

Developing a board game to facilitate the relationship between older people and young adults

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree *Masters of Arts* in Clinical *Psychology* at the Potchefstroom Campus of the North-West University

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	I
INTENDED PUBLISHER AND GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS.....	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	VIII
DEDICATION.....	IX
SUMMARY	X
OPSOMMING.....	XIII
PERMISSION TO SUBMIT ARTICLE FOR EXAMINATION PURPOSES.....	XVI
DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER.....	XVII
DECLARATION BY THE LANGUAGE EDITOR.....	XVIII
Orientation and Problem Statement.....	19
Structure of Study.....	23
<i>References</i>	24
ARTICLE	
Phase 1: Overview of the Goals and Character of Intergenerational Programmes.....	27
Research Method.....	29
Article Selection and Database Creation.....	29
Article Coding.....	30
Data Analysis.....	31
Findings.....	31
Discussion of Findings.....	37
Conclusion of Phase 1.....	42
<i>References</i>	44

Phase 2: Interactional Intergenerational Programmes and Underpinning	
Theories.....	48
Research Method.....	49
Article Selection and Database Creation.....	49
Discussion of Findings.....	49
Conclusion and Recommendations.....	54
Intergenerational Theories.....	55
<i>References</i>	61
Phase 3: Exploring the Needs for Relational Interaction between Older and Younger Adults.....	65
Research Methodology.....	67
Research Context and Participants.....	68
Research Procedure and Data Gathering.....	68
Mmogo-method®.....	69
Data Analysis.....	70
Ethical Considerations.....	71
Findings.....	73
Discussion of Findings.....	83
Implications of Findings.....	89
Conclusion.....	91
Limitations and Recommendations.....	91
<i>References</i>	92
Phase 4: Developing a Board Game as an Intergenerational Intervention Strategy...98	
Intergenerational Intervention Development.....	98

Phases 1, 2 and 3 Informing the Development of an Intergenerational Intervention Strategy.....	100
Outline of integrated key elements.....	103
Applying the Principles.....	105
Description of the Intergenerational Intervention Strategy.....	109
The significance of the name.....	109
Board Game Components.....	110
Guidelines for playing the game.....	112
Intergenerational Settings for Play of Board Game.....	116
Suggested Recommendations for Evaluation.....	116
<i>References</i>	120
Trustworthiness and Critical Reflection.....	124
Conclusion.....	125
<i>References</i>	128

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

<i>Table 1.</i> Findings of Phases 1 and 2.....	31
<i>Table 2.</i> Key Elements Identified from IG Programmes.....	43
<i>Table 3.</i> Key Elements of Theoretical Approaches and Heuristic Constructs.....	55
<i>Table 4.</i> Identification of Key Elements of the Four Theoretical Approaches.....	59
<i>Table 5.</i> Summary of Programme and Theoretical Elements.....	60
<i>Table 6.</i> Findings of Relational Needs of Older Persons and Young Adults.....	74
<i>Figure 1.</i> An illustration of a road. The sticks and beads represent the obstacles	75
<i>Figure 2.</i> Sharing life experience as a farmer.....	80
<i>Figure 3.</i> Older persons as educators.....	82
<i>Figure 4.</i> Conversing with grandparents.....	83
<i>Table 7.</i> Key Elements Reflecting the Needs of Older and Younger Persons.....	91
<i>Table 8.</i> Summary of Key Elements from Phases 1, 2, 3 and 4.....	102
<i>Figure 5.</i> Reading a card and sharing a skill.....	106
<i>Figure 6.</i> A younger person takes a card.....	107
<i>Figure 7.</i> Older and younger participant playing as a team.....	108
<i>Figure 8.</i> Moving a figure along the walking path.....	108
<i>Figure 9.</i> The board with the starting point.....	110
<i>Figure 10.</i> The figures represent an older and a younger person together	111
<i>Figure 11.</i> Categories of cards: wisdom, knowledge, skills and surprise.....	111
<i>Figure 12.</i> The rules and instructions booklet used to orientate all players.....	112
<i>Figure 13.</i> Placing a figure at the starting point.....	113
<i>Figure 14.</i> The older person's turn to throw the dice.....	114
<i>Figure 15.</i> Picking up the card as instructed on the board.....	114
<i>Figure 16.</i> Taking a yellow (surprise) card off the pile.....	115
<i>Figure 17.</i> The end of the path is indicated by the 'Finish' station	115

PREFACE

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology. The article will be submitted as a chapter in a book entitled *Visual research towards understanding relational experiences: The Mmogo-method®*, to be published by Springer.

The purpose of this dissertation is to introduce and demonstrate the process of developing an intergenerational intervention strategy in the form of a board game to facilitate the relationship between older persons and younger adults. This study describes a systematic and evaluative process outlined in four phases:

Phase 1 involves a critical evaluation of existing intergenerational programmes (with specific criteria: older and younger adults with an emphasis on the interaction between them).

Phase 2 enables an evaluation of the psychological and sociological theories underpinning the programmes in Phase 1.

Phase 3 explores the relational needs of a group of older and younger adults in terms of their relationship with the other generation; and

Phase 4 incorporates the findings of the preceding phases and identifies key principles which served to guide the design of an intervention of this kind. The concluding part of the phase describes the features of the board game.

This study will be of interest to programme developers and evaluators because a board game used as intervention strategy could enable the creation of potentially useful practices to facilitate intergenerational cohesion and solidarity.

This research was financially supported, in part, by the National Research Foundation.

INTENDED PUBLISHER AND GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

This dissertation will be submitted as a chapter in a book *Visual research towards understanding relational experiences: The Mmogo-method®*, to be published by Springer.

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And finally, I thank the **National Research Foundation (NRF)** for the award of a postgraduate scholarship and financial assistance which enabled me to do this research study.

Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to my mother, Tertia van der Walt, who has always been a major support throughout my studies and creative inspiration.

I also dedicate this thesis to my dear friend and mentor, Dr. John Gleisner, who has walked the journey of Psychology with me since the time we met in Palestine. At the age of 76, you showed me that remarkable friendships can be shared regardless of age difference; it's about unconditional acceptance of who we are.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandparents; Jacobus Petrus Johannes and Alida Susanna Smit. It is a great honour and blessing to have had a grandfather and to have a grandmother, who have shown me unconditional love and support. I commend them for all the knowledge, skills and wisdom they have passed on to their grandchildren over the years. The legacy they left and will leave behind is invaluable.

SUMMARY

The rapid increase in the ageing population and the decline in birth rates both in developed and developing countries have a major impact on society at large. Global interest in intergenerational initiatives to facilitate intergenerational relationships has resulted in a great demand for intergenerational programmes. These interventions still have not achieved a high profile in South Africa. Many intergenerational programmes in South Africa happen co-incidentally, as part of support programmes or training initiatives, rather than by design.

Intergenerational programmes aim to facilitate interaction between older and younger people. Although innovative attempts have been made in previous intergenerational programmes to involve members of different generations, there is no reported initiative involving a board game which is used as an intervention strategy that could assist in the facilitation of intergenerational interaction between older and younger persons. Board games offer various benefits. They could offer common ground to both generations since younger as well as older persons are familiar with these games and may therefore benefit equally from participating. Board games could improve the quality of life because they provide an opportunity for players to interact socially and enjoy themselves. The study describes the development of an intergenerational intervention, a board game, in four phases. In Phase 1 a literature review was conducted of intergenerational programmes which focus on the interactional nature of the relationship between young adults and older persons. A multistage sampling procedure was used to identify and retrieve examples of intergenerational programmes in academic contexts. This enabled the researcher to critically evaluate the extent to which programmes facilitate mutual interaction, and identify key elements which could potentially serve as mechanisms for facilitating mutual participation. The evaluation of current programmes informs future

intervention since intergenerational interventions are believed to stand a much better chance of succeeding if they draw on previous successes and failures.

Phase 2 identifies the psychological and sociological theories or heuristic constructs informing these programmes. To learn about the potential effectiveness of intergenerational programmes, an evaluation of the theories underlying interventions is necessary since it could assist in determining what is to be included in the development of the intervention strategy. In this way, evaluation identifies the suitability of the assumptions made by the theory. In this phase the assumptions of the theories are therefore assessed in light of whether they account for reciprocal interaction between older and younger people. In addition to the identification of key elements from the theories and constructs underpinning the programmes, an exploration of relational theories (solidarity-conflict model, intergenerational ambivalence, generational intelligence, systems theory and the self-interactional group theory) have assisted with understanding the interactional nature of intergenerational relationships. Because UNICEF proposed recommendations to promote intergenerational solidarity in 2009, the literature evaluated in both phases 1 and 2 is limited to the past five years, from 2009 to 2014.

In Phase 3, a secondary analysis of data obtained from relational experiences from the perspective of older persons and young adults is conducted to determine the needs for relational interactions with the generational other. The findings indicating these relational needs signal various connecting points or intersections which may be highlighted and strengthened in an intergenerational intervention and facilitate growth in those areas even if the process requires change.

The findings of Phases 1 to 3 are used in Phase 4, in which a framework of key principles is outlined for the development of an intergenerational programme (board game) with the aim of facilitating interaction between older and younger adults.

Given the key question of this study, how to develop an intergenerational intervention strategy which can facilitate interaction between older persons and younger adults, the identification and integration of the elements (the findings of each phase as summarized) served as a major step in the design of such an intervention.

OPSOMMING

Die vinnige toename in die aantal ouer persone in die bevolking en die afname in die geboortesyfer in sowel ontwikkelde as ontwikkelende lande het 'n groot impak op die samelewing. Internasionale belangstelling in intergenerasionele intervensies om sodoende intergenerasionele verhoudings te fasiliteer, het gelei tot 'n groot aanvraag vir intergenerasionele programme. Hierdie ingrypings het nog nie 'n hoë profiel in Suid-Afrika bereik nie. Intergenerasionele programme in Suid-Afrika gebeur toevallig, as deel van ondersteuning programme of opleiding inisiatiewe, eerder as deur 'n doelbewuste ontwerp.

Intergenerasionele programme streef daarna om interaksie tussen ouer en jonger mense te fasiliteer. Alhoewel innoverende pogings aangewend is in intergenerasionele programme om albei lede van verskillende geslagte te betrek, is daar geen aanduiding van 'n inisiatief wat 'n bordspel gebruik as 'n intervensie strategie om die fasilitering van intergenerasionele interaksie tussen ouer en jonger persone te bewerkstellig nie. Bordspel bied verskeie voordele; dit bied gemeenskaplike belangstelling aan beide geslagte aangesien die jonger en ouer persone vertrouwd is met bordspeletjies en word beide generasies dus bevoordeel. Daarbenewens kan dit die kwaliteit van lewe verbeter, deurdat dit geleentheid vir die spelers bied om sosiaal te verkeer en verskaf sodoende 'n vorm van genot.

Die studie beskryf die ontwikkeling van 'n intergenerasionele ingryping, 'n bordspel, in vier fases. In Fase 1 is 'n literatuuroorsig van intergenerasionele programme gedoen wat fokus op die interaksionele aard wat verband hou tussen jong volwassenes en ouer persone. 'n Steekproefnemingsprosedure is gebruik om voorbeelde te identifiseer van bestaande intergenerasionele programme in akademiese afsetpunte. Sodoende kon die navorser krities evalueer tot watter mate dit interaksie fasiliteer en die belangrikste elemente afbaken wat

geïdentifiseer is as moontlike meganismes vir die fasilitering van wedersydse deelname.

Intergenerasionele intervensies het 'n veel beter kans op sukses wanneer huidige programme geëvalueer word om sodoende te bou op vorige suksesse en mislukkings uit te skakel.

Fase 2 identifiseer die psigologiese en sosiologiese teorieë of heuristiese konstrunkte. Ten einde die waarskynlike doeltreffendheid van intergenerasionele programme te bepaal is 'n evaluering van die teorieë onderliggend aan intervensie nodig. Die doel is nie slegs om te bewys of 'n program werk nie, maar ook om te wys wat die meganismes is wat dit maak werk in 'n gegewe konteks. Met ander woorde, die evaluering bepaal die geskiktheid van die aannames wat gemaak is deur die teorieë. In hierdie fase word die aannames van die teorie beoordeel teenoor die mate wat dit wedersydse interaksie tussen ouer en jonger mense fasiliteer. In bykomend tot die afbakening van die belangrikste elemente van die teorieë en konstrunkte onderliggend aan die programme, 'n verkenning van verhoudings teorieë (solidariteit-konflik model, intergenerasionele ambivalensie, intergenerasionele intelligensie, sisteem teorie, en die selfinteraksie-groep teorie) het gehelp met die begrip van die interaksionele aard van intergenerasie verhoudings. Aangesien die UNICEF aanbevelings rondom solidariteit in intergenerasionele verhoudings in 2009 voorgestel het, is die literatuur evaluasie, in beide fases 1 en 2, beperk tot die afgelope 5 jaar (van 2009 tot 2014).

In Fase 3 is 'n sekondêre analise van data verkry vanuit die relasionele perspektiewe van ouer persone en jong volwassenes om die behoeftes van wedersydse relasionele interaksie te bepaal. Die bevindings het gedui op ooreenkomste en raakpunte in interpersoonlike behoeftes van ouer en jonger volwassenes, wat nie net versterk kan word in 'n intergenerasionele intervensie nie, maar ook kan groei selfs wanneer dit verandering vereis.

Die bevindings van Fase 1 tot 3 is gebruik om in Fase 4 'n raamwerk van die belangrikste beginsels uiteen te sit vir die ontwikkeling van 'n intergenerasionele intervensie (bordspel) met die doel om interaksies tussen ouer en jonger volwassenes te fasiliteer. Gegewe die noodsaaklikheid vir hierdie navorsing en navorsingsvraagstuk; hoe om 'n intergenerasionele intervensiestrategie te ontwikkel met die doel om interaksie tussen ouer persone en jonger volwassenes te fasiliteer, die afbakening en integrasie van die elemente (bevindinge van elke fase) was 'n belangrike stap in die ontwerp van so 'n intervensie.

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 Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology.

.....

Prof. V. Roos

DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER

I hereby declare that this research, **Developing a board game to facilitate the relationship between older people and young adults**, is entirely my own work and that all sources have been fully referenced and acknowledged.

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DECLARATION BY THE LANGUAGE EDITOR

I hereby declare that I have language edited the thesis **Developing a board game to facilitate the relationship between older people and young adults** by M. Hewett for the degree of MA in Clinical Psychology.

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September 2014

Orientation and Problem Statement

Intergenerational programmes gained importance due to the growing number of older persons worldwide (World Health Organization, 2002). According to the United Nations (2009) the number of people aged 60 years and older will increase from 739 million in 2009 to 2 billion by 2050. In more developed countries, the percentage of older persons is expected to increase from 22% today to 33% in 2050. This rapid increase in the ageing population and the decline in birth rates are not limited to developed nations. Many developing countries are also facing the same challenge. The proportion of older persons in developing countries is expected to grow more than double from 9% today to 20% in 2050 (United Nations, 2009).

The increase in the older population implies that people from all ages will interact on all levels of society for a longer period of time than previously (Cummings, Williams, & Ellis, 2003). As a result, intergenerational programmes that facilitate joint activities between generations have become the focus of a growing body of research (Hatton-Yeo, 2006). Generations refer to a cohort of people born within a similar timespan and who share a comparable age and life stage and were shaped by a particular period of time, and its events, developments and trends (Gilleard & Higgs, 2002). Generations are either described as familial or historical, referring to the type of relationship between people (Biggs, 2007). Familial refers to genealogical kinship, while historical describes the interactions between unrelated members of different age groups (social generations) who experience the same historical problems or events (Pilcher, 1994; Scabini, Lanz, & Marta, 2006). For the purpose of this research, there will be no distinction made between the familial or social nature of the relationships.

Research and programmes focusing on facilitating intergenerational interaction have mostly focused on familial contexts (Generations United, 2007). Hagestad (2006) postulates that while intergenerational relationships within the family are key, they are also fundamental to the

well-being of the community and society at large. Wistow, Waddington and Godfrey (2003) maintain that a healthy ageing population contributes a wealth of expertise and skills to the community, places fewer demands on social services and provides positive role models for younger generations.

It is necessary to distinguish between the concepts of strategies, interventions and programmes (Thompson & McClintock, 1998). A strategy is defined as a general conceptual approach focused on achieving a specific objective (Brache, 2006). Intervention, on the other hand, refers to a specific set of activities, programme elements, or strategies designed for a specific purpose and population (Thompson & McClintock, 1998). A programme is defined as a grouping of strategies (and, therefore, of various kinds of interventions) designed for a specific purpose (Brache, 2006).

According to Generations United (2007), one practical way to build a greater sense of community solidarity between generations across the lifespan is to develop and become active in intergenerational programmes. An intergenerational programme (IGP) is defined as an activity designed to influence the course of human development in a positive way (Kuehne, 2005). Intergenerational programming aims to purposefully bring together old and young to share experiences and exchange resources and learning in an ongoing manner that benefits both generations (Generations United, 2007). Therefore the purpose of these activities is to increase cooperation, interaction, or exchange between the generations by sharing knowledge, skills and/or experience (Greengross, 2003; Larkin, 2004). According to VanderVen (2004), IGP and activities may emphasize process rather than outcome, as established by the dynamics of the connections made and the nature of the relationships which emerge. A study of ways of improving intergenerational relations found that one of the most effective means of dispelling

stereotypes and closing generational divides is by contact interventions, or intergenerational programming (Gibbons, 2008).

In 2009, the United Nations International Expert Group proposed recommendations to promote intergenerational solidarity (UNICEF, 2009). The meeting on “Family Policy in a Changing World: Promoting Social Protection and Intergenerational Solidarity” recommended partnerships and cooperation between youth and older persons’ organizations, as well as community-based active ageing centres and research on intergenerational transfers for use in national development plans and programmes (UNICEF, 2009).

To enhance intergenerational solidarity, more research is needed to explain the development of programmes. Although intergenerational programmes aim to facilitate interaction between older and younger people, the actual development process and components of the programmes have so far not been the focus of research (Chen, 1997), and there is no reported initiative involving a purposeful board game. By “purposeful” it is proposed that a board game should be developed with a specific and primary focus of facilitating intergenerational relationships, and incorporating evidence-based principles.

A board game is proposed because board games involve members of different generations, and are known to be a source of enjoyment for people of various ages and from various cultures (National Toy Council, n.d.). Play offers psychological and health benefits and promotes relaxation, keeping the serious demands of life in perspective, and thereby reducing stress (National Toy Council, n.d.). Board games provide a common ground for older and younger adults; both generations are familiar with board games and could thus gain equal benefits from them. In addition, board games are associated with interactive fun because participants co-construct a social context in which shared interests may increase understanding,

and simultaneously reduce isolation. Board games are also associated with humour, fun and laughter. Intergenerational play as a medium for interaction between generations is starting to gain importance (Vetere, Davis, Gibbs, & Howard, 2009). Extensive research has shown that humour and laughter are one of the best predicted routes to learning and promoting social engagement (Bachorowski & Owren, 2003; Provine, 2000; Vaid, 2002; Van Hooff & Preuschoft, 2003; Wild, Robben, Grodd, & Ruch, 2003). It is also known that playful activities are not only fun and relaxing but help to maintain cognitive skills and increase muscle tone, coordination and reaction time (National Toy Council, n.d.). A study by Harvard University assessed whether people liked to talk about themselves, and if so, how much and why (Luscombe, 2012). The findings confirmed that humans get a biochemical buzz from self-disclosure (Luscombe, 2012). Board games can improve the quality of life because they provide an opportunity for players to interact socially and create a form of enjoyment (Mahmud, Mubin, Shahid, & Martens, 2010). Fredrickson's "Broaden and Build" theory explains the benefits of positive emotions as experienced when a board game is played. Fredrickson (2004) identifies positive emotions such as amusement, joy and interest as key everyday contributors to well-being. Therefore this study will be guided by the following research questions:

- What should a board game consist of?
- How should it be played to facilitate joyful interactions between older persons and young adults?
- And how can the board game as intervention strategy assist with meeting the relational needs of both generations?

The study will describe the development of the board game in four phases. In Phase 1 a literature review was conducted of intergenerational programmes which focus on the

interactional nature of relating between young adults and older persons. Phase 2 identified the theories or heuristic constructs informing these programmes. In Phase 3 a secondary analysis was conducted of data obtained from the Mmogo-method®, which explored the relational experiences of older persons and young adults to determine the needs for the relational interactions with the generational other. The findings of Phases 1 to 3 will be used to develop the board game in Phase 4.

Structure of Study

This study aims to present a systematic research process which informed the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy with the purpose of facilitating relationships between older persons and younger adults. The research involved four phases. Phase 1 provided a systematic review of existing intergenerational programmes. Phase 2 extended the evaluation of programmes as used in Phase 1 by examining the psychological and sociological theories underpinning those programmes. Phase 3 involved a qualitative research approach and secondary data analysis from older people (between 63 and 85 years of age) and young adults (21 to 30 years of age) to explore their intergenerational relational needs. And Phase 4 incorporated the findings (key elements) of the preceding phases and generated principles which guided the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy: a board game.

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ARTICLE

Phase 1

Overview of the Goals and Character of Intergenerational Programmes

Intergenerational programmes are developed and implemented to benefit all participants (Granville, 2002). Bishop and Moxley (2012) postulate that most intergenerational programmes also intend to provide mutually beneficial interactions across generations for relationship building, constructive activity, and social interaction. Given the diversity of intergenerational programmes, efforts have been made to classify them according to typologies. One commonly used typology proposes four kinds of intergenerational programmes, as follows: 1) older people supporting youth (e.g. mentors); 2) youth supporting older people (e.g. friendly visitors); 3) older people and youth collaborating to support their community (e.g. environmental projects); and 4) older people and youth engaging together in learning/social activities (e.g. singing: Centre for Intergenerational Practice, n.d.; Hatton-Yeo & Ohsako, 2000).

The focus on intergenerational programmes that include young adults and older persons is motivated by research conducted in South Africa in 2012 to explore the nature of relationships between the two generations. Findings indicated that members of both generations wanted to interact with the other and fulfil certain needs in the relationship (Bolton, 2014; Nagel, 2013). Furthermore, research conducted on intergenerational relationships in the African context indicated strained relationships between older and young adults (Mabaso, 2011; Opong, 2006). Various intergenerational programmes adopt a developmental approach. According to the developmental lifespan approach suggested by Erikson (1963), young adults find themselves between two stages. The first stage is marked by identity versus role confusion (ages 18-25), and the second is intimacy versus isolation (ages 18-35: Erikson, 1963). By implication, young adults

are searching for identity, life goals and meaning of life, as well as learning how to form intimate relationships (Corey, 2009). As young adults are in a phase of change where they acquire different adult roles and become more autonomous (Monserud, 2008), intergenerational interaction may play a crucial role in facilitating their successful development. In addition, as young adults prepare for marriage and children, they become a key determining factor for linking their children and parents, and therefore facilitate relationships between them (Hagestad, 2006). Older persons play important social roles in assisting their children, taking on care responsibilities, performing household tasks or working as volunteers in the community (UNECE, 2009). Older persons may have time to contribute to the community, drawing both on practical experience and wisdom acquired throughout their long lives. Many of them are likely to be going through what Erikson (1950) named the life stage of generativity, which means that the time they have left to live could provide an impetus to leave a legacy and to pass on to future generations what they have learned (Taylor, 2006). As older persons are important repositories of society's history and values, their contributions in providing wisdom and advice to younger generations and the society as a whole should be acknowledged.

According to Kuehne (2005), studies are needed to explore the nature of interactions within specific intergenerational dyads. In this study, the nature of interactions between members of both generations referred to as IRPs in which both members were present or participated in the activities. Therefore in Phase 1 attention was paid to intergenerational programmes that focus on the interactional nature of intergenerational relations. The aim of this Phase is to determine what intergenerational programmes exist that account for the interactional nature of intergenerational relationships and involve both younger adults and older people.

Research Method

Article Selection and Database Creation

In order to identify, select and include relevant literature in a systematic way, principles of qualitative systematic review were used. This includes the identification of electronic databases and using search terms (Cochrane Collaboration, 2003). The steps involved in undertaking a systematic review are: a) stating the objectives of the research; b) defining eligibility criteria for studies to be included; c) identifying (all) potentially eligible studies; d) applying eligibility criteria; e) assembling the most complete data set feasible; f) analyzing this data set; and g) preparing a structured report of the research which reflect a transparent process of interpretation of the findings (Chalmers, 2003).

The review question was: what intergenerational programmes exist that facilitate the relationship between younger adults and older people? The SPIDER approach was used because it involves evaluating literature according to the sample used [S], phenomenon [P] of interest [I], design [D], evaluation [E] and research [R] type (Cooke, Smith, & Booth, 2012).

The criterion used to assess the literature was to include journal articles that included both generations and that mentioned some form of interaction between young adults and older persons. The researcher searched EbscoHost databases: Academic Search Premier, CINAHL with full text, ERIC, Health Source Nursing/Academics Education, PsycARTICLES, PsycInfo, SocINDEX, June 2014, for peer-reviewed journal articles in English. The following search terms were used: *intergenerational* AND *program** (abstract), “*young adult**” OR *student** OR “*young* person*” OR *youth** OR *young** (All Text), *elder** OR *retiree* OR *pensioner** OR *age** OR *aging* OR *senior** (Abstract), *solidarity* OR *harmony* OR *cohesi** OR “*social closeness*” OR *interact** OR *experienc** OR *mutual* OR *meaning** OR *perception** OR *communicat** (Abstract),

NOT *child** OR *primary* OR *pre-primary* OR *secondary* OR "*high school*" OR *grandchild** (All Text). In accordance with the United Nations International Expert Group's proposed recommendations, this search was also limited to the past five years (from January 2009 till June 2014). A total of 66 articles were retrieved.

The articles excluded (3) were those that are not journal articles, such as reviews of books and films, articles that were not in English and those which were not retrievable through the university library. Thirty-one duplicate articles were excluded. An additional 12 describing interventions that lacked explicitly stated reciprocal interaction between both generations were eliminated. A further three articles were excluded due to their focus on other interventions (e.g. HIV/substances/homelessness), rather than focusing on the relationship between the older and younger generation. Five further articles based on interventions which did not include young adults (only children/adolescents), were excluded. Finally, non-research articles (grey literature) (3), such as those focusing on theory, policy, programme descriptions and research methods, were excluded from the current evaluation. This yielded a sample of nine articles, with a very specific, narrow focus on intergenerational intervention studies that specifically mentioned either reciprocal interaction between older people and younger adults; both members being present during the intergenerational activities; and both members benefitting from the interaction.

Article Coding

To capture key qualities of the interactive nature of intergenerational evaluation research, the researcher coded variables related to the characteristics of the intervention and programme outcomes. Coders indicated the date of the article, authors, context of implementation, the number of participants in programme, participants' ages, aim(s) of the programme, the

programme process, the outcomes of implemented programme, recommendations and the theoretical foundation.

Data Analysis

The data were categorized and compared based on the specifications mentioned above.

Findings

The findings of Phases 1 and 2 are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Findings of Phases 1 and 2

Year	Authors	Context	(N)	Age	Aim of programme	Process	Outcomes	Recommendations	Theoretical approach
2009	Chung	8 day care centres (OP), universities (YP)	OP: 51 YP: 121	65+ 16-25	It is hypothesized that the reminiscence programme would impact positively on the psychological functioning of older adults with early dementia and on the knowledge of ageing and dementia among youth volunteers.	Youth prompt elderly to share past experiences and construct personalized life-story book. In turn youth also share their experiences. 12 session reminiscence programme (1.5hours each), once a week for 3 months.	OP: better psychological functioning; due to social nature and intensive mode of programme: bonding was built. YP: gains in knowledge; positive perception; reflect on relationship with elderly relatives.	Orientation of other generation group; reminiscence serves as therapeutic activity capitalizing on cognitive strengths; learning opportunities – knowledge & skills; mutual gains; supportive & non-threatening medium to use spared cognitive strengths. Need adequate training and preparation of volunteers; need ongoing support and monitoring; length and workload affected commitment in programme involvement; focus on bringing young generations together to support the old.	None.

2010	Alexander, Abell	University of Missouri	6 – 50			To increase awareness of the science behind the medicines older people use, by communicating science to the lay public at their places of residence.	Students generate 40 min presentation, after discussions with older persons.	Mutual learning; transferability of knowledge; gain another perspective on topics; connect own experience and memories to current topics; sense of purpose.	Clear goal but not clear outcomes, no stated measuring instruments; small groups allow for personal dialogues.	None.
			Study: 500 retirees							
2011	Sánchez, Garcia, Diaz & Duaigües	10 interviews in 5 different communities of Spain.	OP: 149 YP: 157	OP: 56-99 YP: 18-44		The value of a homesharing programme, by addressing 3 needs; older people's solitude, young people's lack of housing and intergenerational (IG) solidarity.	Structured interviews with older and younger persons. Items concerned with associational, affectual and functional solidarity. Level of sincerity is coded.	OP: feeling useful through taking care and helping YP and a higher degree of contact with YP. YP: important as primary sources of help for OP.	Personal contact; compensatory mechanisms (if familial contact impossible); for attitude change toward 'outgroup': group membership must be salient characteristics and people perceived as typical; mutual; associative IG solidarity: contact; affectual: perception/attitudinal changes; Functional: mutual help.	Solidarity model; 3 dimensions: Associational solidarity, Affectual solidarity, and Functional solidarity.

2011	Sterns, Sterns, & Lax	Assisted living, adult day care, and skilled nursing care centres, in 3 different national (USA) regions.	YP: 40	OP: 56-100 YP: 25-50	Facilitating a successful activity that allows people with dementia to use their remaining abilities results in caregivers having greater appreciation of what older adults with Dementia can accomplish.	Twice a week for 12 weeks. The activity intervention was presented as a game; an activity board with cards (questions) for discussion between the younger caregivers and older persons.	More active and passive engagement over standard activities; less engagement in sleeping and disruptive behaviours; more positive affect and more helping behaviours occurred.	As more activities are available and adopted in care settings, considerations should help to improve IG relationships between younger professional caregivers and elderly residents living with dementia. Greater effectiveness must be achieved for improvements in quality of life for residents and improved job experiences for the caregivers.	Montessori Approach with principles of: cueing, building on existing skills, providing clear, specific tasks related to the activity, and repetition.
2013	Chua, Jung, Lwin & Theng	OP: Senior activity centres YP: Junior colleges Singapore	OP: 53 YP: 53 Paired off	76 17+	Hypothesize that the effects of video-game play on IG perceptions may decrease intergroup anxiety, change in attitudes towards the other age group, and positive change in attraction towards interaction partner of other age group.	6 interacting sessions playing Nintendo Wii game.	Reduce intergroup anxiety; positive attitudes; greater attraction.	Enjoyable, novel leisure activity; shared activity; many opportunities for interaction; cooperation; common goals; leisure context; and equal status.	Intergroup Contact Theory; Social Identity Theory; Social Dominance Theory; Family approach: the multiple roles that family members from each age cohort play.
2013	Genoe, Crosbie, Johnson, Sutherland & Goldberg		OP: 6 YP: 6	65+ 2/3 rd year students	Changing ageist attitudes, learning from each other, changing perspectives, prepare students for	Young adults conducted conversational interviews with older people: explore	Learning from each other; changing perspective; connecting and contributing;	Orientation and preparation necessary; too much or too little participation (impacted the potential learning);	Intergroup Contact Theory (4 conditions); practical issues of improving intergroup relations.

					careers with elders.	experiences of seminars. 10 weekly; 50 min seminars. 3 fold aim: develop leadership and skills, increased engagement in learning, learn from seniors.	engagement in learning; allow for both age groups to gain perspective on IG issues.	common goal for both groups; equality; engaging in discussion around leisure allow building rapport and recognition of similarities and differences between generations.	
2013	Mason, Mastro, & Wirth	OP: Nursing Care Residence YP: Niagara University	OP: 13 YP: 9	OP: 60+ YP: 18-22	To facilitate a stimulating exchange of ideas among the participants as they brought unique views to the interpretation of the book.	6 weeks, hour and half once weekly for reading and discussion sessions. Each session was started with a small group discussion on a relevant topic. Thereafter reading and discussion on how older adults are portrayed in art and literature.	Brought young and old adults together as equal partners.	Can be used in a variety of settings; and the discussions can be tailored to the interests of the community members.	None.
2014	Penick, Fallshore, & Spencer	Local senior center and assisted living facilities home to older adults who require assistance.	OP: 12 YP: 12	M = 24	Meaningful Connections Programme: Decrease ageism and increase student participants' desire to perform community service.	Meet once a week, 45 min for 9 weeks. Small group discussion topics. The discussion prompts consist of open-ended questions around	YP: attitudes toward older adults changed in positive direction. OP: limitation of study – need to explore benefits to older adult participants.	Group norms: appropriate self-disclosure, remain on topic, sharing time equal; Check imbalances that negatively impact group dynamics (dominant member);	Erikson's theory of psychosocial development; Reminiscence Theory; Group Work Theory.

					a topic, which encourage reminiscence for older persons and explore identity for young adults (e.g. about career and hobbies).		Prompts keep focus and guide discussions but participants are encouraged to elaborate; No control group (other factors can't be ruled out); Provide sense of universality (commonalities); Use theory to guide – provide structure and ideological foundation.	
2014	Castro, González, Aguayo, & Fernández	University of Castilla-La Mancha (Spain)	YP: 18-30 OP: 50-71	An IG education experience at the university provides IG exchange in order to create a more realistic image of aging and more positive attitudes towards older adults.	Classroom setting, specific learning tasks are set whereby both OP and YP participate in debates on aspects of gerontology theory.	The majority would repeat such a programme thanks to its benefits such as improved class atmosphere.	Participants listed the methodological adjustments to improve the experience, such as the pace of teaching, and adaption to the profile of the participants.	None.

Note. OP = older persons, YP = younger persons, IG = intergenerational.

Discussion of Findings

In the analysis of the articles, intergenerational programmes have focused mostly on the outcomes for individuals, instead of the interactions between individuals. However, the elements that facilitated effective outcomes will be identified in the following critical discussion. The study of Penick, Fallshore and Spencer (2014), highlights the importance of mutual engagement by emphasizing small group work dynamics and altruistic opportunities for all participants. This programme claims to create a context for shared process and universality of life experience, yet the aim and outcome focus solely on changing students' negative stereotypes of older adults. Therefore benefits to older adult participants from this programme have not been explored. This study also makes the assumption that one-time encounters may serve to maintain stereotypes of older adults as helpless, disempowered, and unable to contribute meaningfully to society. Yet it stands to reason that the implementation of a longer-term programme may be exempted from the maintenance and/or exacerbation of negative stereotypes.

In their evaluation of an intergenerational education experience between undergraduate students and older adults who attend a university programme, Castro, González, Aguayo and Fernández (2014) investigated the participants' perceived benefits and disadvantages. Valuable concepts were discussed during the literature review against the backdrop of Sáez Carreras' (2002) definition of intergenerational education. This is understood to involve processes of cooperation and interaction among two or more generations marked by the sharing of knowledge, experiences, attitudes, skills, and values which are expected to increase levels of self-esteem as well as personal self-realization (Sáez Carreras, 2002). He continues by stating that the aim is to "change and be transformed in learning with others" (Sáez Carreras, 2002, p. 29). However, Muñoz (2002) maintains that although the benefits of exchanging services and

overcoming stereotypes are valuable outcomes of intergenerational participation, certain conditions are prerequisites, including attention, cooperation and solidarity, which may reflect warm and positive intergenerational (IG) relationships. Support must furthermore be assured in order to allow for autonomy, freedom and the establishment of group cohesion (Muñoz, 2002). In their evaluation of the programme Castro et al. (2014) draw a distinction between “intergenerational relationships” and “intergenerational contact”. Whereas the former characterise the exchange of resources between different generations, the latter involves the sharing of space and time without the process of exchange as a necessary factor (Castro et al., 2014). Upon concluding, the authors acknowledge that the programme suggests intergenerational contact rather than education or reciprocal relationship.

Mason, Mastro and Wirth (2013) discuss a programme, “Growing and Aging”, for which students met with older persons at a nursing care residence for reading sessions followed by the exchange of ideas about their interpretation of a selected book. The authors claim that intergenerational programmes at nursing homes typically involve younger participants’ providing services to older persons, thus reinforcing their elders’ dependence. The uniqueness of this programme, however, lies in the fact that the older as well as younger adults are encouraged to be equal partners in a learning experience. The evaluation forms that recorded feedback from the participants seem inconclusive and unbalanced in that feedback noted came overwhelmingly from the younger participants. The authors fail to give an account of the mechanisms in the programme which may facilitate the claimed “equal” participation, especially in the light of findings reported predominantly from the younger participants.

The study by Genoe, Crosbie, Johnson, Sutherland and Goldberg (2013) explores the experiences of older volunteers and students within student-led intergenerational learning

seminars, in a therapeutic recreation course which is focused on ageing. This programme, which aims to grant both age groups the opportunity to interact with and learn from each other about leisure in later life, is non-specific. The goal seems two-fold, as later described in the study for which the participants had to report on their experiences of the seminar, as well as their experiences of learning from the respective other age group. Since the aim of the programme is vague, the outcome is also unclear. This seems to have impacted on the process of the programme to such an extent that the older persons were uncertain about the purpose of the seminars, and both younger adults and older persons reported ambiguity about the process and expectations. The importance of clarifying the goals and objectives of a programme before and during development and implementation is highlighted in order to ensure that the real needs of all participants are addressed and to assess the impact of such a programme (Kaplan, 2001).

The notion of facilitating sustained contact in an attempt to negate negative stereotypes between young adults and older persons is also evident in the study by Chua, Jung, Lwin, and Theng (2013). It is Pettigrew (1998) who postulates a correlation between time and stages for attitude changes. Whereas first interactions may lead to a reduction of anxiety, prolonged interaction may lead to a changed perception of the person as an individual separate from the stereotypical group and hence without generalisation. And finally, as positive contact proceeds, the perception of the 'other' may eventually lead to reduced prejudice. The findings of this study stipulate that although both the experiential and control groups received the same amount of attention (the only difference was the types of activities), the latter group displayed less significant positive changes on IG perceptions. This may reflect that a change in negative perceptions may be largely determined by the effectiveness of the type of intervention, which potentially facilitates positive interaction, rather than the duration/amount of contact hours of the

interaction. It is also noted that the study refers to cooperation between the older and younger partners, which in essence means help provided by younger adult to older person, also pointing to a potential imbalance in power within the relationship (different roles; novice and expert). Although the reciprocal relationship may be compromised, the activity in this study facilitates an element of shared leisure and enjoyment, with the findings pointing to a decrease in group anxiety and resistance, and an improved quality of interaction.

According to Sterns, Sterns, Sterns and Lax (2011), the Montessori approach could promote social interaction between younger caregivers and older persons with dementia. They maintain that an intervention for which younger caregivers are provided with materials that elicit existing knowledge, history, and experience of older persons can create and enhance cognitive engagement. This may subsequently result in positive, meaningful interactions between generations. To this end the “Memory Magic Program” was developed (Sterns, Sterns, Sterns, & Antenucci, 2005), based on Montessori principles of cueing, building on existing skills, providing clear, specific tasks related to the activity, and repetition. This intervention activity assumes that when cues for reminiscence are provided, caregivers may gain valuable insights into the life experiences of those they care for, which can result in meaningful relationships and enhanced communication. Therefore the authors place much emphasis on meaningful interaction between generations. Although the seemingly varying levels of cognitive functioning among the participants pose a challenge, the authors claim that the activity encompasses multiple levels of cognitive tasks, as well as cohort-relevant material. Therefore sufficient support is provided in the form of cues in order for older participants to feel empowered. This is also ensured by the lack of competition, and by encouragement to share fond memories which in essence create opportunities of positive interaction. The authors also maintain that, as part of the activity, not

all topics are cohort-specific, but some were available to all cohorts. Although these topics may not result in new insight gained they can nevertheless enhance a sense of social relatedness and mutual interest.

An intergenerational homeshare programme aimed at strengthening intergenerational solidarity was implemented, acknowledging the necessity for cohesion in intergenerational relationships. This homeshare programme was evaluated in a study by Sánchez, Garcia, Diaz, and Duaigües (2011) to assess whether it allowed for the practice of intergenerational solidarity. However the findings do not report whether the amount/duration of contact was a significant factor. It is also clear that although the younger persons perceived the older persons in a more positive light, this does not indicate whether the improvement depended on how long they had participated in the programme. Another interactional dimension under investigation was that of mutual benefits and reciprocal assistance. It is claimed that this programme facilitates mutual help between older and younger participants, but the results are not clear. Although older persons may have been given the opportunity to offer emotional support and personal care, these were only instigated by the younger adults' previous assistance. The older persons reported specific benefits received as offered by the younger persons, such as help with personal care activities. It is therefore questionable whether solidarity was enhanced in the relationship between older and younger persons. This is also reflected in the feedback from the older participants for whom the benefits applied to their sense of self (the students made them feel better and helped them with activities) but they did not believe that their relationship with young people had improved. The programme, however, provided the participants with intergenerational contact, personal face-to-face conversations, associated with healthy ageing (Zunzunegui, Alvarado, Del Ser, & Otero, 2003).

A study by Alexander and Abell (2010) discussed the benefits of a science-based educational programme with the aim of communicating science to older persons at their place of residence in order to increase awareness of the science behind the medicines they used. Although the younger participants (graduate students) were responsible for guiding the sessions by presenting the information, it was reported that the students also learned from the older persons. Group discussion allowed for personal dialogue in which the older participants were able to share their perspectives, expectations and knowledge. The study focuses on the content but the context and the conditions necessary for the older persons to feel comfortable and confident to share their experiences are not described in detail. Moreover, the programme seems to focus on what had been learned in terms of the subject field, rather than what had been gained in terms of the process of interaction in relational terms.

The value of a reminiscence programme for older adults with early dementia and young adults were explored by Chung (2009). Although the programme served as a medium for social activity which encouraged bonding, it was found that the length and workload of the programme were a cause of concern. Additionally, the younger adults needed ongoing support and monitoring, which require commitment from supervisors. The programme claims, however, to provide a supportive and non-threatening context for older persons to communicate about past life experiences, which in effect served as a service-learning opportunity for younger adults.

Conclusion of Phase 1

The discussion on various programme characteristics enabled the researcher to identify elements for the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy conducive to reciprocal interaction between older persons and young adults, with both members benefitting from the interaction. This is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Key Elements Identified from IG Programmes

Penick et al. (2014).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutual engagement by emphasising small group work dynamics and altruistic opportunities.
Castro et al. (2014).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context to be created for shared process and universality of life experience. • Cooperation and interaction marked by the sharing of knowledge, experiences, attitudes, skills, and values.
Mason et al. (2013).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members of both generations to be equal partners in learning experiences.
Genoe et al. (2013).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity to interact with and learn from one another about leisure in later life. • Clarification of a programme's goals and objectives before and during development and implementation to address the real needs of all participants and to assess the impact of such a programme.
Chua et al. (2013).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive contact may lead to reduced prejudice in the group when the individual acknowledges similarities in the group as a whole. • The effectiveness of the type of intervention rather than the duration/amount of contact hours of the interaction may facilitate positive interaction. • Cooperation between the older and younger partners. • Shared leisure and enjoyment may decrease group anxiety and resistance and increase the quality of interaction.
Sterns et al. (2011).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eliciting existing knowledge, history, and experience of older persons can enhance cognitive engagement which may subsequently result in positive, meaningful interactions between generations. • Provide sufficient support to members of both generations. • Competitiveness replaced by encouragement to share fond memories. • Shared topics may enhance a sense of social relatedness and mutual interest.
Sánchez et al. (2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergenerational contact; personal face-to-face conversations.
Alexander & Abell (2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal dialogues whereby the older participants are able to share their perspectives, expectations and knowledge.
Chung (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a supportive and non-threatening context for participants to communicate.

According to Leeuw and Vaessen (2009), in order to learn about the plausible effectiveness of a new intervention, an evaluation of the theory underlying the intervention has to be done. They further postulate that in evaluating the theoretical foundation the possible elements that enable the intervention to work may be identified. Therefore Phase 2 aims to identify the theories or heuristic constructs underlying the programmes.

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Phase 2

Interactional Intergenerational Programmes and Underpinning Theories

The purpose of this phase is to identify the psychological and sociological theories or heuristic constructs underlying the programmes evaluated in Phase 1. Theories are referred to as the construction of explicit explanations that account for empirical findings (Bengtson, Putney, & Johnson, 2005). Programme theory-driven evaluation is conceptually and operationally premised on “an explicit theory or model of how the program causes the intended or observed outcomes and an evaluation that is at least partly guided by this model” (Rogers, Petrosino, Huebner, & Hacsı, 2000, p. 5). The main aim of theory-oriented evaluation approaches is to go beyond testing the outcomes of programmes in meeting their goals. The goal is not only to prove whether a programme works but also to show how and why it works (or fails to work) in a given context. Although extensive evaluation and explanation of the theories underlying intergenerational programmes are beyond the scope of this study, the intergenerational programmes are evaluated in terms of the extent to which they use theories that explain the interactional process between generations. For this purpose the interaction between members of different generations refers to the complex processes of interacting and relating proposed by Stacey (2003). The question that guided the review was: to what degree do the theoretical approaches and heuristic constructs that underlie the identified programmes (in Phase 1) explain the interactional nature of intergenerational relations between older persons and younger adults?

Research Method

Article Selection and Database Creation

In order to identify, select and include relevant literature in a systematic way, principles of qualitative systematic review were used. This includes the identification of electronic databases and using search terms (Cochrane Collaboration, 2003).

The researcher searched EbscoHost databases: Academic Search Premier, CINAHL with full text, ERIC, Health Source Nursing/Academics Education, PsycARTICLES, PsycInfo, SocINDEX, June 2014, for peer-reviewed journal articles in English. The same search terms were used as in Phase 1. The sample articles from Phase 1 (N = 9) were evaluated with a specific focus on the theoretical approaches that attempt to explain the interactional and reciprocal nature of intergenerational relationships. The nine articles were read and five articles with explicitly stated theories as underpinning the programmes described were identified. The remaining four studies were excluded. The researcher reviewed the five studies to confirm selection, and identified nine theoretical approaches. The five studies were evaluated based on the theoretical framework(s) used in the programme, and against the criteria of whether and how the specific theory explains the interactional nature within intergenerational relations. The researcher then examined the theories by looking at other relevant and current literature, and research on the specific theoretical approaches in order to grasp the orientation. The theories are detailed in Table 1.

Discussion of Findings

Refer to Table 1 for theoretical approaches as summarized. Although the studies, as discussed in Phase 1, indicated that the programmes focus on the interactional nature of relationships between young adults and older persons, the theories and heuristic constructs that

were used in the programmes did not necessarily place emphasis on the interactional nature of the relationship between generational members. A number of theories focus on the potential outcome (which tends to be individualistic or bigenerational) rather than the process. The following theories have been identified (explicitly stated within the studies as underlying the evaluated programmes in Phase 1): the Solidarity model; the Montessori approach; Intergroup Contact Theory; Social Identity Theory; Social Dominance Theory; Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development; Butler's Life Review Reminiscence; the Family Approach; and Group Work Theory.

An intergenerational homeshare programme which aimed to enhance IG solidarity was evaluated in a study by Sánchez, Garcia, Diaz, and Duaigües (2011) to assess whether it allows for the practice of intergenerational solidarity. They specifically focus on three dimensions of the solidarity model: associative IG solidarity, affectual IG solidarity and functional IG solidarity. The indicators, as described in the study, inform the method of assessment whereby associative IG solidarity refers to the frequency of contact between people of different generations; affectual IG solidarity describes the sentiments and assessments that the members of one generation express regarding their relationship with members of other generations; and functional IG solidarity indicates the support given and received between the generations. The programme offered a context in which younger adults and older persons could practise various forms of contact (associative IG solidarity), but the findings do not report whether the amount/duration of contact is a significant factor. The affectual IG solidarity dimension does not indicate a positive correlation between increased contact and improvement in relationships. It is also clear that although the younger persons perceived the older persons in a more positive light, the improvement did not depend on how long they had participated in the programme. The

functional IG solidarity dimension indicated mutual benefits and reciprocal assistance. It is also indicated that functional IG solidarity usually involves the younger adults mostly providing assistance to the older persons (bottom-up). Although it is claimed that this programme offers flow in both directions (whereby older *and* younger persons provide and receive assistance), the results are not clear. The older persons may have been given the opportunity to offer emotional support and personal care for the younger adults, but only because of the younger adults' assistance in the first instance. The older persons reported specific benefits as offered by the younger persons, such as help with personal care activities. It is therefore questionable whether solidarity in terms of the three dimensions discussed was enhanced in the relationship between older and younger persons in this programme. The dimensions of the solidarity model may however highlight the value of its theoretical foundation, provided that conditions are created to elicit mutual benefits (functional solidarity), understanding empathy (affectual solidarity), and prompt shared activities to contribute to intergenerational solidarity.

Sterns, Sterns, Sterns and Lax (2011) evaluate the Montessori approach used in this programme and which argues that everyone has the ability to learn given the appropriate conditions. This approach is adapted for use in the programme between younger staff members and older adults living with dementia. The challenge faced by caregivers, whereby older persons' demonstrated passivity and the inability to successfully participate in group activities, informed the need to use elements of the Montessori approach. This approach employed strategies such as cueing, building on existing skills, providing clear, specific tasks related to the activity, and repetition (Camp, 1999; Sterns & Camp, 1998). The approach is based on the assumption that when younger caregivers can use strategies to draw elicited knowledge, history, and experience from the older persons, this can enhance the probability of cognitive engagement

which may result in positive and meaningful interaction between the two generations. Therefore the Montessori approach as the underlying theory which informed the programme claims to empower older persons by providing the necessary support and aid to facilitate interaction between younger persons (caregivers) and older persons with dementia.

In the study by Chua, Jung, Lwin and Theng (2013), they explain negative perceptions between different age groups through the lens of Social Identity Theory (SIT), Social Dominance Theory (SDT), and Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT). The former two theories maintain that individuals see themselves and those around them as belonging to different groups and try to identify a higher status for themselves and their own group. Discrimination against members of the other age group may subsequently develop. In order to counteract such discrimination, ICT hypothesizes that the negative perceptions can be changed when certain situational factors (equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and support from authorities), are met. According to Flora and Segrin (1998), activities which allow more opportunities to exhibit social skills and interactions result in higher relationship satisfaction. Therefore, by implementing an IGP, situational factors are provided for potential positive changes in IG perceptions (as suggested by Intergroup Contact Theory and research on shared leisure activities).

The study by Genoe, Crosbie, Johnson, Sutherland and Goldberg (2013) explored the experiences of seminar volunteers (older persons) and students in a therapeutic recreation course with the focus on changing ageist attitudes. This programme is grounded in Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT). Pettigrew (1998) maintained that intergenerational interaction may bring about several meanings of interaction such as learning from one another, changing perspectives, and connecting and contributing. The theory (ICT), as incorporated in the programme activities, maintains that positive contact between generations is fostered by four conditions. These include

equal status among the participants, working together towards a common purpose, support from an authority, and contact over a long period of time (Allport, 1954). It is therefore postulated that when these conditions are met, the benefits extend beyond simply reducing the prevalence of ageism but also facilitate positive interaction.

Penick, Fallshore and Spencer (2014) emphasise the importance of programme developers considering what modality, activities and interaction would contribute to meeting the goals of the programme. They maintain that Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, Reminiscence Theory, and Group Work Theory underlie both the content and procedure of this service-learning programme. Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (generativity), maintains that older persons in the seventh stage of his theory of psychosocial development strive to create or nurture things that will outlast them, often by having children or contributing to positive changes that benefits other people (Erikson, Erikson, & Kivnick, 1986). In addition, the programme claims to offer the younger persons the opportunity to consider their identities (therefore identity versus role confusion) as they build relationships with older persons. The programme's activities are described as strongly based on Erikson's theory, whereby questions are equally allocated around themes to encourage reminiscence and identity respectively. The findings, however, do not account for the mechanisms involved in the interaction between the younger and older generations, and hence fail to indicate the reciprocal nature of mutual engagement. The programme seems to encourage a change of attitude towards ageing individuals but acknowledges the need to explore the benefits to the older participants in the partnership. Developmental literature is therefore inadequate as a basis for an effective intergenerational programme with the focus on mutual and reciprocal interaction, and this shortcoming is also reflected in the paradigm shift from linear to dynamic models (Kuehne,

2005). The group work concepts incorporated into the programme is said to provide a useful format for bringing older and younger generations together for meaningful relationships (Yalom, & Leszcz, 2005). Reminiscence theory is used with the assumption that when activities such as sharing of past memories are included, a greater sense of fulfilment and satisfaction with one's own life may follow (Henderson & Gladding, 2004). The authors stress collective sharing as a necessary component facilitated by giving older as well as younger persons the opportunity to gain insight into their own lives and the lives of the other generation. This needs to be evaluated against Butler's Life Review Reminiscence approach, which maintains that life review is a normative process as older persons come to realize that their life is drawing to an end (Coleman, 1986). When applied to intergenerational programmes, this theory ultimately focuses on this life review process, which may encourage self-acceptance and/or stimulate self-change in old age. When applied to a programme with the aim to facilitate mutual interaction between older and younger adults, the theory risks neglecting to account for the life stages of younger people. Besides the unbalanced exchange of information of this theoretical orientation in programmes, which means that older persons are mostly the ones sharing life stories, this theory also seems to incite individual rather than interactional processes. However, it is acknowledged that when reminiscence is incorporated into a group context in which participants are given the opportunity to share life experiences, it can provide valuable insights as well as self- and other-awareness.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Following the findings from Phase 2 it is recommended that the following elements (Table 3 below) be considered in the development of an IG intervention strategy.

Table 3

Key Elements of Theoretical Approaches and Heuristic Constructs

Penick et al. (2014).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group work concepts: clarify roles of participants, facilitate content and process to provide a useful format for bringing older and younger generations together for meaningful relationships. • Reminiscence Theory: collective sharing by giving the opportunity for older as well as younger persons to gain insight into their own and the lives of the other.
Genoe et al. (2013).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergroup Contact Theory: positive interaction may reduce ageism by creating meanings of interaction such as learning from one another, changing perspectives, connecting and contributing. To facilitate positive interaction: equal status for all participants, working together towards a common purpose, support from an authority, and contact over a long period of time.
Chua et al. (2013).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergroup Contact Theory: change of negative perceptions about the other generation by situational factors: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, support from authorities, and contact over a long period.
Sterns et al. (2011).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Montessori approach: (providing clear, specific tasks related to the activity, and repetition) to facilitate interaction about existing knowledge, history, and experience.
Sánchez et al. (2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solidarity Model: the need for true reciprocal assistance and support (functional solidarity). Create a context in which younger adults and older persons can practise various forms of contact (associative solidarity).

The above theories may provide essential elements to include in the development of an intervention. In addition, other intergenerational relational theories which are held to explain the interactional nature of intergenerational relationships, will also be discussed.

Intergenerational Theories

Theories explaining the interactional nature of intergenerational relations are limited. According to VanderVen (2011) an effective intergenerational theory as guideline for the implementation of a programme should include principles of a dynamic perspective. Existing theories explaining intergenerational relations include Solidarity-conflict, Ambivalence, heuristic construct Generational Intelligence (GI), Systems Theory, as well as the Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT).

The solidarity-conflict and ambivalence theories provide a lens through which to view intergenerational relationships (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, & Silverstein, 2002).

Intergenerational solidarity, which has been defined as bonding between and among individuals in multigenerational family networks and among different cohorts in the larger community, is important for members of both generations (Bengtson & Oyama, 2010; Mitts, 2003; Monserud, 2008). Intergenerational solidarity theory proposes a structural way of studying the elements of intergenerational solidarity, with specific focus on the interaction within relationships (Winkleby, Cubbin, & Ahn, 2006). The theory suggests that solidarity elements and implications are universal and can be generalized to all intergenerational relationships and describes intergenerational patterns in terms of sentiment, structure and behaviour, but fails to take into account the subjective elements of each individual's unique experience (Luescher, 2002). The solidarity-conflict model proposes that six elements of solidarity explain the relationship between members of different generations (Connidis & McMullin, 2002): affectual, consensual, structural, associational, functional, and normative (Daatland & Lowenstein, 2005). Since the dimensions of affectual solidarity, associational solidarity and functional solidarity are discussed in the evaluation above, the focus in this discussion will be on the remaining three dimensions. Consensual solidarity focuses on similarity of values between generations. Structural solidarity highlights the significance of demographic factors which may determine the probability of interaction between generations. Lastly, normative solidarity measures perceptions of responsibilities and expectations about the connectedness between members of different generations (Wood & Liopsis, 2007). The solidarity theory may contribute to the interaction between older and younger persons by providing a measure for understanding value

of empathy within caring relationships. Creating contexts to facilitate social contact, shared activities and exploring shared values may contribute to intergenerational solidarity or cohesion.

The heuristic construct of generational intelligence (GI) may contribute to facilitating the interactional nature of intergenerational relationships by proposing the idea of self-awareness (becoming conscious of the self in relation to one's generation), and to understanding and valuing generational positions (referred to as intergenerational empathy; Biggs, Haapala, & Lowenstein, 2011). This approach proposes the replacement of binary constructs of conflict versus solidarity with relations, based on intergenerational negotiations (Biggs et al., 2011). The potential of this approach in bridging intergenerational gaps is reflected in its theoretical dimensions, which include self-awareness, the ability to act with awareness across generations, and a capacity for intergenerational empathy (Biggs, 2008). The GI approach promotes an individual's ability to think and act on his/her understanding of own lifespan, family and history, as well as those of the other generation (Biggs et al., 2011). Although GI addresses the very important dimension of self- and other-awareness in theoretical terms as a necessary factor in intergenerational interactions, it fails to provide a systematic analysis of the interactional nature of intergenerational relations and emphasize the intrapsychic process and not so much on the interpersonal actions.

Systems theory takes into account the dynamic interactions in relationships. The study of intergenerational pairing acknowledges the integration of two dynamic systems and the many possible outcomes that may occur in each person (Smith-Acuna, 2011). This is highlighted by VanderVen (2011) in that intergenerational relationships are defined as the pairing of older and younger persons with a variant of developmental and individual characteristics which inevitably

mark the complex nature of such relationships, because relationships have a developmental history, structure and a patterned nature (Smith-Acuna, 2011).

Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT: Roos, in press) proposes that intergenerational interactions take place within a particular interpersonal context (Watzlawick, Bavelas, & Jackson, 2011). It is postulated that this interpersonal context shapes the meaning of the communication that takes place between members of different generations (Roos & Malan, 2012; Vorster, 2011; Watzlawick et al., 2011). There are three units of analysis describing the interactional nature of intergenerational relations in SIGT, namely the intra-individual, the inter-individual and the group level (Roos, in press). The intra-individual level describes the feelings of the members from different generations. The inter-individual involves the specific interpersonal context of interactions, defines the relation based on verbal and non-verbal messages, describes the relational qualities such as observable verbal and non-verbal messages within the interactions, and identifies the social goal or psychosocial needs expressed within the specific interaction and the ongoing sequence (processes) of interactions. The group perspective involves both the intra- and inter-group dynamics. Intra-group dynamics refer to the process of interaction between members of one's own group, whereas inter-generational group dynamics indicate what occurs when groups compete for similar goals. The three perspectives of interaction between members of different generations are also contextualized against the broader environments in which the complex processes of relating between generations take place. These broader environments thus both influence and inform the interactions (Roos, in press). Therefore SIGT contributes to the understanding of the nature of interaction across generations. It accounts for the subjective experiences of individuals. In essence, its value for the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy is embedded in the fact that it provides a useful

explanation for the presence of empathy in intergenerational relations. The systems theory may provide insight into the dynamic interactions in intergenerational relationships by recognizing the integration of two dynamic systems and the many outcomes that are possible for every person (VanderVen, 2011). These complexities are accentuated by the fact that the relationship is characterized by the coupling of individuals who bring with them their own set of experiences, background, developmental stage and needs, which have an impact on each other and the relationship (VanderVen, 2011).

Table 4

Identification of Key Elements of the Four Theoretical Approaches (discussed above)

Solidarity-conflict, Ambivalence	Systems Theory	Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT)	Generational Intelligence (GI)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empathy within caring relationships. • Facilitate cohesion: context to enable social contact, shared activities and exploring shared values. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand integration of two dynamic systems. • Space for positive contact and equal involvement: reciprocal engagement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Account for subjective experiences of individuals. • Understand relations as continuous, reciprocal. • Facilitate relational qualities: congruence, unconditional positive regard, empathy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate self-awareness. • Understand and value generational positions (intergenerational empathy).

A summary of the key elements from Phase 1 and Phase 2 to consider for the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy is presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5

Summary of Programme and Theoretical Elements

Phase 1: Programme elements	Phase 2: Theoretical elements
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutual engagement: small group work dynamics and altruistic opportunities. • Cooperation and interaction: sharing of knowledge, experiences, attitudes, skills, values, fond memories and universality of life experience. • Equal partners in a learning experience. • Clarify goals and objectives of a programme to address the real needs of all participants. • Positive contact: acknowledge similarities in the group as a whole. • Shared leisure and enjoyment. • Absence of competition. • Provide a supportive and non-threatening context for personal dialogue. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reciprocal support and engagement. • Collective sharing. • Positive interaction and various forms of contact are encouraged, which may highlight shared activities and values. • Enhance cognitive engagement to draw on existing knowledge, history, and experience. • Ensure equal status among the participants. • Participants' roles are clarified. • Work together towards a common purpose. • Account for subjective experiences of individuals and integration of two dynamic systems. • Facilitate congruence, unconditional positive regard, empathy. • Facilitate self-awareness.

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Phase 3

Exploring the Needs for Relational Interaction between Older and Younger Adults

International research on intergenerational relations focuses chiefly on familially-related relationships (Barnett, Scaramella, Neppel, Ontai, & Conger, 2010; Bates, 2009; Durflinger, 2008; Reitzes & Mutran, 2004). Findings in research by Barnett et al. (2010) indicated that grandparents' involvement with grandchildren is positively associated with satisfaction and well-being for grandparents. Additionally, it has been found that grandparents provide grandchildren with a part of their formation; they are providers of knowledge and values different from those provided by their parents (Bernal & Anuncibay, 2008). Another international research study on generations who are socially related indicated that young adults experienced frustration when interacting with older people (Giles, Ballard, & McCann, 2003). Possible implications of this kind of relationship are that the young adults and the older people may avoid interacting with one another and this can lead to the complete disintegration of relationships between different age groups (Vorster, Roos, & Beukes, 2013).

Research conducted on intergenerational relationships in the African context indicated that they were strained (Oppong, 2006). The older generation voiced their experience of no longer receiving the respect they used to receive in the past, while the younger people reported that respect had to be earned and would henceforth be accorded selectively to those who had been successful in life (Oppong, 2006). Van der Geest (2004) indicated in his research conducted in Ghana that the family support system, as it has developed and operates today, could no longer be counted upon to provide sufficient economic protection for the old.

Research in South Africa on generational members who are unrelated also indicated tension between members of different black historical generations (Mabaso, 2011). Mabaso

(2011) found that young adults and older persons' needs remained unmet due to the relational tension between them. Research by Nagel (2013) on young adults' experiences of their relationships with familially-related older people in South Africa found that emotional intimacy was expressed as a need for closeness. This need drove the younger adults to make an effort to establish contact with the older people in their lives by communicating with them. Another participant in the same study (Nagel, 2013) illustrated the need for support from her grandparents, a need she perceived as being met. The need for support, initially directed to her, became in turn a need to support her grandmother when she aged and became dependent. Psychosocial needs are regarded as innate psychological necessities (Deci & Ryan, 2000) that drive people to purposeful, self-directed action, in an attempt to satisfy these needs (Maslow, 1943). Dahlgaard and Dahlgaard (2003) maintain that human needs should not refer to a something lacking or an unmet need but should also include needs that pertain to self-actualization. When considering the needs of older people, the emphasis generally tends to be placed more on psychosocial than on physiological needs. It is therefore often the psychosocial needs that are in the foreground as a motivating behaviour in a pursuit of contentment, happiness and fulfilment.

Needs in intergenerational relations are seen as moving people into action. According to Roos (in press), people interact with one another to pursue social goals and/or to address their needs. Needs and goals are often used interchangeably but it is necessary to distinguish between them. Social goals are postulated to be functioning in the inter-individual domain, while needs are generated in the intra-individual domain but mostly identified in the inter-individual domain. The extent to which people are able to meet their needs in interpersonal relationships is

associated with their psychological well-being or dysfunction (Roos & Du Toit, 2014; Van den Bergh, 2008; Vorster et al., 2013).

Effective interaction may result in both generations being willing to express their needs in effective ways, because the positive experience has informed them that their needs can be reciprocated. This assumption is based on Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT). According to this (Roos, in press), each action will have a reaction in the relationship between generational members. When young adults initiate positive actions towards an older person, a similar action will most likely be expected from older people. This reciprocal positive interpersonal interaction will inform both generations' perception of the other generation (Roos, in press). The research question guiding this phase is: *What are the relational needs of both older and younger persons in their interaction with one another?*

Research Methodology

Data obtained from research conducted in 2012, using the Mmogo-method® to obtain insight into the relational experiences between older persons and young adults, were subjected to a secondary analysis. Here the focus is on the *needs* both of the younger and older generation in their relationship with the other generation. Secondary analysis of qualitative data involves using existing data to find answers to research questions that differ from the questions asked in the original research (Heaton, 1998). Secondary analysis aims to address a new research question by analysing previously collected data. Heaton (2004) recommends in addition outlining the original study, the process of data collection and the analytical processes applied to the data.

In preparation for carrying out a secondary analysis an assessment of the fit between the primary datasets and the secondary research questions is essential (Heaton, 2004). It is also

recommended that the data collection and analytic techniques in the primary dataset should be similar to those of the secondary analysis. The aim of the original data was to obtain the experiences of the relationships between members of the different generations. By inviting people to describe their relational experiences, it is expected that they will share their subjective experiences, the definition of the relationship, and relational qualities that emerge in the relationship, as well as needs and expression of needs (Beukes, 2014; Roos, in press). Therefore, from the original data specific needs were expressed in relation to other generations.

Research Context and Participants

The original research was conducted in a university context in North West Province, South Africa. Eighteen older persons from a community centre (aged between 63 and 85) and 19 young adults (aged between 21 and 30), registered as postgraduate students in Psychology, participated in the original data-gathering process. The inclusion criteria for older persons were that they had to be Afrikaans- or English-speaking and older than 60 years with no identifiable cognitive disabilities, were able to communicate coherently and were willing to participate. Inclusion criteria for young adults were that they had to be Afrikaans- or English-speaking, aged between 21 and 30 years, and willing to participate.

Research Procedure and Data Gathering

In the original research study, ethical approval was obtained from North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus Ethics Committee, reference NWU-005-10-51. On the day of the data collection, the participants gave informed consent, were made aware of the voluntary nature of their participation and informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. The participants were further informed about the purpose of the study

and the general procedure of the project, which included the approximate duration of the study. This involved informing participants about the aim of the study, expectations, what the data would be used for and who would have access to the data, and about confidentiality and its limits. It was stressed that only partial confidentiality could be ensured due to data gathering taking place in a group context. Data gathering consisted of a visual research method, the Mmogo-method® (Roos, 2008).

Mmogo-method®. This method requires participants to create a visual presentation of their experiences (Roos, 2008). It is projective in nature and allows meanings to emerge from the participants' reflections on social structures and meaningful actions through visual representations (Roos, 2012). The older participants were divided into two groups to participate in the Mmogo-method® session, a projective technique that enabled them to illustrate their relationships with younger persons by using clay, beads and sticks to make visual projections. The following instruction served as a stimulus for their visual projections: *Please use the material provided to make anything that can tell us more about your relationship with a younger person.*

Similarly, the younger participants separated into two groups to take part in the Mmogo-method® session. Equipped with the sets of clay, beads and straw set out for each participant, the younger group was prompted with the following open-ended instruction: *Please use the material provided to make anything that can tell us more about your relationship with a person/s older than 60 years of age.*

There were no time limits on the construction of the visual clay presentations, but participants in fact completed them within 45 minutes. Following the construction of the clay

visuals, the participants were invited individually to talk about what they had made, and what the connection was between the visual presentation and the initial instruction. The completed visual representations were photographed and served as visual data. An informal group discussion was conducted in which the participants were asked to comment on the visual presentations, thus providing verification and further complementing and enriching individual participants' responses. During the discussion participants shared their subjective views of their experiences of their relationship with members of the other generation. The discussions were digitally voice-recorded, and video-recorded and transcribed verbatim for thematic analysis.

Data Analysis

The two types of techniques used to analyse the data are thematic analysis and visual data analysis.

Thematic analysis. The transcribed, original data from the group discussions were subjected to thematic analysis (in two stages) to determine the specific needs for the interaction from the perspective both generations. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), qualitative analytic methods encompass “identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p.79). Nieuwenhuis (2007) contends that thematic analysis is a process of exploring the data from different angles in order to identify key themes in the text for interpretation of the raw data.

Stage 1: Coding. The first step is the coding of the transcribed data, a process of highlighting an important theme or word in every individual interview and then looking for a pattern and recurrent themes (Bird, 2005). The patterns identified were compared with the original research question to determine the significance of the current theme; older and younger persons' intergenerational relational needs (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Stage 2: Deductive category application. The first step of thematic analysis revealed various elements in the data. In order to focus this study specifically on relational needs, whether met or unmet, the data underwent a deductive category application (Mayring, 2000). This data analysis method employs existing theory or evidence-based literature to assist in focusing the research question (Mayring, 2000). It provided predictions about the characteristic relational needs of both younger and older persons, therefore supporting the initial coding scheme (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). This qualitative method, directed analysis, enables the identification of participants' perceptions, experiences, meanings and reality of their relational needs against the backdrop of literature and theories (Patton, 2002). The second stage of data analysis enabled the use of existing theory or previous research on the needs that arise within a context of intergenerational interaction and added to the coding categories (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999).

Visual analysis. The visual data were analysed by implementing five steps suggested by Roos (2008; 2012). The first step involved asking about the clay objects each participant had made in order to determine their literal meaning. Subsequently, the researcher determined the relationship between the different objects in the visual presentations. In the third step, the visual representation was applied to the specific research question. This enabled the phenomenon under investigation to be explored in depth.

Ethical Considerations

In the original study, gatekeepers both to the older persons and the younger people were approached. The gatekeeper, a social worker at the service centre for older persons, was contacted to approach the older persons for their participation in the study. The gatekeeper informed the older persons about the research and invited them to participate. A time convenient to everyone was arranged for conducting the research. On the day of data gathering, the older

persons were informed about the purpose of the study and the procedure that would be followed in the research process. They were told that they would be asked to visually represent their experiences in relation to young adults. The visual representations would be discussed and photographed. They were provided with informed consent letters. It was also made clear that they would not be paid or have to pay for participating in the research and that they could withdraw at any stage, without any consequences. The participants also had an opportunity to ask questions about any uncertainties they might have felt. The informed consent was discussed by a research psychologist who had been trained as a clinical psychologist. Biographical information about the older persons was obtained from anonymous questionnaire which provided information with regards to the nature of their relationships with young students and people.

The same procedure was followed with the younger participants. A lecturer on the Honours degree course in Psychology was contacted to ask students to participate in the research. They were assured of the voluntary nature of participation. The ethical aspects discussed above were applied to the young adults in the original data gathering. They were told that partial confidentiality and anonymity would be ensured, that there would be no compensation for their participation, and that in signing the consent form they were not waiving their legal rights to claims or remedies.

In conducting a secondary analysis of the data about the relational experiences, the needs in relation to young adults would also be aligned with the original consent obtained. According to Heaton (1998), when ethical judgements have to be made in secondary analysis, it is of fundamental importance to be “ethically aware and make decisions that are located in the context of the research and the wishes of the participants”. For the purpose of this research, additional informed consent was not required since the research focus on an aspect related to the nature of

the intergenerational relationships, namely the needs that emerged from the data which motivate the interaction between members of different generations. The researcher of the current study was also a part of the original research team who gathered the data. Confidentiality of the participants' data is ensured by not revealing their names or identities. Numbers were allocated to participants to preserve their anonymity. The data are safely stored on a computer with a password and remains with the Department of Psychology for five years. Hard copies are locked in a room at the Department of Psychology, and are therefore not openly accessible to anyone who has not been granted access by the primary researcher. Ethical approval was obtained from the Health Research Ethics Committee (HREC, 18/06/2014) for the purpose of this current research study.

Findings

The findings consist of themes and subthemes regarding the relational needs of the older persons and the younger adults. The findings of their relational needs are presented together.

Table 6

Findings of Relational Needs of Older Persons and Young Adults

Main Theme	Subthemes
Need for effective communication	<p>Older Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remove obstacles to communication <p>Younger Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Try to find a middle way
Need for shared interests	<p>Older Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared interests • Fun, humour and laughter <p>Younger Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared interests
Perspective-taking	<p>Older Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparing lives, respect, support and gratitude <p>Younger Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perspective-taking
Affirmation	<p>Older Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to feel recognized <p>Younger Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belief in goals and dreams
Specific needs	<p>Older Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upward need: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New technology • Downward need: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach • Share wisdom, values and life experiences • Guide and equip with knowledge <p>Younger Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upward need <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical and emotional support • Downward need <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trustworthiness
Relational needs	<p>Older Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach • Friendship <p>Younger Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To be educated • Friendship

Need for Effective Communication

Both generations emphasized the importance of effective communication between them. In the visual representation in Figure 1, an older woman (Participant #5) constructed a road with obstacles that impede communication with young adults. She stressed the importance of communication by explaining her visual representation as a “road, filled with obstacles”. When explaining how communication obstacles could be removed, she physically removed the sticks (see image below), and added that the obstacles “can be levelled through communication and prayer”. The obstacles in communication are according to this participant “removable [and] the road can be smooth”.

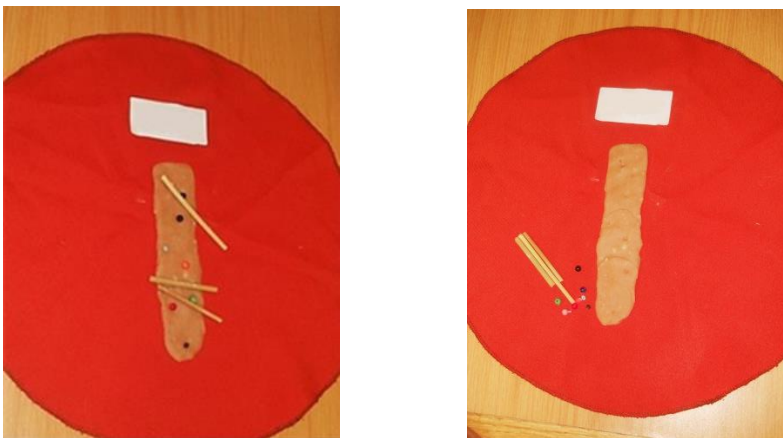


Figure 1. An illustration of a road. The sticks and beads represent the obstacles.

Another older participant (#7) maintained that a good relationship is built on respect and communication, which he believes is about “sharing the positive, the good things in life and where the younger person can also share his experiences”.

The young adults also emphasized the importance of communication. A younger female participant (#9) said that when she and her grandmother disagreed about something, they both perceived it as “okay” and would talk about it calmly, and “try to find the middle way; we agree

to disagree and then we leave it". Another participant (#5) explained the nature of communication in her relationship with an older person as follows:

We always have long conversations. I love to talk to older persons. About life and the way they perceive things. It's not that I differ from them, or express if I do. I avoid arguing with them, because I only want to learn from them.

However, for some younger persons it seems impossible to create avenues for effective communication. A participant (#2) reports that she does not see her grandmother often and they do not communicate very much. She maintains that the lack of communication creates a wall between them and results in an even bigger gap. She perceives them to have become estranged as a consequence. Another young participant (#15) explains that the physical distance between her and her grandparents is a challenge in terms of the quality of communication. She maintains that even though they talk on the telephone it is not satisfactory and is insufficient to meet the need for effective communication.

Need for Shared Interests

Both generations were aware of the need for shared interests but also identified various challenges that threaten the development of these interests, such as difficult life circumstances and physical distance. Some older persons emphasized differences due to the age gap between them and younger people:

In order to reach out to younger persons there needs to be common ground, but their challenges are very different from mine... I find myself unable to help them at times because my life experiences might only be relevant to a small

group of them, and therefore I struggle to reach out to those who feel different about life than I do (Participant #10, male).

In addition, physical distance combined with different life stages could also make it challenging to find shared interests. A grandmother says about her grandchildren: “They are so far away... their world is very different from mine” (Participant #6, female).

However, other older persons described fun, humour and laughter as a shared interest. One older woman (Participant #1) reports that she shares her grandson’s sense of humour: “When he overhears a joke at the university, he will always come and tell it to me, it doesn’t matter whether it is a clean joke or not.” According to another participant (#9), the experience of sharing laughter with her grandchildren is invaluable.

Young people also confirmed the importance of shared interests and emphasize that even in the face of changes and age differences there remained common ground from generation to generation (Participant #17). For this participant, in spite of an age difference, key issues will never change even when everything within a context changes. Another younger participant (#9) reflected on her relationship with her grandfather and expressed their shared interests: “The bigger thing we share is ambition. And I enjoy it thoroughly when we have discussions about religion and his perspective in particular and then also literature. We both are fond of literature and family history.”

Perspective-Taking

Both generations mentioned perspective-taking as a possible way to address needs effectively. An older woman (Participant #9), for example, demonstrated how she was able to adopt the perspective of younger people by comparing their lives: “They have their problems, and we have ours. We have our longings and they have theirs.” One female participant (#2)

described her interaction with her grandchildren as different ways in which she attempts to take their perspective: “Look, I’m lying with them, I sit with them, I play with them, lay on my stomach... I’m always in the position which they are in... so I try to adapt to them.”

A younger adult (Participant #16) took the perspective of her grandmother by saying: “I have realized that after all her life experiences and wisdom I can’t come with my twenty-one years and try to change everything; that would be unfair - it’s only about being different.”

Need for Affirmation

Both generations expressed a need for affirmation and to be recognized by the other. An older participant (#6) explains this need: “They know they can come to me anytime with anything.” A number of participants reported their willingness and desire to tune into the experiences of the younger generation.

Younger people described the affirmation that they experienced when older persons showed confidence in them. A younger person (#17) explained that her grandmother has always believed in her (participant’s) goals and dreams: “She sort of walks the road with me and therefore we always get on the same journey.”

Specific Needs

Both generations mentioned specific aspects that they wanted from the other or wanted to transmit to the other. The older persons were more interested in giving commodities to the younger people than receiving something from them. For example, older persons wanted to learn from the younger people about new technology. Participant (#10) maintains: “It is my children who taught me everything about computers. I know nothing about it, the internet and things like that.”

In contrast, the majority of older persons expressed the need to teach the younger people. For example, an older man (Participant #6) explains that in the context of an educational setting he took on the role of a mentor: “I have worked a lot with girls, it still is something wonderful to me, till this day young people will come to me and share their hearts’ secrets”. Another older participant (#11, female) reports that she finds it rewarding to tell the younger generation that “similar to the way birds build nests for their offspring will parents care for their children”. She continues: “You care for them. You teach them everything from the Bible to how to dress yourself to eating your food, everything.” One participant (#13) maintained that this transfer of knowledge was mainly expected from the older generation, “because you are so much older than them... they come with their questions and then you have to give them answers”. Older persons wanted to transfer their wisdom to the younger people when they shared time with them: “The things you do with them, and then you can share life’s wisdoms with them” (Participant #9). The older persons also wanted to transmit values:

Something I try to explain to them is, even when one makes a mistake, rather admit that it was you and that it was wrong, even when it means being punished for it, just tell the truth and don’t try and cover it (Participant #12, female).

The need to guide and equip younger persons with their (older participants’) knowledge was also evident. An older participant (#9, female) explains: “There is a world of knowledge that you as an older person can leave with your children, but you should not do it in a punitive manner. No, you guide them gently and you can do it through nature.” One participant (#10, male) explains that the younger generation should be made aware of the challenges of life, and that even though it is an unknown life there a guide was provided: “A GPS system in the Bible

and that which we uphold, we essentially take with us.” Another participant (#10, male) concurs with this and she maintains that “the next generation needs to be equipped with this”.

Older persons also expressed the need to share their life experiences with younger people. They addressed the need to transfer life experience because “it may provide a basis for the younger people to build on” (#15, female). The transmission of life experience was not only related to personal experiences but also to work experiences. One participant reported that to him one of the most beautiful things, when communicating with a younger person, was to share his experiences as a farmer and teacher, because the younger people should see “how wonderful the creation is in which we live” (#10).

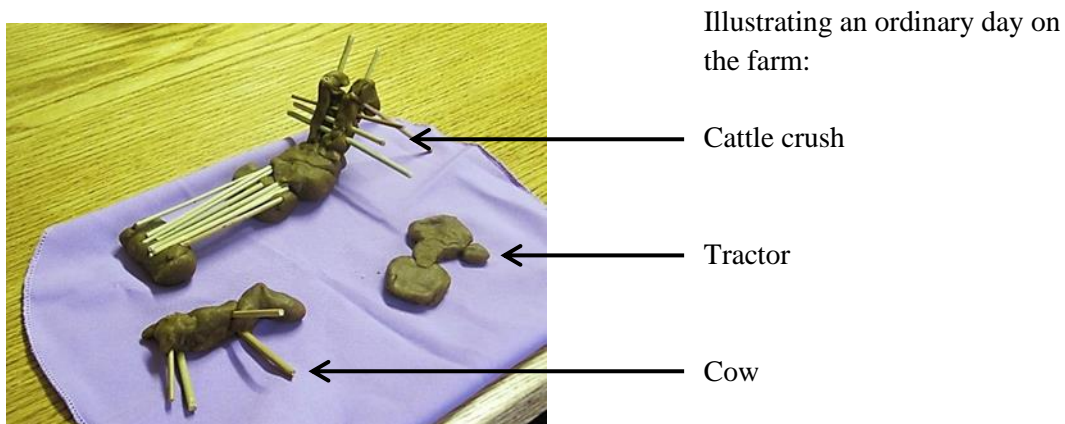


Figure 2. Sharing life experience as a farmer.

From their perspective, young adults provided physical and emotional support to older persons. In terms of physical support, a young participant (#1, female) commented: “We had to do a lot for them.” Physical support was always related to the declining physical abilities of older persons, but also included emotional support. One participant (#3, female) maintains: “I have given two support structures to my grandfather [in visual illustration] because he can be physically relatively independent but this demonstrates the emotional support I provide.”

The need for trustworthiness is accentuated when younger persons report the need for this characteristic to be present to be able to confide in older persons. Young and older participants mentioned how older persons were confidants in the lives of the younger people. One older participant (#1) reports that her grandson discloses private information to her which he would never tell another person. She says that she has heard all the secrets of his heart: “And because he comes with his heart’s secrets, and if he feels someone has treated him badly... then he cries on my shoulder”. This was also confirmed by a younger participant (#5), who said “I can go directly to them with all my problems and they will hold and support me because they know when something is confidential and they won’t tell my parents. They have already brought up children therefore they know about the naughty things we do. We would rather go to them about the things we did than to our parents.”

Relational Definition Needs

Older persons displayed the need to teach: “I taught them many things... And I taught them to speak English, and we sang songs and all such things...” (Participant #14, female). Another older female participant explains: “You teach them everything from the Bible to how to dress yourself to eating your food, everything” (Participant #11). However, some older persons described a friendship but always resorted to the role of educator when they felt the need to intervene. This is marked by a comment by an older participant (#1) who reports that she and her grandson have a very good relationship, he can approach her about anything. Although she has this friendship relationship with her grandchildren, she can also be strict: “If they don’t show good manners and respect towards their parents or their grandmother” she will scold them. Another participant (#3) agrees and adds that she enjoys reading and loves to share this with

younger persons, but that she takes on the role of mentor and disciplinarian when her grandchildren misbehave.

Younger people acknowledged that older persons are the educators in their lives.

In the visual representation below, older persons are depicted as educators.



Figure 3. Older persons as educators.

One younger participant (Participant #17) describes the interaction between her and a significant older person as “it’s as if I am swimming in a river of information. The information, which can’t be compiled in a book, is taught to me by these older persons.” Another participant describes learning from older persons as valuable: “They learn much from me and I learn a lot from them” (#11).

A male participant (#10) explains that he perceives older people as the memory of humanity. He adds:

They serve as a medium through which knowledge can be orally transferred. I was brought up with the concept to respect elders and to learn from them, but only later did I start to challenge those things and then there was conflict but I perceive them as irreplaceable. If all their knowledge and stories perish when they die, without sharing it, then it is irrevocable and one can’t get it back.

However, the younger adults also described the need for a friendship relationship. This type of relationship is marked by the pleasant conversations and opinions that they exchange, like friends. One participant (#6) reflects on the most memorable times with her grandparents:

I think of the times we will sit and have coffee together and during those times we will talk about two things, how it is going... and the words of wisdom they share over a cup of coffee. This is always very nice...

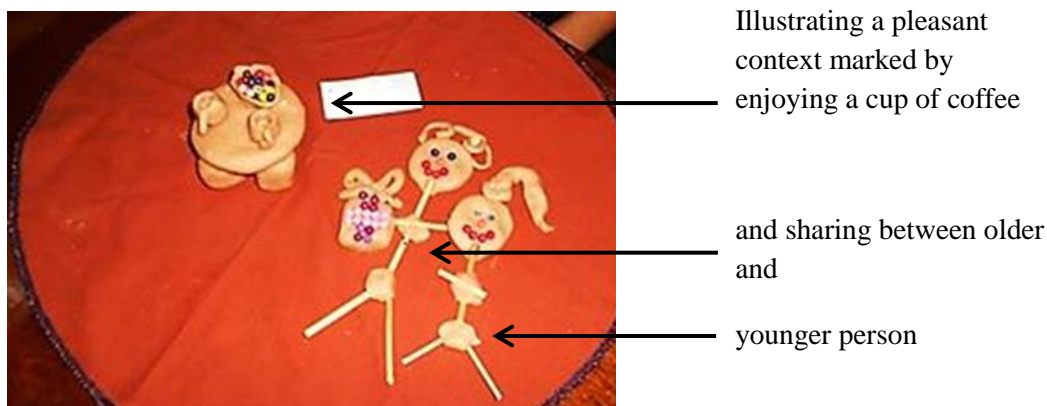


Figure 4. Conversing with grandparents.

Discussion of Findings

The findings highlight the variation of needs expressed by older and younger adults. Both generations emphasized the importance of effective reciprocal communication. This is not surprising since research shows that communication between two or more people may help to define their relationship (Nussbaum, Pecchioni, Robinson, & Thompson, 2000). Another study found that what mattered most for young adults and older people was the quality of the interactions taking place between them (Mabaso, 2011). Baltes and Wahl (1996) hold that the focus should be on the interactional nature of communication between people rather than on an individual's communication. Although older persons acknowledge the presence of communication barriers, they value clear and open communication and perceive themselves as

capable of resolving communication barriers when conversing with younger persons. The dynamic of communication seems to tend towards the sharing of positive events and experiences, and there is an indication that older persons recognize the necessity for mutual exchange of information. Baxter and Montgomery (1996) suggest that when people enter into a dialogue characterized by openness and transparency it may facilitate the development of new relational selves. They explain that this is a process of creating new selves which involve shared discovery and a redefinition of the self as well as the other.

Younger persons do not see potential communication barriers, in their case defined as disagreement rather than misunderstandings, as jeopardizing their relationship with older persons. There seem to be two ways of settling disagreement, either by attempting to find a central point at which both older and younger persons need to compromise, or by avoidance, such as withholding one's opinion when disagreement arises. Although disagreement is not a potential threat to the relationship, the lack of communication seems to be perceived as problematic. This may lead to previous relatedness being replaced by estrangement. As a result, younger persons value face-to-face quality-time communication. Angelis (1996) maintains that when developing a programme to promote positive intergenerational communication, one should account for the complexity of communication and start by creating a safe context in which communication can be fostered and develop gradually.

Both generations realized that various challenging life circumstances and physical distance can limit the development of shared interests between them. The identified barriers to shared interests are perceived differently. Whereas older persons hold that age differences may limit the development of shared interests, the younger persons viewed physical distance combined with different developmental life stages as challenging to the discovery of shared

interests. A shared activity which seems to bridge the differences associated with age is humour and laughter, as experienced by the older generation. If physical distance is not a factor, younger adults seem to recognize areas of common ground regardless of age differences.

A means to address needs effectively was identified by both generations as perspective-taking. This refers to the degree to which people are able to adopt someone else's perspective (Davis, 1983; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1990). According to the older persons, the factors that enhance mutual understanding of varied perspectives are respect, support and gratitude. The older persons seem to find solace in recognizing that although the content of life experiences might be very different, there are similar patterns. For example, even though the younger persons' challenges might manifest differently, the presence of these challenges creates grounds for commonality. Younger persons seem to draw an association between 'years lived' and 'wisdom gained'. This presumably enables them to realize that there is nothing to gain if they focus on differences and the need to change these, but that it would be better to accept and learn from older persons. The need to express appreciation and gratitude verbally also seems to be important both for the older and the younger generations. The implications of perspective-taking is significant for intergenerational relationships since research shows that it relates to pragmatic development and consequent development of empathy and sensitivity in interpersonal relationships (Davis, 1983; Hoffman, 1984). Studies have found that empathy and perspective-taking are associated with prosocial as well as altruistic behaviour (Eisenberg, Carlo, Murphy, & Van Court, 1995). Eisenberg's (1986) views on socio cognitive development are well-known; she argues that environmental and emotional factors are believed to be significant determinants in the development and use of prosocial moral reasoning. Perspective-taking and empathy are also linked to the development of skills such as the ability to interpret and react to non-verbal

cues, predict other people's reactions to one's own social behaviour, and increase self-awareness of interaction skills (Aspinwall, & Staudinger, 2003). Most studies on the socialization of empathy have focused on types of parenting styles or the ability and degree of parents' own empathic understanding and response (Soenens, Duriez, Vansteenkiste, & Goossens, 2007).

It emerged that both generations expressed a need for validation and recognition by the other. This is reflected by the older participants' experience of significant younger persons' sharing inner experiences and personal matters. They seem to find much meaning in taking on the role of confidant. This is in direct synergy with the majority of younger participants' need to have a listener to whom they can disclose private information. Younger people described the validation they experience in relation to older persons when the older persons believe in them and share their (younger persons') goals and dreams, which is postulated as acknowledgement of the way they construct their lives and which could build confidence and self-esteem. In addition to acting as a confidant, older persons seem to find affirmation in their willingness and desire to tune into the experiences and the world of the younger persons. Expression of this ability to adapt and understand may also serve as a means to be re-involved in a personal past. This may include the pleasure of reliving earlier experiences through relationships with grandchildren, and reminiscences about the older persons' own grandparents.

A combination of needs grouped as "specific needs" encompass the need (of older persons) for transmission of assets, and the need of the younger persons both to receive and provide support. Older persons expressed the need to learn from the younger generation about the use of new technology. Vaillant (2002) poses four indicators, similar to needs, of well-being in older persons. The final indicator points to lifelong learning, which involves the older adult's continuing learning. Research by Lüscher and Liegle (2003) also found that the commodities

transferred to older persons by younger people included knowledge of technological devices. Bolton (2014) reiterates these findings in her research, according to which the older generation values the input from the younger generation in the form of being taught to master unfamiliar new technology. However, it should be pointed out that the older persons seemed more interested in giving commodities to the younger people than receiving something from them. In fact, the majority of older persons expressed the need to teach younger people. This is also coupled with the need to guide, and to share various assets. The transfer of assets, identified as the sharing of wisdom, values and life experiences, may also be seen in the context of the need for generativity. There has been a new focus on generativity, specifically with regard to its role in society and not only viewed from the perspective of an individual (St. Aubin, McAdams, & Kim, 2004). Erikson described generativity as a personality strength of the midlife period, involving caring for and guiding future generations as a legacy of the self. Research by Peterson (2002) found that generativity fosters positive relations across generations. McAdams (2001) also maintains that the role of the older adults in socialization is essential and should be encouraged for the important task of passing on social traditions and values, which in essence may create a sense of social relatedness. The generative individual is conscious of being a guide to others and feels the need to impart accumulated knowledge and experience (Bradley & Weisner, 1997) and according to Bolton (2014) is therefore more likely to engage in intergenerational transmission. Bolton (2014) also identified, in contrast to the upward transmission, various commodities reported as being transmitted downwards. These are identified as skills and emotional and physical support as well as the transference of values.

The specific needs of younger persons have to do with the need to receive and give emotional and physical support. This may be related to what Brokenleg and Van Brockern

(2003) refer to as the need for a sense of significance and competence. They postulate that young adults have four needs: for a sense of significance, competence, power and virtue.

Both older and younger persons express the need for a friendship relationship. Young and older participants mentioned that older persons were confidants in the lives of the younger people. The need for trustworthiness is accentuated because younger persons report the need for this characteristic to be present to be able to confide in older persons. This need to disclose and create a context for disclosure is explained by the dialectical concept. Dialectical theory holds that self-disclosure is a dialogue that includes being open to another as well as being open with another. This is also indicated by the younger persons' being open with the older persons, therefore sharing self-disclosure. The older persons display being open to the younger persons whereby they may subsequently show acknowledgment and acceptance of what the younger persons chose to disclose to the older people. It is furthermore reasoned that when older persons are open to younger adults, the older persons reflect their willingness to listen to the younger persons, and subsequently demonstrate responsiveness, understanding, and empathy.

Although some older persons, like the younger persons, describe a friendship relationship, they seem to assume the role of educator when they feel the need to intervene. The prescriptive nature of educating is characterized by the older persons' adopting the position and assuming that younger persons would naturally comply as followers (Jackson, 1965). Older persons seem to be authoritative in their relationship with the younger generation, while the younger generation attempts to negotiate for an equal relationship, such as a friendship, following Watzlawick, Bavelas and Jackson (2011).

Implications of Findings

The findings of relational needs between older and younger adults signal various connecting points or intersections which could be highlighted and strengthened in an intergenerational intervention, and facilitate growth in those areas even when it requires change to take place. The needs of older persons to teach, share assets and provide guidance may intersect the needs of the younger adults to be taught, provided that the younger persons are given the space to engage (face-to-face dialogue) and a central point of agreement can be found, even when their views differ. This acceptance of differences may also lead to taking one another's perspectives and cultivating empathic understanding. An opportunity for open communication may give older persons the sense of agency whereby miscommunication can be dealt with in a constructive manner. If an intervention employs strategies to elicit fun and humour these may serve as a connecting point enabling both older and younger members to engage in shared interests and consequently encouraging the need to feel recognised. When mutual sharing and learning are facilitated, younger persons may also get the opportunity to feel that they are able to contribute to the knowledge of older persons. Older persons can be the transmitter of cultural norms and values, and this may also give them a sense of affirmation.

Needs are developmental requirements that must be met for development to proceed (VanderVen, 2004). A focus on the developmental stages, goals and interpersonal needs of older persons and younger persons separately may lead to individual and inter-group perspectives. However, VanderVen (2004) postulates that an investigation into the particular needs of younger adults and older adults may have implications for making intergenerational 'pairing' that could be particularly meaningful. By intergenerational 'pairing' she refers to a combination of two age ranges with internal variation, such as the developmental characteristics of the older persons

differing from those of the younger generation. This also involves the process whereby each person negotiates the associated developmental tasks individually (VanderVen, 2004). The concept 'reciprocal transformation' draws attention to how people enter into relationships and construct those relationships together over time (Nakkula & Ravitch, 1998). Therefore in a process of mutual discovery and uncovering in the context of the relationship, learning from one another as well as the self takes place. This is also referred to as 'dialectic of mutual influence' (Ravitch, 1998). When this ongoing reciprocity (the process of discovery and adjustment) leads to mutual change and transformation, a natural process of discovery about one another may ensue. Therefore, instead of focusing on a uni-directional perspective, the focus is on bi-directional and transactional interactions. This inevitably necessitates mutual change. While opposing wants and needs create internal contradictions in members of both generations, Baxter (1988) describes these tensions as not only inherent in relationships but also a necessary component to facilitate intimacy. Therefore it is argued that internal dialectical tensions can in effect bring both younger and older adults within a relationship together when used sensibly (Baxter, 1988).

Contact is believed to create perceived commonalities between younger and older persons (Ray, 2006). When considering the vast benefits of social contact, which signal the need for intergenerational interventions, it is important to account for the fact that opportunities for social contact may depend on older persons' recognizing the variations in opportunities for social contact among different life-stages.

Conclusion

Following the discussion of the findings in Phase 3, detailing the relational needs of both older and younger persons, the following elements (Table 7 below) need to be considered for incorporation into the IG intervention strategy.

Table 7

Identification of Key Elements Reflecting the Needs of Both Older and Younger Persons.

Themes	Process	Content
	Creating a context to facilitate:	Topics to be explored:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective communication • Shared interests • Perspective-taking • Affirmation • Specific needs • Relational needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutual communication/dialogue • Fun • Unconditional acceptance • Empathic understanding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared/common interests • Sharing of own views and feelings • Sharing of wisdom, life experiences, knowledge • Mutual teaching and learning

Limitations and Recommendations

It is acknowledged that greater involvement by the participants in the research process, for instance during the planning, writing, and developing stages, may be helpful. In addition, the majority of the participants talked about their relational needs involving a family member, and it would therefore be interesting to establish if those needs are any different from the relational needs expressed towards non-familial members. Different needs may also emerge when involving members of different generations in a joint research activity as proposed by Roos (2011).

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Phase 4

Developing a Board Game as an Intergenerational Intervention Strategy

Phase 1 enabled the identification of key elements derived from existing intergenerational programmes. In Phase 2 psychological and sociological theories were evaluated in order to inform the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy. In Phase 3 a qualitative research approach was used to identify the needs both of the younger and older generations in their relationship with the other generation, using the Mmogo-method®. Phase 4 incorporates the findings (elements) of the preceding phases and generates key elements to guide the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy.

Intergenerational Intervention Development

According to Statham (2009), much thought needs to be given when designing intergenerational interventions, especially when considering previous successes and failures of existing programmes. Abrams and Giles (1999) support this view and maintain that many programmes fail to consult academic discussion. They highlight the importance of identifying a specific purpose for an intervention which should be linked to research and/or evaluation.

In the following discussion key principles drawn from literature about the development of IG intervention strategies are proposed:

Structure. Sánchez (2009) maintains that the organization and length of activities included in interventions need to be considered with the specific goals that have to be achieved. In order to attain these goals, relationships between participants (representative of two or more generations) need to exist. All participants should have an assigned role, a position and a task they understand and which are meaningful to them (Bressler, Henkin & Adler, 2005).

VanderVen (2004) also highlights the importance of clarifying expectations and roles at the

outset of the intervention. Granville (2002) holds that sound planning and management of the intervention are necessary; this includes being clear about the reasons and goals for establishing the programme. He also emphasizes the need for an evidence-based intervention which involves a well-founded and systematic evaluation (Granville, 2002).

Process. It is important to ensure that the intervention facilitates acceptance and inclusion of all members from both generations (VanderVen, 2004). This can be done by means of reciprocity whereby certain activities ensure equal collaboration and bring mutual benefits to both older and younger persons. Fox and Giles (1993) maintain that the context of such an intervention needs to stimulate contact, which should be characterised as intergroup encounters. In addition, the intervention should include strategies that can facilitate the development of personal relationships and positive feelings (Bressler et al., 2005). This can be done by means of strategies that allow for reciprocity by involving all participants in giving to and receiving from people who are from a different age group. They maintain that interventions that focus on satisfying real and clearly identified needs are the likeliest to be effective (Bressler et al., 2005). Granville (2002) also stresses the importance of all participating generations' benefiting from the programme, and he labels this 'partnership'. This partnership may result in raising levels of competence, trust and status among persons of different generations. It may also promote social inclusion, which is believed to be an instrument for mitigating prejudice (Granville, 2002).

Content. The intervention needs to make provision for a strategy to encourage relationship-building around ongoing exchange of resources between older and younger adults such as the exchange of skills (Sánchez, 2009). VanderVen (2004) points out that an intervention should empower all participants by implementing strategies which facilitate and acknowledge contributions to the relationship. The strategy should furthermore encourage

ongoing recognition of each participant's contributions to the programme (Bressler et al., 2005). As part of the intervention, strategies need to be developed to promote mutually-attuned communication which will be interpreted positively (Fox & Giles, 1993).

To summarize the above, the following *general principles* are proposed: a) clarify the roles and expectations of the participants; b) identify the goals of the programme, based on the needs of the participants; c) design activities which facilitate collaboration (mutual participation); d) ensure reciprocity where members of both generations enjoy benefits; e) encourage positive intergenerational contact and communication; f) exposure to well-developed skills and interests which are engaging and valuable to both generation; g) acknowledge and affirm each member's contribution to the programme and relationship; and h) ensure systematic evaluation for the programme to be evidence-based.

Phases 1, 2 and 3 Informing the Development of an Intergenerational Intervention Strategy

Bishop and Moxley (2012) contend that qualitative research as well as undertaking a review of existing programmes can be helpful in identifying promising practices to incorporate into the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy. This may assist with the identification of what they term 'key qualities', which in this study is referred to as 'key elements'. Key elements therefore point to the significant characteristics of intergenerational programmes and/or intervention strategies as identified from the process of evaluation during Phases 1, 2 and 3. The researcher, with specific review questions in mind, examined studies and data in order to find key elements which could facilitate and inform the interactional nature of intergenerational relationships. According to Robertson, David and Rao (2003), the following elements should be considered when planning programmes: structure (how each programme is organized and constructed), content (how the information, skills, and strategies are presented),

and delivery (how the programme is selected or adapted and implemented, as well as how it is evaluated in a specific community). When considering an intergenerational intervention strategy to be implemented in a group setting, it is necessary to account for the concepts both of content and process within groups which are considered necessary components for groups to function effectively (Krause & Hulse-Killacky, 1996; Hulse-Killacky, Killacky, & Donigian, 2001). Content involves the subject matter and the exchange of ideas and information, and includes the purpose of the group. Process refers to the interaction that takes place between the group's participants (Gladding, 2003).

The focus in the next section is on the structure and the content of programmes (and the associated elements as incorporated from the previous phases), and this phase concludes with ideas for delivery.

Table 8

Summary of Key Elements from Phases 1, 2, 3 and 4

Elements	Phase 1: Programme Elements	Phase 2: Theoretical Elements	Phase 3: Older and Younger Persons' Needs	General Principles (Phase 4: Sánchez, 2009)
Structure	Identify goals and objectives to address real needs			Clarify roles and expectations Identify goals Evidence-based programmes
Process	Mutual engagement Cooperation Equal partners Positive contact Absence of competition Supportive and non-threatening context	Collective sharing Equal status Working together Reciprocal support Positive interaction Various forms of contact Account for subjective experiences Facilitate congruence, unconditional positive regard, empathy Facilitate self- and other-awareness	Mutual communication/dialogue Fun Unconditional acceptance Empathic understanding Shared/common interests Sharing own views and feelings	Collaboration Reciprocity Positive intergenerational contact Communication
Content	Sharing knowledge, experiences, skills, values, fond memories and universality of life experience Acknowledge similarities Shared enjoyment	Draw on existing knowledge, history, and experience	Sharing wisdom, life experiences, knowledge Mutual teaching and learning	Acknowledging each individual contribution Exchange of skills

Outline of Integrated Key Elements (Table 8):

Principles to Guide the Development of an Intervention Strategy

The following principles are derived from the key elements above (integrated in Table 8).

These principles served as a road map for the development of an intergenerational intervention strategy in which the findings from existing programmes, psychological and social theories and the needs of the older persons and younger adults are central to the operation of the strategy.

Principle 1: **Clarify the aim(s) of the programme, expectations and roles of participants.**

The goal of the programme should be identified, clear and communicated to the participants. Each participant should be guided to recognise his or her expectations and role in the context of the intervention strategy and specific setting which facilitate the IG relationship.

Principle 2: **Supportive context.** Provide a framework to promote social cohesion, focus on intra-individual factors (feelings, perceptions and experiences), inter-individual factors (definition and qualities of the relationship, needs and goals of interaction and awareness of interactional processes), and inter-group elements (identify group differences and similarities).

Principle 3: **Age-appropriate, shared activities.** Develop activities which facilitate meeting the needs of two generations (while considering the developmental stages of each) by means of beneficial interactions involving synergy of action during mutual collaboration and co-production.

Principle 4: **Reciprocity.** The nature of the interactions and relationships is expected to mutually benefit the older and younger persons with the aim of meeting the needs of both generations.

- Principle 5:* **Presence.** Intergenerational intervention strategies may facilitate positive presence, whereby members of both generations are given the opportunity to listen to and learn from the other generation and spend quality time. This may in turn facilitate perceived reciprocity of positive sentiments such as warmth, affection, empathy, understanding, trust and respect.
- Principle 6:* **Exposure to well-developed assets.** Sharing life experiences, knowledge, wisdom and skills which in turn facilitate active learning whereby each participant feels useful (having a purpose when contributing) and empowered by having the freedom to select relevant and personally meaningful information.
- Principle 7:* **Facilitate constructive communication.** This principle may allow for sharing of social norms and customs, and in turn enable affirmation and acceptance of similarities and differences among members of different generations.
- Principle 8:* **Choice.** Having choice, and therefore some control over the environment, allows members of both generations achieve a sense of agency and empowerment.
- Principle 9:* **Balance familiarity and novelty.** Familiarity may facilitate a sense of security, and novelty may ensure a measure of challenge and stimulation.
- Principle 10:* **Fun.** This is an important need both for the older and the younger participants. Research also shows that laughter and play promote relaxation, which alleviates stress.

The development of the intergenerational intervention strategy will be discussed in subsequent sections to illustrate its structure, content, and the rationale for implementation.

Applying the Principles: A Board Game as Intergenerational Intervention Strategy

Key elements of various sociological and psychological theories, existing programmes and qualitative data informed and guided the development of this programme. The principle of presence (*Principle 5*) aims to explain the importance of emotional expression as a significant characteristic in intergenerational relationships (Bengtson, Giarusso, Mabry, & Silverstein, 2002; Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Silvertsein & Bengtson, 1997). In order to incorporate the concept of presence, the game is designed so that members of both generations will get a chance to listen and share. The creation of a supportive context (*Principle 2*) could enable members of both generations to experience unconditional positive regard and acceptance which may in turn facilitate authenticity and the exchange of life experiences. According to VanderVen (2011) an effective intergenerational theory as guideline for the implementation of a programme should include principles of a dynamic perspective. Therefore the concept of intergenerational pairing acknowledges the integration of two dynamic systems (*Principle 2*). Biggs (2007) contends that generational awareness reflects the ability to place oneself in the position of the other generation. It is postulated that while an older (Figure 5) or younger player shares an aspect of his/her life, it could assist the other players to develop a degree of openness, an objective distancing from prior prejudice, and consequently reflect empathy (*Principle 7*).

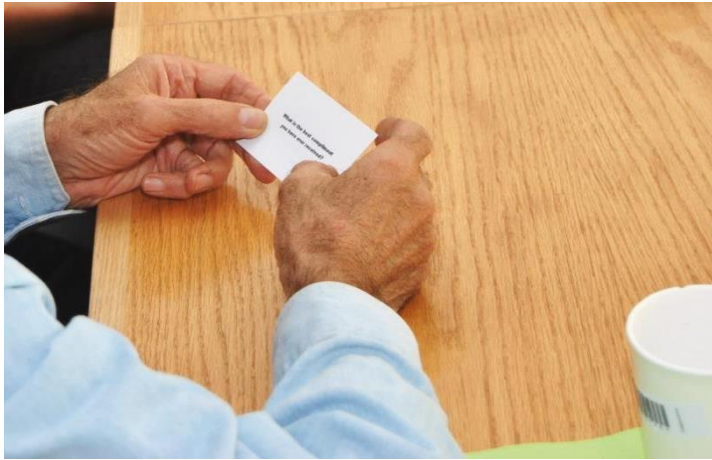


Figure 5. Reading a card and sharing a skill.

In addition, as proposed by Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT), the board game also acknowledges that intergenerational interactions take place within a particular interpersonal context (Watzlawick, Bavelas, & Jackson, 2011). Therefore, by implication, this interpersonal context shapes the meaning of the communication that takes place between members of different generations (Roos & Malan, 2012; Vorster, 2011; Watzlawick et al., 2011; *Principle 2; Principle 7*).

Although many intergenerational activities address common developmental goals, including relationship building and practising motor skills, the various needs of the participants can be challenging to facilitators (Jarrott, Gigliotti, & Smock, 2006). By selecting appropriate activities for contact and providing activities that incorporate the developmental and emotional needs of both generations (*Principle 3*), negative expectations and prejudices may be alleviated (*Principle 5*). An intervention allowing both generations feel respected and acknowledged for their needs may facilitate reciprocal interaction in which members of both generations share their skills and interests (*Principle 6*). This is enabled by the careful selection of cards (and relevant

instructions), and the rules which stipulate that within a team (consisting of an older and younger person) each member gets a chance to pick up a card (Figure 6).



Figure 6. A younger person takes a card.

The board game encourages choice because every player gets various opportunities to choose, for instance when a card instructs the player to choose another participant to follow the instruction as indicated (*Principle 8*). They are able to choose the figure, a team member and whether they want to follow an instruction or pick up another card as alternative. In addition, by sharing knowledge, skills, wisdom and interests, the older and the younger persons can choose what they would like to incorporate into their own lives (*Principle 8; Principle 6*).

Since board games are known to be a source of enjoyment for people of different ages, playing the game can be fun for both younger and older persons (*Principle 10*).



Figure 7. Older and younger participants playing as a team.

Each player gets the opportunity to follow the instructions on the cards, which creates a sense of participation and equality (*Principle 1*).



Figure 8. Moving a figure along the path (*Principle 3; Principle 4; Principle 5*).

The supportive context, which involves orientation to the game, mutual collaboration and intra-generational pairing of teams, may provide an additional safe space to share and have fun (*Principle 2; Principle 10*). It is necessary both for older and younger persons to feel empowered by this intervention strategy. In order to ensure that members of both generations enjoy equal status and benefits, a board game is chosen as tool since both older persons and

young adults are familiar with them (*Principle 9*). The incorporation of new elements and features ensures novelty and excitement.

In conclusion, the content of the cards is designed to give players opportunities for communication (*Principle 7*) and unconditional acceptance (*Principle 2; Principle 5*). These, Nagel (2013) found in her research, are needed components in reciprocal intergenerational relationships (*Principle 4*). Bengtson and Roberts (1991) support this by maintaining that effective intergenerational relationships are distinguished by sustained reciprocal cooperation and coordination that benefit the members of both these generations. According to Morgaine (1994) this concept of emancipatory knowledge (*Principle 6; Principle 8*) may be a useful way of viewing the basic values that shape theory, but also for investigating the needs of both older and younger groups (*Principle 3*).

Description of the Intergenerational Intervention Strategy

The content and process of this board game are designed to align with the overall goal of the game: to facilitate the interactional mechanism in intergenerational relationships for greater cohesion and solidarity. The exchange of wisdom, knowledge, interests and skills between older and younger persons provides a crucial vehicle for interaction. This process of bidirectional interchange and reciprocity (teaching-learning and giving-taking), is ultimately based on facilitating cohesion between older and younger persons.

The Significance of the Name

The board game is based on the concept of “Pay it Forward”, with the intention of ‘moving’ knowledge, wisdom, skills and interests between generations. The board game is consequently named “Play it Forward”, thus a “move forward” from one to another generation.

Life experience, wisdom, knowledge and skills are regarded as invaluable resources which can be exchanged between generations (Lindauer, 2003).

Board Game Components

The following components make up the board game as intervention strategy.

A board. The board used for the game sets the scene and provides the framework which it is played. Here it represents a winding pathway in a familiar setting to both older and younger persons (a town; Potchefstroom with well-known landmarks) (Figure 9).

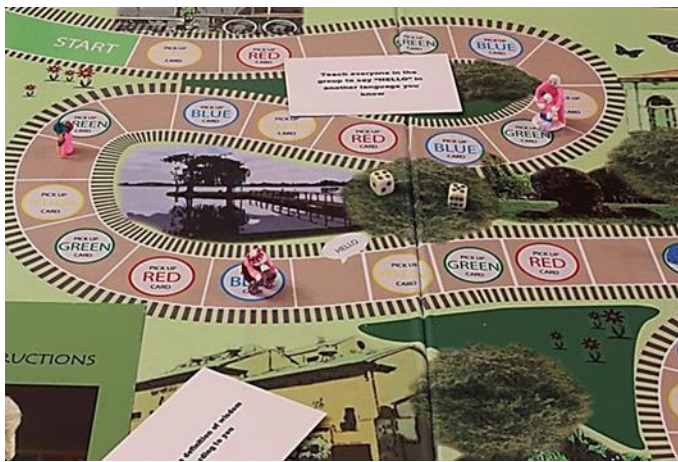


Figure 9. The board with the starting point (top left; *Principle 3; Principle 4*).

Figures. These little figures represent two persons, an older and younger person in action, for example holding hands, or riding a bicycle together (Figure 10). These figures are made specifically to include both older and younger generation.



Figure 10. The figures represent an older and a younger person together (*Principle 1*).

The dice. A throw of the dice enables movement of the figures on the pathway and allows for picking up cards connected to the place where the figure lands (Figure 10).

Four sets of cards. The cards are colour coded with each colour representing a domain: wisdom, knowledge, skills and surprise (Figure 11). Each card has a particular instruction (relating to one of the domains) to be followed which facilitates communication.



Figure 11. Categories of cards: wisdom, knowledge, skills and surprise.

Examples of questions for each category:

Wisdom (red): Share a wisdom; what is the origin of your wisdom?; what is the definition of wisdom according to you?; ask a player of your choice to share a wisdom.

Knowledge (green): Share a unique custom in your family; what is your hobby?; share an interesting fact; exchange an interest with the person on your right.

Skills (blue): Teach everyone in the group to say “hallo” in another language you know; exchange a skill with the player on your left; what is the first skill you acquired?; share a skill with your teammate.

Surprise (yellow): what is your favourite song and why?; tell a joke; what is your most valuable possession?; describe a talent you have.

Guidelines for Playing the Game

In order to familiarize all players with the game and its different ways of interaction they first need to follow the *Instructions and Rules* booklet included in the board game (Figure 12).



Figure 12. The rules and instruction booklet used to orientate all players.

The rules provide structure and mutual understanding of expectations and roles (*Principle*

1) and stipulate the following:

1) Two persons play as a team, one representing each age group. The minimum number of players is 4 persons, and maximum 8 (two to four teams).

2) Each team (older and younger participant) chooses/agrees on a figure (Figure 13; *Principle 3*).



Figure 13. Placing a figure at the starting point.

The remaining figures (bottom left) are displayed for other team members to choose from.

3) No persons under the age of 6 can play this game. Since the game depends for the most part on instructions to be read from the cards, it is recommended that all players should have a basic level of reading skills. Although the older team member might be able to assist a younger player, this may compromise the equal stance which this board game attempts to create for all members.

4) If a player throws the dice, and it is the number '6', the player can throw again, and add the '6' to the second throw's number.

5) Teammates must take turns throwing the dice (Figure 14).



Figure 14. The older person's turn to throw the dice.

6) The person who throws the dice must take part in the action indicated on the board, e.g. follow the instruction on a card (Figure 15).



Figure 15. Picking up the card as instructed on the board (*Principle 6; Principle 7*).

7) Answers may not be repeated.

8) If a player does not want to answer a question indicated on a card, the next card on the pile may be taken (*Principle 8; Figure 16*).



Figure 16. Taking a yellow (surprise) card off the pile.

9) The game ends when the last team reaches the ‘Finish’ station (the end of the path; Figure 17).



Figure 17. The end of the path is indicated by the ‘Finish’ sign.

The instructions, as indicated in the booklet, are as follows:

a) Open the box and unpack the content of the board game; *b)* the colour-coded cards must be placed on the board where indicated; *c)* choose a teammate - a younger and older person should represent a team; *d)* place the figures at the station marked as ‘Start’; *e)* each team throws the dice once, and the team with the highest number begins the game; *f)* each team has a turn to throw the dice and move their figures as indicated by the number on the dice; *g)* when the figure

arrives at a station (along the path) marked with a certain coloured circle, which indicates that he/she must pick up a card, the player who threw the dice has to pick up the top card of the deck; *h*) the player reads the instructions on the card aloud, and implements the specific instruction(s) through action; *i*) when the instruction on the card is carried out, the player returns the card by placing it at the bottom of the deck cards; and *j*) move the figures along the path of the game until all the teams make it to the end, the 'Finish' station.

Intergenerational Settings for Play of Board Game

This intervention strategy may facilitate interaction between older and younger adults in a variety of settings. This board game may enhance relationships where intergenerational contact has already been established such as nursing homes/facilities (residents and caregivers), community/service/senior centers (older persons and staff/volunteers) and family settings.

Suggested Recommendations for Evaluation

Interventions are effective tools for improving intergenerational relationships and associated social issues. Therefore a call for greater attention to be paid to rigorous evaluation of intergenerational interventions is necessary (Statham, 2009). Much evaluative work has been done in the US, Canada and the UK (St James-Roberts & Singh, 2001; Springate, Atkinson, & Martin, 2008). Although there has been an increasing move towards the implementation of intergenerational interventions, they are not prominent in South Africa. Evaluation of programmes is defined as “a systematic and explicit process, an organized and deliberate effort to gather valid information in order to describe and issue grounded value judgments about a phenomenon” (Saéz & Nieto, 1995, pp 142). This makes it possible to improve activities by learning from experience, and may consequently improve the planning process and selection of improved alternatives. WHO (2002) advises that the aspects of activities in programmes should

be critically analyzed according to its formulation, efficiency and effectiveness, costs and acceptance by all parties involved. The researcher acknowledges the importance of pre-programme research as an invaluable process; considerable time was spent on evaluating existing research. In the same vein, Bocian and Newman (1989) contend that evaluation should be critical to the development of programmes and should be undertaken at all stages of implementation, including the planning and development stages. It is therefore important to stipulate certain recommendations for evaluation of this intervention strategy (board game).

Sánchez (2009) proposes a number of factors to consider when embarking on an evaluation of an intergenerational programme: analyse whether the programme is needed, carry out a process, establish criteria, gather valid information, monitor the cost of the process, construct a valid programme model, begin a systematic effort, tackle a specific task, synthesize and integrate evidences, make inquiries about interest in the programme, make grounded assessments, provide indicators, create standards, and confirm the real benefits of the intergenerational programme to the participants. Owen (2006) suggests five different types of evaluation. Proactive evaluation aims to determine whether the programme is needed. This is specifically relevant to the present study because the relational needs of older and younger persons may be a crucial factor in considering the necessity for a programme, what type of programme is needed and how to focus it. Clarificative evaluation is concerned with clarifying the programme's logic. This involves the assumptions, objectives, intentions and reasons for linking certain activities with the objectives. This type of evaluation is applicable to this study because the identification of the findings elicited key principles which reflect the programme's logic, such as a clearly defined goal. The third type is interactive or participatory evaluation, which involves the participants directly. Therefore a measure of participation and control is

given to those who are committed to the programme and their interests are consequently prioritized. This type of evaluation holds some value for this study and may be appropriate when implementing the board game in a variety of contexts and settings. But in view of the multicultural context of South Africa, the findings may inevitably be limited to specific groups, thus rendering generalization invalid. However, when describing the characteristics of the participants, implementation in similar contexts may be possible, which may add significantly to the effectiveness of the programme. Monitoring evaluation involves tracking the different processes, in other words a continuous assessment of how the programme is progressing and consequent adjustments as necessary. Owen (2006) postulates that evaluating the intended and unintended outcomes of a programme is essential. Impact evaluation ensures the assessment of programme objectives and to what extent these have been reached. This type of evaluation may be valuable when one wants to evaluate the degree to which the needs of the older and younger persons have been fulfilled upon implementation. This can be especially insightful when undertaking a pre- and post-test.

According to Granville (2002), the importance of a built-in evaluation exercise and the recording of findings are necessary to inform future programmes. Since the findings of each phase were identified and presented as principles in Phase 4 by means of a systematic process of investigation and critical evaluation (from key findings of the three phases), it is suggested that the principles be tested empirically during implementation and consequent evaluation. A systematic evaluation, incorporating Owen's (2006) evaluation types, may therefore be necessary for the amendment of the principles, and this may assist with the refinement of the board game.

In order to ensure as wide an implementation as possible of this intergenerational intervention strategy, it is also argued that the evaluation findings should be noted in language

understood by the participants of such research, those outside the research context, who might want to use these findings (Greenwood & Levin, 2008).

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Trustworthiness and Critical Reflection

Specific care was taken to ensure trustworthiness in all phases of the research process. The trustworthiness of this study was ensured by attending to the concepts of transferability, dependability and crystallization. Transferability is concerned with the extent to which results can be generalized to other contexts (Patton, 2002). The researcher aimed to enhance the degree of transferability by an in-depth exploration of existing programmes, both internationally and nationally. The identification of key principles in effective and diverse intergenerational programmes enables applicability in a variety of contexts (Ellingson, 2009). In addition, the researcher aimed to document the process of the development of the board game in a descriptive and comprehensive manner.

Dependability refers to whether the findings would be consistent if the study is repeated, in the same context, with the same methods and with the same participants (Shenton, 2004). In order to address the dependability issue more directly, the researcher aimed to report the processes within the study in detail, which may enable a future researcher to repeat the work. Reference to existing theories, literature on effective intergenerational programmes and findings from secondary research data were made explicit. Such in-depth exploration and description also allow the reader to assess the extent to which proper research practices have been followed (Shenton, 2004). Therefore the planning, data-gathering methods, design and reflective appraisal involving the development of the board game were clearly stipulated.

The following strategies, based on the concept of crystallization (Tracy, 2010), have been employed throughout the research process to assist in the trustworthiness of the procedure and data. According to Silverman (1993), crystallization may be defined as a way of capturing

multiple truths that relate to the topic. Therefore various methods (multi-methods) are employed, acknowledging the multiple voices as many truths and disregarding one 'correct' truth.

The two forms of crystallization used in this study are: data (collection of data from a variety of sources, such as intergenerational theories, literature and secondary analysis), and methods (various methods of data collection have been used, such as meta-analysis of current intergenerational programmes and the identification of principles applicable to the board game; King et al., 2008). In addition to this, according to Tracy (2010), the approach of crystallization may also involve the use of multiple theoretical lenses, which in this study has been rigorously applied to ensure increased trustworthiness. This could, according to Richardson (2000), facilitate in-depth understanding of the focus of the study, as well as acknowledging its partiality (the presence of multiple perspectives).

Conclusion

There have not been sufficient intergenerational interventions in South Africa which include non-familial relations. Hatton-Yeo and Ohsako (2000) maintain that many intergenerational programmes in South Africa are not developed according to specific needs or by particular design but as part of training and support programmes. The growth of an ageing population introduces various challenges to consider, such as realizing that resources are limited, in an attempt to address the needs of the older population. One of the attempts to deal with the increasing numbers of older people is to use residential facilities as a resource for their physical, psychological and social needs (Bekhet, Zauszniewski, & Nakhla, 2009). Due to an increasing need for intergenerational programmes, interest in these initiatives is growing.

The value of intergenerational programmes for younger and older generations is embedded in the context they create for mutually beneficial intergenerational interactions which can meet needs that would otherwise go unmet. This is, in many cases, the fault of mainstream institutions which tend to segregate members by age (Bishop & Moxley, 2012).

According to Kuehne (2003), theoretical research and programme evaluation are essential for increased production of more, diverse literature, which in turn may generate better implementation of theories and conceptual frameworks. This is especially important when considering the impact of intergenerational research, which, according to Kuehne (2013), has the potential to become the building block of strong communities. This is in line with what Stack, Serbin, Enns, Ruttle and Barrieau (2010) stated regarding community needs and the fact that healthy intergenerational relationships between older and younger generations could contribute to meeting those needs adequately, especially in low-resourced areas.

Intergenerational theory is essential to accord the growing intergenerational field validity, credibility and a coherent, dynamic frame of reference for programme development (VanderVen, 2004). It is thus necessary to examine the fundamental premises of intergenerational interventions. Careful research and evaluation play a vital role in developing intergenerational programmes that focus on developing and sustaining beneficial intergenerational relationships (Stack et al., 2010). This study attempts to address the need for careful investigation into IG research by critical evaluation of existing IG programmes, psychological and sociological theoretical underpinnings of those programmes, and the exploration of intergenerational relational needs both of older and younger participants.

Numerous research studies have investigated the benefits of intergenerational programmes both for older and for younger adults, such as improved social skills (Kaplan, Liu, & Hannon, 2006), improved attitudes towards ageing (Aday, Sims, McDuffie, & Evans, 1996), and an increased sense of social connectedness (Short-De Graff & Diamond, 1996). It is acknowledged that older as well as younger individuals have much to give and to learn through shared interactions. Despite this, a great deal of research has focused on isolated outcomes such as skills learned, the fulfilment of roles, changes in perceptions and knowledge gained. Yet the development of an intergenerational intervention with the aim of facilitating a given context to practise positive values and attitudes, is essential to meet the psychological and emotional needs of all participants. The development of this intervention strategy in the form of a board game and its implementation may facilitate a context in which older persons and younger adults are able to interact and consequently expand their intergenerational behavioural repertoire. Such context is informed by the key elements identified through the critical evaluation of existing programmes, psychological and sociological theories and thematic analysis of the needs both of older and younger persons. In the context of the challenge to design and develop an IG intervention strategy which could facilitate interaction between older persons and younger adults, the identification and integration of key elements served as a major step. The creation of an intervention strategy in which such principles and elements are incorporated makes it possible to develop promising practices which would facilitate intergenerational cohesion and solidarity. This intervention strategy, the board game, which can be implemented as a sole activity or as part of a more comprehensive programme, may therefore contribute both to familial and non-familial intergenerational relationships by facilitating mutual interaction and support.

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