children, youth, families and older adults and create thriving places in which to grow up and grow old.

This chapter will discuss the rationale and theoretical underpinnings for the *Communities for All Ages* (CFAA) concept, the core values and elements of the CFAA framework, the CFAA community building process, and examples of communities across the United States that have embraced this approach to community building. The CFAA lens and the lessons learned thus far can help both developed and developing countries create culturally appropriate strategies for achieving the goal of intergenerational solidarity.

7.2. Rationale of the model

The promise of a *Communities for All Ages* lies in the intersection of three important current trends:

- A growing older population that is seeking opportunities for contribution and connection;
- The need to re-engage people in the social compact in order to better meet our mutual obligations to each other; and
- Growing recognition that new, more comprehensive approaches are required to meet the needs of all age groups.

Demographic trends

The proportion of people aged 60 and above in the global population is predicted to double from 11 percent in 2006 to 22 percent in 2050, with the most significant increase in developing countries. In the United States, people aged 65 and older represent about 12 percent of the U.S. population, or 35 million Americans. By 2030, this age group is projected to double, and one in five Americans will be 65 or older. The 77 million baby boomers who were born between 1946 and 1964 represent both a challenge and an opportunity for communities. Though more racially, ethnically and economically diverse than previous generations, many are seeking a different kind of life than their parents had at this age. Recent studies (MetLife/Civic Ventures, 2006) indicate than 80% of boomers plan on engaging in part time or full time work well past the traditional retirement age. Many are seeking opportunities to learn, contribute to their communities, and connect with others. More people want to age in their own communities rather than moving away (Prusciuta, 2006), a trend that is motivating communities to create a range of supportive services and meaningful opportunities that will attract and retain this large segment of the US population.

In addition to the increasing size of the older adult population, the gap between the percentage of older adults and children has narrowed; by 2030 each group will constitute approximately 22% of the total population (U.S. Department of Human Services, 1991). This shift is only one part of a set of essential demographic, social, and economic transformations, many of which have already begun. *Minorities* are becoming majorities in many cities. By 2010, it is expected that 40% of teens will be nonwhite or Hispanic (Dryfoos, 1998); by 2050 this will be true for a majority. Similarly, older minorities are increasing as a proportion of the older population, though not at the same rate. Though these changes present many quandaries for this new century, they also suggest untapped resources to meet the challenges facing children, elders, families, and neighborhoods.

Weakening of the Social Compact

The *social compact* –the giving and receiving of resources over time– is manifested through family care-giving and policies/programs that support the interdependence of all generations. Due to rapid social change, increased

geographic mobility, and high divorce/remarriage rates, the social compact has been weakened. In some communities, particularly those in rural areas, there has been an exodus of young people. Often older adults are left behind with inadequate resources and youth are deprived of the opportunity to receive guidance from their elders. The growing age-segregation in both urban and rural communities has limited natural interaction across age groups. As age-specific institutions like schools, child or adult day care centers and retirement communities have grown, opportunities to connect across ages and cultures have become more limited. Norms of trust and reciprocity need to be renewed so that people at different life stages understand their obligations to each other.

Throughout the world, care-giving roles and responsibilities in families have also become unclear. With increased participation of women in the workforce, care-giving no longer is just a *woman's role* but rather a task that is shared by all family members and supported by the community. Programs are needed that provide respite (relief) and other support services to caregivers at every life stage and help them navigate complex service systems. In addition, public support of programs such as social security and education is critical to the well being of *all* generations.

Addressing the needs of individuals and communities

Individual lifelong development

Investing in individuals across the life course is a critical strategy for moving toward a *society for all ages*. The physical, intellectual and emotional foundations of long life are laid in childhood. In order to navigate the treacherous path from childhood to adulthood, *young people* need caring adults who can guide them, healthy habits that will enable them to enjoy a long and healthy life, effective education, and opportunities to help others (America's Promise, 2002). *Older adults* need services and opportunities that address basic needs, promote social and civic engagement, optimize physical and mental health and well-being; and maximize independence for frail and disabled (Stafford, 2006). Adults in their middle years need supportive social networks and flexibility as they try to balance family and work responsibilities. In order to achieve these outcomes, it is important to offer

a range of *services* and *opportunities* at the *community* level that promote economic security, lifelong learning and career development, healthy life styles and access to quality health care, a safe environment, and housing that is responsive to changing needs.

The fragmentation approach to community problem solving

In part because of the fragmentation of funding streams and public services, practitioners, advocates and community leaders tend to promote the needs of special interests and target populations, rather than whole populations across the life span. The fragmentation approach to problem –solving is often less effective and more costly than approaches which draw upon the resources of numerous organizations to address problems affecting multiple generations. Exacerbating this problem is the limited focus of institutions –social service agencies concerned about human development, Community Development Corporations concerned about physical and economic development, and civic groups concerned about social and political development. Many of these institutions do their strategic planning in isolation rather than moving beyond traditional boundaries to participate in a convergent strategic planning process (Stafford, 2006). At a local level, coordinated efforts across social, economic and physical sectors are needed to build communities that support the well-being of all generations.

7.3. Theoretical underpinnings

In order to create enabling environments that support and nurture individuals over time and foster interdependence, it is important to understand how communities impact individual human development and social ties. Communities are seen as «the nexus of interpersonal networks; as political units around which collective action may be mobilized; and as affective units of identity and belonging for residents» (Chaskin, 1999: 4). The CFAA concept is anchored in the belief that community context helps shape development and behavior. A number of theories have influenced the development of the *Communities for All Ages* initiative.

Definition of terms

Community. The term community, commonly defined as a social and a geographic unit, will be used to describe those residing within a specific place, sharing common bonds, and interacting with one another (AARP 50.50).

Community building. Community building is an ongoing comprehensive effort that strengthens the norms, supports and problem solving resources of a community. It involves strengthening the capacity of residents, neighborhood associations, and community organizations to work together toward sustained change in conditions (Booth, 2001).

Place-based. Place-based strategies refer to approaches to improve the quality of life and well-being of people in a particular neighborhood or other geographically defined area, often through partnerships among residents, local government and institutions.

Social Capital. Social capital has been defined as the «features of social organizations, such as networks, norm, trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for benefit» (Putnam, 1993).

Community capacity. Community capacity is the «interaction of human, organizational, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems» (Chaskin, 2001).

Community effects on individual outcomes

Research (Booth and Coulter, 2001) suggests that there is a relationship between individual outcomes and the conditions of the surrounding environment, particularly regarding children. Little research has been conducted to explore how neighborhoods/communities impact people across the life span or what brings about change in communities. However the framework developed by Small and Supple (2001) can be used to better understand how individual and community development are intertwined.

According to Small and Supple, communities are complex systems that influence individuals on three levels. Level 1 effects refer to the direct influences of community environments and institutions. The authors suggest that settings in which individuals participate, such as faith-based, recreation, health care and educational institutions and the processes within them (e.g.

peer influence, development of self-efficacy) can influence wellbeing and behavior. In order to promote healthy development, communities should offer a range of high quality settings and opportunities that involve cross-age participants.

Level 2 effects refer to the relationships and linkages between settings in a community and include the social networks that people are part of. If settings are consistent in terms of common values/goals and physically accessible, young people and older adults will be able to get the supports they need for healthy development. The resiliency of individuals at any age may be due not only to personal characteristics, but also to the availability of settings that can provide the support they need. Lack of transportation, unsafe environments, and social barriers can limit the ability of individuals to navigate between settings. The term *social capital* is used to describe the aggregation of these second level effects. It refers to «connections among individuals-social networks and the norms, reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them» (Putnam, 2000: 36). The higher the level of social capital, the greater the likelihood that people will receive the support they need within their community.

Level 3 effects refer to those effects that are unique to the system as a whole (Small and Supple, 2001). They include *social cohesion* (the emotional closeness among community members), community identity and membership, collective efficacy («belief in a neighborhood's capability for action coupled with an active sense of engagement on the part of residents» (Booth, 2001: 171)) and community capacity («the degree to which people in a community demonstrate a sense of shared responsibility for the general welfare of the community and its individual members (Mancini, 2000)). These effects are interdependent and interrelated. Before any of these higher order effects can occur in a community, there must be a sense of shared values and goals, a commitment to the common good, mutual trust, and the resources to bring about community action.

Based on this conceptual framework, the CFAA approach concentrates on enhancing the capacity of community institutions to support individuals of all ages, fostering collaboration across age-specific organizations, and increasing social capital by creating opportunities for different generations to serve as resources to each other.

Place attachment and sense of community

Growing up and growing older are not just about time and body –they are about *place* and *relationships* (Stafford, 2006). It is therefore important to explore how individuals at different life stages *perceive* the place in which they live. Researchers in environmental psychology (Manzo and Perkins, 2006) suggest that the places in which people live and work affect their identities, values, behavior, and relationships with others (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Theory on place attachment can shed light on the relationship between emotional connections to place and community development. A study by Brown, Perkins and Brown (2003) found that *place attachment* –«an affective bond between people and places» (Altman and Low, 1992)– and *sense of community* –«feelings of membership or belonging to a group based on shared history, interests or concerns» (Manzo and Perkins, 2006: 339)– play significant roles in neighborhood revitalization efforts. Developing strategies to promote a sense of community among diverse groups is a key factor in community building efforts.

7.4. The Communities for All Ages framework

The foundation for the CFAA framework grew out of a review of literature related to community building, environmental psychology, city planning, and human development as well as a series of focus groups with practitioners in the aging and youth fields. Various models of elder-friendly and child-friendly efforts were identified and compared. Though these initiatives focused on individuals at different developmental stages, many of the issues identified by separate age groups were of concern to ALL generations. These included: social and family support, education and lifelong learning, civic engagement (opportunities to serve), access to quality health/social services and affordable housing. The core elements for CFAA are based on these common concerns.

Though there are very few efforts to create *child-friendly* communities today, a growing number of elder-friendly initiatives are being developed across the United States. The AdvantAge multi-site initiative (www.advantageinitiative.org) created by the Visiting Nurses Association of New York uses a comprehensive telephone survey organized around four domains and thirty three indicators

to help local aging coalitions establish strategic goals for aging in place. The concept of *liveable communities* has been embraced by AARP (www.aarp.org) and the National Association of Area Agencies on Aging (http://aipi.n4a.org). According to Kochera, Straight and Guterbock (2005: 16), «A livable community is one that has affordable and appropriate housing, supportive community features and services, and adequate mobility options, which together facilitate personal independence ad the engagement of residents in civic and social life». These initiatives all focus primarily on older adults, though many organizers acknowledge that children, youth and people with disabilities can also benefit.

Although it focuses on many of the same issues, *Communities for All Ages* has an *explicit* life span perspective. Rather than viewing children and young people as secondary beneficiaries of efforts to make a community good for older adults, CFAA starts by bringing all age groups to the table to assess needs/resources and develop strategies that will enhance the quality of life for all generations. Younger generations are seen as central to the model. CFAA builds upon the concept of *Comprehensive Community Initiatives* (CCI's) begun in the late 1980's which were designed to promote positive change in disadvantaged neighborhoods by improving physical, economic and social conditions. While the efforts of CCI's have often been comprehensive in terms of the strategies being used –community organizing, resident leadership, system reform, increased civic engagement, community planning, strategy development and implementation, they generally have not focused on generational strengths, preferences and needs, nor explicitly taken a life span perspective (Kubisch, 2001).

The CFAA lens also draws from the work of Matilda Riley (2000), Scientist Emeritus at the National Institutes of Health, who wrote extensively about the need to move from *age-differentiated* structures (e.g. schools for the young, retirement communities for the old) to *age-integrated* structures that offer opportunities for individuals to intersperse periods of education, work ad leisure over the life course.

Communities for All Ages is an evolving concept that is intended to change the way individuals and organizations think and act in their neighborhoods and communities. It promotes the goal of age-integration and generates strategies that will expand the quality of social networks, increase services and

opportunities for all age groups, create a physical infrastructure that responds to changing needs, and promote a sense of connectedness across ages and cultures. There is no *one* prescriptive blueprint or a rigid set of strategies that must be adopted by diverse communities. Rather communities must take into account their unique needs, resources, and cultural context as they bring key stakeholders together to address common concerns and promote individual development across the life course. The following core values and elements were developed to help guide communities as they begin this process.

Core values of a *Community for All Ages*

- *Interdependence*: People feel a sense of shared responsibility for one another. The age-old social compact is strong as generations rely on each other for care, support, and nurturing. Elders are viewed as resources to families and communities. Young people feel valued as resources for elders and gain a sense of social efficacy.

- *Reciprocity*: People of all ages have opportunities to both give and receive support; to both teach and learn. Age groups rely on each other for support.

- *Individual worth*: Each individual, regardless of age, race/ethnicity, gender, or other variables, deserves respect and care, is entitled to equal access to the community's resources, and offers an ability to contribute to the community in some way.

- *Diversity*: Efforts are made to foster understanding across diverse groups, which promotes recognition of shared priorities and untapped resources.

- *Inclusion:* Policies and programs are designed for all members of the community, with the understanding that improvements to overall community quality of life will benefit most members of the community.

- *Equity*: Fairness is reflected in all policies and services. Advocates for the young and the old are not pitted against each other for limited resources, but work together as allies toward the development of mutually beneficial policies and services.

- *Social connectedness*: Social relationships build and deepen the social networks that provide support for all age groups. Formal networks foster

opportunities for connection across ages and cultures, thus building a shared sense of community.

Core Elements of a *Community for All Ages*

1) A continuum of accessible health and social services that support individuals and families across the life course.

Examples:

- A continuum of services exists to support children, youth, adults of all ages, and families at all stages of life.
- Developmentally-appropriate care is offered for dependent populations.
- Basic needs (housing, safety, food, and transportation) are met across the life course.
- Prevention and early intervention health services and programs are available for all age groups.
- A single point of entry exists to obtain information about local services.
- Integrated home-based services are offered to caregivers at all life stages.

2) Opportunities for lifelong civic engagement and learning.

Examples:

- Schools are utilized as centers for lifelong learning.
- Older adults and youth are involved in a wide range of volunteer and paid service opportunities.
- A solid infrastructure exists for the recruitment, training, placement and support of people engaged in service.
- All ages are involved in community planning efforts.
- Neighborhood watch programs that promote public safety include all ages.
- Partnerships exist between communities and universities to promote lifelong learning.

3) Diverse and affordable housing and transportation options that address changing needs.

Examples:

- Zoning regulations allow accessory dwelling units, assisted living, and homesharing.
- Home modification and repair programs help people stay in their homes.
- Public transportation systems are in place to enable people to maintain their independence.
- Mixed land use fosters social interaction across diverse groups.
- Universal design principles are used to ensure that environments and products are usable by as many people as possible.

4) A physical environment that promotes healthy living and the wise use of natural resources.

Examples:

- Pedestrian walkways are created to help people enjoy urban green spaces and engage in physical activity.
- Farmers markets offer fresh food to residents.
- Toxic sites are cleaned up and natural resources are protected.
- Open spaces (e.g. parks, gardens) are designed to attract people of all ages and abilities.
- Vacant buildings and brownfields are reclaimed for housing, stores and community gathering places.

5) Policies, facilities and public spaces that foster interaction and interdependence across generations.

Examples:

- Family-friendly work places offer family leave, job-sharing, respite and day-care facilities.
- Shared sites (e.g. senior centers in schools, multi-generational learning

centers, and adult/child care centers) enable generations to interact naturally.

- Intergenerational coalitions are formed to support of social security and public education.
- School buses are shared with the aging network.

7.5. A life span approach to community building

CFAA is not only a *vision* which communities can embrace; it is also a community building *process* with an explicit life span focus. It involves a new way of thinking and interacting for residents and institutions/organizations. Rather than focusing on specific causes or populations, it promotes *place-based* activism that involves problem-solving across traditional boundaries (Stafford, 2006).

The *Communities for All Ages* process is:

- *Intentional:* explicitly focuses on strategies that promote cross-age interaction and systems that are responsive to individuals and families across the life course.
- *Asset-based*: focuses particular attention on youth and older adults as resources to meet community needs; seeks to strengthen the social compact.
- *Comprehensive*: encourages collaborative strategies across age-bounded categorical programs and infuses a life-span perspective into programs and policies. Involves community residents, local organizations and institutions, and policymakers.
- *Strategic*: recognizes population trends, promotes cross-generational and cross-system advocacy, and de-emphasizes pitting youth and aging advocates against each other for limited resources.

Transforming neighborhoods or communities requires changes in norms, values, structures, services, and policies. If norms and values don't promote a shared responsibility for care-giving of older and younger community members, outreach efforts to support vulnerable residents will probably

not succeed. If structures like schools and housing developments are age-segregated, cross-age interaction and mutual learning will probably not occur. If policies inhibit the sharing of resources or encourage competition rather than collaboration, the potential to create lasting systemic change is limited. Central to this notion is the importance of older adults and youth serving as resources for each other and their community.

The CFAA process begins by bringing together key stakeholders –*organizations* representing different constituencies (e.g. aging, education, libraries, environmental groups, family service, early childhood, faith-based, neighborhood associations), *policymakers*, and *residents* of all ages– to identify common concerns and develop strategies that benefit multiple generations and honor the limits on our financial and environmental resources. It involves integrating aging issues within the context of other plans and initiatives that the affect the entire community. Strategies focus on three major dimensions of a community: the *physical infrastructure* (streets, housing, transportation, land use), *institutional resources* (agencies and organizations that address community needs), and *social organization* (values, norms, and behavior patterns within a community that impact how community members interact). Communities can go in different doors to achieve the long term outcomes of the CFAA process:

- Improved wellbeing for children, youth, elders and families.
- More comprehensive and responsive systems to support all age groups.
- Increased interdependence across generations and expanded social networks.

7.6. Community fo All Ages in practice

In 2003, in collaboration with the Arizona Community Foundation, the *Communities for All Ages* initiative was launched in rural and urban sites across Arizona. This initiative involved three phases:

- *Phase 1: Public awareness.* Workshops were held across the state to educate the public about the importance of connecting generations to meet community needs. Requests for proposals were solicited from communities interested in engaging in a three year process.

- *Phase 2: Assessment and Planning*. CFAA teams from nine diverse communities conducted community assessments, identified issues of concern for all generations (e.g. housing , transportation, health/supportive services, public safety, land use planning), and developed a shared vision and action plan to address those issues from a multi-generational perspective.

- *Phase 3: Implementation*. Over the past three years, six CFAA teams have implemented a range of multi-generational strategies that address priority issues. These strategies draw upon the collective assets of stakeholders and promote the sharing of resources. Broad strategies included: community organizing, cross-sector partnerships, transforming physical space to foster interaction, and public awareness.

Though the specific strategies differ across sites, a number of similarities have been identified. These include:

- The creation of communication vehicles (e.g. community newsletters, community dialogues) to increase awareness of services and opportunities and highlight stories about community residents.

- The use of the arts to foster cross-age and cross-cultural understanding.

- The development of multi-generational learning centers that serve as hubs for cross-generational activities.

- The empowerment of community residents to play leadership roles.

- The planning of community celebrations that help reduce isolation and increase community pride.

- Activities designed to bring generations together to improve the environment.

A documentation process is currently underway in Arizona. Outcomes for individuals, organizations and communities are being assessed. Preliminary data indicate that there have been changes in the attitudes and behaviors of individuals, the mindset and practices of organizations, and community norms. Outcomes for *residents* include: an enhanced sense of empowerment, increased involvement in community improvement efforts, increased interaction across ages and culture, and increased service utilization. Outcomes for *organizations*

include: increased collaboration around issues, increased awareness and utilization of intergenerational approaches, and increased interaction between service providers and residents. Outcomes for *communities* include: increased understanding and interaction across cultures and ages, enhanced physical environments and increased community pride.

A closer look at two very different communities in Arizona may provide a deeper understanding of the impact of the CFAA initiative.

Concho

Concho is a small, rural, unincorporated community located in northeast Arizona. Its population is approximately one third older adults and one third children and youth, with the remaining residents ranging in age from 20 and 50 years. There are no transportation or home food services for older adults or a senior center in Concho. After school programming and organized summer programs for youth are limited. However Concho's assets include a dedicated core of concerned citizens, a large artisan community, a retirement community on the edge of town, and a county recreational park and lake. Several years ago a group of Concho residents came together to apply for a CFAA grant. They identified the following as issues they wanted to address: limited services for all ages (especially youth and seniors), isolation and lack of a gathering place for residents, and limited economic and educational opportunities. With support from the Arizona Community Foundation and the county, the CFAA team was able to establish a multigenerational community center that offers classes and programs for all ages, coordinates volunteer opportunities, and organizes community –wide events. The CFAA team also publishes a newsletter that is delivered to every household in Concho and is working with multiple agencies to transform the lake and park into vibrant public spaces that foster intergenerational interaction.

South Central Phoenix

South Central Phoenix is a two mile area near downtown Phoenix that is primarily Hispanic. The area is plagued by blight and crime. Though it has an abundance of social service agencies, most residents don't know about or take advantage of these services. In an effort to address public safety issues and increase the utilization of services, the Phoenix Revitalization Corporation

partnered with several other local agencies serving youth and older adults to develop a CFAA project. The major component of this initiative is an Intergenerational Leadership Academy. Leadership workshops, which are conducted within low-income housing developments, are designed to build life skills, enhance self-esteem, and increase the capacity of residents of all ages to address community issues. The initiative also publishes a bi-monthly newsletter in Spanish and English to inform residents about services and opportunities in the area. Graduates of the leadership academies have assumed a wide variety of civic roles and are actively working together to create a cleaner, safer community.

A number of lessons have emerged from these experiences in Arizona, including the following:

- The CFAA process is community-specific and evolves over time. Communities enter the process through different doors, but share a common long term vision.
- Community assessment is essential. It is important to understand the lived experiences of all age groups and identify existing organizational resources and gaps in services.
- Honoring the diverse voices of community members will help build trust and investment in the process. Trust building takes a great deal of time and effort.
- It is important to bring key stakeholders together around common ground. The issues that are addressed must be seen as important to all participants.
- Developing and maintaining a strong team of residents and organizational representatives is challenging but critical to the success of this approach.

7.7. Conclusion

The CFAA initiative is now operating in Arizona, New York and Maine. Plans to add additional sites in Arizona and New Jersey are underway. But in order to take this initiative to scale, numerous challenges must be overcome. These include:

• *Vested Interests*: Moving toward a more age-integrated society may be seen as threatening to the vested interests of various age groups or the organizations that represent them. Sharing resources could be viewed as *losing ground* and money by certain age groups.

• *Categorical Funding Streams*: Age-segregated funding streams at the local, state, and federal levels exacerbate fragmentation and duplication of services. It is often difficult to fit intergenerational programs into existing youth or aging initiatives and/or to find funding for a life-span approach to service delivery.

• *Lack of Dialogue Across Systems*: Few vehicles exist for various age groups or the organizations that represent them to come together to explore a common agenda. As a result, there is often competition for scarce resources rather than efforts to create comprehensive initiatives that support individuals and families across the life course.

• *Intra- and Inter-Cohort Differences*: Across America, cohort groups that reflect different values, ideals, and beliefs about their roles and responsibilities toward family, community, and society are living side by side. Structured opportunities for cross- and intra-cohort interaction are necessary to foster mutual understanding and avoid conflict.

• *Land Use Planning*: Communities segregate people by income, housing, and transportation. The private sector builds homes for the affluent while government provides a diminishing amount of housing for seniors, the poor, and the disabled.

• *Attitudinal Barriers*: Limited cross-age interaction and age-related stereotypes have resulted in pervasive ageism. This often deters individuals/organizations from reaching out to other age groups as resources. Deeper issues such as institutionalized racism and gender roles related to care-giving are also at work.

• *Diversity:* It is impossible to take a cookie cutter-approach to promoting communities for all ages. Different strategies will have to be employed in marketing communities for all ages to specific populations and for implementing programs that are culturally appropriate.

• *Regulations That Inhibit Shared Resources*: There is a proliferation of regulations and policies at the regulations and policies at the local, state, and federal levels that create disincentives for sharing resources and/or providing services across the life course. Many programs have age requirements for specific services and entitlements.

The *Communities for All Ages* framework is a practical model for creating multi-generational communities. By encouraging practitioners, researchers and policy makers to move beyond the narrow focus of age and think about strategies and supporting structures that enhance the quality of life for all age groups, this approach is moving us closer to the *Society for All Ages* envisioned by the United Nations.

VIII. The professionalisation of intergenerational work

Juan Sáez *(University of Murcia)*

8.1. Introduction

As we have seen in the previous chapters, there are more and more intergenerational programmes in place, with growing diversity. Partly due to this diversity, the professionals involved are also varied in their training and methods. This leads us to consider the issue of professionalisation in the intergenerational field, which we will be discussing in this chapter.

We aim to start by considering the need for professionalisation in the field, distinguishing it from other social practices and actions with recognised professionals and discussing how this process should move forward. Secondly, we will be contemplating some of the skills required of professionals in the intergenerational field and the necessary training. The idea is to define the professional best prepared to design and implement intergenerational programmes to ensure that all the participants benefit as much as possible.

8.2. Current status

If we perform a quantitative analysis of the participation of professionals in the intergenerational programmes organised both in Spain and elsewhere, we find a large number of specialists involved in their design, implementation, promotion and assessment. But, firstly, there are few studies related to the involvement of professionals in such intergenerational programmes and, secondly, there is even less literature concerning professionals specifically linked to intergenerational work.

We know that a wide range of professionals are convened to provide their know-how and suggest strategies related to the content, objectives and achievements of intergenerational programmes. As a review of the literature shows, they are as numerous as diverse are their contributions. And we have some information about their opinions of the intergenerational programmes in question, thanks to the assessments made by their organisers in order to evaluate what they have accomplished.

With regards to Australia, MacCallum *et al*. (2006) used a discussion group and interviews to learn about the intergenerational programmes they examined in relation to the opinions and perceptions of their coordinators, including investigators, teachers, musicians, historians, social workers, management administrators, educators, psychologists and school principals. Similar work is underway in Spain by the research team coordinated by Mariano Sánchez, in the form of the project entitled «INTERGEN: Description, analysis and evaluation of intergenerational programmes in Spain (2006-2007)». Besides listening to older persons, youths and children participating in intergenerational programmes, they are obtaining information from the professionals whose opinions could help to more solidly evaluate these intergenerational programmes and provide more comprehensive insight into the effects of the professionals interviewed on their respective or particular commitments to such programmes.

We could also mention the work of Perlstein and Bliss (1994) and Osborne and Bullock (2000), who show an interest (although their studies are not focused on the professionalism of the professional figures linked to the intergenerational field) in emphasising the necessary collaboration of different agents, in their respective fields of intervention, in the design, planning and development of a large number of intergenerational programmes (see MacCallum *et al*., 2006).

But the most detailed and systematic studies of «professional intergenerational work» are due to Rosebrook and Larkin (2003) and Sánchez, Larkin and Sáez (2004). It is well worth considering the aspects approached by these two texts, particularly in relation to how they can help our discussion.

Rosebrook and Larkin's view of the intergenerational specialist

These two North American authors formulate a series of «guidelines for professional intergenerational work» in which they show a clear preference for

intergenerational specialists with the necessary skills and capabilities. They have defined a profile according to a series of principles on which the required skills would be based.

In the first place, the intergenerational specialist has know-how basically derived from the study of lifelong human development, and uses such know-how to plan and implement effective programmes in which young and older persons come together for their mutual benefit. This principle is the basis for skills such as the following:

- Identification of similar and different developmental needs affecting young and older persons.
- Use of knowledge of how people learn at different stages of life to plan intergenerational activities from an interactive perspective, enabling different styles of learning.
- Design of intergenerational actions which stimulate the brain through physical exercise, social interaction and appropriate cognitive activities.
- Recognition of the fact that all age groups need to feel included, cared for and safe.
- Acknowledgement of the importance of factors such as friendships, play, self-esteem, autonomy, loss and grieving, which affect people at different times during their lifetimes.
- Recognition of signs of the most common problems affecting young and older persons in order to guide them and refer them elsewhere.

A second principle to be followed by such professionals refers to the need to support the development of intergenerational relations by the effective use of communication. This suggests further skills:

- Comprehension of the different developmental capabilities of young and older persons in social, linguistic, cultural, emotion, spiritual and physical aspects.
- Creation of a setting which promotes intergenerational interaction and minimises the barriers produced by physical disabilities or cultural and experience-related differences.

- Use of appropriate language to foster informal and planned interactions between participants of different ages.
- Transmission of positive interest to each participant in a programme.
- Acting with empathy and sensitivity to the singularity of colleagues, participants and their families.

These professionals must also be capable of understanding and showing a commitment to work and collaboration in association with other people and organisations, requiring the following skills:

- Recognition of the benefits of both sharing experiences between institutions and professional training.
- Defence of the benefits of intergenerational programmes and education of colleagues in their importance.
- Preparation of tasks, timetables and budgets which support the objectives of the organisations involved and show an equitable use of the resources provided.
- Organisation of training for staff to learn about strategies for managing problematic behaviour by older and young participants.
- Use of technological innovations to facilitate and manage communications and collaboration between institutions.
- Compliance with the necessary ethical requirements and the need for respect.

Fourthly, the professionals participating in intergenerational programmes must be capable of integrating knowledge derived from several relevant fields, including psychology, sociology, history or pedagogy. They therefore need the following skills:

- Familiarity with the historic, cultural and social foundations of intergenerational programmes and the models which have been most successful over time.
- Acknowledgement that the cultural experiences of each generation form different values and perspectives among the young and older persons

participating in a programme, enabling an exchange of different points of view.

- Application of relevant content from academic disciplines to develop effective intergenerational activities.
- Study of traditional and innovative methods which help to approach intergenerational problems on a community, social or global scale.
- Conduct of research-action to develop the field of intergenerational studies.
- Formulation of general objectives for intergenerational programmes based on an interdisciplinary perspective about how each generation has to contribute to the wellbeing of others.
- Use of appropriate materials from a developmental perspective, in order to foster activities promoting successful intergenerational interactions.

The fifth principle of action which, according to Rosebrook and Larkin, these professionals must follow is the use of appropriate assessment techniques adapted from the fields of education and social sciences, in order to inform about the progress and achievements of programmes in different groups and contexts. They therefore require the following skills:

- Familiarity with and application of strategies for evaluating programme outcomes.
- Awareness of the community context in which programmes operate, so that social policies and the available resources are consistent with general objectives and intergenerational outcomes.
- Coordination, to benefit everyone, of the exchange of information about data collection and analysis between the organisations involved.
- Involvement of the participants, their families and the staff of programmes in the planning and assessment process.
- Use of an interdisciplinary approach to make use of current research and theories to improve intergenerational practices.

Finally, the intergenerational specialist is a reflexive, understanding and affectionate professional whose fundamental aim is to encourage contact

between younger and older persons for their mutual benefit, requiring skills such as:

- Ability to pair off children, youths and older persons who may be compatible, helping to build a relationship based on shared interests, needs and objectives by means of an intergenerational programme.
- Design of effective interactive styles for all age groups.
- Regularity in the self-evaluation process required in order to grow as an intergenerational professional.
- Interest in the opinions of other colleagues in order to promote critical thinking and problem-solving.
- Provision of guidance for new professionals in the field of intergenerational studies.
- Promotion of positive communications between the different groups involved in intergenerational work, helping to explain the field's importance to the general public.
- Contribution to the profession's development by presentations at congresses, the conduct of research and publication of results, publishing papers and launching local, national and international networks.

In sum, according to this approach, the intergenerational expert is the professional who mobilises all these resources, strategies and skills in order to design and implement an encounter between children, young and older persons, to attain pre-formulated objectives and satisfy their personal, cultural or economic needs.

If we analyse these proposed principles and associated skills in depth, we find that it is the classic, and otherwise predominant, version of the social professions and their traditional capabilities. This formulation of the professional profile required of intergenerational specialists, according to Rosebrook and Larkin (2003), has a great advantage, but in our opinion it also presents certain difficulties. The advantage is that it is associated to a series of features and characteristics, functions and tasks which are shared with all other social professionals. They include the identification/diagnosis of needs, planning, intervention, proposal of alternatives, use of certain resources and

strategies, use of appropriate methods and assessment; in other words, the skills shared by all social professionals aimed at learning about young or older persons and their problems. Larkin and Rosebrook, however, fail to define what specifically distinguishes an intergenerational specialist.

However, what we have described as an advantage (hence the problem) is preventing us from considering the emergence, configuration and skills of a professional profile specifically working in the intergenerational field. According to Rosebrook and Larkin's approach, all social, healthcare, economic professionals, and so on, could call themselves *intergenerational specialists* providing they have worked explicitly with intergenerational programmes. Furthermore, it is clear that the collaboration of all these professionals is necessary for such programmes to materialise; indeed, we agree with Manière, Aubert, Mourey and Outata (2005), when they defend powerful *interprofessionality* when working with older persons in different dimensions and activities.

However, we are interested in whether, when referring to intergenerational professionals, we are referring to a different professional (other than experts in psychology, policy-making, social studies, education, economics or healthcare) who is not an *expert* on the subject but on *relations*, in as much as intergenerational implies interaction and exchange between subjects of different generations. We are asking, then, whether we can conceive an intergenerational professional as distinct from other recognised specialists, as one concerned with the relations between two or more subjects from different generations, and the effects of shared activities on each of them as autonomous individuals.

In our opinion, the key to the specific distinction of intergenerational professionals lies in focusing on the relations between programme participants; hence a need to consider the concept of *intergeneration*.

8.3. Construction of the intergenerational professional profile

An intergenerational professional cannot summarise his or her functions and skills as merely bringing together people of different ages, which is the sole criterion for interaction between them. Age says nothing about a person

other than how long he has been alive (Jullien, 2005). For the health or legal sciences, to mention just two examples, age has been an indicator of decline or entitlement, respectively, to certain rights. In the field of the social sciences, ageism is a disturbing approach which determines policies and strategies which run the risk of segregating instead of integrating. Similarly, generations are not defined by age but by the period in which they lived; if we want to learn about generations, we have to study the conditions and context in which they lived.

It is therefore of little use to emphasise the age of individuals which, as they lived during the same period, are assumed to share certain values, attitudes and beliefs. The age of the participants in an intergenerational programme is assumed; what is of interest about intergenerational relationships is that people share (biography, experience, culture, values and, particularly, wishes, motivations and interests) and define common objectives, either explicitly of their own will (most common in the case of older persons) or implicitly, when referred by an adult (such as the case of parents allowing their children to participate in an intergenerational programme). The variables and elements involved in an intergenerational programme are many and not determined by age. This should be perfectly clear to intergenerational professionals.

Intergenerational interaction as a continuum

We have considered this concept in more depth thanks to the coherent and significant interpretation provided by Vercauteren (1999). His considerations of how social science professionals approach the issue of intergenerational relations lead us to contemplate two ideas.

The first is related to the fact that the social professions (educators, psychologists, social workers, economists, demographers, gerontologists or political scientists, among others) are now based on disciplines which are fragmented fields of knowledge imposing their hegemony with no interrelation (Becher, 2001). These disciplines attempt to diagnose and find reason for an individual, or subject, who acts and lives in a social medium full of generational stereotypes which classify and categorise life according to problems, phases, age or any other criteria. Such professionals have sustained and supported a stereotyped view of social problems and a mechanical standardisation of their responses, so that most of their social interventions and practices are designed according

to *problems,* and planned to *solve the problems* affecting the individual or collective subject (Castel, 1989, 1997). This disciplinary logic has configured the training of professionals skilled in the classification of categories, of representations and of identities linked to problems. The same could occur to intergenerational professionals: their existence could be justified because they have to effectively diagnose, intervene, supervise or control the problems of children, youths, adults or older persons. This is a dangerous way of viewing the work of those in charge of an intergenerational programme, as children, youths, adults and older persons could themselves end up being classified as the problem.

If we analyse intergenerational proposals, many of them are full of clinical terminology: diagnosis, intervention, supervision, control, efficacy, and so on, which focus more on a subject, either a person or a group (en elderly person or elderly persons and their problems, for instance), than on relations between people and what happens during and after an intergenerational encounter. In our opinion, however, what distinguishes an intergenerational professional is his or her focus not on the subjects as individuals but on the relations between them.

The second idea derived from the work of Vercauteren is as follows: the term intergenerational is based on a logic of life as a continuum rather than the personal and social fragmentation which has dominated our societies since the industrial era, seeing life as a closed process divided into three phases: training, work and retirement. According to this image, which has prevailed and continues to do so in many fields, each age is excessively specialised (children and youths have to learn, adults have to work and older persons have to retire).

This way of seeing life, as a series of closed phases, has consciously and unconsciously given rise to different intergenerational conflicts and other consequences, which segregate people. The ageism involved in this discontinuist approach is harmful for older and younger persons. Professionals trained in such logic see intergeneration as the mere interaction between two generations, failing to understand the culture and perspective of life behind the intergenerational concept (Vercauteren, 1995).

The intergenerational logic that we believe is required of intergenerational professionals is the logic of life as a continuum, not the ageist and discontinuist

approach we have just considered. This requires a different professional, capable of designing, fostering, promoting and evaluating relations between subjects. The objectives of an intergenerational professional, although realising that the first meetings of people from different generations are initial processes requiring encouragement, will not be the organisation of specific programmes but the promotion of intergenerational culture, with a view to a *society for all ages*.

Intergenerationality and professions

This implicit, and not always reasoned, division between subject-oriented (problem-oriented) professionals and others interested in relationships will help us analyse the present and future of intergenerational specialists. Therefore, and evidently solely for analytical purposes, we propose to distinguish between:

a) Professionals who work in intergenerationality focused on age, phases and problems (in which the generations, although measured in relation to time, are different and plural), with a fragmentary, non-continuous concept. The intergenerational programmes organised, oriented and coordinated by such a professional usually do little more than bringing different particular experiences together, without the systematisation and potential of true intergenerational practice.

b) Professionals who believe that their function is to help to build a «new community culture of ageing or a new intergenerational culture». This means thinking less about representations and more about life. These professionals have a different understanding of the concept of intergeneration. According to Nancy (2006), relations configure the subject and not the other way around. The true nature of people lies in the *with* and *between* which materialise in their relationships, not in isolated subjects, divided and fragmented by labels, problems and ages, and thus enclosed inside themselves.

From this second perspective, intergeneration is a fundamental aspect of intergenerational programmes but also the scope of intervention in which specialists in relations build the profile of their profession. Ultimately, an intergenerational professional focuses on relations (and *relational growth*), seeking involvement (neither provoked nor artificial) in *intergenerational*

encounters. This professional makes use of a series of skills which materialise *learning, support* and *affection* (what *affects* the subjects in a relationship, such as style, perception, gestures, looks, flows or bodies). These skills should be seen as the resources (cognition, feelings or perceptions) mobilised in certain methodological pre-conditions which the intergenerational professional has to prepare when organising an intergenerational programme. Some of these resources are described below:

- A specific scenario or site where changes occur in relationships.
- A time change adapted to the pace of the participants (where no one is excluded for reasons of slowness or disability).
- A set of methodologies, practices and skills which facilitate different intervention strategies, teamwork, sharing different skills and different modalities of action according to skills and know-how consolidated by experience, in order to create an atmosphere in which the intergenerational specialist prompts relations and mediates between them in order to create a true encounter between generations (not only between ages), formulating objectives which will never be completely predictable or quantifiable, even if they are defined for efficacy and operativity reasons.

From this viewpoint, the benefits obtained by children, youths, adults and older persons from this relationship, from this intergenerational practice, is something only they can measure. This is the key function of a professional specialising in intergenerational programmes.

8.4. The intergenerational profession: why, when and how

We mentioned earlier that the work of Sánchez, Larkin and Sáez (2004) focuses on the central issue of contemporary professionalism. These authors edited a list of questions in order to facilitate discussion of this issue: the *intergenerational specialist* and the possible professionalisation process. One of these questions refers to the reason for interest in professionalising the intergenerational field and its activities. The answers provided were as follows:

- To generate discussion of whether the intergenerational field is ready to be developed as a profession.

- To discuss the potential strategies used to promote the field's professionalisation through research and training for future professionals.
- To produce a comprehensive list of the issues and concerns related to all professionalisation processes.
- To clarify definitions, related issues and models which other fields have used for professionalisation purposes, so that those involved in the intergenerational field are informed and prepared, but avoiding automatic analogies with what occurred to other professions, which would only help to confuse the construction of an *intergenerational professional profile.*
- To update the information available about the criteria, knowledge and skills related to the intergenerational field.

Secondly, Sánchez, Larkin and Sáez (2004) also ask why intergenerationality should be approached with professional logic. The benefits are many, and they refer to aspects such as the following:

- Because the professionalist discourse is being increasingly used in numerous occupational contexts.
- Because there are many problems for which society is demanding solutions which intergenerational programmes can provide.
- Because intergenerational professionals want more control and power in the social, cultural and economic contexts in which they operate.
- Because *intergenerational professionalism* is being demanded *from inside,* by professional groups themselves.
- Because we need to facilitate occupational changes in our institutions and organisations in order to recreate them with more emerging and transforming perspectives.
- Because it is a way to promote shared occupational socialisation, besides building a professional identity which recognises (like doctors or teachers) the importance of intergenerationality and professional experts.

The use, as proposed by these authors, of a model based on studying the profession linked to intergenerationality, involves:

- Moving from the profession (from what its professionals do) to the theoretical field, thus moving in what is not the predominant direction; avoiding the use and abuse of the road from theory to practice to propose the opposite: moving from *intergenerational professional practices* to the field of knowledge.

- Building the field also from the profession; this implies studying the *professionalisation of intergenerational practice* and its professionals without accepting analogisms and similarities with other professions.

Nowadays, in terms of the professional field, we are still in the pre-professional phase of intergenerational specialisation, on the threshold of professionalisation. Intergenerational specialists are an emerging, little articulated occupational group aiming at professional status and attempting to steer the process leading to such status. Its accomplishment depends on agreements with institutions interested in professions and intergenerationality, training its younger members while they develop their vocation to serve the community, obtaining knowledge of the intergenerational field by means of research, giving rise to a systematic and skill-related culture in relations, regulated by codes of ethics with which to respond to situations arising in the field and aiming to be rewarded for their work and activities (Sáez, 2004).

In this respect, there are some historic events related to progress in the profession. Some of these events were mentioned in chapter II.

Support for professionalisation

What has been accomplished, in Spain at least, in the case of intergenerational professionals? Following is a short list of some of the work still to be done:

- Identify, analyse and evaluate the presence and action of professionals specialising in intergenerational practice in Spain: their skills (either specific or shared with other professionals), strategies and practices in the intergenerational field.

- Support the development and enhancement of the intergenerational field in Spain by the identification, characterisation and training of these emerging professionals, experts in intergeneration, so that the practices in which they are involved –the focal point of intergenerational programmes–

promote and multiply their political, social, cultural, educational and personal achievements.

• Study a series of existing intergenerational programmes based on two criteria (geographic and professional intervention) to ensure the participation of a wide range of professionals associated to the social, medical, legal sciences, etc, thus exploring what they do and how and why they do it.

• Confirm whether these professionals agree with their respective fields of capability in the strict sense or would introduce strategies and skills related to intergenerationality, not seen from an ageist perspective but based on relations and encounters.

• Specify the training needs of those working as intergenerational specialists (and not only as experts in other fields of professional intervention).

• Identify and propose a body of skills and abilities specifically linked to the professional activities of intergenerational specialists in order to increase their benefits.

• Design a broad-scope training programme in order to prepare present and future intergenerational specialists for promoting their professionalisation in the Spanish social, political, cultural, economic and professional system.

• Edit a brief history of this emerging professional figure in the initial professionalisation process and formulate the potential used in the design, application and assessment of social policies related to ageing and dependence.

• Compare the results obtained from the study of these professional skills with the international work we have mentioned and others which may be identified over time.

An example of the professionalisation process: training for international programme managers

In 2005, the Spanish Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs' *Instituto de Mayores y Servicios Sociales* (IMSERSO) issued a call for projects for the organisation and provision of eight training courses for intergenerational

intervention programme managers, lasting 60 hours each. These courses were given in January and February, 2006, in seven autonomous regions; they were completed by a total of 162 people, including both working professionals and retired older persons.

As far as we know, this was a pioneer initiative in this country: never before had this type of professional training been provided in relation to intergenerational programmes. We therefore believe it would be of interest to provide the system and content used in the courses, in case they inspire others to launch similar training projects.

Each course was divided into two parts, one face-to-face, lasting 20 hours or two and a half days, and another distance module, lasting 40 hours, during the following month. The following five models were completed during the face-to-face sessions (IMSERSO, 2006):

Module 1. **Theory**

- Basic principles of gerontology and active ageing.
- Approach to the concept and history of the intergenerational field.
- Intergenerational programmes. Theoretical aspects. Types and objectives.
- Results obtained by intergenerational programmes.

Module 2. **Research**

- Intergenerational relations and processes and their potential.
- Familial intergenerationality: what do we know about the relations between grandparents and grandchildren?

Module 3. **Policies**

- Intergenerational solidarity on the national and international political agenda.
- Intersections between gerontological, children's and youth policies.

Module 4. **Practice. Preparation of an intergenerational programme**

- Design and planning of intergenerational programmes. Components in the management of intergenerational programmes. The logic model.
- The search for, guidance and training of participants and staff.
- Financing and support of intergenerational programmes.
- Assessment of intergenerational programmes.

Module 5. **Good practice guide**

- Intergenerational programmes. Experience on a national and international scale.
- National and international intergenerational programme networks.
- Systematic data collection about the development of the intergenerational field in the autonomous region.
- Analysis and preparation of appropriate teaching materials.
- Conduct of intergenerational intervention workshops.

After completing the face-to-face stage, the students worked under tutors on the complete design of an intergenerational programme, based on a model provided by their teachers. This design project involved the practical use of what the students had learned.

This training course was inspired, on the one hand, by the concept of intergenerational field as it is described in chapter II of this book. The content modules were therefore organised according to the field's four components: theory, research, policies and practice. On the other hand, the persons organising the course made use of the experience of Generations Together, a North American organisation associated to the University of Pittsburgh which, in the eighties, created the first Intergenerational Certificate, which is now available in an online version (http://www.gt.pitt.edu).

In the context of the European Union, as well as this Spanish experience, we are aware of another two: on the one hand, the Certificate in Intergenerational Practice, organised in the United Kingdom by the University of Wales in Lampeter (http://www.volstudy.ac.uk/intergen/index.html) and, on the other, the Certificate in Intergenerational Studies which, with an approach not limited to intergenerational programmes, is available at the Kurt Bösch University Institute and Âges et Générations University Institute, with the participation of several Swiss university institutes and a centre at University of Paris VIII (http://www.iukb.ch).

All these proposals, with different approaches and degrees of development, are helping to professionalise work in the intergenerational field, and this is essential if we are to enhance the quality of the intergenerational programmes which, both in Spain and the rest of Europe, are rapidly growing in number.

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter has considered how the professionalisation of the specialists involved in intergenerational programmes continues to be a challenge. Although we can distinguish a series of principles of action and skills, such professionalisation should be founded on seeing these professionals as experts in relations, rather than the classic individual-oriented perspective. To fully understand the field, these professionals must see people not only according to their age or the generation to which they belong, but as individuals at a certain point in their life cycles. Professionalisation, however, does not depend on those who are engaged in intergenerational programme management alone. Other agents, such as the market, universities and the State, are an essential part of the process.

IX. Fostering intergenerational policies

Juan Sáez *(University of Murcia)*
Sacramento Pinazo *(University of Valencia)*
Mariano Sánchez *(University of Granada)*

9.1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter is two-fold. In the first place, we present a proposal for building the concept of *intergenerationality* based on the new contributions being made by different social and human science disciplines. This is important, as this concept is the foundation on which theories, policies, programmes and practices are being justified, so the idea of *intergenerationality* is fundamental. Secondly, we will attempt to present the professionals related to current policies who wish to improve their consistency and potential, and those who are more or less involved in the design and development of intergenerational programmes (IPs) with a series of strategies which will enable them to continue their work from a different perspective. The ultimate goal is to present suggestions for research in this field of knowledge and social practice

9.2. Relationships as a key intergenerational factor

In our opinion, the potential of the concept of *intergeneration* has not yet been fully realised. One of the reasons for this is that more has been discussed about *generation* than about *inter*, when it is precisely the *inter*, the relations between specific individuals, which positions intergenerational practices on a given site at a given time.

The formulation and promotion of integrating policies to mobilise meetings between generations from this situational perspective, fleeing from the universalism and abstraction involved in only emphasising the concept of generation, involves some difficulties. One of them is a terminological

issue, as we are using a language which is precisely derived from the more abstract conception. One of the objectives to be considered when defining intergenerational policies is therefore to question our inherited use of language and propose others which place the emphasis on relations, and not on generations. Another difficulty is methodological, as the trend is to quantify the parameters defining an IP (how many participants are there?; how much impact is there?, how long do they last?), and this trend fails to consider a series of values which materialise in the field, where IPs are put into practice.

Nancy (2001, 2006) provides special insight into these issues. He aims to construct a culture of relations which we believe is essential when considering IPs. His ideas are based on the following: «Nothing is more common than being: it is the self-evidence of existence. Nothing is less common than being: it is the evidence of community» (Nancy, 2001: 5). In other words, our *being in the world* is a *shared being*, a *being together.* We build on relationships and they form an intrinsic part of ourselves.

This is precisely what intergenerational practices express when they are analysed from this perspective, as they represent the individual's identification with the community to which he belongs and which constructs us as individuals. These practices involve experiencing the relations without which we would only be physical and material entities.

In intergenerational practices there is contagion, synergy with other people, and individuals become aware of their *essential need* to recover a sense of belonging to a conscious community, a community capable of forming part of a *society for all ages*.

As we can see, more than each individual alone, what is important is that no one can live isolated from others, without forming part of an *us*. And if there is an *us,* it is because there are relationships to build, and their construction is not pre-determined. There are multiple options for their development and as many directions as different conditions. It is precisely the existence of the *between* in *relationships between people* which makes sense of intergenerational practices, which are used to transform personal experience into community, and community into personal experience.

Intergenerational programmes can become a means for building a culture of relationships instead of an individual-oriented culture. The idea is to emphasise a culture involving encounters, underlining what happens between people, and how it happens at a given time in a given place, in order to overcome methods focusing on isolated individuals categorised according to abstract criteria.

Instead of a culture based on subjects, ages, identification (identification as a fixed concept in contrast with multiple and dynamic singularities), and discrimination, we need a culture, an economy, health, education and, ultimately, policies based on relationships. In this respect, this culture of *between* can grow from intergenerational practices.

In sum, we can conclude from the above that:

- An analysis of social policies shows that logic and a discourse based on the subject, on identity and on categories are obsolete. These concepts of an enclosed subject are the basis for policies with limited and often problematic effects.

- The concept of *(inter)generational* underlines relationships, coming and going, and it is therefore an excellent platform for intergeneration and, by extension, for intergenerational policies which, should they materialise, would represent alternatives to the sector-specific nature of current social policies, the effects of which belie a supposedly equitable and distributive rationale.

9.3. Towards a metagenerational culture

We have seen that, although the noun *generation* would initially appear to be more important than the prefix *inter,* it is the latter which contains all the potential of the concept of intergeneration as a foundation for social policies. In this respect, generation, in the sense of subjects from different periods (and ages), acquires unprecedented force as a concept conforming a community.

This new consideration and reinterpretation of intergeneration enables us to formulate significant arguments and considerations related to the application of intergenerational policies, as follows.

Firstly, with regards to the life cycle approach, we have to remember and acknowledge, as established in chapter VIII, that existence is a continuum in which all the different stages of life are related. Based on this premise, no one should be seen or perceived as a sum of parts, losses of problems. Old age means nothing if it is not related to adulthood, youth or childhood. The idea of *life project* refers to the continued existence of each individual.

Secondly, if old age is built from childhood (hence the importance of fostering social and educational policies of an intergenerational nature) and this construction implies acknowledging the interdependence of life phases and ages (and, therefore, of generations), intergenerational processes and practices cannot merely represent a relational interaction between two generations but a true culture of the *existential cycle*. This idea, broadly developed by Bertrand Russell (1968) in *The Conquest of Happiness*, and also accepted by subsequent authors, shows that humans are links in a chain articulated by those who went before and those who will follow. This could be one of the goals of IPs and the policies behind them; if multiple social transformations and change have given each generation specific features and produced lifestyles and collective references which have extended the process of generational differentiation, IPs must sustain the logic of the existential cycle.

This concept of *life cycle*, or of *life*, is associated to a *life project*. If this is associated to the entire existence of a continuum, the vital arch concept refers to the relationship between all the different phases in that continuum. Each stage of life is built on the previous stages and influenced by what we expect from the future.

Thirdly, sustaining this continuist logic with social policies of a basically intergenerational nature implies considering the following:

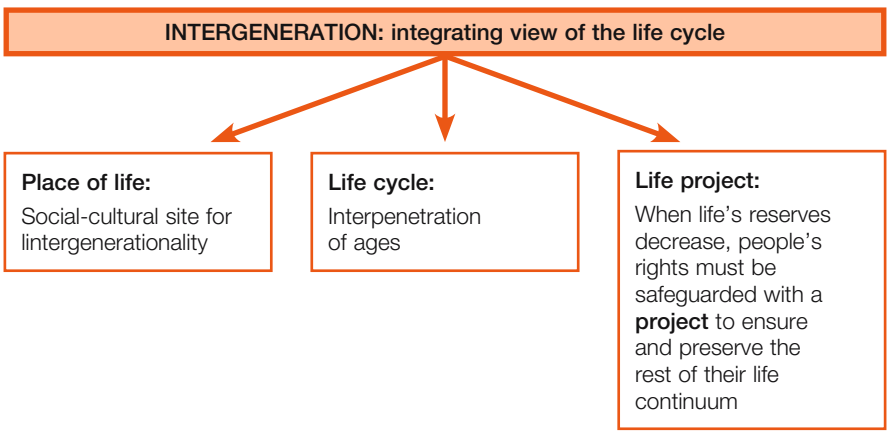
- Acknowledgement of human existence as a continuum is necessary (although not sufficient) for activating true intergenerational solidarity.
- This activation, through IPs for instance, should help each generation to recognise that others represent an evolutive moment of its own existence; hence the significance of the relations and community experiences established in IPs.

This philosophy is what makes sense of the wish to build a *society for all ages*. Without it, such a wish would be no more than mere words and rhetoric, a political slogan, as has occurred with other expressions related to the ageing process: «Active ageing does not represent a coherent strategy, and it is often no more than a political slogan used to cover anything related to ageing» (Walker, 2006: 84).

Finally, another concept considered in our approach is the *place of life*: it represents the idea of community as the natural site of abandoned or never fully realised intergenerationality when individualism and fragmentation prevail. Some theorists emphasise that the social link which is so often referred to never actually existed; others, concerned with the disappearance of such a link, insist that it should be fostered. The *being together* part of *being us* means that we have to reconsider both the classic forms of social link (such as the family, school, company or leisure sites) and those which have recently arisen (such as living facilities, hospitals or intergenerational centres), as well as other ways of implementing intergenerational acts to create relationships between different generations.

GRAPH 9.1

*Inter*generational rationale



Source: the authors.

In sum, all the above requires an in-depth view of the classic translations of intergeneration (defined as merely the meeting of two or more generations), to study a more powerful concept on which to found consistent and solid social policies. Graph 9.1 represents our analysis so far.

This intergeneration to which we are referring counteracts the tendency to *create generational niches*, the dominant culture based on fragmentation, segregation, sectorisation and ageing considered not as a *time of life* but as a *residual period*. «Not only does man in today's advanced economy have not roots in history or projects for the future of society, but he also runs the risk of losing the time dimension of his own existence, robbed of its global significance, incapable of understanding "the film of life"» (Loriaux, Predazzi and Vercauteren, 2001: 58).

Intergenerationality, however, is seen as a culture for *us*, for social links, for cohesion and solidarity. It is the central concept (neither age nor age-associated sectorisation), therefore, of all social policies in general and all social practices aimed at building a culture of relationships.

The justification of intergenerational policies is at its strongest here, and so is the establishment of IPs as resources and strategies for the implementation of such policies. This call to policy-makers means:

- That man is the only species who has radically changed the rules of his own life cycle.
- That generational interdependence is essential for society's survival.
- That the correct development of the above will depend on the future structure of society being based on profound cultural convictions (Espósito, 2003), solid certainties and methodologies which promote the awareness of belonging to a community.
- That this collective awareness will only develop with ethics, policies and pedagogy enabling the life cycle horizon to be a need which, however, free men can transform into a choice.

With regards to the last point, we would do well to consider the ethical aspects of intergenerationality.

In its consideration as an itinerary, the existential continuum refers to what we could call the *ethics of intergenerationality.* These ethics involve combating:

- The stereotyped, categorised and limited view of social problems, seeing them as *symptomatic* problems requiring symptomatic action or response.
- The action taken by professionals who impose a definition of need (who always seem to know what others need) before it is detected *with* and *among* the users and agents of programmes (supposedly planned to respond to needs).
- The standardisation of responses in an institutional bureaucratisation which limits, if it does not prevent, the defence of a personal life project which is possible in a group (Fernández, 2007).

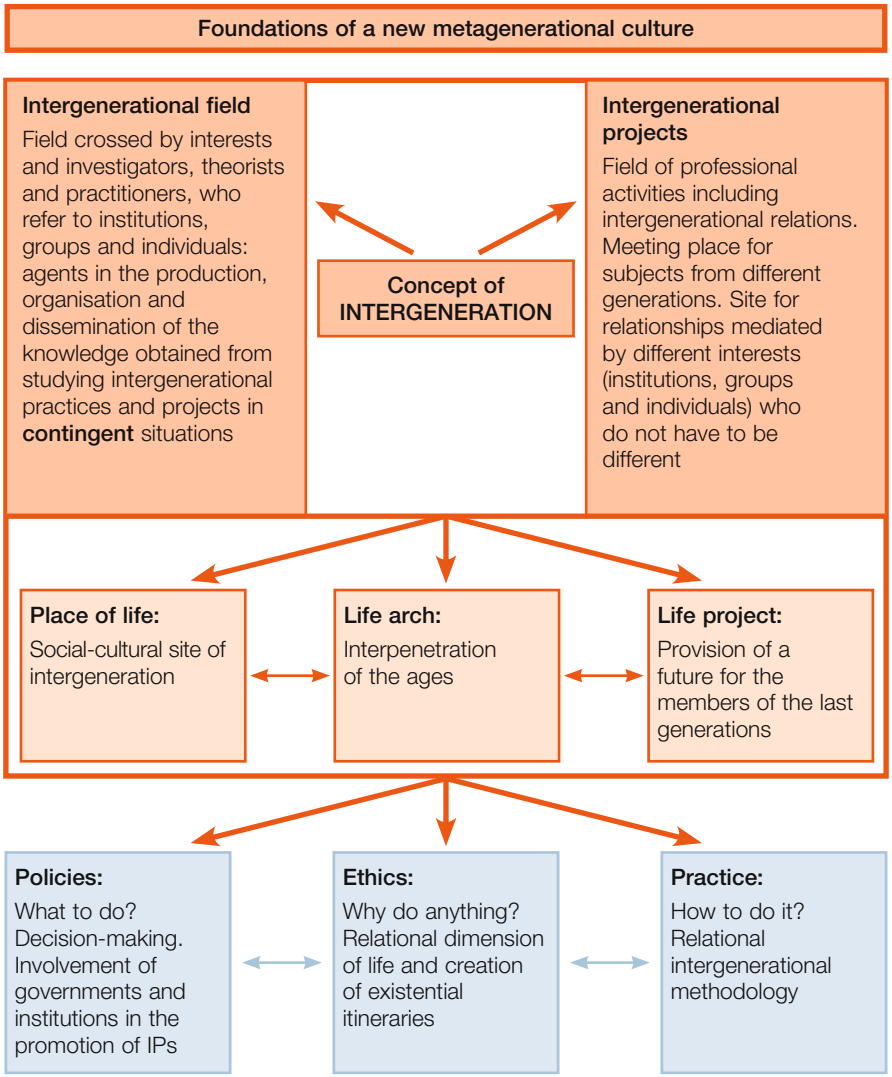
Vital arc ethics, then, are based on a fundamentally dynamic concept of existence; a concept which refers to the idea of vital voyage, of existential adventure (Maffessoli, 2004), in which the voyage itself is more important than its end. A meeting between generations, for example, therefore represents relations according to which what is sought is not objective results or quantifiable efficacy rates, but encounter, interaction, flows, affection, perceptions, contagion and the wishes of those involved in these relations.

The term *intergenerational* as we have defined it, is the true basis and foundation for an ethic, a policy and a methodology (practical) for actions between generations located at a given time and on a given site (and therefore variable and changing) in order to attain common goals. Graph 9.2 shows the fundamental aspects of the arguments put forward above.

This metagenerational culture (*meta* because it considers generations but aims much higher, at meetings and relations between them), although it is still being defined and developed, demands changes of a theoretical (in the concepts of planning, policy formulation and use of services) and methodological nature, and new content, which has to be (re)created by a new social action, the direction and practice of which will depend on the contingent intergenerational situations to which we have been referring. All this is a true challenge for the research specialists, policies and practices aimed at supporting the development of intergenerational programmes.

GRAPH 9.2

Foundations of a new metagenerational culture



Source: the authors.

9.4. Is a policy based on intergenerationality possible?

The literature specialising in social policies, either in the broad sense (economic, cultural, educational, healthcare or environmental policies, among others) or in its more restricted scope, is becoming more widespread and enables us to obtain an idea of what such policies represent, their characteristics, their predominant approach, their dimension (international, national or local) and whom they address. However, this is not the place to consider these aspects but to realistically discuss social policies articulated in relation to intergenerationality, based on two analytical criteria:

- Consider the issue from a negative standpoint, contemplating its impossibility.
- Read part of the documentation available about social policies, interpreting it from a positive (expectations) perspective.

A culture based on generational interdependence in the community is a necessity for a State aiming to develop democracy, political and social citizenship and social justice (Cortina, 1994). We therefore have to progress from occasional intergenerational practices and projects (isolated practices which are neither planned nor implemented according to a social policy) to intergenerational programmes formulated and organised in response to social policies focusing on intergenerationality.

The problem, however, is whether this is possible at a time when policies are still subject-oriented (or aimed at subjects' problems or needs). In particular, the persons responsible for such policies need to be persuaded that many of these problems and needs could be solved by intergenerational policies.

In this context, we consider the possibility of implementing policies of an intergenerational nature not only from the perspective of the spirit or philosophy on which said policies are based but also from that of political theory itself. We believe that this is pertinent now that the two issues, policy and community, are being reconsidered from a somewhat bolder perspective.

Espósito (2006), for example, provides us with the following analysis:

- It has been found that the traditional lexicon of western policies is no longer appropriate for defining current events and realities; the concepts,

words and categories previously used in politics, a fundamentally human activity, are no longer sufficient for approaching the new situations derived from such enormous social and personal transformations and mutations that they cannot be expressed. Terms such as *constitutions*, *institutions*, *power*, *sovereignty*, *representation* or *delegation* are incapable of describing reality.

- The *impolitic* is precisely what enables the possibility of completely adhering to the reality of current politics, and their attempt to justify the social organisation of co-existence; this possibility becomes radical impossibility as chaos (the interests, self-serving goals or rationalised instincts which affect our actions) lies not only in the reality of the polis but in man himself.

In spite of this, concepts such as *community*, *democracy* or *equality* continue to be used with their classic meanings and logic in the documents being produced and published in relation to a *society for all ages*. Is there room, then, for IPs designed and fostered by policies in which the language is dominated by rhetoric, even if it is well intentioned and ideally disseminated in developed and developing countries? Castoriades (2006) proposes the use of new foundations and concepts without which it is impossible to understand what is happening and to formulate and promote alternatives. According to this, intergenerational social policies are impossible; they will have to wait until conditions are suitable.

We are now left to consider the second part of the analysis, according to which intergenerational social policies are a possibility.

Let's return to some of the ideas suggested by Fernández (2007). The basic premise is suggestive: «How to consider the infinite capacity of invention of a group in action?». This author presents two capital ideas which we now discuss.

In the first place, answering this question implies «questioning the conditions in which a group installs a situation in which it deploys different –and often unprecedented– imaginative invention capabilities. It involves distinguishing such processes from those in which what is replaced is repeated (school, for example) or reproduced» (Fernández, 2007: 20). In this respect, IPs and

intergenerational practices can be characterised in that they start processes in which what is already instituted is not reproduced. The dimension of *us* and the subjective dimension of each participant provide intergenerational practice with the ability to invent, to operate outside regulated limits.

Secondly, Fernández (2007) distinguishes between imaginative and inventive *wishing machines* (human beings) and non-wishing *bureaucratic machines*, which respond to protocols, are impregnated by the logic of means and ends and which aim at efficacy. This division is an invitation to consider how and when a group can move outside its regulated limits and «invent new processes» (this is where IPs and the role of the intergenerational specialist comes in, thanks to whom IP participants can renew their existential itineraries, as explained in chapter VIII).

This analysis enables us to consider some of the official documents with intergenerational interpretations of the precepts, principles and strategies which can be used to promote social policies aimed at the integration of different generations from a positive perspective.

The possibility of intergenerational social policies in official documents

If we analyse the documentation available in chronological order and consider the most relevant and visible proposals, our first source would be the European Commission communication entitled *Towards a society for all ages* (1999), expressively subtitled *Promoting prosperity and intergenerational solidarity*.

In its structure, the document focuses on what Höffe (2007) calls *economic citizenship*: without the basic conditions for the development of a decent life for older persons –employed or otherwise, retired or otherwise, with reference to pensions or other kinds of compensation– we cannot refer to integrated *social and political* citizenship. A healthy life is not possible without a decent economic situation and the promotion of social protection policies which, in all human spheres, foster integration rather than marginalisation and isolation.

The document therefore identifies some of the situations found in advanced societies, where demographic changes, a relative decrease in the population of

working age (and thus the ageing of the active population) or growing number of dependents, characterise their social and human geography, giving rise to a need to consider reorganising social co-existence on a more equitable basis.

In view of their interest for the issue of concern, the document in question contains the following lines to be followed for the development of the necessary new policies:

- The need, in the Commission's opinion, to propose «a strategy for effective policy responses in these fields, based on strengthening co-operation amongst all actors and equity between generations» (European Commission, 1999: 4).
- «Policies to curtail the growth in dependency through the promotion of healthy ageing» (European Commission, 1999: 4).
- «Policies are required which better reflect the diversity of social situations of older people» (European Commission, 1999: 5).
- «Policies reinforcing the implicit intergenerational contract by striking a sound balance» (European Commission, 1999: 16).
- «The very magnitude of the demographic changes at the turn of the 21st century provides the European Union with an *opportunity* and a *need* to change outmoded practices in relation to older persons. Both within labour markets and after retirement, there is the potential to facilitate the making of greater contributions from people in the second half of their lives» (European Commission, 1999: 22).
- «All generations stand to gain something important from policy changes […] Developing good practices for active ageing in the different phases of life will require contributions from all quarters» (European Commission, 1999: 23).

As with most official documents, the European Commission's text moves between two classic extremes: what there is and what there should be, and it ends up on a rather abstract level with regards to the latter, so our interpretation has to be more sceptic than hopeful. The diagnosis of «what there is», however, is, to be completely fair, as realistic as it is accurate. Indeed, this diagnosis represents the condition of possibility for the intergenerational policies we are defending.

A second document to be considered, from the United Nations General Assembly, is the report presented by the Secretary General in August, 1999 under the title *International Year of Older Persons, 1999: Activities and legacies* (United Nations, 1999). This document represented a step forward in the concrete definition of policy proposals. Based on the conceptual framework of a *society for all ages* (the framework is discussed in depth in chapter I), it provides information about programmes and projects in which different generations are involved in a large number of activities related to all dimensions of human life: «Countries and communities and agencies are collaborating in new initiatives among generations relating to information technology, cultural and artistic events, voluntary and educational programmes, in order to create new harmony between generations in the context of social evolution» (United Nations, 1999: 7).

Indeed, this document describes a series of initiatives in which different generations are involved. Although the content of these initiatives is not described other than certain titles and very brief remarks, it is clear that multigenerational relations, in families and communities, are starting to be the subject of speeches, studies and intergenerational practices.

What most interests us of this document, however, is its Annex, entitled *Highlights of an expert consultation on developing a policy framework for a society for all ages* (why not *for all generations*?). And it is of interest because it organises a series of strategic arguments and pragmatic measures in 16 points, «as a suggestion and not as a precept», in order to facilitate the transition to a *society for all ages*. From this Annex, we have taken the ideas that we believe help us to continue with our analysis:

- The World Bank has attested to the unsustainability of many conventional policies in developed, developing and transitional economies.
- The Denver Summit (1997) recognised the need to abandon stereotypes of older persons and dependent.
- Active or resourceful ageing requires an enabling environment.
- Individuals, families, communities and countries must make social adjustments on all levels (*micro*, *meso* and *macro*).

- The build-up of human, social, economic and environmental capital is important in all countries.
- A fundamental aspect of this framework for a *society for all ages* is that relations between different generations in families and communities are mutually enriching.
- Capital must be generated in four fields: human, social, economic and environmental.

This Annex also includes a series of measures to facilitate the transition to a *society for all ages*, as follows:

- Lifelong education in a constantly learning society.
- Promotion of healthy lifestyles.
- Community development initiatives for all generations.
- Flexible labour policies.
- An environment favouring meetings between generations.
- Investment in civil society –including intergenerational organisations– for its enrichment.
- Creative approaches to ensuring material wellbeing.
- Security measures ensuring the means to generate national capital.

With regards to the policies defined in consideration of the above, will generational interdependence be promoted as one more foundation on which to build a true *society for all ages*? One thing is sure, and that is that although this document refers to measures, it says nothing about the resources required for their implementation.

Nearly three years later, the Report of the Second World Assembly on Ageing, held in Madrid in April, 2002, broadened the analysis and proposals included in the 1999 document. On this occasion, the language ranges from reality (what there is), imperatives (what there should be), measures, precepts and advice (how to achieve what there should be) to something new, a commitment: «We commit ourselves to the task of effectively incorporating ageing within social and economic strategies, policies and action while recognising that specific

policies will vary according to conditions within each country» (United Nations, 2002: 3).

In an analysis of this document, we find reasons for the possibility of intergeneration as we have characterised it, based on relations. The following are just a few examples of this:

- Article 12 of the Political declaration refers to the empowerment of older persons and their full participation in their local settings. The creation of suitable settings is a good idea to be developed by IPs; the concept of *enabling environment* makes a great deal of sense in a culture of intergenerational relations.

- Article 16 of the Political Declaration recognises the need to strengthen solidarity between generations and intergenerational partnerships, and to encourage solidary relations between generations. All these tasks represent a rationale for progressing towards intergenerationality.

- Point 13 of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (from now on, the Madrid Plan) refers to the *duty* to cultivate, emphasise and encourage mutual relations among generations by a «broad and effective dialogue» which suggests the need to see *life as a cycle* in which a *life project* is deployed.

- Paragraph 20 of the Plan says that «organisations of older persons are an important means of enabling participation through advocacy and promotion of multigenerational interactions». The idea of participation is constantly repeated; it refers to the intergenerational concept of *place of life*: sense of belonging to a place, to a space, to a community, to a network of relations, to an environment in which it makes sense to participate over time (an idea which also refers to the intergenerational concept of *life project*).

- Point 31 of the Plan says that older persons «often face loss of social networks and suffer from the lack of a supporting infrastructure in cities, which can lead to their marginalisation and exclusion, in particular if they are ill or disabled». This is another risk which could become an objective for IPs.

- Likewise, paragraph 34 of the Plan encourages «housing design to promote intergenerational living». This is the *us* to which we referred in our basic aspects of intergeneration.

- A very important idea is found in paragraph 37 of the Madrid Plan: «A workplace with a diverse age distribution creates an environment where individuals can share skills, knowledge and experience. This kind of mutual training can be formalised in collective agreements and policies or left to informal practice». This informality is vital if we are to maintain the possibility of participants in intergeneration, from within IPs, using their creativity and imagination when deciding where and how to advance. Structured measures are not always the most effective, although policies tend to be full of them.

- Point 98 of the Plan proposes to «promote ageing in place in the community»; once again, this reminds us the three concepts we have put forward to sustain intergenerationality: *place of life, life project* and *life cycle*.

The above documents in general, and the Report of the Second World Assembly on Ageing, in particular, lead us to believe that what first seemed impossible may indeed be viable; this is at least true as far as wishes and (good) intentions are concerned.

9.5. Conclusion

Intergenerational programmes and experiences are of key importance for creating the necessary connection between the promises formulated by policies (generally in a generic and often too abstract language) and their practical materialisation and, subsequently, experience. This key role played by practices is unquestionable to go by the opinions of the participants. Following are some extracts:

«I enjoyed myself […]. I enjoyed meeting […]. It was wonderful […]. I am looking forward to going back to the programme».

«I never thought I could do so much […]. I felt a bit timid to start with but then there was no stopping me […]. I couldn't wait to do different things».

«I wanted to participate and am looking forward to September again».

«I love kids […]. I always did […]. No, they're not my grandchildren, being a grandmother is something else […]. My relationship with the kids in the programme is different».

«I like to be with kids, and young people, you know […]. I get on with children better than with youngsters […]. I work better with them […]. Children can be so surprising!».

«I can't wait to finish my housework to come here with the children […]. Old age is very boring, always the same old thing. The Centre, I don't know, is different! […]. Since I retired I have been coming to visit the school with the Centre: I take it as a duty, but it's different».

«Time flies […]. When I am working with them I don't feel time passing […]. I feel very relaxed […]. I used to worry a lot, but I think all that has changed; I'm never in a hurry now».

«I can understand them completely […]. They don't always talk to me, and don't always answer when I speak to them […]. This is very busy but I like it like that […], he comes to sit by me and doesn't say much, but he stays right by me».

«Sometimes we talk and I enjoy it; others, we don't and I keep quiet […]. He never spoke the first few days; he's quite a chatterbox now […]. They are very talkative, especially when they are together; but he only speaks when he is alone with me».

Acceptance of the intergenerational concept found in these direct testimonies of those who have experienced it, as the basis for a new paradigm, requires a reconsideration of policies, ethics and practices. It also involves the possibility of building a new political, economic, cultural, social, educational and environmental framework (shown below in graph 9.3) so that what is now no more than a slogan, a *society for all ages*, could become a reality. In the medium and long term, perhaps we should be referring to a *society for all generations* or an *intergenerational society*, facilitating natural personal relationships based on the wish to *be together* and *travel* different existential itineraries together.

We believe that we should end with a series of specific proposals. What strategies can be proposes to the policy-makers interested in organising social life and

implementing projects and practices aimed at a *society for all ages* or for all generations? Research has to legitimate actions which, based on the consistency and accuracy of its results, will enable the materialisation of the most appropriate intergenerational policies and projects. Some strategies to be considered in this respect are as follows:

1) All policies defined as intergenerational, with objectives above and beyond a specific sector, must be based not on subjects but on relationships.

2) The above means that all subject-based policies categorise and define subjects within limited scopes, thus disabling them for true social relations which foster cohesion and solidary societies. No progress can be made with such policies.

3) The categorisation (determined to separate and emphasise the differences between categories) which has been predominant in our culture for years has ended with a rhetoric which it is difficult to sustain, as it limits the credibility of many of the promises of numerous policies in western Europe. Such imperative and categorical language hinders our capacity for reflection.

4) Policies created from positions of power fail to foster their implementation and specific application: there is an insurmountable divide between what they say (promise) and what they can do. Action is more difficult from this viewpoint.

5) A relational culture needs to use the language of relationships. Both policy-makers and professionals need to be fluent in its use.

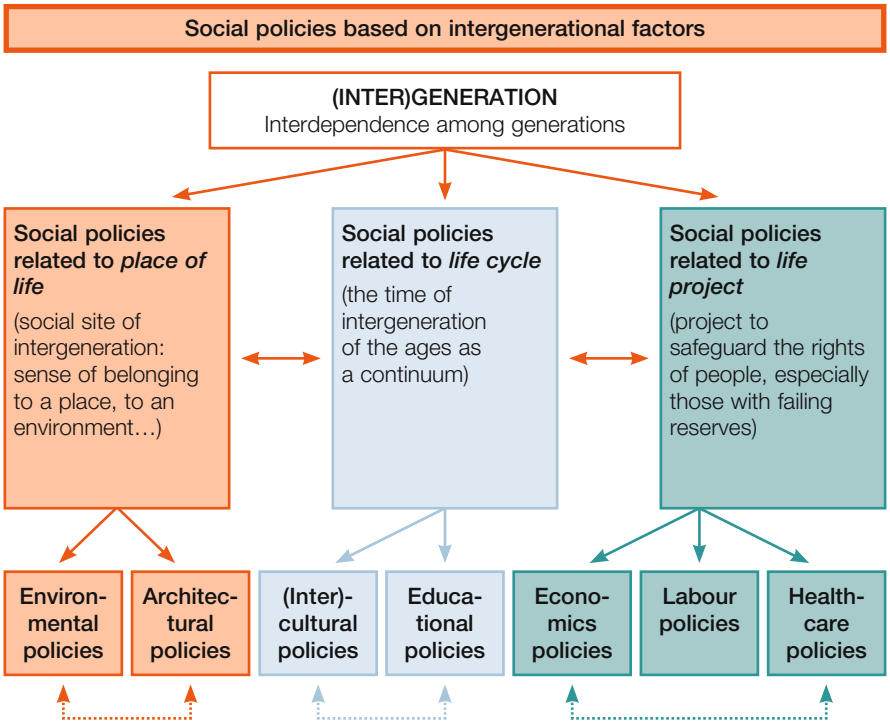
6) The design of an intergenerational policy requires perceiving the concept as a continuum in which the past, the present and the future constantly meet and in which personal relations, as with all constructive relations, become the basis for solidarity between groups and communities of all ages.

7) All intergenerational policies should be formulated, on the one hand, based on the potential of the unconditional encounter between different generations and, on the other, on the strength of the active ageing concept and what it can help to (re)create and (re)construct.

8) An intergenerational policy aimed at overcoming sectorial delimitation and working against any kind of segmentation has to build new languages

GRAPH 9.3

Key dimensions of intergenerational social policies



Source: the authors.

and strategies with which to reinforce its proposals. Concepts such as *place of life, life cycle* and *life project,* for instance, refer to vital situations and contingencies rather than to abstractions.

9) Social investigators must not only work with other assumptions, grammars and languages, but with other methods which are more suitable for achieving significant generational interactions.

10) Intergenerational policies, by providing personal relations, can be a good antidote against isolation, atomisation, abandonment or passiveness, for example. Recent studies link an improved quality of life to the stable, lifelong relations experienced by individuals.

11) Intergenerational policies must be based on the necessary interdependence of generations in their communities. Only they can create suitable environments in which solidarity between communities can grow. This represents the creation of societies for all generations.

12) Seen from this perspective, intergenerational projects and practices are excellent resources for experiencing community and promoting solidarity as well as for improving lifestyles and fostering the natural condition of humanity.

13) Most of the official documents we have mentioned show a concern for desired but as yet unattained effects (linked to errors and broken promises) and a wish to achieve them with the new proposals they include in their regulations and laws. It is down to policy-makers and professionals to make these guidelines come true, as it is down to investigators and academics to continue to explore foundations, projects and practices aimed at achieving a *society for all generations* (ages).

Conclusion

Although each chapter contains its own conclusions, we have defined a series of global conclusions referring to the principal ideas and proposals presented throughout this study.

Firstly, there are certainly more than enough arguments to corroborate the approach we defined in the Introduction. Indeed, we find that the study shows that if we increase and appropriately organise the opportunities of the members of one generation for relating to people from other generations, more of these people will make the most of the occasion and increase their involvement in intergenerational interaction. This *appropriately* refers to the design, planning and organisation of intergenerational programmes enabling these people to meet, spend time together and work towards shared goals.

Secondly, it seems that when intergenerational programmes are present in a society, their growth, and hence the growth of intergenerational contact, increases. Indeed, we have seen a clear indicator in relation to Spain in the form of several examples: 47 new intergenerational programmes were found in the 2000-2005 period, and another 47 in the following 16 months. There are evident signs of development in this field. Spain, a country in which solidarity between family members is traditional, is going even further in the form of activities, projects and programmes fostering beneficial interactions between generations.

Thirdly, we can conclude that intergenerational programmes do not consist of merely *bringing different generations together*. It is clear that the intention of promoting intergenerational relations needs suitable technical foundations, and that we need to know exactly what we are doing. Three components have been identified for all well-planned intergenerational programmes.

In the first place, the programme has to respond to the real needs of the participating individuals or communities. Second, it has to be well managed and planned (contact and activities between children and older persons are not enough). Third, intergenerational programmes require networking between organisations and resources which, in general, focus on the provision of services for one generation, but not for several at the same time.

A fourth conclusion is that, if all this is taken into consideration and due precaution is taken (such as attempting not to repeat familiar errors after forty years of such initiatives), intergenerational programmes can ensure personal and social benefits for their participants (whether they be children, youths, adults or older persons), for the organisations behind them and for the community and society in general. Although different chapters have described research outcomes supporting this conclusion, more information is nonetheless required in order to identify the direct beneficiaries. Remember that 66.9% of the Spanish programmes analysed recognise that, rather than older persons or society in general, the true beneficiaries are the participants in each intergenerational programme. Unlike other countries from which examples have been presented, we have therefore still not realised that these benefits can reach beyond the children, young people, adults or older persons who are directly involved. However, as in all social interventions involving individuals, there are no guarantees. However hard we work and however much we study, there will always be a risk, a margin of error, derived from individuals' freedom of action. The benefits are so numerous, however, that the risk is well worth taking.

In the fifth place, we can conclude that intergenerational programmes, precisely because they do not only aim to benefit their participants, are appropriate means for promoting a *society for all ages*. Based on the intuition of the United Nations and the goal of improving ageing conditions on a worldwide scale, we have provided a detailed explanation of how intergenerational programmes can help us to increase both intergenerational solidarity and social cohesion. This has been shown by the countries most experienced in this type of programme, the United States and the United Kingdom. In both cases, there are even legal provisions and public programmes which refer to intergenerational projects as appropriate strategies for improving the social pact and the social capital on which our societies are founded. In the case of

Spain, the available data show that intergenerational programme coordinators are convinced of their positive impact on active ageing: they foster active participation in the community, they increase intergenerational solidarity, they are related to leisure activities, they improve health and respect for the individual rights of older persons and they multiply equal opportunities. Of all these factors associated to active ageing, the most significant are the first two, as they are clearly related to cohesion (if people are more active in their communities, relationship networks can be created to enhance community cohesion) and intergenerational solidarity (an enormous amount of mutual aid arises from these programmes).

In the sixth place, the study has shown two specific ways in which to go beyond mere activities involving children, for instance, and older persons. This could consist of the construction of sites specifically designed for intergenerationality (we are referring to intergenerational centres) or of approaching all a community's needs with a multiple intergenerational strategy (what are arising in the United States are indeed *communities for all ages*).

The seventh conclusion refers to the need for professionalisation in the intergenerational field in Spain. Efforts so far in this respect have been few but meaningful. We have attempted to explain why intergenerational experts are required and we have suggested how to create them. The basic idea is that, unlike the large number of professions focused on serving subjects, in this case we are referring to a profession which needs to focus on relationships. The need to be with others is a natural human requirement, and this is possibly why intergenerational programmes are so popular and their participants describe the outcomes as *magic.* In fact, there is no magic, just a return to something which is inherent to human beings, even though it is not always easy.

The last conclusion underlines the need for social policies which enable and facilitate intergenerationality through intergenerational programmes. We have proposed a specific model describing the components required of these policies, and we have even defined 13 different strategies for designing the intergenerational policies required in a *society for all ages*. Nonetheless, there is still a great deal to be done in the field.

Bibliography

Introduction

BERNARD, M. and ELLIS, S. (2004): *How Do You Know That Intergenerational Practice Works?* Stoke-on-Trent: Beth Johnson Foundation [this publication is available in Spanish at www.redintergeneracional.es].

BRESSLER, J.; HENKIN, N. and ADLER, M. (2005): *Connecting Generations, Strengthening Communities. A Toolkit for Intergenerational Program Planners*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Center for Intergenerational Learning.

KAPLAN, M. and HANHARDT, L. (2003): *Intergenerational Activities Sourcebook*. University Place, PA: Penn State Cooperative Extension [available at http://intergenerational.cas.psu.edu/Curricula.html].

MCCREA, J. M.; WEISSMANN, M. and THORPE-BROWN, G. (2004): *Connecting the Generations: A Practical Guide for Developing Intergenerational Programs*. Pittsburgh, PA: Generations Together.

OBSERVATORIO DE MAYORES-IMSERSO (2004): *Encuesta sobre Condiciones de Vida de los Mayores*.

SÁNCHEZ, M. (dir.) (2007): *La evaluación de los programas intergeneracionales*. Madrid: IMSERSO.

UNITED NATIONS (2002): Report on the Second World Assembly on Ageing. A/CONF.197/9. New York: United Nations.

I. A *society for all ages*

ANDREWS, G. (1999): «Aging Trimphantly. Mitchell Oration». Consulted at http://www.eoc.sa.gov.au/public/download.jsp?id=18539 on October 1, 2007.

CARO, F. and SÁNCHEZ, M. (2005): *Envejecimiento productivo. Concepto y factores explicativos*. In S. Pinazo and M. Sánchez (dirs.): *Gerontología. Actualización, innovación y propuestas*. Madrid: Pearson Prentice Hall, pp. 455-488.

SÁNCHEZ, M. and DÍAZ, P. (2005): «Los programas intergeneracionales». In S. Pinazo and M. Sánchez (dirs.): *Gerontología. Actualización, innovación y propuestas.* Madrid: Pearson Prentice Hall, pp. 393-430.

SIDORENKO, A. (2007): «World Policies on Aging and the United Nations». In M. Robinson, W. Novelli, C. Pearson and L. Norris (eds.): *Global Health and Global Aging*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, pp. 3-14.

SIDORENKO, A. and WALKER, A. (2004): «The Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing: from conception to implementation». *Ageing & Society.* 24: 147-165.

UNITED NATIONS (1983): Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing. New York: United Nations.

— (1995a): Report of the World Summit on Social Development. A/CONF.166/9. April 16.

— (1995b): Conceptual framework of the programme for the preparation and observance of the International Year of Older Persons in 1999. A/50/114. March 22.

— (2000): Follow-up to the International Year of Older Persons: Second World Assembly on Ageing. A/RES/54/262. June 16.

— (2002): Report of the Second World Assembly on Ageing. A/CONF.197/9. New York: United Nations.

II. Intergenerational programmes: concept, history and models

BERNARD, M. (2006): «Research, Policy, Practice and Theory: Interrelated Dimensions of a Developing Field». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships.* 4 (1): 5-21.

BROWNELL, P. and RESNICK, R. P. (2005): «Intergenerational-multigenerational relationships: Are they synonymous?». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships.* 3 (1): 67-78.

DONATI, P. (1999): «Familia y generaciones. Desacatos». *Revista de Antropología Social*. 2: 27-49.

GENERATIONS UNITED (undated): *Defining Intergenerational Programming*. Consulted on October 1, 2007 at http://www.gu.org/IG_Ov8191324.asp.

HANKS, R. S. and PONZETTI, J. J. (2004): «Family Studies and Intergenerational Studies: Intersections and Opportunities». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships.* 2 (3/4): 5-22.

HATTON-YEO, A. and OHSAKO, T. (eds.) (2001): *Programas Intergeneracionales: Política Pública e Implicaciones de la Investigación. Una Perspectiva Internacional.* Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.

KAPLAN, M. (2001): *School-based Intergenerational Programs*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.

KUEHNE, V. (2003): «The State of Our Art: Intergenerational Program Research and Evaluation: Part One». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*. 1 (1): 145-161.

LÜSCHER, K. (2000): «Ambivalence: A key concept for the study of intergenerational relations». In Sylvia Trnka (ed.): *Family issues between gender and generation*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, pp. 11-25.

MACCALLUM, J.; PALMER, D.; WRIGHT, P.; CUMMING-POTVIN, W.; NORTHCOTE, J.; BOOKER, M. and TERO, C. (2006): *Community building through intergenerational exchange programs*. Australia: National Youth Affairs Research Scheme.

MANHEIMER, R. (1997): «Generations learning together». *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*. 28: 79-91.

MCCREA, J. M.; WISSMANN, M. and THORPE-BROWN, G. (2004): *Connecting the Generations: A Practical Guide for Developing Intergenerational Programs*. Pittsburgh, PA: Generations Together.

NEWMAN, S. (1997): «History and Evolution of Intergenerational Programs». In S. Newman, R. Ward, Th. Smith, J. Wilson and J. McCrea. *Intergenerational Programs. Past, Present and Future*. Washington, DC: Taylor and Francis, pp. 55-79.

NEWMAN, S. and SMITH, TH. (1997): «Developmental Theories as the Basis for Intergenerational Programs». In S. Newman, R. Ward, Th. Smith, J. Wilson and J. McCrea: *Intergenerational Programs. Past, Present and Future*. Washington, DC: Taylor and Francis, pp. 3-19.

SÁNCHEZ, M. and DÍAZ, P. (2005): «Los programas intergeneracionales». In S. Pinazo and M. Sánchez (dirs.): *Gerontología. Actualización, innovación y propuestas.* Madrid: Pearson Prentice Hall, pp. 393-430.

— (2007): «Componentes de un programa intergeneracional». In M. Sánchez (dir.): *La evaluación de los programas intergeneracionales*. Madrid: IMSERSO, pp. 12-17.

SÁNCHEZ, M.; PINAZO, S.; SÁEZ, J.; DÍAZ, P.; LÓPEZ, J. and TALLADA, C. (2007): «Los programas intergeneracionales y el envejecimiento activo. Revisión de casos y algunas propuestas de acción». In C. L. Guillén and R. Guil (eds.): *Psicología Social: un encuentro de perspectivas*. Vol. 1. Cádiz: Asociación de Profesionales de Psicología Social, pp. 177-190.

TESCH-RÖMER, C.; MOTEL-KLINGEBIEL, A. and VON KONDRATOWITZ, J. (2000): *Securing Solidarity between Generations*. Berlin: German Centre of Gerontology.

UNITED NATIONS (1983): Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing. New York: United Nations.

— (2002): Report of the Second World Assembly on Ageing. A/CONF.197/9. New York: United Nations.

VENTURA-MERKEL, C. and LIDOFF, L. (1983): *Program Innovation in Aging*: *Community Planning for Intergenerational Programming*. Washington, DC: National Council on Aging. 8.

VILLAR, F. (2007): «Intergenerational or Multigenerational? A Question of Nuance». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships.* 5 (1): 115-117.

WHITEHOUSE, P. J.; BENDEZU, E.; FALLCREEK, S. and WHITEHOUSE, C. (2000): «Intergenerational community schools: a new practice for a new time». *Educational Gerontology*. 26: 761-770.

WHO (2002): «Envejecimiento activo: un marco político». *Revista Española de Geriatría y Gerontología*. 37 (S2): 74-105.

III. The benefits of intergenerational programmes

ADAY, R. H.; SIMS, C. R.; MCDUFFIE, W. and EVAN, E. (1996): «Changing children's attitudes toward the elderly: the longitudinal effects of an intergenerational program». *Journal of Research in Childhood Education.* 10 (2): 143-151.

ANGELIS, J. (1996): «Intergenerational communication: the process of getting acquainted». *The Southwest Journal of Aging.* 12 (1/2): 43-46.

ATTIAS-DONFUT, C. (coord.) (1995): *Solidarité entre générations*. Paris: Nathan.

BENARD, B. and MARSHALL, K. (2001): *Big Brothers/Big Sisters mentoring: the power of developmental relationships.* Minnesota, MN: National Resilience Resource Center.

BENGTSON, V. L. (1985): «Symbolism and diversity in the grandparenthood role». In V. L. Bengtson and J. E. Robertson (eds.): *Grandparenthood.* Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE, pp. 11-24.

BERNARD, M. and ELLIS, S. W. (2004): *How do you know that intergenerational practice works?* Stoke-on-Trent: The Beth Johnson Foundation.

BOSTRÖM, A.; HATTON-YEO, A.; OHSAKO, T. and SAWANO, Y. (2000): «A general assessment of Intergenerational Practices in the countries involved». In A. Hatton-Yeo and T. Ohsako, (eds.): *Intergenerational programmes: public policy and research implications. An international perspective*. Stoke-on-Trent: The Beth Johnson Foundation, pp. 3-8.

BRABAZON, K. (1999): «Student improvement in the intergenerational work/study program». In V. Kuehne (ed.): *Understanding what we have created*. Binghamton: The Haworth Press, pp. 51-61.

BUTTS, D. and CHANA, K. (2007): «Intergenerational programs promote active aging». *Journal of Active Aging*. July-August, pp. 34-39.

CAMP, C. J.; JUDGE, K. S.; BYE, C. A.; FOX, K. M.; BOWDEN, J.; BELL, M.; VALENCIC, K. and MATTERN, J. M. (1997): «An intergenerational program form persons with dementia using Montessori methods». *The Gerontologist.* 37 (5): 688-692.

CHAMBERLAIN, V. M.; FETTERMAN, E. and MAHER, M. (1994): «Innovation in elder and child care: an intergenerational experience». *Educational Gerontology*. 19: 193-204.

CHAPMAN, N. and NEAL, M. (1990): «The effects of intergenerational experiences on adolescents and older adults». *Gerontologist.* 30: 825-832.

COUPER, D. P.; SHEEHAN, N. W. and THOMAS, E. L. (1991): «Attitude toward old people: the impact of an intergenerational program». *Educational Gerontology*. 17: 41-53.

CUEVAS, R. (2000): «I can help». In *Phi Delta Kappan*. December, p. 316.

FOX, S. and GILES, H. (1993): «Accommodating intergenerational contact: A critique and theoretical model». *Journal of Aging Studies*. 7 (4): 423-451.

FREEDMAN, M. (1999): *Primetime: how baby boomers will revolutionize retirement and transform America*. New York: Public Affairs.

FRIED, L. P.; FREEDMAN, M.; ENDRES, T.; REBOK, G. W.; CARLSON, M. C.; SEEMAN, T. E.; TIELSCH, J.; GLASS, T. A.; WASIK, B.; FRICK, K. D.; IALONGO, N. and ZEGER, S. (2000): *The Experience Corps: a social model for health promotion, generativity, and decreasing structural lag for older adults*. Symposium presented at the 53rd Annual Meeting of the Gerontological Society of America. Washington, DC. November, pp. 17-21.

FRIEDMAN, B. M. (1999): *Connecting generations: integrating aging education and intergenerational programs with elementary and middle grades curricula*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

GENERATIONS UNITED (1994): *Young and old serving together: meeting community needs through intergenerational partnerships*. Washington DC: CWLA.

GOFF, K. (2004): «Senior to senior: living lessons». *Educational Gerontology*. 30: 205-217.

GRANVILLE, G. and HATTON-YEO (2002): «Intergenerational engagement in the UK: A framework for creating inclusive communities». In M. Kaplan, N. Henkin, N. and A. Kusano (eds.): *Linking lifetimes: a global view of intergenerational exchange*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, pp. 193-208.

HANKS, R. S. and ICENOGEL, M. (2001): «Preparing for an age-diverse workforce: intergenerational service-learning in social gerontology and business curricula». *Educational Gerontology*. 27 (1): 49-71.

HATTON-YEO, A. (dir.) (2006): *Intergenerational programmes. An introduction and examples of practice.* Stoke-on-Trent: The Beth Johnson Foundation.

HATTON-YEO, A. and OHSAKO, T. (eds.) (2001): *Intergenerational programmes: public policy and research implications. An international perspective*. Stoke-on-Trent: The Beth Johnson Foundation.

HAWKINS, M. O.; BACKMAN, K. F. and MCGUIRE, F. A. (1998): *Preparing participants for intergenerational interaction: training for success*. New York: The Haworth Press.

HENKIN, N. and KINGSON, E. (1999): «Advancing an intergenerational agenda for the twenty-first century». *Generations.* 22 (4): 99-105.

JUCOVI, L. (2002): *Measuring the quality of mentor-youth relationship. A tool for mentoring programs.* Portland, OR: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.

KAPLAN, M. (1994): *Side-by-side: exploring your neighborhood through intergenerational activities*. San Francisco: MIG Communications.

— (1997a): «Intergenerational community service projects: implications for promoting intergenerational unity, community activism and cultural continuity». *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*. 28 (2): 209-225.

— 1997b): «The benefits of intergenerational community service projects: implications for promoting intergenerational unity, community activism and cultural continuity». In K. Brabazon and R. Disch (eds.): *Intergenerational approaches in aging*. New York: The Haworth Press, pp. 221-228.

KAPLAN, M. and CHADA, N. (2004): «Intergenerational Programs and Practices: A Conceptual Framework and an Indian Context». *Indian Journal of Gerontology,* Vol. 18, 3 and 4.

KAPLAN, M.; HIGDON, F.; CRAGO, N. and ROBBINS, L. (2004): «Futures festivals: An intergenerational strategy for promoting community participation». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*. 2 (3/4): 119-146.

KAPLAN, M.; LIU, S-T. and HANNON, P. (2003): «Generation station. The impact of an intergenerational model on a retirement community». *The Gerontologist*. October. Special issue 43 (1): 240-252.

KAPLAN, M. and SHIH-TSEN, L. (2004): *Generations United for environmental awareness and action*. Washington, DC: Generations United.

KNAPP, J. L. and STUBBLEFIELD, P. (2000): «Changing students' perceptions of aging: the impact of an intergenerational service learning course». *Educational Gerontology*. 26: 611-621.

KOCARNIK, R. A. and PONZETTI, J. J. (1986): «The influence of intergenerational contact on child care participants' attitudes toward elderly». *Child Care Quarterly*. 15 (4): 244-250.

KUEHNE, V. (ed.) (1999): *Intergenerational programs. Understanding what we have created*. New York: The Haworth Press.

— (2003a): «The state of our art: intergenerational program research and evaluation. Part one». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*. 1 (1): 145-161.

— (2003b): «The state of our art: intergenerational program research and evaluation. Part two». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*. 1 (2): 79-94.

— (2005): *Making what difference? How intergenerational programs help children and families.* Elders as resources. Intergenerational Strategies Series. Baltimore, Maryland: The Annie E. Casey Foundation.

KUEHNE, V. S. and COLLINS, C. L. (1997): «Observational research in intergenerational programming: need an opportunity». In K. Brabazon and R. Disch (eds.): *Intergenerational approaches in aging*. New York: The Haworth Press, pp. 183-193.

KUEHNE, V. and KAPLAN, M. (2001): *Evaluation and research on intergenerational shared site facilities and programs: What we know and what we need to learn*. Generations United background paper. Project SHARE. Washington, DC: Generations United.

LARKIN, E. and NEWMAN, S. (2001): «Benefits of intergenerational staffing in preschools». *Educational Gerontology*. 27 (5): 373-385.

MACCALLUM, J.; PALMER, D.; WRIGHT, P.; CUMMING-POTVIN, W.; NORTHCOTE, J.; BOOKER, M. and TERO, C. (2006): *Community building through intergenerational exchange programs*. Australia: National Youth Affairs Research Scheme.

MANHEIMER, R. J. (1997): «Generations learning together». In K. Brabazon and R. Disch (eds.): *Intergenerational approaches in aging*. New York: The Haworth Press, pp. 79-91.

MARX, M. S.; HUBBARD, P.; COHEN-MANSFIELD, J.; DAKHEEL-ALI, M. and THEIN, K. (2004): «Community-Service Activities versus traditional activities in an intergenerational visiting program». *Educational Gerontology*. 31: 263-271.

McGowan, T. G. and Blankenship, S. (1994): «Intergenerational experience and ontological change». *Educational Gerontology.* 20: 589-604.

Mercken, C. (2003): «Neighborhood-reminiscence: integrating generations and cultures in the Netherlands». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships: Programs, Policy, and Research*. 1 (1): 81-94.

Newman, S.; Faux, R. and Larimer, B. (1997): «Children's views of aging: Their attitudes and values». *The Gerontologist*. 37 (3): 412-417.

Newman, S.; Karip, E. and Faux, R. B. (1995): «Everyday memory function of older adults: the impact of intergenerational school volunteer programs». *Educational Gerontology.* 21: 569-580.

Newman, S. and Larimer, B. (1995): *Senior Citizen School Volunteer Program: report on cumulative data. 1988-1995*. Pittsburgh, PA: Generations Together.

Newman, S.; Morris, G. A. and Streetman, H. (1999): «Elder-child interaction analysis: an observation instrument for classrooms involving older adults as mentors, tutors or resource persons». In V. S. Kuehne (ed.): *Intergenerational programs. Understanding what we have created*. Binghamton: The Haworth Press, pp. 129-145.

OFECUM (2006): Memoria del Programa Intergeneracional MENTOR. Mimeo.

Ohsako, T. (2002): «German pupils and Jewish seniors: intergenerational dialogue as a framework for healing history». In M. Kaplan, N. Henkin and A. Kusano (eds.): *Linking lifetimes: a global view of intergenerational exchange*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, pp. 209-219.

Osborne, S. S. and Bullock, J. R. (2000): «Intergenerational programming in action: Befrienders». *Educational Gerontology*. 26: 169-182.

Penninx, K. (1999): *De buurt voor alle leefrijden. Intergenerationale buurtontwikkeling in het kader van sociaal beleid*. Utrecht: NIZW.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998): «Intergroup contact theory». *Annual Review of Psychology*. 49: 65-85.

Rogers, A. M. and Taylor, A. S. (1997): «Intergenerational mentoring: a viable strategy for meeting the needs of vulnerable youth». In K. Brabazon and R. Disch. (eds.): *Intergenerational approaches in aging. Implications for education, policy, and practice.* New York: The Haworth Press, pp. 125-140.

Ryff, C. (1989): «In the eye of the beholder: views of psychological well-being among middle-aged and older adults». *Psychology and Aging*. 4: 195-210.

Sánchez, M. (dir.) (2007): *La evaluación de los programas intergeneracionales*. Madrid: IMSERSO.

SCHWARTZ, L. K. and SIMMONS, J. P. (2001): «Contact quality and attitudes toward the elderly». *Educational Gerontology*. 27: 127-137.

TAYLOR, A. S.; LOSCIUTO, L.; FOX, M.; HILBERT, S. M. and SONKOWSKY, M. (1998): «The mentoring factor: evaluation of the Across Ages' intergenerational approach to drug abuse prevention». In V. S. Kuehne (ed.): *Understanding what we have created*. Binghamton: The Haworth Press, pp. 77-99.

THANG, L. (2001): *Generations in touch: Linking the old and young in a Tokyo neighbourhood*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

TIERNEY, J. P.; GROSSMAN, J. B. and RESCH, N. L. (1995): *Making a difference. A impact study of Big Brothers/Big Sisters*. Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures.

UNITED NATIONS (2004): «Message on the International Day of Older Persons». October 1. Consulted on October 11, 2007 at www.un.org/esa/socdev/ageing/documents/IDOP/IDOP04/sgidop04.pdf.

VANDERVEN, K. (1999): «Intergenerational theory: the missing element in today's intergenerational programs». In V. S. Kuehne (ed.): *Understanding what we have created*. Binghamton: The Haworth Press, pp. 33-47.

— (2004): «Intergenerational theory in society: building on the past, questions for the future». In E. Larkin, D. Friedlander, S. Newman and R. Goff (eds.): *Intergenerational relationships. Conversations on practice and research across cultures*. New York: The Haworth Press, pp. 75-94.

VARLEY, P. (1998): «A society for all ages». *Transition magazine.* Ontario, Canada: The Vanier Institute of the Family. 28 (4).

ZELDIN, S.; MCDANIEL, A. K.; TOPITZES, D. and CALVERT, M. (2000): *Youth in decision-making: a study on the impacts of youth on adults and organizations*. Chevy Chase, MD: Innovation Center for Community and Youth Development, National 4-h Council.

IV. Intergenerational programmes and social inclusion of the elderly

ÁLVAREZ, J. T. (2007): «Speeches for the Ages» (p. 148). USA. Xlibris Corporation.

ANNIE E. CASEY FOUNDATION (2005): «Elders as Resources Point of View». Retrieved from the Web September 29, 2007. http://www.aecf.org/KnowledgeCenter/SearchResults.aspx?source=topsearchKC.

BALES, S. S.; EKLUND, S. J. and SIFFIN, C. F. (2000): «Children's perceptions of elders before and after a school-based intergenerational program». *Educational Gerontology*, 26, 677-689.

CENTRE FOR INTERGENERATIONAL PRACTICE (2005): «Building Inclusive Communities Conference Proceedings». Keele University. England.

CIVIC VENTURES (2001): «Recasting Retirement» (p. 4). San Francisco. Author.

— (2005): «Appealing to Experience» (pp. 24-25). San Francisco. Author.

COHEN, S. (2004): «Social Relationships and Health». *American Psychologist*, 59 (8), 676-784.

CORPORATION FOR NATIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE (2007): «The Health Benefits of Volunteering: A Review of Recent Research». Washington, DC. Author.

DAVIS, L. C. (2003): «Is There More Intergenerational Cooperation or Conflict in Canada?». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, 1(2), 111-112.

FELDMAN, S. (2005): «Working Together: Showcasing Australian Community Intergenerational Projects». Presented International Consortium of Intergenerational Programmes Conference Keele University, Staffordshire, UK. July 12, 2005.

FOSTER, K. (1997): «Creating a child care center in a nursing home and implementing an intergenerational program». ERIC Document Reproduction Service: ED 411 053.

FREEDMAN, M. (2007): «Encore: Finding work that matters in the second half of life» (p. 11). New York: Public Affairs.

GENERATIONS OF HOPE (2006): Retrieved from the Web September 29, 2007. http://www.generationsofhope.org/.

GENERATIONS UNITED (2005): «Under One Roof: A Guide to Starting and Strengthening Intergenerational shared site programs» (p. iv). Washington, DC: Author.

— (2007): «How we live our lives». Video available at http://www.gu.org/IG_Sh8191325.asp.

— (2007): Final report prepared for the Brookdale Foundation Group on the intergenerational photography project. Unpublished.

— Retrieved from the Web September 29, 2007. http://www.gu.org.

— Seniors4Kids. Retrieved from the Web September 29, 2007. http://www.gu.org/Senio1111369.asp.

HANKS, R. S. and ICENOGEL, M. (2001): «Preparing for an age-diverse workforce: Intergenerational service-learning in social gerontology and business curricula». *Educational Gerontology*, 27(1), 49-71.

HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH (2004): «Reinventing Aging: Baby Boomers and Civic Engagement» (p. 6). Boston: Harvard College.

INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM OF INTERGENERATIONAL PROGRAMMES: Retrieved from the Web September 29, 2007. http://www.icip.org.

KUEHNE, V. S. (2005): «Making What Difference? How Intergenerational Programs Help Children and Families». Annie E. Casey Foundation. Retrieved from the Web September 28, 2007. http://www.aecf.org/upload/PublicationFiles/Kuehne.pdf.

MERCKEN, C. (2004): «Education in an ageing society: European trends in senior citizens' education». Odyssee. The Netherlands. 59-63.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AREA AGENCIES ON AGING (2003): «Older Volunteers Enrich America». Accessed October 3, 2007. http://www.n4a.org/pressrelease30.cfm.

NEW YORK TIMES (2006): «Queen Urges Britons to Bridge the Generations». 26 December 2006.

OSTIR, G. V.; OTTENBACHER, K. J. and MAARKIDES, K. S.: *Journal of Psychology and Aging*.

PALMORE, E. B. (2004): «The Future of Ageism». International Longevity Center-USA. New York. Author.

REBOK, G. W. *et al*. (2004): «Short-Term Impact of Experience Corps Participation on Children and Shcools: Results from a Pilot Randomized Trial». *Journal of Urban Health*. Vol. 81, No. 1, p. 79-93.

ROSEBROOK, V. (2006): «Research indicates: Intergenerational interactions Enhance Young Children's Personal/Social Skills». In Press.

ROSENBERG, M. (1993): «The design and implementation of an intergenerational program at a private long-term healthcare facility with on-site childcare». Eric Document Reproduction Service: ED 364 351.

SIDORENKO, A. and Walker, A. (2004): «The Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing: from conception to implementation». United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

TAYLOR, A., LOSCIUTO, L., FOX, M., HILBERT, S. and Sonkowsky, M. (1999): «The mentoring factor: evaluation of the Across Ages intergenerational approach to drug abuse prevention». In V. S. Kuehne (ed.): *Intergenerational Programs: Understanding what we have created* (pp. 77-99). New York: Haworth.

VERNON, A. E. (1999): «Designing for Change: Attitudes toward the elderly and intergenerational programming». In V. S. Kuehne (ed.): *Intergenerational Programs: Understanding what we have created* (pp. 161-173). New York: Haworth.

V. Intergenerational programmes, intergenerational solidarity and social cohesion

BARDEY, A. (2007): «The Ageing Society», at www.goethe.de.

BEEDON, L. (2004): «Retirement income security in the United States of America: An intergenerational perspective». *Journal of Intergenerational Relations*, 4:1, pp. 93-106.

BENGSTON, V. L. (2000): «Beyond the nuclear family: The increasing importance of Multigenerational Bonds». *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, pp. 1-15.

BERGER-SCHMITT, R. (2000): *Social cohesion as an aspect of the quality of societies: Concept and measurement*. EU Reporting Working Paper No. 14, Mannheim, Centre for Survey research and Methodology, Social Indicators Department.

COMMISSION ON INTEGRATION AND COHESION (2007): *Our shared future*. Wetherby, Communities and Local Government Publications.

COMMUNITY INVESTMENT AND INCLUSION FUND (CIIF) Evaluation Consortium (2006): «Final Report of an Evaluation Study on the Impacts of CIIF Intergenerational Programmes on the Development of Social Capital in Hong Kong». Report for the Health, Welfare and Food Bureau.

DEVEREUX, S. (2002): «Future uncertain: social pressures in Africa». *ID21 Insights: Communicating Development Research*, Vol. 42, Institute of Development Studies.

ELLIS, S. (2002): *Changing the lives of children and older people – final report of the year seven intergenerational project.* Stoke-on-Trent, The Beth Johnson Foundation.

— (2004): *Identifying and supporting those children most at need: Intergenerational collaboration and action in two Stoke-on-Trent school clusters.* Stoke-on-Trent, The Beth Johnson Foundation.

HATTON-YEO, A. (2006): «Report for Volunteering in the Third Age». Stoke-on-Trent, The Beth Johnson Foundation.

— (ed.) (2006): *Intergenerational programmes: An introduction and examples of practic*e. Stoke-on-Trent, The Beth Johnson Foundation.

HATTON-YEO, A. and WATKINS, C. (2004): *Intergenerational community development: A practice guide.* Stoke-on-Trent, The Beth Johnson Foundation.

HELP AGE INTERNATIONAL (2002): *State of the worlds older people.* London, Help the Aged.

HENKIN, N. and KINGSON, E. (eds.) (1998/99): «Keeping the promise: Intergenerational strategies for strengthening the social compact» (Special Issue). *Generations, 22*(4).

HUDSON, M.; PHILLIPS, J.; RAY, K. and BARNES, H. (2007): *Social cohesion in diverse communities*. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

INGMAN, S.; BENJAMIN, T. and LUSKY, R. (1998/99): «The environment: The quintessential intergenerational challenge». *Generations, 22*(4), 68-71.

KAPLAN, M. and LAWRENCE-JACOBSON, A. (2006): «Intergenerational programs and practices». In Sternod, L.; Flanagan C. A. and Kassimir, R. (eds.): *Youth activism: An international encyclopaedia* (pp. 357-361). Westport, Greenwood Publishing Company.

KAPLAN, M. and LIU, S-T. (2004): *Generations united for environmental awareness and action*. Generations United, Washington, DC.

KINGSON, E.; CORNMAN, J. and LEAVITT, J. K. (1997): *Strengthening the social compact: An intergenerational strategy.* Washington, DC: Generations United.

LETKI, N. (In Press): *Does diversity erode social cohesion? Social capital and race in British neighbourhoods.* Political Studies.

LITWAK, E; SILVERSTEIN, M.; BENGSTON, V. and HIRST, Y. W: «Theories About Families, Organisations and Social Support». *Global Aging and Challenges to Families*. Ed. V. L. Bengston and Lowenstein, A. Aldine de Gruyter, 2003. Hawthorne, New York.

MERCKEN, C. (2003): *A neighbourhood full of stories.* Utrecht, NIZW.

— (2003): *Generations in Action.* Utrecht, NIZW.

ODPM (2005): *Sustainable communities: People, places, prosperity.* Cm 6425. London, The Stationery Office.

PAIN, R. (2005): *Intergenerational relations and practice in the development of sustainable communities.* Report for the Office of Deputy Prime Minister.

POLICIES: «Programmes and Initiatives» at www.eagle-project.eu.

POPENHOE, D. (1993): «American Family Decline 1960-1990: A Review and Appraisal». *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 55, No. 3, August, pp. 527-542.

PORTNEY, K. E. and BERRY, J. M. (2001): «Mobilising minority communities: Social capital and participation in urban neighbourhoods». In Edward, B. Foley, M.W. and Diani, M. (eds.): *Beyond Tocqueville. Civil society and social capital in comparative perspective.* Hanover: Tufts University.

PRACTICE SHOWCASE: at www.eagle-project.eu.

PUTMAN, R. D. (2000): *Bowling alone. The collapse and revival of American community.* New York, Simon and Schuster.

REIN, M. (1994): *Solidarity between generations: A five country study of the social process of aging.* Institut fur Hohere Studien Reihe Politikwessenschaft.

SILVENSTEIN, M. and BENGSTON, V. L. (1997): «Intergenerational family solidarity and the structure of adult-child relationships in American families» *American Journal of Sociology, 103*(2), pp. 429-460.

SPICKER, P. (2003): *Solidarity between generations: A conceptual account.* Antwerp, The International Research Conference on Social Security.

UNITED NATIONS (2002): *Report of the Second World Assembly of Ageing, Madrid.* New York, United Nations Publications.

— (2003): *Young people in a global world.* New York, United Nations Publications.

WALKER, A. (2001): *Seminar transcript ageing and intergenerational relationships*. London, Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation.

VI. Intergenerational shared sites: A practical model

BENGSTON, V.; ROSENTHAL, C. and BURTON, L. (1990): «Families and aging: Diversity and heterogeneity». In R. H. Binstock and L. K. George (eds.): *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences* (pp. 263-287). San Diego: Academic Press.

BOWEN, G. L.; MANCINI, J. A.; MARTIN, J. A.; WARE, W. B. and NELSON, J. P. (2003): «Promoting the adaptation of military families: An empirical test of a community practice model». *Family Relations, 52*, 33-44.

BOWEN, G. L.; ORTHNER, D. K.; MARTIN, J. A. and MANCINI, J. A. (2001): *Building Community Capacity: A Manual for the U.S. Air Force Family Support Centers.* Chapel Hill, NC: A Better Image Printing.

BRESSLER, J.; HENKIN, N. Z. and ADLER, M. (2005): *Connecting generations, strengthening communities: A toolkit for intergenerational program planners.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University.

BRONFENBRENNER, U. (1989): «Ecological systems theory». *Annals of Child Development, 6*, 187-249.

CHAMBERLAIN, V. M.; FETTERMAN, E. and Maher, M. (1994): «Innovation in elder and child care: An intergenerational experience». *Educational Gerontology, 19*, 193-204.

DAATLAND, S. O. (1996): «Adapting the Scandinavian model of care for the elderly». In *Caring for frail elderly people: Policies in evolution.* (*Social Policy Studies,* No. 19). Paris: OECD.

DEUTCHMAN, D. E.; BRUNO, K. A. and Jarrott, S. E. (2003): «Young at heart: Intergenerational activities involving persons with dementia». *Activities Directors' Quarterly for Alzheimer's & Other Dementia Patients, 4*(2), 27-35.

ELDER, G. H. Jr. (1974): *Children of the Great Depression*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

EPSTEIN, A. S. and BOISVERT, C. (2005): *Let's do something together*: *A guidebook for effective intergenerational programs.* Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope.

— (2006): «Let's do something together: Identifying effective components of intergenerational programs». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(3), 87-109.

EWEN, D. and Hart, K. (2003): *State budget cuts create a growing child care crisis for low-income working families*. (Accession No. ED474512). Washington, DC: Children's Defense Fund.

GIGLIOTTI, C. M.; MORRIS, M.; SMOCK, S.; JARROTT, S. E. and GRAHAM, B. (2005): «Supporting community through an intergenerational summer program involving persons with dementia and pre-school children». *Educational Gerontology, 31,* 425-441.

GORELIK, Y.; DAMRON-RODRIGUEZ, J.; FUNDERBURK, B. and SOLOMON, D. H. (2000): «Undergraduate interest in aging: Is it affected by contact with older adults?». *Educational Gerontology. 26: 623-638.*

GOYER, A. (2001): «Intergenerational shared site and shared resource programs: Current models». Washington, DC: Generations United. (Available from *Generations United*, 122 C St., NW, Suite 820, Washington, DC: 2001-2109).

— (2005): «Visioning and assessment». In S. Steinig and J. Simon (eds.): *Under One Roof: A Guide to Starting and Strengthening Intergenerational Shared Site Programs* (pp. 1-12). Washington, DC: Generations United.

GOYER, A. and Zuses, R. (1998): *Intergenerational Shared Site Project, A Study of Co-located Programs and Services for Children, Youth, and Older Adults: Final Report.* Washington, DC: AARP.

GREENBERG, M.; Mezey, J. and Schumacher, R. (2003): *Child care funding: The story since 1996, the challenges in reauthorization*. (Accession No. ED475656). Washington, DC: Center for Law and Social Policy.

HAMILTON, G.; BROWN, S.; ALONZO, T.; GLOVER, M.; Mersereau, Y. and Willson, P. (1999): «Building community for the long term: An intergenerational commitment». *Gerontologist. 39,* 235-238.

HANSPAL, S. and CHADHA, N. K. (2006): «Economic aspects of aging in India: The Multi-Generational issues». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(1), 81-92.

HAREVEN, T. (1986): «Historical changes in the social construction of the life course». *Human Development, 29* (3), 171-180.

HAYDEN, C. D. (2003): *Financial Analysis and Considerations for Replication of the ONEgeneration (ONE) Intergenerational Daycare Program.* (Available from National Economic Development and Law Center, 2201 Broadway, Suite 815, Oakland, CA 94612).

HAYES, C. L. (2003): «An observational study in developing an intergenerational shared site program: Challenges and insights». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 113-131.

HEGEMAN, C. (1985): *Child care in long term care settings.* Albany, NY: Foundation for Long Term Care, Inc.

JARROTT, S. E. (2005): «Evaluation». In S. Steinig and J. Simon (eds.): *Under One Roof: A Guide to Starting and Strengthening Intergenerational Shared Site Programs* (pp. 85-97). Washington, DC: Generations United.

— (2007): *Tried and true: A guide to successful intergenerational activities at shared site programs.* Washington, DC: Generations United. [Electronic version available at www.gu.org].

JARROTT, S. E. and BRUNO, K. A. (2003): «Intergenerational activities involving persons with dementia: An observational assessment». *American Journal of Alzheimer's Disease, 18*, 31-37.

— (2007): «Shared site intergenerational programs: A case study». *Journal of Applied Gerontology, 26*, 239-257.

JARROTT, S. E.; GIGLIOTTI, C. M.; BROSSOIE, N.; MANCINI, J. A. and Fenyk, S. (2005, November): *Good neighbors are hard to find: Development of a community capacity measure for shared site intergenerational communities.* Poster presented at the annual meetings of the Gerontological Society of America, Orlando, FL.

JARROTT, S. E.; GIGLIOTTI, C. M.; GLADWELL, M.; PAPERO, A.; CUMMINGS, R. and MILNE, K. M. (eds.) (2005): *Growing Community: The Virginia Tech Child Development Center for Learning and Research and Adult Day Services Orientation Manual*. (Available from Jarrott, Dept. Human Development (0416) Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA 24061-0416).

JARROTT, S. E.; GIGLIOTTI, C. M. and SMOCK, S. A. (2006): «Where do we stand? Testing the foundation of a shared site intergenerational program». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(2), 73-92.

JARROTT, S. E.; GLADWELL, M. S.; GIGLIOTTI, C. M. and Papero, A. L. (2004): «Fostering intergenerational community between child and adult care programs: A Results Management approach». *Canadian Children, 29*(2), 4-13.

JARROTT, S. E.; MORRIS, M.; KEMP, A. J. and Stremmel, A. (2004, November): *Intergenerational cross-training partners: Collaboration at a shared site community.* Paper presented at the meetings of the Gerontological Society of America, Washington, DC.

JARROTT, S. E.; SMITH, C. L. and WEINTRAUB, A. P. C. (2007, November): *Observing persons with dementia: Process, procedures, and outcomes.* Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Gerontological Society of America, San Francisco, CA.

KAPLAN, M. and Hanhardt, L. (2003): *Intergenerational activities sourcebook* (AGRS 91). State College, PA: Penn State University.

KIDWELL, I. J. and BOOTH, A. (1977): «Social distance and intergenerational relations». *Gerontologist, 17,* 412-420.

KITWOOD, T. (1997): *Dementia reconsidered: The person comes first.* Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

KUEHNE, V. S. (2003): «The state of our art: Intergenerational program research and evaluation: Part two». *Journal of intergenerational Relationships, 1*(2), 79-94.

MANCINI, J. A.; BOWEN, G. L. and MARTIN, J. A. (2005): «Community social organization: A conceptual linchpin in examining families in the context of communities». *Family Relations, 54*, 570-582.

MANCINI, J. A. and Marek, L. I. (2004): «Sustaining community-based programs for families: Conceptualization and measurement». *Family Relations*, *33*, 339-347.

MIDDLECAMP, M. and GROSS, D. (2002): «Intergenerational daycare and preschoolers' attitudes about aging». *Educational Gerontology, 28*, 271-288.

NEWMAN, S. and Smith, T. B. (1999): «Developmental theories as the basis for intergenerational programs». In S. Newman, C. R.; Ward, T. B.; Smith, J. O.; Wilson and J. M. McCrea (eds.): *Intergenerational Programs: Past, Present, and Future* (pp. 3-19). Washington, DC: Taylor and Francis.

ORTHNER, D. K. and BOWEN, G. L. (2004): «Strengthening practice through results management». In A. R. Roberts and K. Yeager (eds.): *Handbook of practice-focused research and evaluation* (pp. 897-904). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

PETTIGREW, T. F. (1998): «Intergroup contact theory». *Annual Review of Psychology, 49,* 65-85.

ROSEBROOK, V. and Bruno, K. (2005): «Staff development, training, and retention». In S. Steinig and J. Simon (eds.): *Under One Roof: A Guide to Starting and Strengthening Intergenerational Shared Site Programs* (pp. 47-62). Washington, DC: Generations United.

ROSEBROOK, V. and LARKIN, E. (2003): «Introducing standards and guidelines: A rationale for defining the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of intergenerational practice». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*, 133-144.

SALARI, S. M. (2002): «Intergenerational partnerships in adult day centers: Importance of age-appropriate environments and behaviors». *Gerontologist, 42,* 321-333.

SÁNCHEZ, M. (2007): «Spain's intergenerational awakening: New initiatives to promote intergenerational solidarity». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 5,* 113-118.

SHOEMAKE, A. F. and ROWLAND, V. T. (1993): «Do laboratory experiences change college students' attitudes toward the elderly?». *Educational Gerontology, 18*, 645-649.

SHORT-DEGRAFF, M. A. and DIAMOND, K. (1996): «Intergenerational program effects on social responses of elderly adult day care members». *Educational Gerontology, 22*, 467-482.

SIDORENKO, A. and WALKER, A. (2004): «The Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing: From conception to implementation». *Ageing and Society, 24*, 147-165.

SILVERSTEIN, M.; Cong, Z. and Li, S. (2006): «Intergenerational transfers and living arrangements of older people in rural China: Consequences for psychological well-being». *Journal of Gerontology, 61B,* S256-S266.

SMITH, K. (1997): *Who's Minding the Kids? Child Care Arrangements: Spring, 1997. Current Population Reports* PS70-86. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.

STEINIG, S. (ed.) (2005): *Under One Roof: A Guide to Starting and Strengthening Intergenerational Shared Site Programs.* Washington, DC: Generations United.

STREMMEL, A. J.; TRAVIS, S. S. and KELLY-HARRISON, P. (1996): «Development of the intergenerational exchanges attitudes scale». *Educational Gerontology*, *22*, 317-328.

STREMMEL, A. J.; TRAVIS, S. S.; KELLY-HARRISON, P. and HENSLEY, A. D. (1994): «The perceived benefits and problems associated with intergenerational exchanges in day care settings». *The Gerontologist*, *34*(4), 513-519.

TRAVIS, S.; STREMMEL, A. and DUPREY, P. (1993): «Child and adult day care professions converging in the 1990s?: Implications for training and research». *Educational Gerontology, 19*, 283-293.

TURNER, D. R. (2005): «Facility design and building». In S. Steinig and J. Simon (eds.): *Under One Roof: A Guide to Starting and Strengthening Intergenerational Shared Site Programs* (pp. 21-46). Washington, DC: Generations United.

UNITED NATIONS (2002): *Report of the Second World Assembly on Aging* (A/CONF.197/9). New York: United Nations.

WEINTRAUB, A. P. C. and KILLIAN, T. S. (2007): «Intergenerational programming: Older persons' perceptions of its impact». *Journal of Applied Gerontology, 26,* 370-384.

WHITE (Xelimuxw), W. and COOK, P. (2006): «Risk, recovery and resilience: Helping young and old move together to support South African communities affected by HIV/AIDS». *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(1), 65-77.

VII. *Communities for All Ages*: A practical model

BROWN, B.; PERKINS, D. and BROWN, G. (2003): «Place Attachment in a revitalizing neighborhood: individual and block levels of analysis». *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. 23: 259-271.

CHASKIN, R. J. (1999): *Defining Community Capacity: A Framework and Implications from a Comprehensive Community Initiative.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

— (2001): «Building Community Capacity». *Urban Affairs Review*. 36 (3): 291-323.

CONNELL, J.; KUBISCH, A. C.; SCHORR, L. B. and WEISS, C. H. (eds.) (1995): *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods, and Contexts*. Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

DRESSEL, P.; HENKIN, N.; WALKER, G. and JACKSON, J. (2006): *Sustainable Communities for All Ages: A Viable Futures Toolkit.* Baltimore, MD: JustPartners Inc.

HENKIN, N. and KINGSTON, E. (eds.) (1999): «Keeping the Promise: Intergenerational Strategies for Strengthening the Social Compact». *Generations*. No. 22 (4): 10-14.

KOCHERA, A.; STRAIGHT, A. and GUTERBOCK, T. (2005): *Beyond 50.50: A Report to the Nation on Liveable Communities.* Washington, DC: AARP.

MANCINI, J.; MARTIN, J. and BOWEN, G. (2003): «Community Capacity». In T. P. Gulotta and M. Bloom (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Primary Prevention and Health Promotion*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, pp. 319-329.

MANZO, L. and PERKINS, D. (2006): «Finding Common Ground: The Importance of Place Attachment to Community Participation and Planning». *Journal of Planning Literature*. 20 (4): 335-350.

METLIFE FOUNDATION/CIVIC VENTURES (2005): *New Face of Work Survey.* San Francisco: Civic Ventures.

NEWMAN, S.; WARD, C. and SMITH, T. (1997): *Intergenerational Programs: past, present, and future*. Washington, DC: Taylor and Francis.

PRISUTA, R. (2004): «Enhancing Volunteerism among Aging Boomers». In Harvard School of Public Health, *Reinventing Aging: Baby Boomers and Civic Engagement*. Boston: Harvard School of Public Health, pp. 47-89.

PUTNAM, R. (2000): *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

RILEY, M. W.; KAHN, R. L. and FONER, A. (eds.) (1994): *Age and Structural Lag*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

SAMPSON, R. (2001): «How Do Communities Undergird or Undermine Human Development?». In A. Booth and A. Crouter (eds.): *Does It Take A Village*? Mahwah, New Jersey: Laurence Erlham Associates, pp. 161-174.

SMALL, S. and SUPPLE, A. (2001): «Communities as Systems: Is Community More Than the Sum of Its Parts?». In A. Booth and A. Crouter (eds.): *Does It Take A Village*? Mahwah, New Jersey: Laurence Erhlam Associates, pp. 161-174.

STAFFORD, P. (2006): «Creating Lifespan Communities». *Public Policy and Aging Report*. 15 (4): 8-12.

UNITED NATIONS (2007): «Aide Memoire. Intergenerational Solidarity: Strengthening Economic and Social Ties». United Nations: Social Policy and Social Development Division. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Unpublished document.

VIII. The professionalisation of intergenerational work

BECHER, T. (2001): *Tribus y territorios académicos. La indagación intelectual y las culturas de las disciplinas.* Barcelona: Gedisa.

CASTEL, R. (1989): *La gestión de los riesgos.* Barcelona: Anagrama.

— (1997): *La metamorfosis de la cuestión social.* Barcelona: Paidós.

IMSERSO (2006): Curso de Gestión de Programas de Intervención Intergeneracional. Photocopied document.

JULLIEN, F. (2005): *Del tiempo*. Madrid: Arena Libros.

MACCALLUM, J. *et al*. (2006): *Community Building Through Intergenerational Exchange Programme.* Australia: National Youth Affairs Research Scheme.

MANIÈRE, D.; AUBERT, M.; MOUREY, F. and OUTATA, S. (coords.) (2005): *Interprofesionalité en Gerontologie*. Paris: Editions Érès.

NANCY, J. L. (2006): *Ser singular/plural*. Madrid: Arena Libros.

OSBORNE, S. S. and BULLOCK, J. R. (2000): Intergenerational programming in action: Befrienders. *Educational Gerontology*. 26 (2): 169-182.

PERLSTEIN, S. and BLISS, J. (1994): *Generating Community: Intergenerational partnerships through the Expressive Arts.* New York: Elders Share the Arts.

ROSEBROOCK, V. and LARKIN, L. (2003): Introducing standards and guidelines: A rationale for defining the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of intergenerational practice. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*. 1 (1): 133-144.

SÁEZ, J. (2004): «Cambio de rumbo en la construcción de la Pedagogía Social. Revisión y propuestas». *Revista de Pedagogía Social*. 14: 7-45.

SÁNCHEZ, M.; LARKIN, E. and SÁEZ, J. (2004): «Professionalisation of Intergenerational Field? Why, when and how?» Unpublished paper, ICIP Second Biennial Conference Global Challenges, Future Directions: Intergenerational Programmes, Research and Policy. Victoria, Canada, June 3-5, 2004.

VERCAUTEREN, R. (1994): *Animer une maison de retraite.* Paris: Érès.

— (1995): *L'intergénération en Europe. Recherche et dynamization de la cohésion sociale.* Paris: Érès.

— (1996): *La Dépendence des personnes âgées. Des services aux personnes âgées au gisements d'emplois.* Paris: Érès.

— (1999): *Faire vivre le projet des établissements pour personnes âgées: Manuel des pratiques du projet de vie.* Paris: Érès.

IX. Fostering intergenerational policies

CASTORIADES, C. (2006): *Una sociedad a la deriva*. Buenos Aires: Katz Editores.

CORTINA, A. (1994): «Del Estado de Bienestar al Estado de Justicia». *Claves de Razón Práctica*. 41: 11-21.

ESPÓSITO, R. (2003): *Comunitas. Origen y destino de la comunidad*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu.

— (2006): *Categorías de lo impolítico*. Buenos Aires: Katz Editores.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (1999): «Towards a Europe for All Ages. Promoting prosperity and intergenerational solidarity». COM(1999) 221 final. Brussels, May 21.

FERNÁNDEZ, A. M. (2007): *Las lógicas colectivas. Imaginarios, cuerpos y multiplicidades*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos.

HÖFFE, O. (2007): *Ciudadano económico, ciudadano político, ciudadano del mundo: hacia una ética política en la era global*. Madrid: Katz Barpal Editores.

LORIAUX, M.; PREDAZZI, M. and VERCAUTEREN, R. (2001): *Pour une identité de la personne âgée en établissements : le projet de vie*. Toulouse: Érès.

MAFFESSOLI, M. (2004): *El nomadismo*. Madrid: Arena Libros.

NANCY, J. L. (1991): *The inoperative community*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

— (2000): *Being singular plural*. Stanford University Press, 2000.

RUSSELL, B. (1930): *The conquest of happiness*. New York: H. Liveright.

SENNETT, R. (2003): *Respect in a world of inequality*. W. W. Norton and Company.

UNITED NATIONS (1999): International Year of Older Persons, 1999: Activities and legacy. A/54/268. August 18.

— (2002): Report of the Second World Assembly on Ageing. A/CONF. 197/9. New York: United Nations.

WALKER, A. (2006): «Active ageing in employment: Its meaning and potential». *Asia-Pacific Review*. 13 (1): 78-93.

Social Studies Collection

Available on the Internet: **www.laCaixa.es/ObraSocial**

Published titles

- ANUARIO SOCIAL

1. FOREIGN IMMIGRATION IN SPAIN
   (Out of stock)
   Eliseo Aja, Francesc Carbonell, Colectivo Ioé (C. Pereda, W. Actis and M. A. de Prada), Jaume Funes and Ignasi Vila
2. THE VALUES OF SPANISH SOCIETY AND ITS RELATION TO DRUGS
   (Out of stock)
   Eusebio Megías (director), Domingo Comas, Javier Elzo, Ignacio Megías, José Navarro, Elena Rodríguez and Oriol Romaní
3. FAMILY POLICIES IN A COMPARED PERSPECTIVE
   (Out of stock)
   Lluís Flaquer
4. YOUNG WOMEN IN SPAIN
   (Out of stock)
   Inés Alberdi, Pilar Escario and Natalia Matas
5. THE SPANISH FAMILY AND ITS ATTITUDE TO ITS CHILDREN'S EDUCATION
   (Out of stock)
   Víctor Pérez-Díaz, Juan Carlos Rodríguez and Leonardo Sánchez Ferrer
6. OLD AGE, DEPENDENCE AND LONG-TERM CARE
   (Out of stock)
   David Casado Marín and Guillem López i Casasnovas
7. YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE EUROPEAN CHALLENGE
   Joaquim Prats Cuevas (director), Cristòfol-A. Trepat i Carbonell (coordinator), José Vicente Peña Calvo, Rafael Valls Montés and Ferran Urgell Plaza
8. SPAIN AND IMMIGRATION (*)
   Víctor Pérez-Díaz, Berta Álvarez-Miranda and Carmen González-Enríquez
9. HOUSING POLICY IN A EUROPEAN COMPARED PERSPECTIVE
   Carme Trilla
10. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
    (Out of stock)
    Inés Alberdi and Natalia Matas
11. IMMIGRATION, SCHOOLING AND LABOUR MARKET (*)
    Colectivo Ioé (Walter Actis, Carlos Pereda and Miguel A. de Prada)
12. ACOUSTIC CONTAMINATION IN OUR CITIES
    Benjamín García Sanz and Francisco Javier Garrido

(*) English version available on the Internet

13. FOSTER FAMILIES
Pere Amorós, Jesús Palacios, Núria Fuentes, Esperanza León and Alicia Mesas

14. PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES AND THE LABOUR MARKET
Colectivo Ioé (Carlos Pereda, Miguel A. de Prada and Walter Actis)

15. MOSLEM IMMIGRATION IN EUROPE
Víctor Pérez-Díaz, Berta Álvarez-Miranda and Elisa Chuliá

16. POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION
Joan Subirats (director), Clara Riba, Laura Giménez, Anna Obradors, Maria Giménez, Dídac Queralt, Patricio Bottos and Ana Rapoport

17. REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION IN EUROPE
Eliseo Aja, Laura Díez (coordinators), Kay Hailbronner, Philippe de Bruycker, François Julien-Laferrière, Paolo Bonetti, Satvinder S. Juss, Giorgio Malinverni, Pablo Santolaya and Andreu Olesti

18. EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS: CRISIS OR TRANSFORMATION?
Joaquim Prats and Francesc Raventós (directors), Edgar Gasòliba (coordinator), Robert Cowen, Bert P. M. Creemers, Pierre-Louis Gauthier, Bart Maes, Barbara Schulte and Roger Standaert

19. PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN THE SPAIN OF TODAY
Gerardo Meil Landwerlin

20. SINGLE-PARENTING AND CHILDHOOD
Lluís Flaquer, Elisabet Almeda and Lara Navarro

21. THE IMMIGRANT BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN SPAIN
Carlota Solé, Sònia Parella and Leonardo Cavalcanti

22. ADOLESCENTS AND ALCOHOL. THE PARENTAL VIEW
Eusebio Megías Valenzuela (director), Juan Carlos Ballesteros Guerra, Fernando Conde Gutiérrez del Álamo, Javier Elzo Imaz, Teresa Laespada Martínez, Ignacio Megías Quirós and Elena Rodríguez San Julián

23. INTERGENERATIONAL PROGRAMMES. TOWARDS A SOCIETY FOR ALL AGES
Mariano Sánchez (director), Donna M. Butts, Alan Hatton-Yeo, Nancy A. Henkin, Shannon E. Jarrott, Matthew S. Kaplan, Antonio Martínez, Sally Newman, Sacramento Pinazo, Juan Sáez and Aaron P. C. Weintraub

Design and desktop
publishing: www.cege.es
Ciutat d'Asunción, 42
08030 Barcelona

Intergenerational programmes provide opportunities for relations between older and younger generations.
In societies where face-to-face contact between younger and older persons is often difficult, these programmes increase intergenerational solidarity and social cohesion as well as facilitate the inclusion of all generations.
It has been shown, however, that the benefits of intergenerational programmes are not merely obtained by ensuring that different generations spend time together.
These programmes should respond to the real needs of individuals and communities; they should be well designed, managed and planned and should involve networking between different organisations and resources.
In line with the international call made by the United Nations to build a society for all ages, this study by ”la Caixa” Welfare Projects researches the features required of intergenerational programmes and policies aimed at creating societies in which there is no age-related discrimination and where ageing is seen not as a threat but as a process which contributes to socioeconomic welfare and development.

Electronic edition available on the Internet:
www.laCaixa.es/ObraSocial