The nature of transmission in intergenerational relations: Older persons' perspectives

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I would like to thank **Lydia Mokoena,** who has looked after me and my children for the last two years while I was working endless hours. She kept my household going while I was chasing my dreams. I am also grateful to my beautiful children, **Bolton and Andrew**, for providing me with so much joy and happiness. I will love them until I breathe my last breath.

Then to **Alex van Heerden**: "The most powerful weapon on earth is the human soul on fire" (Ferdinand Foch). Thank you for igniting my journey and encouraging my dreams.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie maak gebruik van sekondere data en is deel van 'n groter navorsingsprojek wat fokus op verhoudings ervaringe tussen ouer en jonger persone. Die fokus van hierdie studie is spesifiek die aard van intergenerasionele transmissie vanuit die perspektief van ouer persone. Intergenerasionele transmissie is die proses waardeur kennis, hulpbronne en ondersteuning tussen generasies oorgedra word. In terme van die huidige studie word daar nie op een van die bogenoemde aspekte spesifiek gefokus nie aangesien die studie ten doel is om te bepaal watter hiervan navore kom. Hierdie transmissie kan plaasvind deur onderrig, observasie, modellering en die vertel van stories. Transmissie kan plaasvind beide vanaf die ouer na die jonger geslag (afwaarts) en vanaf die jonger na die ouer geslag (opwaarts). Volgens die psigososiale ontwikkelingsteorie is afwaartse transmissie vanaf ouer persone na die jonger generasie moontlik gedrewe deur generatiwiteit. Generatiwiteit verwys na 'n lewensontwikkelings fase waarin die ouer persoon 'n behoefte ervaar om jonger persone te leer of te mentor ten einde 'n erfenis na te laat aan 'n volgende generasie. Generasionele intelligensie teorie stel dat beter intergenerasionele begrip moontlik kan lei tot meer bereidwilligheid tot intergenerasionele interaksie en is dus ook relevant tot intergenerasionele transmissie.

Hierdie navorsing is gemotiveer deur die observasie dat huidige navorsing meerendeels van internasionale oorsprong is en fokus op intergenerasionele verhoudings met min aandag spesifiek ten opsigte van die aard van transmissie tussen generasies. Effektiewe intergenerasionele verhoudings en transmissie het die potensiaal om aan die behoeftes van beide die jonger en die ouer generasie te voorsien en dus is navorsing hier oor nodig.

Sekondere data is gebruik vir die studie. Data is verkry vanaf 'n studie wat oorspronklik gedoen is met die fokus op die verhoudingservaringe van ouer persone ten

opsigte van die jonger geslag. Die oorspronklike studie het 'n steekproef van 18 ouer persone

tussen 60 en 84 vanuit die dienssentrum in Potchefstroom ingesluit wat Afrikaans of

Engelssprekend was. 7 Deelnemers was manlik en 11 vroulik. Deelnemers is geselekteer op

grond daarvan dat hul steeds onafhanklik kon funksioneer en geen kognitiewe beperkings

getoon het nie. Deelnemers moes ook nie voorheen aan 'n studie van hierdie aard

deelgeneem het nie en indien wel, was dit 'n uitsluitingskriterium. Data was ingesamel deur

middel van die Mmogo-metode®. Dit is 'n visuele navorsingsmetode gebasseer op projeksie.

Deelnemers word voorsien van material soos klei, stokkies en kleurvolle, en verskillende

groottes krale. 'n Oop eindigende stimulus is gebruik, naamlik: *Gebruik asb die materiaal en*

maak enige iets wat ons meer sal vertel van julle ervarings met persone jonger as 25 jaar.

Die visuele konstruksies is gebruik as visuele data en om gesprek van die individuele

deelnemers en in die groep te ontlok. Data is verbatim getranskribeer en as tekstuele data

gebruik. Sekondere data analise is uitgevoer deur middel van sekwensiele ontleding van die

tekstuele data asook 'n analise van die visuele voorstelleings ten einde die aard van

transmissie te ondersoek vanuit die perspektief van die ouer persone.

Vertrouenswaardigheid is gedurende data analise deur verskeie metodes verseker.
Konseptuele samehang rondom die onderwerp was verseker deur middel van die gebruik van

literatuur wat die navorsingsvraag ondersteun en deur middel van die temas wat navore

gekom het vanuit die data analise. Die metode van data versameling is spesifiek gekies met

die oog op die verkryging van ryk persoonlike perspektiewe sowel as die kollektiewe

ervaring van deelnemers ten einde data versadiging te verseker. Die navorser het ook gepoog

om integriteit en deursigtigheid te demonstreer deur deurgans 'n duidelike en gedetaileerde

oudit spoor te verskaf.

Beide opwaartse en afwaartse transmissie vind plaas tussen generasies vanuit die ouer

persone se perspektief. Beide twee tipes transmissie is onderworpe aan die voldoening van

sekere voorwaardes soos; ouderdom, vaardigheidsheidsvlakke, gereelde kontak, die gebruik van 'n persoonsgesentreerde benadering en die oordrag van vaardighede op 'n sistematiese wyse. Spesifieke kommoditeite van oordrag is beskryf vanaf die ouer na die jonger generasie en anders om. Ouer persone dra vaardighede, emosionele en fisiese sorg, waardes en geskiedenis oor hul herkoms oor na die jonger geslag. Vanuit die perspektief van die ouer geslag ontvang hulle kennis rondom tegnologie en nuwe uitvindsels sowel as positiewe houdings van die jonger geslag. Die wyse waarop die oordrag van sommige ouer persone plaasvind, is deur middel van direktiewe leergerigte strategiee terwyl ander ouer persone weer gebruik maak van gesprekvoerende en fasiliterende metodes. Die ouer generasie ervaar die jonger generasie se respons op transmissie as soms ontvanklik en soms weerstandig. Die motivering vir transmissie na die jonger geslag word deur ouer persone beskryf as soms gedrewe deur generatiwiteit en soms deur 'n gevoel van verpligting.

Bevindinge vanuit die studie kan gebruik word ten einde programme te fasiliteer wat moontlik intergenerasionele verhoudings en transmissie kan bevorder. Bevindinge kan ook waardevol bydra in terme van die bevordering van verdere navorsing.

Sleutelwoorde: Intergenerasionele transmissie, generatiwiteit en generasionele intelligensie

SUMMARY

This is a secondary research study and is part of a broader project on the relational experiences between older persons and younger people. The focus of this study is on the nature of intergenerational transmission from the perspective of older persons. Intergenerational transmission is the process by which knowledge, resources and support are transferred between generations. In terms of the current study, a specific focus was not undertaken as it was the intention to determine what would emanate from the data. Transmission can take place through teaching, observation, modelling and story-telling. This process can take place both from the older to the younger generation (downwards) and from the younger to the older generation (upwards). Downward transmission from older to younger persons may serve to satisfy the need for generativity, according to the lifespan development theory. A generative need is associated with the desire to teach and mentor the younger generation and to pass on a positive legacy. Intergenerational transmission is also facilitated if generational members adopt the perspective of the generational other, according to generational intelligence theory.

This research is motivated by the observation that previous studies had for the most part been conducted internationally, with little focus on intergenerational transmission. Effective intergenerational relationships and transmission have the potential to fulfil the needs both of the younger and the older generations and therefore merit investigation. Secondary data were used for this research. Data from an original study that focused on the relational experiences of older persons in relation to young adults were used. The orginal study included a sample of 18 (7 men and 11 women) older persons from the Service Centre in Potchefstroom. They were aged between 60 and 84 and were either Afrikaans- or English-speaking. Inclusion criteria also stated that the older persons had to function independently and not demonstrate any visible cognitive disability. Previous particpation in research on

relational experiences with younger generations was an exclusion criterion. Data were obtained by means of the Mmogo-method®. This is a visual research method that is based on projection. Participants are provided with materials such as clay, straws and colourful beads. Based on an open-ended prompt, namely to show how they experience their relationships with persons younger than 25, visual and textual data were obtained. Secondary data analyses were conducted by using sequential and visual analysis to explore the nature of transmission from the perspective of older persons.

Trustworthiness was ensured during data analysis by various methods. Conceptual coherence of the topic was ensured by using literature to support the research question and themes that emerged from the data analysis. The method of data gathering was chosen with the specific intention of attaining rich personal perspectives as well as a collective experience from participants, thus ensuring data saturation. The researcher also attempted to demonstrate integrity and transparency throughout the process by providing a clear and detailed audit trail.

Both upward and downward transmissions were perceived by the older generation as being present. Both these transmissions were described as being conditionally dependent. Conditions included age, competency, regular contact, using a person-centred approach and transferring knowledge in a systematic manner. Specific commodities were transmitted from the older persons to the younger people and vice versa. The older persons transmitted skills, emotional and physical care, values and the teachings of their heritage. The older persons, in their turn, experienced young people as transferring knowledge about technology and new innovations as well as positive attitudes to their elders. Some of the older people described how they used prescriptive methods when transmitting to the younger generation whereas others felt that more faciltative methods were more effective. The older generation experienced the response of the younger generation to downward transmission as either

receptive or resistant. Descriptions of their motivation for transmission to the younger generation indicated that it might be generativity or a feeling of obligation.

Findings from this study could be used to facilitate programmes that promote intergenerational relationships and transmission. Findings may also be valuable in terms of stimulating further research enquiry.

Key words: Intergenerational Transmission, Generativity and Generational Intelligence.

PERMISSION TO SUBMIT ARTICLE FOR EXAMINATION PURPOSES

The candidate opted to write an article, with the support of her supervisor. I hereby grant permission that she may submit this article for examination purposes in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree MSc Clinical Psychology.

Prof. V. Roos

DECLARATION BY THE RESEARCHER

I hereby declare that this research, **The nature of transmission in intergenerational relations: Older persons' perspectives,** is entirely my own work, and that all sources have been fully referenced and acknowledged.

Furthermore I declare that this dissertation was edited by a qualified language editor.

Finally I declare that this research was submitted to Turn-it-in and a satisfactory report was received stating that plagiarism had not been committed.

Louise Bolton

DECLARATION BY THE LANGUAGE EDITOR

I hereby declare that I have language-edited the **The nature of transmission in intergenerational relations: Older persons' perspectives** by Louise Bolton in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree MSc Clinical Psychology.

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PREFACE

The **Journal of Intergenerational Relationships (JIR) w**as chosen for intended submission as the research topic investigated aligns with the aim and scope of this journal. The **Journal of Intergenerational Relationships** acts as a forum for scholars, practitioners, policy makers, educators, and advocates, who aim to remain up-to-date with the latest research on intergenerational relationships, practice methods and policy initiatives.

JIR typically publishes articles within which intergenerational relationships and issues. The topic investigated in this study accords with this focus and could potentially contribute to intergenerational practice, policy and research. The journal was selected for publication because the article to be submitted focuses on how the older generation perceives transmission between it and the younger generation. As transmission plays a vital role in the healthy development of both generations, it is a study that could contribute to the development of intergenerational programmes and from which further research around this topic could follow. Submission of this article contributes to partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree MSc Clinical Psychology. The article follows APA guidelines as well as the guidelines specific to the intended journal.

INTENDED JOURNAL AND GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

This dissertation will be submitted to the Journal of Intergenerational Relationships for possible publication.

Instruction to Authors

Research-Based Papers

- Include relevant literature, research question(s), methodology, and results.

- Discuss implications for practice, policy, and further research in an emerging multidisciplinary field of study.

- Include conceptual, theoretical, and/or empirical content.

Manuscript Length. The manuscript may be approximately **15-20 typed pages** double-spaced (approximately **5000 words including references and abstract**). Under special conditions, a paper with 6000 words could be considered.

Manuscript Style. References, citations, and general style of manuscripts should be prepared in accordance with the APA Publication Manual, 6th ed. Cite in the text by author and date (Smith, 1983) and include an alphabetical list at the end of the article.

Manuscript Preparation. All parts of the manuscript should be typewritten, double-spaced, with margins of at least one inch on all sides. Number manuscript pages consecutively throughout the paper. Authors should also supply a shortened version of the title suitable for the running head, not exceeding 50 character spaces. Each article should be summarized in an abstract of not more than 100 words. Avoid abbreviations, diagrams, and reference to the text in the abstract.

Cover Page. *Important* - indicating the article title plus:

- an introductory footnote with authors' academic degrees, professional titles, affiliations, mailing addresses, and any desired acknowledgment of research support or other credit.

Second "title page". Enclose an additional title page. Include the title again plus:

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Preparation of Tables, Figures, and Illustrations. Illustrations submitted (line drawings, halftones, photos, photomicrographs, etc.) should be clean originals or digital files. Digital files are recommended for highest quality reproduction and should follow these guidelines.

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Tables and Figures. Tables and figures (illustrations) should not be embedded in the text, but should be included as separate sheets or files. A short descriptive title should appear above each table with a clear legend and any footnotes suitably identified below. All units must be included. Figures should be completely labelled, taking into account necessary size reduction. Captions should be typed, double-spaced, on a separate sheet.

More information concerning the proposed submission may be retrieved from the website.

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This research emanated from a larger project aimed at exploring and describing intergenerational relational experiences. The initial research project was centred around older persons relational experiences with younger generations. Within this study the theme of intergenerational transmission emerged to such a significant extent that it was decided upon as the aim of this study for further explorative purposes. Data from the initial study were then used to conduct a secondary data analysis, guided by the following question: What is the nature of intergenerational transmission described by older persons (older than 60 years) in relation to people younger than 25 years?

Literature relevant to the study will include the types of intergenerational relationships within which transmission can take place; the types of commodities transmitted as well as the ways in which they are transmitted; and theories explaining intergenerational relationships with a specific focus on intergenerational transmission. Factors that may influence the effectiveness of transmission and the generational acceptance of transmissions from each other also warrant some attention. The review concludes by considering why a study of this nature is valuable and justified.

Types of Intergenerational Relations

Two groups of intergenerational relations within which transmission can take place are distinguished, namely familially-related and socially related (Uhlenberg, 2000). Social relatedness refers to intergenerational relationships between people who share the same socio-cultural context, or can be viewed as people who have lived in the same historical period (Mannheim, 1952). Familially-related relations refer to a biological connection (Mannheim, 1952; Scabini & Marta, 2006). Most intergenerational research focuses on familial lineage, because most illustrations of intergenerational relationships are to be found

within families (Lüscher, 2000). Within this study both familially-related and socially-related intergenerational relationships were included as intergenerational relations in which transmission takes place.

Intergenerational Transmission

Intergenerational transmission is defined as the behaviour or tendencies of one generation that is passed on to the next generation (Serbin & Karp, 2003). Noone (2008) describes intergenerational transmission as the process by which resources and support are transferred between generations. Noone (2008) postulates that intergenerational transmission originates from the differences within generations and that generations transmit the differences between them either upwards or downwards through social contact with each other.

Commodities that are transferred downwards from older persons to younger people include values, finances, knowledge, skills, wisdom and/or security (Black, Devereux, & Salvanes, 2003; Hoff, 2007a; Oppong, 2006; Sung, 2001). In terms of upward transmission from the younger to the older generation, Lüscher and Liegle (2003) found that the younger generation teaches the older generation how to use modern technology, such as mobile phones and computers. Not all intergenerational transfers are beneficial. Transmission between generations can also take the form of poverty, inequality and even marital aggression (Kalmuss, 1984; Tomes, 1981).

Most research on transmission has focused on downward transmission with the older person transmitting and the young person receiving the commodity (Peters, Hooker, & Zvonkovic, 2006). Lüscher and Liegle (2003) argue, however, that intergenerational transmission is reciprocal. Hoff (2007b) also investigated reciprocity within transmission by examining the extent of resource sharing and the provision of mutual support. He indicated

that types of support that were reciprocally transmitted included knowledge, financial/material, instrumental, emotional and cognitive support. Despite the indications that commodities are transmitted both upwards and downwards, most existing research focuses on downward transmission.

Transmission can take place through various methods, such as teaching and observation, as well as through the modelling of behaviours, and story telling (Noone, 2008; Stith, Rosen, Middleton, Busch, Lundeberg, & Carlton, 2000). The use of intimate conversations around topics such as family, school, and health, was often linked to stories told in order to facilitate the transfer of learning (Pratt, Norris, Hebblethwaite, & Arnold, 2008; Webb, 1985). These stories were characterised by a redemptive pattern in which bad events are turned into good outcomes and the feeling of ''blessings'' in the older person's life is used to transmit values. McAdams (2004) also conducted research on the use of stories as means of transmission and reported that more teaching-orientated (generative) older persons were able to recall favourite family stories with greater ease than the less generative individuals. He found stories by the more generative older persons to be more distinctive in terms of content, with more themes focused on suffering, growth, and the kindness of others. The nature of transmission can be affected by the nature of the intergenerational relationship, which is explained by different intergenerational theories.

Intergenerational Theories

Sociological theories explaining intergenerational relations include solidarity and conflict or ambivalence (Connidis & McMullin, 2002; Szydlik, 2008). Each of these will be explained briefly considering how it may influence transmission.

Solidarity and conflict. The solidarity and conflict model provides a basis for understanding the potential causes and consequences of intergenerational relations

(Antonucci, Jackson, & Biggs, 2007). The solidarity-conflict model explains the multiple configurations of aspects of which relationships could consist, for instance its sentiment, structure and behaviours (Bengston, Giarrusso, Mabry & Silverstein, 2002). The different configurations describe family typologies and patterns and serve as an instrument to compare families' functioning. Each dimension of solidarity theory represents a positive and a negative aspect, for instance intimacy and distance (affectual solidarity), conformity and opposition (consensual solidarity), dependence and autonomy (functional solidarity), integration and isolation (associational solidarity), opportunities and barriers (structural solidarity), familialism and individualism (normative solidarity) (Bengston et al., 2002; Bengston & Roberts, 1991; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). Family configurations may influence transmission, for instance it is possible that affectual solidarity may lead to one generation perceiving the relationship more intimately than the other, and this may lead to one generation's being more willing to initiate transmission and the other less willing to be receptive to it.

Bengston et al., (2002) claim that conflict is an inevitable attribute in intergenerational relationships. According to this theory explaining intergenerational relationships, intergenerational transmission will be affected by the level of conflict present within the intergenerational relationship as well as the ways in which conflict is resolved. Conflict can range from differences of opinion to physical attacks and therefore the nature of conflict and the way in which an argument is conducted determine the risks and opportunities involved within the conflict (Szydlik, 2008). In accordance with this theory it could be postulated that if the type of conflict between generations is less hostile and they are able to resolve it amicably it could lead to a greater openness and willingness to accept transmission and change.

Intergenerational ambivalence. According to this theory ambivalence occurs when an individual experiences difficult and contradictory feelings, thoughts and actions in relation to another generation (Lüscher, 2005). The experience of ambivalence also includes contradictions in social relationships and social structures, both of which are relevant for personal and social development (Lüscher, 2000). This may influence the transmission as well as the receptiveness to transmission within interpersonal relationships. For instance, a generation experiencing oppositional feelings may engage in oppositional behaviours and these in turn could lead to the other generation's experiencing ambivalence too. Ambivalence can be viewed both as opportunity and burden (Lüscher, 2002). The generational ambivalence experienced may spark transmission should one or both generations seek to understand why there are generational differences between them. It may also prevent transmission should the person experiencing ambivalence refuse to consider the view of the other generation. Intergenerational transmission manifests through social interaction (Connidis & McMullin, 2002) and the presense of ambivalence could contribute to confusion and the avoidance of the generational other with little opportunity for transmission.

There are not many psychological theories that explain intergenerational relations. Most of intergenerational theory is based on a sociological perspective. In the interest of rigorousness and in order to facilitate a better understanding of the intergenerational relationships within which transmission takes place, two psychological theories will also be discussed briefly. These are Self-Interactional Group theory (SIGT) and generativity. The heuristic construct of generational intelligence will also be discussed as it adds value to understanding effective intergenerational relationships.

Self-interactional group theory (SIGT). SIGT describes the interactional or relational nature of intergenerational relationships and is used as a theoretical framework to explain relationships as the ongoing creation and re-creation of relationships (Roos, in press).

Roos (in press) explains that SIGT includes three levels of analysis: the intra-individual, the inter-individual and the group level. The intra-individual level emphasises feelings, experiences and perceptions, whereas the inter-individual level focuses on: 1) the context in which the interaction takes place as well as how context is created; 2) the definition of the relationships between generational members; 3) the relational qualities that emerge in the interaction; 4) the needs and goals that serve as motivation for interaction as well as the strategies to pursue needs and the goals; and 5) the interactional process. The group level involves intra and intergroup dynamics (Roos, in press).

Transmission takes place in the interaction between members of different generations. According to Roos (in press) intergenerational transmission is a complex social phenomenon that occurs in the actions and reactions between people encompassing the inter-individual, the intra-individual and the group perspective. From the intra-individual perspective members of different generations responded to each other on the basis of their subjective experiences of the interaction. In the case of positive subjective experiences it is more likely that the interaction between generations will allow for transmission. From the inter-individual perspective, the nature of transmission depends on how the generational members create the context for their interactions, because context determines the meaning of the transmission (Roos, in press). The relational definition is also important for transmission because older persons who always define the relationship in terms of controlling and educating the younger generation may find that the relational definition is challenged by the younger people, who do not always want to be in a submissive learning position. Moreover, if this relational definition is accompanied by relational qualities of the generational other, in that they do not demonstrate an ability to adopt the perspective of the other generation, but view the relationship only from their own perspective in a linear and rigid manner, the generative need may not be addressed. From a group perspective, transmission may be limited due to

stereotypical ideas held about the generational other. This is typically observed when older people compare their own stories and experiences favourably with those of the younger people.

Generativity. Generativity, as proposed by Erikson (1963), refers to older persons who are concerned for, and committed to, the well-being of the young and subsequent generations. According to Erikson (1963) the older person parents, teaches and mentors the young in order to pass on a positive legacy to the next generation. Erikson's lifespan developmental theory proposes eight successive ''crises'' or dynamic stages of development across the course of a lifetime (Bradley, 1997). Each successive psychosocial stage builds on preceding resolutions (Erikson, 1963). Should a person reach the stage of generativity successfully, it would therefore be likely that they will take an interest in transmitting their existing knowledge to the younger generation in an attempt to contribute to the growth and development of subsequent generations. A need for transmission to the younger generation is therefore seen as successful resolution and a desired outcome.

Today, generativity is no longer understood as a concept "within" the individual but rather as a relational and contextualised construct that links the person to the social world (Kruse & Schmitt, 2012). Krappmann (1997) found that one of the roles the older generation has taken up is socialisation of the younger generation. The generative individual is conscious of being a guide to others and feels the need to impart accumulated knowledge and experience (Bradley, 1997) and is therefore more likely to engage in intergenerational transmission. Kruse and Schmitt (2012) maintain that the realisation of generativity becomes an important developmental task in middle adulthood, the seventh of a total of eight psychosocial crises which he defines as one's concern in establishing and guiding the next generation. Successful resolution of this developmental phase may therefore lead to the older generation's very actively seeking to teach and guide the next generation as an innate drive.

Kruse and Schmitt (2012) conclude that generativity is conceptually distinguished from the concepts of empathy, altruism, and intergenerational solidarity, which may be indicative of a need to guide the next generation without considering their perspective. There may be other motivations for generative action (intergenerational transmission); according to McAdams and Aubin (1997) generative action may also be motivated by cultural demands or inner desire.

Studies have shown that generative concern and intergenerational transmission are associated with positive outcomes for older people. Indications of well-being associated with generative action and intergenerational transmittion were also found by Keyes and Ryff (1998) within self-report measures. These indicated that concern for the next generation, providing emotional support for young persons, and seeing oneself as a generative resource were all associated with psychological and social well-being by the older generation. This is supported by Bradley (1997), who found that difficulty in achieving a sense of generativity and consequently being unable to impart knowledge intergenerationally can lead to stagnation, self-absorption, and self-indulgence. It is clear that transmission between generations is beneficial to the emotional well-being of the older generation (McAdams and Aubin, 1997).

Effective generative older adults are more likely to use methods such as recounting (or transmitting) a personal life story to convey an important value to the young, and their stories are more likely to be judged as interesting and effective by the younger generation (Norris, Kuiack, & Pratt, 2004; Pratt, Arnold, Pratt, & Diessner, 1999). Generativity in older persons within a family may be particularly relevant for certain key socialisation functions, including the transmission of values to younger generations (Milardo, 2005; Norris et al., 2004). Research on intergenerational socialisation within the family has also demonstrated that generative older generations may be more likely to cultivate success in the younger

generation through their transmissions than those who are of a less generative nature (Peterson, 2006). The implication is that intergenerational transmission may be beneficial to the younger generation and therefore warrant research.

Generational intelligence. Generational intelligence is described as an individual's ability to understand the life course of their own and others' generations and the ability to reflect upon these and act appropriately, according to their family and social history (Biggs, 2008). Generational intelligence as heuristic construct is used for the purposes of this study because it acknowledges that different generational groups have different goals and different contributions to offer (Biggs, Haapala, & Lowenstein, 2011). According to Biggs et al. (2011), using generational intelligence as construct would also allow for a greater understanding of the other generation's willingness to engage, and as such may provide valuable information about the facilitation of the transmission process between generations.

Generational intelligence also refers to individuals' awareness that they are part of a specific generation, but still be relatively able to place themselves in the position of another generation by acting with an awareness of the circumstances of one's own and the other's generation (Biggs, 2008). This ability may be important within the transmission process because it can make one aware that what one might want to pass on may not necessarily be needed by the receiving generation. It is important to form empathetic intelligence between generations in order to facilitate mutual understanding (Biggs et al., 2011). An empathetic understanding may lead to a greater willingness to impart knowledge and to accept the content of knowledge imparted by the other. Empathetic intelligence may therefore lead to more effective intergenerational transmission as both generations' needs and perspectives are considered.

The subjective experiences and processes underpinning intergenerational relations are emphasised by generational intelligence theory (Biggs et al., 2011). Kruse and Schmitt (2012) state that an empathetic understanding of the needs, interests, and preferences of the younger generation (generational intelligence) will ideally lead to generative behaviour towards the younger generation. They do state, however, that concern for the next generation does not necessarily reflect the perspectives of younger persons and is not always sought and accepted by them. This indicates that reciprocal generational intelligence may play a role in facilitating intergenerational transmission. Apart from generativity and generational intelligence there are also other factors that influence intergenerational transmission.

Factors Influencing Intergenerational Transmission

Intergenerational transmission may be influenced by gender. Within familial research it was found that the grandparental transmission role appears to be filled more commonly by maternal than paternal grandparents, which may suggest that mothers play a role in establishing these intergenerational connections (Pratt et al., 2008). It was also found that grandmothers fulfil the value transmission role more frequently than grandfathers, which could possibly influence the content which is transmitted and thus learned by the younger generation. Nussbaum and Bettini (1994) found that grandmothers transmitted more regularly than grandfathers and had a tendency to focus on family issues and in particular on family history, whereas grandfathers were found to talk about health issues and youth experiences. No research investigating gender within socially related intergenerational relationships was found.

The manner in which transmission takes place also plays a role in whether the process is successful or not. Pratt et al. (2008) state that when young persons described intergenerational value transmission to be more effective they tended to be from a more

generative family context. Value teachings by more generative older persons are also remembered in clearer and generally more positive terms (McAdams, 2004). Pratt et al. (2008) found the teaching style of those who are more generative in their approach tended to be more interactive and to be more likely to emphasise caring and consequently less likely to be rejected by the younger generation. Intergenerational transmission may therefore be more effective when the older person uses a generative approach, is interactive, and emphasises caring. Research data by Norris et al. (2004) indicated that younger generations with more generative socialisation patterns recollect and tell stories of their value teachings in a more positive and descriptive way than those from less generative families. The authors state that this may be particularly noteworthy with regard to the younger generations' willingness to accept intergenerational value transmission (Peterson, 2006).

Intergenerational transmission may be influenced or adversely affected by a tendency in the older generation to perceive their relationship with the younger generation as closer than it actually is. Cherlin and Furstenberg (1985) found that older generations tend to perceive their relationships with younger generations as being considerably closer than the younger generation perceives them to be. This has since been labelled the "intergenerational stake" hypothesis. Older generations may therefore overestimate the willingness of younger generations to receive their value teachings (transmissions).

The intergenerational stake hypothesis suggests that older generations consistently report higher levels of closeness and consensus in their relationships with the younger generation than the younger generation does (Giarrusso, Stallings, & Bengtson, 1995). Giarrusso et al. (1995) assert that the older generation tends to be more concerned with family continuity and preserving close relationships within their families, and the younger generation tends to be more concerned with defending their individual uniqueness and retaining their autonomy and independence. This may lead to the older generations' being

eager to transmit their knowledge while younger generations may be keener to make their own way independently.

The Value of This Study

Research into intergenerational relationships and transmission processes is a necessity when taking into account ageing populations nationally and globally (Papalia, Olds, & Feldman, 2009). Population ageing refers, in simplistic terms, to the process by which the older population becomes a proportionally larger component of the total population (Joubert & Bradshaw, 2006). A larger population of older persons leads to increased intergenerational interaction and therefore more opportunity for intergenerational transmission. Although initially experienced by the more developed countries, population ageing is now a global phenomenon, experienced in virtually all countries of the world (Zaidi, Gasior, & Manchin, 2012). This could mean that all countries may benefit from the facilitation of more effective intergenerational relationships and transmission.

VanderVen (1999) also states that there has been a documented increase in the proportion of people living into their eighties and nineties, and according to the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2011) the length of time people are living is historically unprecedented. In terms of the transmission of commodities this may lead to upward transmission when the older persons reach an advanced age and may become reliant on more substantial support.

In 2013 South African statistics indicated that 4,146,910 of South Africans fell into the 60 years and older age range, while and 25,658,071 South-Africans were under 25 years of age (STATS SA, 2013). These statistics indicated that 56.26% of the South African population was made up of the two groups included in this study. A large proportion of the population is therefore likely to be engaged in intergenerational relationships. As intergenerational transmission was found to benefit both generations, a considerable number

of people will be served by understanding the phenomenon better. In South Africa phenomena such as migration and HIV/AIDS contribute to why older generations often play a significant role in raising the young which further demonstrates the value of intergenerational study (Hoffman, 2012; Keating, 2011) Population ageing will likely influence intergenerational relationships both of a social and a familial nature because it is likely that more intergenerational interaction will take place between all groups.

When considering familial intergenerational relationships, the investigation of intergenerational transmission is justified: population ageing has led to grandparenthood being commonly experienced, which was once rare. This means that more older persons potentially play a role in transmitting values or teaching and guiding younger generations within their family context than previously. Historically, intergenerational relations extending across three generations were rare and when they did occur were often short-lived (Hareven, 2001; Lauterbach, 1995). In today's society three-generation families are considered normal (Harper, 2005; Hoff, 2006). This leads to greater contact between the younger and the older generation than ever before. The role of the older person in relation to the younger generation may also be changing, thereby leading to their playing a greater role in teaching and guiding the the young.

Intergenerational transmission may also be affected by the way in which the growing ageing population provides new challenges to intergenerational relationships. One of these challenges that may affect the intergenerational relationship is that the younger generation is often expected to take care of the increased numbers of older person's population (Zaidi et al., 2012). This may lead to a higher prevalence of upward transmission because older persons may need commodities such as instrumental and financial support.

Although intergenerational relationships have aroused interest in recent years, most of the research contributes by describing the type of intergenerational relationship, without focusing on the nature of transmission between the generations (Orel, Dupuy, & Wright, 2004). Research and literature in the field of intergenerational relationships are mainly of international origin, and focus on what intergeneration relationships are like, what they are used for, and on their value and implications (Bengtson, 2001; Biggs, 2007; Constanzo & Hoy, 2007; Hodgson, 1992; Hoff, 2007a; Lüscher, 2005; Newman, Ward, Smith, Wilson, & McCrea, 1997; Scabini & Marta, 2006). This highlights the value of exploring intergenerational transmission as phenomenon because very little literature exists about it, especially within the South African context.

In South Africa, and especially in African cultures within South Africa, the older generation often assists in raising the younger generation and therefore plays a role in teaching or transmitting to them (Eke, 2003). Socio-political and cultural issues that are unique and specific to the South African context, such as forced relocation, migration, HIV/AIDS and extreme poverty, are often reasons why the older generations play a greater role in raising the young and have more responsibility toward them than they did (Hoffman, 2012; Keating, 2011). Roos (2011) investigated the African-cultured older generation within South Africa and found its members to value their role as educator of socially accepted norms and behaviour and consequently to enforce their transmission in a more authoritarian manner, whether the younger generation were receptive to it or not.

Existing international research into transmission has investigated a wide array of commodities that are intergenerationally transferred, such as poverty, inequality, divorce and abuse (Amato, 1996; Black et al., 2003; Hoff, 2007a; Oppong, 2006; Pratt et al., 2008; Sung, 2001), as well as teaching and the transmission of information, values and skills. It cannot be assumed that the commodities of transmission will be similar within the South African

context and therefore investigation is warranted. There are, however, gaps in the literature pertaining to intergenerational transmission within the white South African community, thereby making this study meaningful in terms of addressing an existing research need.

Problem Statement

Considering that most of the research on intergenerational transmission was conducted internationally and most of the research conducted in South Africa focused on black generations (Mabaso, 2011; Nathan, 2012) it could be valuable to explore this phenomenon from the white South African perspective too. In order to fill both the the racial and the South African contextual gap in the literature on intergenerational transmission, the focus will be specifically on what and how white older persons transmit to people younger than 25 years. The age group of 25 years was specially chosen to provide an opportunity to investigate how older people (G1) transmit to younger people (G3), because transmission occurs over a period of time and through a history of the relationship (Smith-Acuña, 2011).

The age group selected is of interest as recent South African research conducted by Mabaso (2011) found intergenerational relationships between the younger and the older generation dissatisfactory for both parties. Her findings indicated that the younger generation held ambivalent perceptions of their relationships with the older generation and that the older generations tended to have extremely negative perceptions of their relationships with the younger generations. The research was conducted with black participants residing in a township close to Stilfontein. It was therefore conducted within the South African context, but with a different racial group to the current study.

This study could contribute to the understanding of intergenerational transmission, which could be used to inform intergenerational interventions aimed at promoting effective

interactions. It could also contribute to the field of intergenerational relationships and transmission and subsequently lead to further investigative study.

Structure of the Research

In this section, a literature review was presented in order to establish the background and basis of this study. The conducted research will be presented in article format. In the following section, the article to be submitted to the *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships* for possible publication is presented. It is the aim of this article to investigate the nature of intergenerational transmission from the perspective of older persons. The researcher details the methodology, the findings and the discussion of the study's findings. The final section of this document includes the researcher's critical reflections and the contributions the study makes to the field of intergenerational transmission.

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The nature of transmission in intergenerational relations: Older persons' perspectives

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to explore the nature of intergenerational transmission as expressed by white older persons in relation to people younger than 25 years. Secondary data analysis was used for the purpose of this study. The original study included a sample of 18 older people from the Service Centre in Potchefstroom (7 older men and 11 older women) between the ages of 60 and 84. Data in the original study were obtained by means of the Mmogo-method®, a projective visual research method, and analysed using both sequential and visual analysis. Both upward and downward transmissions were perceived by the older generation as being present. Both forms of transmission were described as being dependent on conditions such as age, competency, regular contact, using a person-centred approach, and transferring knowledge in a systematic manner. Specific commodities were transmitted from the older persons to the younger people and vice versa. Some of the older people described using prescriptive methods when transmitting to the younger generation, while others believed facilitative methods were more effective. The older generation experiences the response of the younger generation to downward transmission as either receptive or resistant. Descriptions of their motivation for transmission to the younger generation indicated that it could be due to generativity or a feeling of obligation. The findings may be used to facilitate programmes to promote intergenerational relationships. The study may also lead to further research into the construct of intergenerational transmission.

Key words: Ambivalence; Generation; Generativity; Generational Intelligence; Intergenerational Transmission; Solidarity.

Orientation and Problem Statement

This research is secondary in nature and emanated from a larger research project aimed at exploring and describing intergenerational relational experiences. In the initial project older persons were asked to participate in research into their relational experiences with younger generations. Transmission emerged as prominent theme through the verbal descriptions from the older generation of attempting to relay what they deemed as important to the younger generation. There were also perceptions verbalised of what the younger generation was transmitting to them. Accordingly it was decided to make it the focus of this study.

Intergenerational transmission is defined as the behaviour or tendencies of one generation passed on to the next generation (Serbin & Karp, 2003). According to Noone, (2008) transmission takes place on several interconnected levels, ranging from intentional teaching to subconscious programming. He postulates that these methods of transfer are used to programme emotional reactions and behaviours. According to Noone (2008), intergenerational transmission arises from differences within generations which they transmit from one generation to the other through social contact.

Transmission can take a positive form of passing on finances, knowledge, skills, wisdom and/or security (Black, Devereux, & Salvanes, 2003; Hoff, 2007a; Oppong, 2006; Sung, 2001). Intergenerational transmission can equally be unfavourable because poverty, inequality, and marital aggression are also transmitted intergenerationally (Kalmuss, 1984; Tomes, 1981). Transmission between generations can take place through teaching, learning, and observation, or through modelling of behaviours and by story-telling (Stith et al., 2000). Research into intergenerational transmission is necessary when taking into account population ageing, both nationally and globally (Papalia, Olds, & Feldman, 2009). Population ageing refers, in simple terms, to the process by which the older population

becomes a proportionally larger component of the total population (Joubert & Bradshaw, 2006). According to the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2011) the length of time people is living is historically unprecedented. Population growth means there is more intergenerational interaction and transmission than has been the case historically. These larger populations of older people provoke concerns about the care and life satisfaction of a segment of the population not previously well-researched (Costanzo & Hoy, 2007). The growth of ageing populations provides new challenges to intergenerational relationships because it is expected that the younger generation will increasingly take care of the growing older population (Zaidi & Gasior, 2012). It is therefore important to focus on the nature of the relationship between generations. The nature and quality of the relationships between generations influence intergenerational transmission. According to Biggs, Haapala, and Lowenstein (2011), transmission is improved by intergenerational relationships that are characterised by empathy and understanding.

Transmission between generations is affected by the understanding and perspectives generations have of each other (Roos, in press). The construct "generation" is not easily defined because it does not constitute a discrete category in terms of chronological age, but rather how the generation is constructed and experienced by society. The construct is thus a combination of social labelling and self-perception (Biggs et al., 2011). Biggs (2007) also states that "generation" is a concept that is socially constructed. Two groups of intergenerational relations are distinguished within which transmission may occur. These are familially-related and historically- or socially- related intergenerational relationships (Uhlenberg, 2000). The familial relationship consists of members who are familially-related, while social generations share the same socio-cultural context (Mannheim, 1952). Socially-related generations and generations who are familially related differ from each other, as the

latter refers to a biological connection (Mannheim, 1952; Scabini & Marta, 2006). For the purpose of this study, both are referred to.

Different theories explain intergenerational relationships, but for the purpose of this research, theories such as generativity, self-interactional group theory (SIGT) and generational intelligence (GI) will be used to demonstrate the possible meanings of the intergenerational findings made. Intergenerational relationships are an important consideration, because the success of intergenerational transmission is affected by it (Peterson, 2006). According to Self-Interactional Group theory, proposed by Roos (in press) as interactional/relational theory, successful intergenerational relationships may be affected by the subjective experiences of the generational members generated in the interaction, inter-individual level qualities as well as perceiving one's own generational group as similar to or different from the other generational group to (Roos, in press). Generational Intelligence (GI) acknowledges that different generational groups have different goals and different contributions to offer (Biggs & Lowenstein, 2011). Using GI would allows for a greater understanding of the other generation's willingness to engage and therefore transmit to each other (Biggs, Haapala, & Lowenstein, 2011). According to Biggs, et al. (2011) an empathetic understanding of the generational other (also referred to as generational intelligence) may lead to a greater willingness to impart knowledge and to accept the content of knowledge offered by the other, which is important in order to facilitate effective transmission.

Generational transmission from the perspective of older persons is usually associated with the last phase of development. This, according to Erikson's psycho-social stages of development theory, has two possible outcomes: integrity or despair (Erikson, 1963; 1980). Generativity, as proposed by Erikson (1963), refers to older persons who are orientated to guide the next generation through transmission and therefore links appropriately to the concept of intergenerational transmission. Erikson (1963) also refers to generativity as an

adult's concern for, and commitment to, the well-being of youth and subsequent generations of human beings, as evidenced in parenting, teaching, mentoring, and other activities and involvements aimed at passing a positive legacy on to the next generation.

Although intergenerational relationships have aroused interest in recent years, most of the research contributes by describing the type of intergenerational relationship and does not focus on the nature (such as why they exist and what they are like) of transmission between the generations (Orel, Dupuy, & Wright, 2004). Research and literature in the field of intergenerational relationships are mainly international in origin, and focus on what intergeneration relationships are like, what they are used for, and their value and implications (Bengtson, 2001; Biggs, 2007; Constanzo & Hoy, 2007; Hodgson, 1992; Hoff, 2007b; Lüscher, 2005; Newman, Ward, Smith, Wilson, & McCrea, 1997; Scabini & Marta , 2006).

Existing international research on transmission has investigated a wide array of commodities (tangible and intangible) that are intergenerationally transferred, such as poverty, inequality, divorce and abuse, but also teaching and the transmission of information, values and skills (Amato, 1996; Balck et al., 2003; Hoff, 2007a; Oppong, 2006; Pratt, Norris, Hebblethwaite, & Arnold, 2008; Sung, 2001). There is currently very little literature on the nature of intergenerational transmission within the South African context, a largely unexplored field to which this study makes a valuable contribution. Therefore the following question will guide this research: What is the nature of intergenerational transmission described by older persons (older than 60 years) in relation to people younger than 25 years?

In South Africa, and especially in African cultures within South Africa, the older generation often assists in raising the younger generation and therefore plays a role in teaching or transmitting to them (Eke, 2003). Socio-political and cultural issues that are unique and specific to the South African context, such as forced relocation, migration,

HIV/AIDS and extreme poverty, are often reasons why the older generations play a greater role in raising the young and have more responsibility towards them than they have had historically (Hoffman, 2012). Roos (2011) investigated the African-cultured older generation within South Africa and found its members to value their role as educator of socially accepted norms and behaviour and consequently to enforce their transmission, especially those pertaining to morals and values in a more authoritarian manner, whether the younger generation was receptive to it or not.

Research on intergenerational transmission was conducted internationally for the most part, while research in South Africa was conducted largely on black generations (Hoffman, 2012; Joubert & Bradshaw, 2006; Mabaso, 2011; Nathan, 2012; Roos, 2011). In order to fill some of the gaps in the literature on intergenerational transmission, this study will focus specifically on what and how white older persons transmit to people younger than 25 years. The age group of 25 years was specially chosen to provide an opportunity to investigate how older people (G1) transmit to younger people (G3), because transmission occurs over a period of time and through a history of the relationship (Smith-Acuña, 2011). This age group is of interest as recent South African research conducted by Mabaso (2011) found intergenerational relationships between the younger and the older generations as dissatisfactory for both groups. Her findings indicated that the younger generation had ambivalent perceptions of their relationships with the older generation and that the older generations for their part tended to perceive these relationships extremely negatively too. This study may contribute to the understanding of intergenerational transmission, and could be used to inform intergenerational interventions aimed at promoting effective interactions. The aim of this study is to explore the nature of intergenerational transmission as expressed by white older persons in relation to people younger than 25 years.

Research Methodology

Research Method and Design

A qualitative research approach was used both in the original study and to explore the intergenerational transmission of white older persons to young people inductively and descriptively. Theories such as generativity, self-interactional group theory (SIGT) and generational intelligence (GI) was used to demonstrate the possible meanings of the intergenerational findings made. Qualitative research is an appropriate method for obtaining an in-depth understanding of the subjective experiences of relationships (Creswell, 2007; Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Qualitative research also describes approaches to explore human experiences, perceptions, motivations and behaviour (Clissett, 2008). Secondary data analysis was used for the purpose of this study. Heaton (2004) defines secondary data as "the use of existing data collected for the purposes of a prior study, in order to pursue a research interest which is distinct from that of the original work" (p. 1).

Research Procedure

In the original research, a gatekeeper at the Service Centre in Potchefstroom, South Africa was contacted and the purpose of the project was explained. The Servive Centre is a registered, non-profit organisation with the aim of providing the retired with the opportunity to function self sufficiently for as long as possible. Services offered include nursing, therapeutic intervention, recreational activities and the provision of meals. The original research study aimed to explore older persons' experiences in relation to young adults. Older persons who did not present with visible cognitive disabilities; who were able to communicate coherently; and who were either Afrikaans- or English-speaking and had not previously participated in research on relational experiences with younger generations, were invited to participate in the study.

The original data were obtained from participants chosen purposefully (Creswell, 2007). The sample consisted of 18 older people from the Service Centre in Potchefstroom (7 older men and 11 older women) between the ages of 60 and 84. Data within the original study was obtained through the Mmogo-method®. The Mmogo-method® is a data-gathering method whereby participants present their own data by making visual representations that project their subjective perceptions (Roos, 2008). The method allows researchers to access participants' experience. The method is projective in nature and allows meanings to emerge from the participants' reflections on social structures and meaningful actions through visual representations (Roos, 2012). Mmogo-method® materials consisting of clay, beads and dried grass stalks were given to the participants and they were asked the following: Please use the material in front of you and make anything that will tell us more about your relationship with a person or persons younger than 25 years of age. The older persons were given as much time as they needed to complete their visual presentations, but after 45 minutes they had done so. On completion of the visual representations, each participant was questioned individually to gain a better understanding of his or her relationships with young persons: "What did you make?" The participant described the visual representation. The researcher asked what the specific objects represented, if this had not been previously explained by the participant. The researcher then asked: What is the connection between the visual presentation and the original question,"What did you make". After the individual had explained the visual representation, the researcher involved the group by asking: "Is this the same for everybody?" The interviews with the individual participants as well as the group discussions were recorded and transcribed verbatim, serving as textual data. The visual representations were photographed and treated as visual data.

During the initial study participants were also asked to complete a journal entry regarding their relationship with younger persons in addition to the Mmogo-method®. The

journal entries were guided by the following questions: Describe an outstanding highlight in your life regarding your personal experience with a younger person (younger than 25 years). Who was involved in this experience? What was the outcome of this experience? What was the implication of this positive experience? What do you appreciate most about younger persons? What is the one outstanding aspect of your relationship with younger persons? If you had three wishes to promote the relationship between older people and younger people, what would it be? Imagine yourself as a person younger than 60 years. What would you like your relationship with older persons to be like? Think about the visual presentations that you made today. Make a sketch of your presentation. What suggestions can you make to bring about your dream about a meaningful relationship between older and younger persons? The information that was gathered revealed themes about their generative needs in terms of transmission, and that was the aim of the secondary analysis of the data.

Data Analysis

Two sets of data, visual and textual, were obtained during the original study. Within the secondary study the collected data was then analysed using sequential analysis as well as visual analysis. This contributed to the material's trustworthiness. The focus of both sets of data was to explore the generative needs for transmission from the perspective of older persons

Sequential analysis. Sequential analysis as utilised during the secondary study, was conducted according to the six steps proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). The first step involves inductive coding by means of highlighting key terms in the transcribed dataset in order to find the most distinctive explanations (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Step two consists of the restatement of key phrases by renaming them in a descriptive and literal way (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The third step comprises the reduction of phrases into clusters. Step four

comprises the reduction of clusters and labelling them; this is also known as pattern coding as clusters are reduced and combined to form a smaller number of clusters (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the course of the fifth step generalisations about the named clusters are made, and step six consists of forming mini-theories that explain each cluster's meaning in relation to the research question (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Visual analysis. Within the current study the visual data (photos of the visual presentations) gathered during the initial study was analysed by linking the symbolic values of the visual representation to the specific research question (Roos, 2008). The symbolic value of the presentations was compared with the specific research question and the textual description of the visual representation. Information provided by participants' visual presentations was used in conjunction with the textual data to enrich and support the identified themes. The secondary data was then analysed through the use of in-case analysis to add to the explanation and description of individual cases, followed by cross-case analysis to plot recurring themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). (See on accompanying CD).

Trustworthiness

According to Tracy (2010), quality qualitative research is marked by the following criteria: A worthy topic that is relevant, significant and timely without making prior assumptions as to outcome. This study is considered relevant and significant when taking into account ageing populations nationally and globally (Papalia., et al. 2009). In view of the findings of Mabaso (2011), that both generations are experiencing intergenerational relationships as dissatisfactory, research may also be used to inform intergenerational interventions aimed at promoting more effective interactions.

Throughout the secondary study rich rigour and the use of sufficient and appropriate theoretical constructs were achieved. This was done by including rigorous discussions,

descriptions and explanations of these theoretical constructs. Theoretical constructs within the study included generativity, generational intelligence and self interactional group theory and are rich and generously incorporated in an attempt to further the understanding of findings. Due diligence was taken by allowing appropriate time, and exercising effort, care and thoroughness.

Sincerity through transparency in terms of method and research challenges was obtained by discussing the research methods as well as limitations in detail. Credibility through crystallisation was obtained by using diverse qualitative data-gathering methods and different data analyses, which facilitated understanding within the context of the participants (Janesick, 2000). Crystallisation encourages the use of multiple strategies and methods to elicit detailed, in-depth and rich interpretations (Ellingson, 2009; Tracy, 2010). The multiple representations created by the participants can reveal different points of view and subtleties that may finally be overviewed to create a holistic picture of a specific phenomenon.

Resonance was achieved by attempting to generate transferable knowledge which could be used in other contexts. The significant contribution of this study was demonstrated by contextualising the reseasrch against an increasingly ageing population and their needs in intergenerational relationships. The ethical considerations applicable to secondary data were also discussed and the same considerations which applied to the first-data gathering session were used; meaningful coherence was ensured by using methods and procedures that fit the stated goals (Tracy, 2010).

Ethics and Secondary Data

Ethical approval for the original study was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Health Sciences in the North-West University, with ethical number NWU-005-10-51. The primary researcher from the original study (who also serves

as the study leader of this study) provided permission for the secondary researcher to make use of the data set for secondary analysis. In a secondary analysis, it is of fundamental importance to adhere to the same ethical principles which guided the original study (Heaton, 2004). The original project and this study had similarly been approved by the Ethics Committee. In the original study, a gatekeeper was contacted and the aim of the research was explained. The original study was multi-phased. On the day of data gathering a research psychologist explained the different phases of the research, thus ensuring voluntary participation. Field workers, trained in obtaining informed consent, obtained written consent.

During the original study older persons were first invited to participate in the Mmogo-method® by visually representing their relational experiences with the younger generation and by noting their experiences in journals. The Mmogo-method® process takes place in a group context and it was explained that as this meant confidentiality could be only partially ensured. The group was however requested to treat the information that was shared in this context as confidential. As it was expected that relational experiences might elicit emotions, participants were informed that they could talk to a clinical psychologist at the end of the research process, or with the social worker at the Service Centre, who had been briefed about the nature of the research project. In addition, researchers engaged informally with the participants on completion of the data-gathering process to ask them how they had experienced the research process and the content they had shared. This was done to accommodate those whose participation might have elicited uncomfortable emotions. This was conducted by the researchers (Master's students in Psychology), all of whom have training in basic counselling and research skills.

In presenting the data, participants were also assured that their identities would not be revealed and that participant numbering would be used as a further protection. Participants were also told that they would not be paid for their participation and that they did not need to

pay to participate in the research. It was emphasised that they were under no obligation to participate and could withdraw at any stage without any consequences. They were told about the possibility that the data findings might be published in a journal. Participants were also informed that the data would be protected by storing it electronically on a computer with a password. Hard copies would be stored in a locked cupboard to which only the researchers and supervisors have access. The data would be kept for five years.

Also during the original studies data gathering within its second stage the researchers asked the participants to keep a journal in which they noted their relational experiences. They were requested to hand in the journals anonymously at the Service Centre within a week, indicating only their gender and their age. This would make it difficult to locate the participants again. Within the secondary data analysis the data was not used in any way which would have violated its integrity or which is not in line with the original ethical principles originally explained to the participants. Protocols were adhered to as originally committed to in conjunction with the participants and all participants remained confidential.

Findings

Two themes emerged from the data: upward and downward transmission as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1:

Themes and Subthemes that emerged from the Secondary Data

Theme	Subtheme
Upward Transmission	Conditions for upward transmission (Transmission from the younger to the older generation)

	Competence of younger people
	Regular contact
	A person-centred approach
	Systematic knowledge transmission
	Age of younger person
	Types of commodities
	New knowledge about technology (computers)
	Enthusiasm, future-orientation
	Hope, spirituality, thankfulness
Downward Transmission	Conditions for downward transmission (Transmission from the older to the younger generation)
	The age of the younger person
	Types of commodities
	Skills (numeracy, language and career)
	Emotional and physical care
	Values
	Heritage
	Manner in which transmission takes place
	Prescriptive

	Facilitative learning
	Perceived responses of younger people
	Receptivity
	Positive outcomes
	Challenges
	Motivation for downward transmission
	Generativity
	Expectation

Participants did not distinguish between familial and social relationships in terms of the nature of transmission.

Upward Transmission

Upward transmission refers to what older persons perceived as being transmitted to them by younger people. Upward transmission took place (according to the older persons) under certain conditions and specific commodities were transferred.

Conditions for upward transmission. Older persons describe certain conditions for upward transmission to take place: the competence of younger people in comparison with older persons; regular contact; a person-centred approach; the systematic introduction of new knowledge; and the age of the younger person.

Upward transmission of new knowledge took place when younger people were perceived as more competent. Some older persons explained that they were able to learn

from the younger people because the latter had more opportunities for tertiary education: "We can learn a lot from them" (Participant 17); "Y-e-e-e-s, a lot" (Participant 16); "We didn't have the opportunities they have today like going to university..."(Participant 13).

The conditions for upward transmission also included regular contact: "Every day she would praise and encourage me, give me advice around what she experienced helping her mother with the babies in the afternoons" (Journal A), and "She encouraged me and stood by me. We can learn from young people" (Journal K).

In a person-centred approach, older persons were treated in an understanding and accepting manner. In response to this person-centredness, knowledge was transferred and older persons described experiences of joy: "Then they have to tell me nicely why they did it and if it is something that I didn't know something about or didn't know at all, then I enjoy it so much" (Participant 2).

The systematic introduction of new knowledge made it possible for older persons to assimilate new information. One older woman, for example, mentioned how her grandchildren had methodically taught her how to use a life-jacket, which is illustrated in the following dialogue between a grandmother and her grandchildren: "And then I get told: Grandma put the whistle in your mouth, and I say, where is the whistle? In grandma's life-jacket. What must I do now? Should you get into trouble you have to blow the whistle" (Participant 10). This is depicted through the participant presentation in Figure 1. Figure 1 is an illustration of a grandparent and grandchild canoeing with paddles whilst happily smiling.
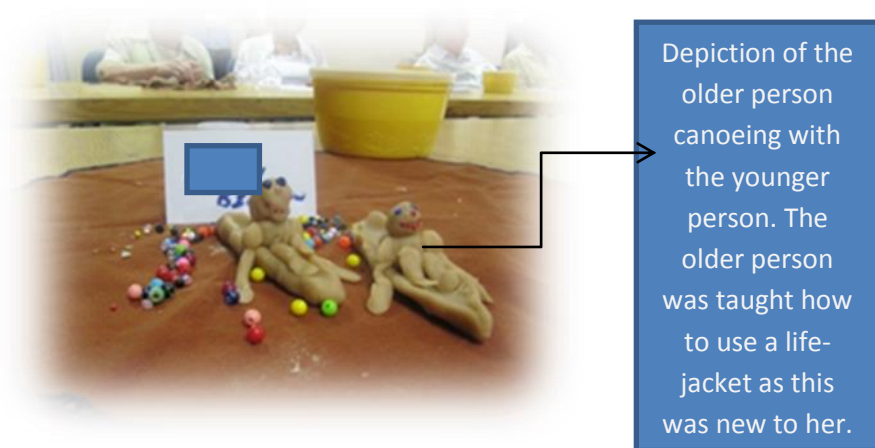
Depiction of the older person canoeing with the younger person. The older person was taught how to use a life-jacket as this was new to her.

Figure 1. Upward transmission of new information.

The age of the younger person is also a condition for transmission. Older persons are aware that younger people are developing their competence and that they can learn from them, particularly as they become more dependent on the younger people: "I think it is the age of the child, as well as the age of the adult. It changes over time. One gets more dependent on young people too. Then you have to ask: listen, what do I have to do here, am I doing it right if I do it this way?" (Participant 3); and: "As the immature becomes more mature and takes lead the mature has to step back and be glad" (Journal C).

Types of commodities. Older persons mentioned only a few commodities that are transmitted to them from the younger generation, such as knowledge about technology, enthusiasm, a future-oriented view, and constructs promoting personal well-being, such as spirituality, hope and thankfulness.

In relation to technology, older persons specifically mentioned that younger people's knowledge of computers was valued: "Young people are the link between ourselves as older people and technology and keep us updated and young" (Journal I). "I am electronically disabled. I don't know anything about it." (Participant 6); and: "My kids can tell me everything about my computer, I don't know anything about it" (Participant 12).

Enthusiasm for life was also regarded as a commodity that was transmitted from younger to older persons: "I had a student last year who came to me. It was wonderful to learn from that child's enthusiasm for life. I see life as one big threat and she is full of life." The enthusiasm that was transmitted inspired courage in the older person: "She gave me courage for living" (Participant 2).

Older persons said that younger people helped them to be orientated to the future: "She always helps me to look forward" (Journal L), and not to give up hope that in future things will look different from now: "Not to give up hope, tomorrow things will look better again" (Journal A).

Commodities promoting personal well-being such as spirituality and thankfulness were also transmitted upwardly: "The realisation that we should look through the eyes of children and young people at what is happening around us, appreciation for creation, faith in all circumstances and thankfulness for every day" (Journal L).

Downward Transmission

Downward transmission refers to what older persons regarded as being transmitted by them to younger people. The discussion around downward transmission will include: conditions for downward transmission, commodities transmitted, the manner in which transmission takes place, the responses of the younger generation in relation to transmission and the motivation experienced by the older generation for downward transmission.

Conditions for downward transmission. The age of the younger people was mentioned in relation to transmission, in the sense of how the interpersonal context was created and the type of commodities that could be transmitted: "I have grandchildren and great-grandchildren that are five and some are three and then I have great-grandchildren that

are fifteen, sixteen and fourteen and with them it is a completely different atmosphere" (Participant 17). The younger the recipient of the transmission, the more older persons expect a relationship in which the younger people obey them: "…but at least they listen when we talk" (Participant 13).

As the younger persons age, downward transmission (transmission from the older to the younger generation) gradually decreases as upward transmission gradually increases: "I think it is the age of the child and the age of the adult. It changes over time." The changes become evident in terms of the changing dependence of older and younger people. "One becomes more dependent on the young people. You have to ask, 'Listen, what should I do here, am I doing it right if I do it like this?' (Journal C).

One of the participants conveyed that he was initially an educator for a younger person, but as the young person grew up, their relationship changed and they became friends who visited and supported each other: "We enriched each other's lives" (Journal C).

Downwardly-transmitted commodities. Commodities that are transmitted to younger people include skills (numeracy, language and career skills), physical care, values, including moral and spiritual values, emotional support and stories and demonstration around heritage.

Older persons transmit skills to the younger generation. Skills mentioned included baking: "They bake biscuits with me and then they have to decorate them" (Participant 18); flower arrangement: "I taught myself (flower arrangement) and now I am carrying it over to my grandchildren" (Participant 13); riding a bicycle: "When my grandson was five I bought him a bicycle and taught him to ride" (Journal H); as well as numeracy, language, counting, the names of colours, speaking English and the words of songs: "I taught them many things. When driving in the car I had them count the wheels of other cars, they also counted the

colours. I also taught them to speak English and we sang songs and stuff like that"
(Participant 13). "We used to enjoy singing in the car, and even at home, all the things they
learned at school and I taught them all the ones I know, the ones from the old days"
(Participant 14).

Career skills transmitted to the younger people are how to do farm work, such as
milking cows, driving a tractor, keeping the yard clean, operating machinery and
demonstrating the artificial insemination of a cow as well as the birth of a calf: "Hands-on
experience [such as] tractor driving, working with a Bobcat, using a loader, using a harvester,
milking cows …pruning grapes…birth of calves, piglets, cats and dogs"(Journal D). Figure 2
is a participant illustration of the transmission of farming skills. The participant fashioned a
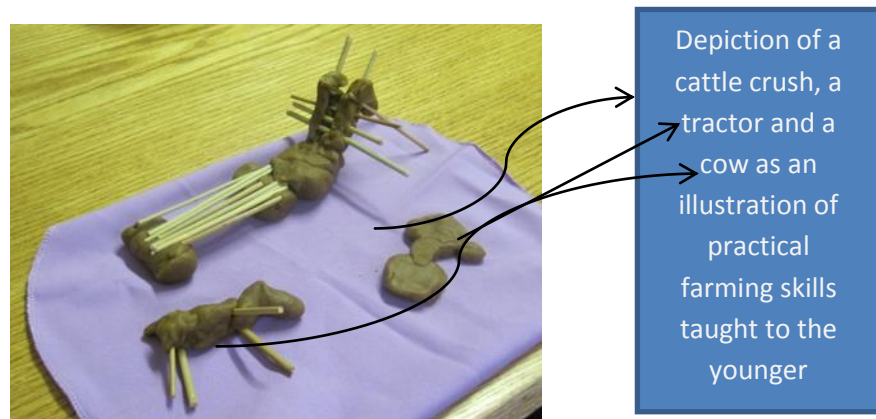cattle crush, a tractor and a cow out of clay.

Depiction of a cattle crush, a tractor and a cow as an illustration of practical farming skills taught to the younger

Figure 2. Downward transmission of career skills.

The commodity of physical care includes preparing meals for younger people,
keeping them safe from harm and watching over them at times. Watching over the young
and checking that their school work is done was mentioned: "I am his *au pair*. I take him to
school and check his homework - that kind of thing" (Participant 1); preparing them treats
when they visit: "When they got there they would be hungry so I knew, I would make sure

there are biscuits or something..." (Participant 18),; watching over them: "You look after them" (Participant 16); and keeping them safe: "A child always needs someone to protect them" (Participant 7). The older persons also mentioned taking care of young people to help working parents: "I said I fetched you, because your mother was working and sometimes you you had to stay at home alone" (Participant 13). "I looked after them when their parents had to go somewhere; they would stay with me" (Participant 9).

Emotional support is transmitted to the younger generation when in need. Emotional support included assistance and love: "He considered me his mentor…to roll a stone out of another's way and to support and love them" (Journal C). Emotional care included interest in what had happened in order to comfort and encourage: "She came to me crying, I asked about it and comforted and encouraged her" (Journal D). Caring about the younger generation was expressed as well as the importance of making a child feel safe: "A child has to have a secure atmosphere otherwise he is ruined. I have a terrible amount of empathy for young people" (Participant 7). One of the participants explained that when encouraging a young person she would use it as an opportunity to teach him or her lessons about life, such as perseverence: "If you get a setback in life, it is not the end of the world. You cry tonight and tomorrow you will get up again" (Participant 18).

The older persons transmitted values to the younger generation such as work ethic, and moral and spiritual values that they themselves ascribe to. Values related to work ethic included responsibility and accountability: "Take the challenges with responsibility" (Participant 12). "He accepted the value system and can therefore develop a healthy self-esteem, responsibility and accountability" (Journal A).

Moral and spiritual values are also communicated to the younger generation. Moral values included not living together before marriage. "One should really get married first

before you move in together" (Participant 17). Some felt that they were prepared to be strict if moral values were not adhered to: "Grandma is the witch of the lot, she can be strict with the grandchildren, especially if they are not respectful to their parents" (Participant 1). In terms of spiritual values, cultural religious beliefs were regarded as important in terms of guidance: "We have a GPS System in the Bible" (Participant 12); "We prayed together and gave the problem to God" (Journal B).

Heritage is transmitted to the younger generation because members of the older generation values it and enjoys engagement around the period when they themselves were young. Stories are told, photos shown and even trips undertaken to show the younger generation where significant events took place: "Where grandma met grandpa, what they did, what our university years were like and what we did and what grandma's student days were like, and then I say it was 'a fat feast', especially the initiation" (Participant 1). It seems the reason for transmission of legacy to the younger generation is a belief held by the older generation that there is value in being aware of your heritage and family ties: "These things are our own and have to be transferred on to the younger…it is very important and then I think back to my mother: when we were sick she would take out the photo album and tell us that this is uncle so and so and this is grandma and grandpa and this happened here and that happened there ...today I have a problem that everyone takes photos of everything…but never looks at it" (Participant 3). Stories are used to explain what the past was like and to compare it with the present: "Like it is now and how it was before...the difference between today and our experience…when I was their age" (Participant 2). The older generation will expand on using narrative to tell a story about the past by following it with action: "[I took her] to the school that her mother and them [sic] went to and the school that her father was in...and we show them photos of the family" (Participant 14).

Methods of transmission. Commodities were transmitted from the older to the younger generation by means of modelling, teaching, educating and instructing. Some older people used prescriptive methods of transfer, while others felt that less authoritative methods were more effective. Some prescriptive methods of instruction were more authoritative than others: "You make them aware of choices and that choices have consequences in life" (Participant 14). Older persons using more prescriptive methods seem to hold a belief that they have to play an active role in disciplining the young: "They know that their grandmother does not entertain nonsense, you know. I mean that if they are naughty I talk to them about it, they know there is discipline and that sort of thing" (Participant 9). "They have to learn what is right and what is wrong. They need to have discipline" (Participant 9).

Not all older people believe that this is the appropriate or best approach in dealing with the younger generation and will encourage their peers not to follow it: "Don't talk down to the young and don't preach constantly" (Journal L); "We should not judge so easily…and beware of saying 'no…' all the time" (Journal E). These were the older persons who felt that transmission should not be experienced as prescriptive and believed that the best way to teach the younger generations was through modelling or demonstration rather than by being prescriptive: "I don't preach to them, they can see through the way I do things" (Participant 19).

Some participants preferred methods of learning considered facilitative rather than directive. Nature was sometimes used to facilitate transmission in a less prescriptive manner: "In that which you do together you can tell them ... there is a world of knowledge you as an older person can leave your children, but don't do it by preaching. One can do it through the use of nature" (Participant 10). Using nature to explain principles and to teach was often accompanied by taking part in activities together: "When we went to the sea we were climbing over the rocks…as we are sitting there they say *sies* that thing is ugly! So I tell

them that it cannot be, because Jesus made it with a purpose and then we start expanding on

that" (Participant 10). Little children can learn through using nature metaphorically and

relating it to everyday life: "Building nests, this mom and dad do it too for their children and

in that way we also look after you…and the animals that have to eat" (Participant 16). This is

illustrated by the depiction within Figure 3. Figure 3 is a depiction of a grandparent and a

grandchild, birdsnests and animals. The participant who made this described using nature as a

method of description in order to facilitate transmission. Learning is sometimes facilitated by

providing the young person with the opportunity to practise a skill rather than just providing

instruction in a prescriptive fashion: "If at all possible I like to challenge the young person

and provide them with opportunity for hands-on experience" (Journal D). There is also

mention of facilitating learning through play rather than being directive: "…so I make stick

men, you know, and then she will say 'But a man has to have pants on!'

Where…why...how… how does one draw pants? Then I say, 'now you show me how…how

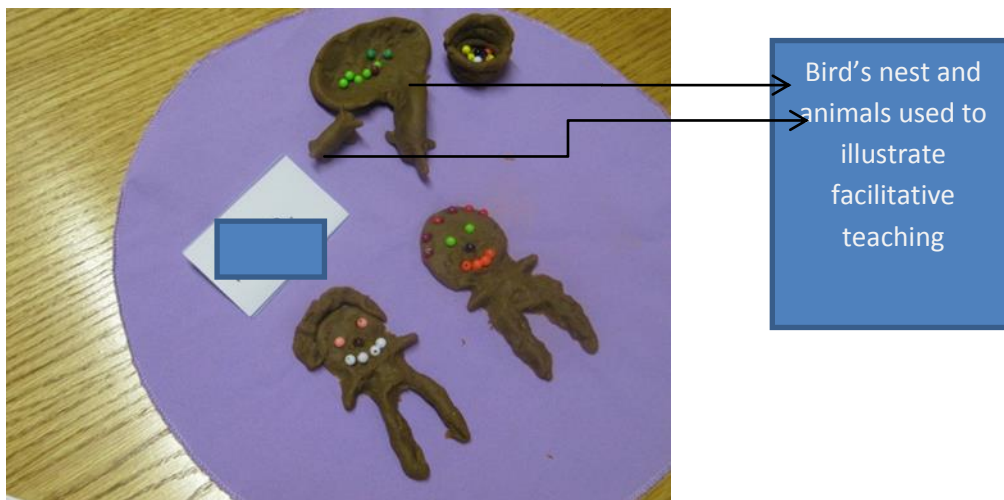do I draw pants?' (Participant 16).

Figure 3. Bird's nest and and animals used to illustrate facilitative teaching.

Response of younger people in relation to transmission. Some of the older

generation reported that not all young people are receptive to their advice, but this may not

always deter them from imparting the advice anyway. When young people do not accept the values and knowledge transmitted from older persons they express annoyance at their judgemental attitude: "...other times they see it as you that are wrong and feel that this is the way we live today, but it is not a good lifestyle...they don't accept your correction of them and then want to correct you in return and call you old-fashioned" (Participant 8). Younger people also seem to define the boundaries of older persons as disciplinary figures in their lives, but do not always accept them in the role of authoritarian: *"This grandson of mine, if I say something to him he says: "Grandma, my mother has spoken to me about this already"* (Participant 16).

Receptivity may be influenced by the manner in which transmission is approached. Some participants compared the past with the present within their narrative and conveyed a message of difference between generations and even judgement towards the younger generation: "…at times they see it as you that are wrong: 'This is our lifestyle today, we do things like this now', but it is not a good lifestyle" (Participant 8).

Judgement may be experienced by younger generations when they are described as having morally declined: "Drugs were not an issue (when they were young)…your sexual aspects were very disciplined…also academically things were different ...twenty, thirty years ago when finishing matric there would be work that one could continue with. …They live so differently today that one thinks, how would I latch on to these kids? Kids lived relatively simply financially and grew up like that. Some of our kids live very shallowly" (Participant 12).

Differences are expressed between generations in a way that indicates negative perceptions of the younger generation. These negative perceptions are then voiced and therefore evident to the younger generation, possibly influencing receptivity to transmission:

"They simply say, 'Mother you couldn't give it to us' …so they buy and buy…" (Participant 16). "One didn't get the opportunities that they have today like going to university…our parents were strict and they were poor. It's not like the people of today, everything was different…today's children are privileged" (Participant 13). This way of thinking is not subcribed to by all; some older people prefer expressing a tolerant rather than a judgemental attitude toward the younger generation: "I really don't have a problem with young people…often a person thinks…you know about the things they do, you think back and realise that you were also like that …we must not judge too easily" (Participant 9).

Not all responses to transmission from the younger generation are experienced as negative. Some of the older generation experienced their response as appreciative: "She then told me about all of her problems…they appreciate us as older people and love us" (Journal G). Some respond positively and affectionately despite being disciplined by the older generation: "My granddaughter keeps loving me even when I scold her" (Journal I). Some feel that they earned a positive response from the younger generation, for instance by building trust within the relationship over time: "Trust developed into a positive relationship" (Journal H.). Others state that mutual positive regard leads to more favourable transmission : "A good relationship is one of mutual respect" (Participant 8).

Depiction of the same older person in various attitudes of play: standing, sitting, lying, reading and playing ball.
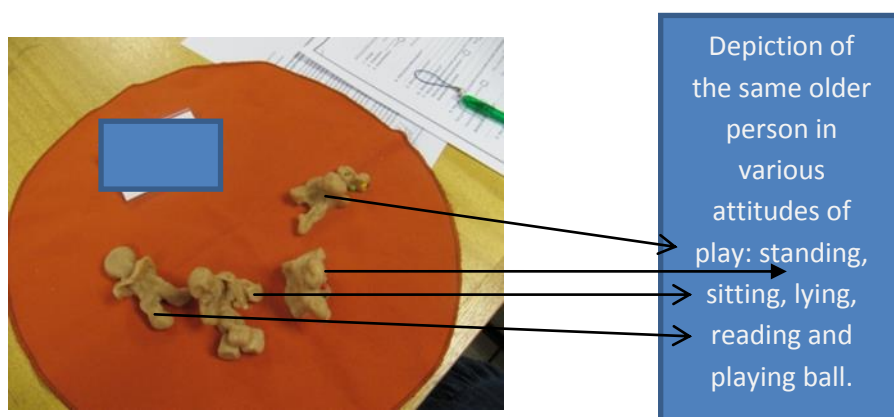
Figure 4. Positive interaction through playful accommodation.

Some relationships facilitated transmission through positive relational interaction (Figure 4). Figure 4 depicts the same older person in various positions as when playing with the younger generation. The clay figure is illustrated as standing, sitting, lying, reading and playing ball. This was shown in friendship and humour between the two generations: "…when he hears a joke at university he comes and tells it to me" (Participant 1); and positive relationships as related through play: "I play with them everywhere" (Participant 18). One of the participants recounted how she related to younger children by attempting to accommodate them by adapting to them while playing: "I sit with them and play ball, and I lie on my tummy or whatever position …and play cars with them or read…I try to go into the same position they are…and to adapt to them" (Participant 2).

Motivation for downward transmission. Drives toward transmission that emerged from the data are expectation and generativity. A generative need to pass knowledge and skills on to the next generation was evident: "I know cattle and therefore I have to share my knowledge with others. There are little things that everyone doesn't know that one wants to share with the young people, young farmers that work with me can learn a lot and I will show them and that helps them too" (Participant 4).

The generativity seems to be accompanied by a need to sustain existing knowledge: "I mean, it is like [name] said: a person just disappears and when you are put away (buried) then that knowledge dies. One should rather share it than keeping it for yourself. It is clever to give it to others so they can build on the little things that you have learned throughout the years" (Participant 4).

Transmission is also motivated by the love and care generative older persons experience towards the younger generation. Participants express caring about the happiness of the younger generation and wanting to support them: "I just want them to be happy, if they

are happy I am happy too" (Participant 9); "We have to respect that and support each other" (Participant 10).

Participants voice a perception that the younger generation expect guidance: *"It is half what they…one will almost say they expect it of you, because you are so much older. They come and ask you certain questions and then you have to give them certain answers"* (Participant 14). Participant descriptions sometimes portrayed an obligation to be leader and educator of the younger person: "They want guidance from us" (Journal B); "Remember: I will walk ahead of you" (Journal C).

Discussion

Transmission was perceived by the older persons as reciprocal in nature as was found in international literature (Hoff, 2007b). It was found that upward and downward transmissions are different in terms of the commodities transmitted and the conditions for successful transmission. Older persons perceived commodities transferred to them as the positive attitudes of the younger generation, specifically what they described as enthusiasm, hope, and an orientation to the future. This finding was not mentioned in existing literature, which makes it a valuable contribution to the field for further exploration. Aligned with previous research, commodities that were also transferred to them by younger people included knowledge of any technological device or development (Lüscher & Liegle, 2003). The older generation valued being supported by the younger generation in terms of teaching them to master recent developments that they feel unconfident about.

Upward transmission occurred when younger people complied with certain conditions, such as their age, their perceived competence, regular contact and their ability to transfer knowledge in a methodical way. The older generation prefers a person-entred approach in order to be receptive to transmission. According to Rogers (1986), a person-

centred approach means being empathetic towards another and behaving in a caring fashion and being real or congruent when doing so. This is a valuable new finding because it can potentially influence the development of intergenerational programmes and make them more effective.

In terms of conditions for downward transmission, it was found that older persons indicated that the age of the recipient of the transmission made a difference to how they related to the younger generation. Transmission to the younger generation decreases as the young person grows older. This was also found by Hoff (2007b), who then added that transmission gradually moved from being downward to being upward as both parties aged. This happened because the younger person became more independent while the older person became more reliant on others.

The types of commodities reported as being transmitted downward were: skills such as language, numeracy, and career skills; looking after the emotional and physical needs of the younger generation; and transferring values and heritage to them. This is similar to previous research findings (Black., et al . 2003; Hoff, 2007a; Oppong, 2006; Sung, 2001). Older persons expressed a need and motivation towards transmission to the younger generation, which could be linked to their generative need. The generative individual is conscious of being a guide to others and feels the need to impart accumulated knowledge and experience (Bradley, 1997) and is therefore more likely to engage in intergenerational transmission.

Some older persons used prescriptive ways of instruction to transmit to the younger generation whereas others attempted to use less prescriptive methods of teaching, indicating that they felt this was more acceptable to the young. Older persons described experiences both of positive and negative responses from the younger generation to their transmissions.

Prescriptive downward transmission may come about due to the older generation's view, as described by them, of being an educator to the young and therefore naturally assuming this role. They assume the leading position and expect the young adults to accept the follower role (Jackson, 1965). This is also in line with Watzlawick, Bavelas and Jackson (2011), who state that older people define their relationship with the younger generation as being in control over the young, while the younger generation attempts to negotiate for a more complementary relationship. The younger person's need for a more complementary relationship may affect the response to transmission.

In terms of the findings around the responses of the younger generation to transmission as perceived by the older generation, it emerged that the older generation experienced the young as being resistant to transmission. Older persons reported persisting in transmission attempts regardless of whether the younger generation showed interest. This may be due to an innate drive by the older person to successfully negotiate their developmental phase of generativity (Erikson, 1963).

Older persons described how a person-centred approach was more helpful in terms of the younger generation's being willing to accept their transmissions. A person-centred approach, according to Rogers (1986), is a relationship in which transmission can take place optimally. Generativity and a feeling of obligation emerged as motivations for downward transmission. Generativity was seen through the older persons' desire to pass their knowledge on, down the generations, as well as by caring about the well-being of the young. They did, however, voice the feeling that they had an obligation to lead the younger generation. They mentioned a need to ensure the survival of existing knowledge and a feeling that it was beneficial to subsequent generations to build on existing knowledge. The generative individual is conscious of being a guide to others and feels the need to impart accumulated knowledge and experience (Bradley, 1997). This need for generativity may also

be due to perception of cultural demands or because of own inner desires (McAdams & Aubin 1997).

It is important to form empathetic intelligence between generations in order to facilitate their mutual understanding of each other (Biggs et al., 2011). An empathetic understanding may lead to a greater willingness to accept transmission from the one to the other. The lack of mutual generational intelligence described is likely to reduce openness to transmission. Older persons stated that the young generation perceived them as being rigid and old-fashioned when they were describing their frustration that the young were not receptive to their transmissions. According to Giles and Williams (1994), young people often view the older generation as rigid and condescending; and according to Mabaso (2011), both generations are dissatisfied with their mutual relationships.

According to Lüscher (2005), effective intergenerational relationships, characterised by empathy (generational intelligence), have the potential to fulfil the needs of both generations. This concurs with Bradley (1997), who states that difficulty in achieving a sense of generativity can lead to stagnation, self-absorption, and self-indulgence; and to Peterson (2006), who found that generative older generations might cultivate success in the younger generation through their transmissions. Considering the above-mentioned studies, it would seem that both generations benefit from effective transmission and therefore its promotion could be of value and warrants further investigation.

Limitations and Recommendations

Additional data-gathering methods may be pursued in future research, including a wider range of sample representatives, for instance inclusion of older persons from different ethnic groups, to provide a cross-cultural perspective on intergenerational transmission. A further recommendation is to include young people in further research into transmission in

order to establish their experiences in this regard and whether these are perceived in the same way by the older generation. Further research is recommended, with a focus on investigating the needs and expectations of both generations in terms of transmission. This may aid in developing interventions that could facilitate interaction, learning and understanding between the younger and the older generations.

Conclusion

From the perspective of older persons, both upward and downward transmission were found to have taken place in their relational experiences with younger people. Skills, values, emotional and physical care, values and heritage were transmitted downwards. Positive attitudes and technological skill were transmitted upwards. Both upward and downward transmission were described as containing elements that influence effectiveness, such as age, competence, person-centredness, regular contact and a systematic approach. The older generation reported experiencing a need for transmission to the younger generation, which may be due to a need for generativity for some and a feeling of obligation for others. The older persons indicated that the method of transmission might make a difference to the younger generation's receptivity to their transmissions.

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CRITICAL REFLECTION

Currently very little literature exists on intergenerational transmission within the South African context, thus indicating a gap which justifies the need to investigate this more closely. Demographically the older population is expanding and life expectancy is increasing (Joubert & Bradshaw, 2006). This leads to more intergenerational interaction than was noted in the past, with correspondingly increased intergenerational transmission. According to Erikson's theory on lifespan development, older people enter a phase of life in which they are driven towards generativity. Within this phase they experience a need to guide the next generation and leave a legacy (Erikson, 1963), which has relevance for transmission. The larger population of older people may therefore mean that intergenerational transmission is more prevalent than it might have been in the past.

Most intergenerational research adopts a sociological perspective, such as the solidarity model, the solidarity and conflict model, and the ambivalence model (Bengston, Giarrusso, Mabry & Silverstein, 2002). Research of this kind from a psychological perspective is therefore valuable in providing a different framework of interpretation. Intergenerational relationship and transmission were considered and interpreted through application use of generational intelligence (Biggs & Lowenstein, 2011) as well as the Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT) (Roos, in press) and generativity within the lifespan development theory by Erikson (Erikson, 1963).

Most of the research done in South Africa focused on intergenerational relations among African families (Hoffman, 2003), and focused on downward material transmissions specifically. Investigating the concept of transmission as well as looking at the white community offered opportunities in terms of filling an exitisting gap in the literature

Similarity was found between previous research and upward transmission, from the perspective of the older persons in this study. Upward transmission was found to be more orientated to understanding technology, as was also observed by Lüscher and Liegle (2003). The identification of positive attitudes such as a future orientation, hope and gratitude as upwardly-transferred commodities contributes to the field of intergenerational studies.

The current study found that the older generation tended to make statements that could be perceived as judgemental or controlling by the younger generation. Considered within the context of the older persons' expressed perception that the younger generation is not receptive to transmission, these sentiments may play a role. According to SIGT (Roos, in press), each action will have a reaction and therefore reciprocal positive or negative interpersonal interaction will inform both generations' perception of each other. Effective transmission may therefore be hampered by the younger generation's experience of the older generation. This could possibly lead to them being resistant to transmission.

The older generation also reported specific relational qualities as having an influence on the success of transmission, such as empathy. Empathy in intergenerational relationships is one generation's ability to have insight into the other generation's position (Biggs & Lowenstein , 2011). This relates to generational intelligence and could therefore prove invaluable in facilitating effective transmission. Promoting improved mutual understanding through empathy and understanding as proposed through generational intelligence theory is likely to improve intergenerational transmission. Generational intelligence also refers to individuals' ability to place themselves in the position of another generation and therefore it is important to form empathetic intelligence between generations in order to facilitate reciprocal understanding (Biggs& Lowenstein , 2011).

Descriptions of what is experienced as effective and ineffective in terms of transmission can be valuable in improving the effectiveness of transmission. This study leads to the recommendation that transmission as phenomenon be further investigated. This could lead to the development of community programmes based on the study's findings. This study elaborated on the nature of intergenerational transmission by also providing insight into what facilitates transmission and what undermines it.

This may be useful in developing future tools for intervention. As both generations can benefit from effective transmission (Peterson, 2006), this study offers the recommendation that interventions be developed and further research explored to address ineffective intergenerational relationships and transmission.

Conclusion

This research investigated a phenomenon that warrants further investigation to fill a gap in the literature identified in the course of the study. Participants provided rich descriptions of their own subjective experience, thus enabling the researcher to obtain detailed information about the nature of intergenerational transmission and contributing to new knowledge and understanding in South African intergenerational literature. Different types of transmission, as well as the methods involved and responses and deterrents these produced, were established. This research contributes to intergenerational literature by investigating transmission as phenomenon within the white South African culture, which has received little research attention historically. The study provides new insight and perspective and could assist in developing effective interventions to facilitate transmission and promote generational intelligence.

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