

Intergenerational care: Exploring locus of control of a group of older people in their relationships with younger people

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PREFACE

The candidate elected to write an article for submission to the **Journal of Intergenerational Relationships (JIR)** as the chosen research topic accords with the aim and scope of the journal. The **Journal of Intergenerational Relationships** serves as a forum for scholars, practitioners, policy makers, educators, and advocates who aim to remain up-to-date with the latest research on intergenerational relationships, practice methods and policy initiatives.

JIR typically publishes articles whose content addresses intergenerational relationships evidenced in intergenerational practice, policy and research. Intergenerational relationships occur in familial and non-familial settings and involve interaction that demonstrates positive and negative interactions. The journal was selected for publication because this article focuses on how older persons subjectively evaluate the control they exert in relation to the younger generation and the wider environment. The findings may be applied to facilitate positive relationships between younger and older people, which are very important for both generations' well-being.

INTENDED JOURNAL AND GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

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

Instruction to Authors

Research-Based Papers

- Include relevant literature, research question(s), methodology, and results.
- Discuss implications for practice, policy, and further research in an emerging multidisciplinary field of study.
- Include conceptual, theoretical, and/or empirical content.

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

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

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

Cover Page: Important - indicating the article title plus:

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

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

- an ABSTRACT not longer than 100 words. Below the abstract, provide 3-5 key words for bibliographic access, indexing, and abstracting purposes.

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

- 300 dpi or higher
- Sized to fit on journal page
- EPS, TIFF, or PSD format only
- Submitted as separate files

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

More direct information concerning the proposed submission can be retrieved from the website.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I owe all I have and all that I am to my Heavenly Father, since He has chosen this path for me and directed the way with endless love and grace.

Second, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Vera Roos for being my supervisor and mentor. Not only did she contribute to my skills as a researcher, but she also made a valuable contribution. I honour her for that.

Third, I wish to acknowledge every participant in this study for sharing their precious experiences with me and in so doing making a special contribution to the exploration of motivation for respect in intergenerational relationships.

I would like to express my gratitude to Karen Bannister for the language editing of this manuscript. I appreciate it sincerely.

I offer my deepest gratitude and appreciation to my parents, **Klein Jan and Lynette du Preez**, and my partner, **Luke Crawford**, for their priceless support and love throughout this journey. I also thank family, friends and colleagues for their understanding and motivation during the completion of this study.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van die studie is om lokus van beheer en omgee te bestudeer uit die perspektief van die ouer mense. Nege ouer mense (8 vrouens en 1 man) wat in Vaalharts in die Noord Kaap provinsie van Suid Afrika bly het deelgeneem aan die navorsing.

Uit die perspektief van ouer persone verwys lokus van beheer in intergenerasie-verhoudings na hoe ouer mense subjektiewelik die beheer wat hulle uitoefen in verhoudings met die jonger generasie en die breër omgewing evalueer. Die mate waartoe ouer persone subjektiewelik die belonings en straf uit die interpersoonlike konteks en die breër omgewing evalueer sal die manifestasie van beheer (intern en ekstern) aan die lig bring, en uiteindelik of en hoe ouer persone sorg ontlok en of en hoe hulle sorg verskaf. Interne lokus van beheer verwys na die subjektiewe evaluering van ouer persone dat hulle in beheer is van hul lewens en die omgewing en dat hulle sorg kan gee en ontvang. Ouer mense met 'n eksterne lokus van beheer glo dat hul lewens en omgewing onbeheerbaar is en dat dit deur eksterne faktore beheer word. Hierdie siening het implikasies vir die gee van sorg of die ontlokking van sorg uit intergenerasie-verhoudings. Baie min navorsing het gefokus op lokus van beheer en sorg in intergenerasie-verhoudings.

Die navorsing is goedgekeur deur die Menslike Navorsingsetiekkomitee van die Fakulteit van Gesondheidswetenskappe van die Universiteit van Noord-Wes. Riglyne wat verskaf is deur die Raad van Gesondheidsberoepes van Suid-Afrika vir sielkunde is gevolg gedurende en na die navorsingsproses.

'n Kwalitatiewe navorsingsbenadering is gebruik. Die deelnemers is eerstens gekies deur die gebruik van doelgerigte steekproeftrekking. Dataversameling het plaasgevind oor drie dae. Data is versamel deur gebruik te maak van die Mmogo metode®. Die ouer mense was gevra om

iets te maak sodat ons hulle ervarings of hoe hulle sorg in verhouding tot die jonger mense (16 jaar en jonger) ervaar het kon sien en verstaan. Die deelnemers het die geleentheid gehad om hulle aanbiedings te verduidelik, en daarna is vrae gevra. Die data is geanaliseer deur tematiese en visuele analises te gebruik. Betroubaarheid is verseker deur die gebruik van geloofwaardigheid, oordraagbaarheid, betroubaarheid en bevestigbaarheid.

Die data het vier temas onthul. Eerstens het die ouer mense interne lokusbeheer in verhouding tot die jonger mense getoon deur verantwoordelikheid te aanvaar om vir die jonger mense te sorg. Strategieë in verhouding tot die grond was dat hulle die grond proaktief gebruik het met die verwagting dat hulle beloon sal word vir hulle pogings. Die belonging is die voedsel wat die land sal verskaf. Tweedens het die ouer mense strategieë getoon wat geassosieer word met interne lokus van beheer in verhouding tot die jonger mense en die omgewing. In verhouding tot die jonger mense het hulle die verwagte gedrag getoon, die jonger mense opgevoed en die skoolwerk van die jonger mense gemonitor. Dit is slegs in verhouding tot die dissiplinerings van jonger mense dat die ouer mense hulle eksterne lokus van beheer getoon het. Die ouer mense het eksterne bystand gesoek om die jonger mense te dissiplineer, wat die polisie, God en die navorsers ingesluit het. Derdens, die resultate van die strategieë om beheer uit te oefen oor die jonger mense was nie effektief wanneer die subjektiewe uitdrukkings van teleurstelling sowel as die verwerpingsgedrag van die jonger mense waargeneem is nie. Laastens, ouer mense probeer beheer verkry oor die jonger mense deur toenemende pogings om lyfstrafdisipline toe te pas. Die bevindings van lokus van beheer en sorg kan gebruik word om positiewe verhoudings tussen ouer en jonger mense te fasiliteer, wat baie belangrik is vir albei generasies se welstand.

Sleutelwoorden: eksterne lokus van beheer, intergenerasie-verhoudings, interne lokus van beheer, zorg.

SUMMARY

This study aims to explore locus of control and care from the perspective of older people (aged 60 years and older) in relation to younger people. Nine older people (8 female and 1 male) living in the Vaalharts community in the Northern Cape province of South Africa participated in the research.

From the perspective of older persons, locus of control in intergenerational relations refers to how they subjectively evaluate the control they exert in relation to the younger generation and the broader environment. The extent to which older persons subjectively evaluate rewards and punishments from the interpersonal context and the broader environment will inform the manifestations of control (internal or external). Internal locus of control refers to the subjective evaluation by older people: that they are in control of their lives and the environment, and that they can give and receive care. Older people with an external locus of control believe that their lives and environment are uncontrollable and governed by external factors. Little research has focused on locus of control and care in intergenerational relationships.

The research was approved by the human research ethical committee of the Faculty of Health Sciences in the North-West University. Guidelines provided by the Health Professions Council of South Africa for psychologists were followed during and after the research process.

A qualitative research approach was used. The participants were first selected by using purposive sampling. Data were gathered over three days by using the Mmogo method®. The older people were asked to make something using these materials to illustrate their experiences or the way in which they experienced care in relationship to younger people. The participants had the opportunity to explain their presentations and prompting questions were asked. The data

were analysed by using thematic and visual analyses. Trustworthiness was ensured by testing for credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability.

The data revealed four themes. First, the older people expressed internal locus control in relation to the younger people by accepting responsibility to care for them. In relation to the environment, they used the land proactively. In doing so, they demonstrated the expectation of being rewarded for their efforts: the land would provide them with the food as a reward. Second, older people demonstrated strategies associated with internal locus of control in relation to the younger people and the environment. They modelled expected behaviour, educated the younger people and monitored their school work. It is only in relation to disciplining younger people that older people demonstrated external locus of control. They sought external assistance to discipline the younger people, which included appeals to the police, God and the researchers. Third, the outcomes of the strategies to exercise control over the younger people were not effective, as the subjective expressions of disappointment and the rejecting behaviour of the younger people showed. Last, the older people tried to gain control over the younger people by applying escalating attempts at corporal discipline. These findings, in contributing to an understanding of locus of control and care, may be used to facilitate positive relationships between younger and older people, which are vital for both generations' well-being.

Keywords: care, external locus of control, intergenerational relationships, internal locus of control

PERMISSION TO SUBMIT ARTICLE FOR EXAMINATION PURPOSES

The candidate elected 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 Research Psychology.

Prof. V. Roos

DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER

I hereby declare that this research manuscript, **Intergenerational care: Exploring locus of control of a group of older people in their relationships with younger people**, is my own work. I also declare that all sources used have been referenced and acknowledged.

Furthermore I declare that this dissertation was edited by a qualified language editor as prescribed. Finally I declare that this research was submitted to Turn-it-in and a satisfactory report was received stating that plagiarism had not been committed.

Lynne du Preez

DECLARATION BY THE LANGUAGE EDITOR

I hereby declare that I have language edited the thesis **Intergenerational care: Exploring locus of control of a group of older people in their relationships with younger people** by Lynne du Preez for the degree of MA in Research Psychology.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

This study forms part of a bigger research project pertaining to intergenerational relationships, care and respect. Different themes emerged through an inductive analysis of the data, namely: emotional and physical care; reciprocal nature of care, lack of empathy and external locus of control. In the initial research, the construct 'care' was not specified to allow for older people's own interpretations. Care can however be characterised as emotional, social (intangible) or physical or instrumental (tangible) (Van der Geest, 2002). The theme of locus of control and how it relates to care in an intergenerational caring relationship is the focus of this study. For the purpose of this study, locus of control is defined as the subjective evaluation of older people's control in relation to interactions with members of the younger generation and the environment (Roos, in press; Vorster, 2011).

An intergenerational relationship can be described as a relationship between people from a genealogical line of kinship who are either historically or socially related (Scabini & Marta, 2006). A generation can be described as a group of people with similar characteristics and from the same age group; this can influence the group's views of the world (Scabini & Marta, 2006). The intergenerational relations of the people who participated in this research should be understood within the broader socio-cultural environment. In the environment in which the interactions between these participants from different generations took place they did not distinguish between familial and non-familial relationships when it came to caring for someone else (Chilisa, 2011; Roos, in press). Although the participants did not distinguish between familial and non-familial relationships, there remain issues that can complicate the relationship between the young and the older people, such as locus of control.

This literature review will focus on: locus of control (internal and external) to gain a deeper understanding of the concept; how different factors contribute to its development; and specifically on locus of control as an interpersonal construct and how it relates to care between members of different generations in an intergenerational caring relationship.

Locus of Control (Internal and External)

The concept 'locus of control' was developed by Julian Rotter in 1966 (Carrim, Basson, & Coetzee, 2006). This can manifest internally or externally, and is based on people's subjective evaluations of rewards and punishments (Ross & Mirowsko, 2002). The rewards or punishments are linked to their general evaluation of whether they can influence or determine the events, rewards or punishments in their lives and environments (Cherry, 2014). People with an internal locus of control subjectively evaluate that they are able to influence the external environment and are also able determine rewards or punishments in comparison with people with an external locus of control that evaluate the external environment as being beyond their control and believe that they are subjected to rewards and punishments inflicted on them from outside resources demonstrate an external locus of control (Cherry, 2014). Internal and external locus of control are therefore associated with the extent to which an individual feels that he or she can influence or determine events in their lives. This has implications for the way in which someone provides care and or is able to elicit care.

Internal Locus of Control

People with an internal locus of control generally believe that rewards and punishments in their lives are guided by their own decisions and efforts or that they are in control of their circumstances and environment (Lam & Mizerski, 2005). They believe that what happens to them in life is their personal responsibility (April, Dharani, & Peters, 2012) and this leads them

to take responsibility for their own successes and failures in life, regardless of possible risks or challenges that they may confront (April et al., 2012).

When people with an internal locus of control are challenged they may have unrealistic expectations because their perception of possibilities and the reality of the possibilities may be different (Bar-Tal & Bar-Zohar, 1977). When their perception of the possibilities clashes with reality (Bar-Tal & Bar-Zohar, 1977) they may try to manipulate the reality so that they can feel that they are in control of it (Kulshresta & Sen, 2006). Someone with an internal locus of control would be more likely to try to improve and control the situation by observing different factors or possibilities that can be used to create positive outcomes in a (Mikey, 2012) in spite of any possible risks or challenges.

External Locus of Control

People with an external locus of control believe that their lives and environment are influenced by external forces, or controlled by others and the environment (Von Stumm, Gale, Batty, & Deary, 2009; Vorster, 2011). The fact that they believe that their lives and environment are beyond their control can lead them similarly to believe that their actions depend on factors over which they do not have any control (Landy & Contre, 2004). Consequently they place their trust in external resources/circumstances (April et al., 2012). The fact that they believe they lack control over their own lives can be negative in intergenerational relationships. It can make them feel demoralised and may diminish motivation to provide care (Mirowski & Ross, 1989). For some people with an external locus of control, religion and spirituality play an important role when they feel they don't have control over their lives or a situation, as their sense of control is associated with their dependence on God (Jackson & Coursey, 1988) and this helps them to deal with the challenges. If a challenge is uncontrollable, people with an external locus of control

cope more effectively than people with an internal locus of control (Wortman, Sheedy, Gluhoski, & Kessler, 1992). They would have more realistic expectations about the situation (Wortman et al., 1992) because their perception and the reality are likely to match. The fact that they can cope better with challenges in an intergenerational caring relationship is good, since their life satisfaction would not decrease as much as for those who cannot cope (Wortman et al., 1992). People who cope better experience reduced stress and this can lead them to be happier (Kulshrestha & Sen, 2006).

Development of Locus of Control

According to literature, the development of locus of control is influenced by many aspects, such as education and literacy (Schieman, 2001). When people become better educated and more literate their ability to collect and analyse information and to solve problems increases. This in turn leads to an increased sense of control over the environment (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). According to Lachman and Leff (1989), people that express internal locus of control tend to be more educated than people that express external locus of control because those display internal locus of control tend to solve their problems themselves (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). In view of this, poor grades may be an indication of external locus of control (Nelson & Mathia, 1995) as they believe that their lives are controlled by external forces over which they have no control (Von Stumm et al., 2009; Vorster, 2011).

Age can play a role in the development of locus of control. It has been found that internal locus of control increases in middle age (Gatz & Karel, 1993) and decreases in later life (Wolinsky & Stump, 1996). Older people may feel that they are not in control of their lives when factors that affect a person during ageing, such as disability, physical health impairments, income and subjective life expectancy, are taken into account (Wolinsky & Stump, 1996).

Consequently, it may be expected that external locus of control would increase in later life (Duffy & Mac Donald, 1990).

Another aspect that informs the development of locus of control is low socio-economic status. People who live in economically deprived areas and are poor believe that they have less control over their own lives. This can lead to learned helplessness because economically disadvantaged people who believe they have little control fail to respond to opportunities that may be able to help them gain positive rewards and control (Poortinga, Dunstan, & Fone, 2008). This, in the long term, can lead to the development of an external locus of control because they feel there is nothing they can do about their situation (Poortinga et al., 2008; Taylor & Seeman, 1999).

The context which informs the relationships between older and young people can also influence locus of control. According to Roos (in press), intergenerational relations and the locus of control of older people should be contextualised against the broader sociopolitical environment. The politics that dominated the Republic of South Africa from 1948 until 1994 was characterised by racial separation and white domination, with restricted freedom of association and choice for non-white people (O'Connor, 2011; Seekings, 2007; Smith, 2013). It is important to remember that non-white people were controlled by a small minority of white people (Marx, 1962); and that non-white people did not have any political power (Henrard, 1996). This environment could have contributed to subjective experiences of a lack of control because people were stripped of their autonomy and their freedom of choice. They felt powerless in an environment that was experienced as overwhelming and because they were not being cared for (Seekings, 2007; O'Connor, 2011).

Locus of Control as an Interpersonal Construct in Intergenerational Care

Research on locus of control in intergenerational caring relationships is important, because "care is headed for the dubious distinction of being a rare commodity" (Thomson, 2010, p. 56). Locus of control as an interpersonal construct was introduced by Albert Bandura in his proposed social learning theory. According to this, people learn from others and the environment by observation and imitation and by reacting to the impact of people and the environment (Bandura, 1989). Social learning theory thus describes the interaction between people and the environment (Weiner, 2000). Interactions consist of actions and corresponding reactions, referred to as complementary responses (Horowitz et al., 2006) or complementarity, drawing on Kiesler (1983). These interactions are continuous and circular and consist of a subjective and a behavioural component (Vorster, 2011). Subjective experiences of being rewarded or punished in the interaction with other people and the environment (Rotter, 1954), inform individuals' actions and subsequent subjective experiences (Beukes, Roos, & Vorster, 2013).

Locus of control as an interpersonal construct is also associated with relational well-being because the extent to which people feel in control of the social environment is related to giving and receiving care as well as to the degree to which they are involved in decision-making processes (Prilleltensky, 2005; Wilkinson, 1998). In intergenerational relations, locus of control and care thus inform each other. For example, the extent to which older people feel that they are in control or conversely are overwhelmed by younger people and the environment has implications for the way in which they express their care needs or are able to provide the care younger people need. If older people subjectively experience being in control, they might be able to express their need to be cared for by younger people, in contrast to when they do not feel

in control, which could potentially influence them to not provide for the care needs of the younger people (Beukes et al., 2013).

Care

Care can either be social and emotional (intangible) or physical and instrumental (tangible) (Van der Geest, 2002). Social care has to do with the levels of support provided in a social context (Prilleltensky, 2005). Emotional care can take the form of expressions of concern, being loyal and being affectionate towards the other person (Van der Geest, 2002). Practical care refers to doing physical activities for others, who may be unable to do such things themselves. Practical care includes feeding, giving shelter, helping with educational needs, and taking care of the sick (Van der Geest, 2002).

Care is seen as an important factor in building and preserving close relationships with others (Lemay & Clark, 2008). To have someone who cares about them, which includes the person with whom they are socialising, as well as emotional support and practical care, can help older people to accept the lives they have lived so far (Antonucci, Birditt, & Webster, 2010). Having someone who cares about you can ultimately increase your lifespan (Ross & Mirowsky, 2002) as well as having a positive influence on your well-being (Reichstadt et al., 2010).

Care is a reciprocal construct (Van der Geest, 2002). Accordingly, older people are not merely recipients, but they are also providers of care. Older people can provide emotional, social and physical care to younger generations (Spence & Radunovich, 2011). By providing care to them older people can fill a void for children who do not have grandparents available to care for them (Spence & Radunovich, 2011). Reciprocal care is important, because when older and younger people work together effectively, they operate as a team and help one another (Zeldin, Larson, Camino, & O'Connor, 2005). They provide mutual support and can affect one another's

lives positively, including their overall well-being (Bengston, 2001). The interaction between young and older is important because it contributes to mutual satisfaction of emotional needs.

Intergenerational relations are important because the younger people can play a pivotal role in providing for the care needs of older people (Spence & Radunovich, 2011). Younger people can help older people emotionally by making them feel a sense of fulfilment, and giving them a sense of purpose (Spence & Radunovich, 2011). Children can provide assistance with practical care by helping with everyday tasks. This can also lead to social care, with both groups providing support and spending time together. In turn this can reduce the adversarial sense of isolation from one another (Spence & Radunovich, 2011).

In the late adulthood stage (65 years and older), older people need the younger people as their ability to physically care for themselves and others decreases, a natural consequence of the ageing process (Marks, 1996). This leads to some of the older people becoming increasingly dependent on the younger for caregiving purposes (Marks, 1996). It is also in this phase that external locus of control increases in older people because they feel that they lack control over their lives owing to factors such as disability, physical health impairments, income and subjective life expectancy, which can present challenges (Wolinsky & Stump, 1996).

Problem Statement and Motivation for Research

In research conducted on older persons' experiences of relationships with young adults, the former stated that they felt that their care needs might not be addressed by the younger people (Mabaso, 2011). Subjectively the older people felt that they did not have any control over the younger generation because they had been given constitutional rights under the new democratic South African constitution (Roos, 2011).

In addition, locus of control and care in intergenerational relations are also important in the light of an increasingly ageing population and its care needs (Rempusheski, Haigh, & Davidson, 2012; Spence & Radunovich, 2011). According to Statistics of South Africa (STATS SA, 2013), 7.8% of the population are older than 60 years. If we compare this with 2001, when the percentage was 4.9%, we can see that the older generation is expanding rapidly (STATS SA, 2001). The increase in population ageing also leads to implications for existing resources. In addressing this, governments regard the family as the most viable resource for meeting the growing care needs of older people (Settles & Sheng, 2006).

Article Format Presentation

The research that was conducted for this study will be presented in an article format. The literature background will highlight its context. The aim of the article is to explore how locus of control emerges between generations when asked about care, and focuses specifically on the perspective of older people (aged 60 years and older). Critical reflection will show how the study contributes to the field of intergenerational research.

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**Intergenerational care: Exploring locus of control of a group of older people in their
relationships with younger people**

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MANUSCRIPT FOR EXAMINATION

Abstract

This study aims to explore locus of control and care from the perspective of older people (aged 60 years and older) in relation to younger people. Nine older people (8 female and 1 male) living in the Vaalharts community in the Northern Cape province of South Africa participated in the research. Data were obtained by means of the Mmogo-method® and analysed using both secondary and visual analysis. The older people expressed internal locus of control in relation to the younger people by accepting responsibility for them, and in relation to the environment by using the land proactively, thus demonstrating expectation of reward, such as being able provide food in caring for the younger people. Strategies demonstrating internal locus of control, such as modelling expected behaviour, educating the younger people and monitoring their school work, were employed by the older people. The older people applied external locus of control to seek external assistance to discipline the younger people. The outcomes of their overall strategy to exert control seemed to be ineffective, judging by the subjective expressions of disappointment in older persons and the rejecting behaviour of the younger people. Older people resorted to escalating their efforts to exert control by applying physical punishment. The study also found that locus of control is a dynamic relational construct that varies across contexts and relationships. The findings may be used to facilitate programmes to promote intergenerational relationships.

Keywords: external locus of control, intergenerational care, internal locus of control, interpersonal relationships, interpersonal theory, locus of control, social learning theory

Introduction

This study was part of a broader research project exploring care between members of different generations in a rural community. Different themes emerged from the research, such as emotional and physical care, the reciprocal nature of care, lack of empathy and external locus of control. The aim of this study is to explore how locus of control emerged between generations when asked about care, and focuses specifically on the perspective of older people (aged 60 years and older).

For the purpose of this investigation locus of control is defined as the subjective evaluation of personal levels of control to determine rewards and punishments in relation to other people and the environment (Cherry, 2014; Ross & Mirowski, 2002). Care can either be emotional and social (intangible) or practical and instrumental (tangible) (Van der Geest, 2002) and is always expressed in a relational context (Muraco & Fredriksen-Goldsen, 2011). Social care refers to levels of support provided in a social context (Prilleltensky, 2005). Emotional care can be an expression of concern, being loyal and being affectionate towards others (Van der Geest, 2002). Practical care refers to physically performing activities for someone (Van der Geest, 2002). Care is important in relationships because it helps to build and preserve close associations with others (Lemay & Clark, 2008).

Intergenerational relationships refer to relationships between people from a genealogical line of kinship that is historically or socially related (Scabini & Marta, 2006). A generation refers to a group of people from the same age group who share similar characteristics. This can influence their views about the world (Scabini & Marta, 2006). Relationships are always formed in a particular interpersonal context embedded in broader environments, such as socio-cultural, political and economic environments (Roos, in press). In the socio-cultural environment in

which interactions between people of different generations in this study took place, members of different generations do not distinguish between familial and non-familial relatedness when it concerns caring for another (Chilisa, 2011; Roos, in press). Although there is no distinction between familial and non-familial, there are nevertheless issues that can complicate relationships, such as locus of control and care.

Locus of control was developed by Julian Rotter (Carrim, Basson, & Coetzee, 2006). In an interpersonal context locus of control is explained by social learning theory (Bandura, 1989). This theory emphasises that the behaviour of people can be learned by observing the environment and by imitating others (Bandura, 1989). It is therefore important to understand the reciprocal interaction between individuals and the environment, when exploring locus of control in intergenerational caring relationships.

Research indicated the existence of differences between people who have an internal or an external locus of control (Lachman & Leff, 1989). People who use internal locus of control in relationships generally believe that they can control rewards and punishments they receive (and the care they elicit) from people and the environment by their own decisions and efforts in life (April, Dharani, & Peters, 2012; Lam & Mizerski, 2006). They take responsibility for their own successes and failures in life despite the potential risks involved (April et al., 2012). People with an internal locus of control sometimes have unrealistic expectations about their success and failures (Bar-Tal & Bar-Zohar, 1977) and this can lead them to try to manipulate situations or change something so that they can feel that they are in control (Kulshresta & Sen, 2006).

People with external locus of control believe that their lives are uncontrollable or that they are controlled by external factors or the environment (Von Stumm, Gale, Batty, & Deary, 2009; Vorster, 2011). The fact that they believe that they are being controlled by external factors

can be negative in intergenerational relationships because it can lead to feelings of demoralisation and decrease motivation to provide care (Mirowski & Ross, 1989). People with an external locus of control often abdicate responsibility for their lives and express a sole dependence on God when it comes to facing a challenge (Jackson & Coursey, 1988).

The development of locus of control is informed by education, age and context. Education is important because it develops the ability to collect and analyse information and teaches problem solving skills, which can increase control (Mirowski & Ross, 1989). People that express internal locus of control tend to be more educated (Lachman & Leff, 1989) than people that express external locus of control because they take control over their own lives despite the risks this may entail. In view of this, poor grades might be predicted for people with external locus of control (Nelson & Mathia, 1995) because they believe that their lives are controlled by external forces, and that they themselves do not have this control (Von Stumm, Gale, Batty, & Deary, 2009; Vorster, 2011). It has also been found that age can play a role in locus of control. Internal locus of control decreases in later life because older persons feel that they are not in control of their lives (Duffy & Mac Donald, 1990; Wolinsky & Stump, 1996) owing to factors such as disability, physical health impairments, income, and subjective life expectancy (Wolinsky & Stump, 1996). The context which informs the relationship can also influence the development of locus of control. Consequently the context should be contextualised against the broader sociopolitical environment (Roos, in press). The political environment is important in terms of conditions that governed the older people's lives, pre- and post-Apartheid. Before Apartheid ended in 1994, the older people were subjected to racial separation with limited freedom of choice for most of their lives (O'Connor, 2011; Seekings, 2007; Smith, 2013), conditions which could easily promote the development of an external locus

of control because they had no freedom of choice and therefore no control (O'Connor, 2011; Seekings, 2007).

Intergenerational relations in the South African context are strained and because care has been accorded the dubious distinction of being a scarce commodity (Thomson, 2010) research focusing on locus of control in intergenerational caring relationships is important. Previous studies of intergenerational relations in South Africa revealed conflict between younger and older people (Roos, in press). Older people expressed subjective experiences of not being cared for or respected by the younger generation (Mabaso, 2011). Moreover, this study, which explores locus of control and care from the perspective of older people (aged 60 years and older) in relation to younger people, is motivated by an increasing ageing population, both nationally and internationally (Rempusheski, Haigh, & Davidson, 2012; Spence & Radunovich, 2011). According to statistics of South Africa, the period 2001-2013 has seen an increase nationally in population growth of approximately 3% in the group of people older than 60 years (STATS SA, 2001; STATS SA, 2013). This can have the effect that households in South Africa that consist of older and younger people are becoming more common every day (SAYP, 2010). In 2010 it was found that in South Africa approximately 2.6 million children were living with older people (SAYP, 2010).

Although locus of control is a well-researched topic in psychology (TRP, 2014), little research has been found to focus on locus of control in intergenerational relationships. The findings of the present study could be used to plan interventions that would facilitate positive relationships with younger generations, a significant factor in the overall health and well-being of both generations. Accordingly, the study will explore how locus of control emerges in

intergenerational caring relationships from the perspective of older people in relation to younger people.

Methodology

Research Method and Design

For the purpose of this study an inductive and explorative research approach was followed. A qualitative research method was used to obtain an in-depth understanding (Nieuwenhuis, 2007) about care as an intergenerational relational phenomenon, and about locus of control as a dimension of this from the perspective of older people in relation to younger people. Secondary data analysis was used because the study was informed by a different question from that used in the original research (Heaton, 1998). The question that was asked in the original research was: *“Make us something that we can see about your experiences or how you perceive care in relationship to a younger person (16 years and younger)”*.

Research Context and Participants

The research was conducted in Vaalharts agricultural valley in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. This study formed part of the North-West University’s multi-disciplinary WIN project that focused specifically on the Vaalharts community. The type of accommodation in which the participants live includes Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses, very small brick houses, and some corrugated iron houses or mud houses with multigenerational, overcrowded and poor living arrangements (Coetzee, 2011). Participants can speak Setswana, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Sotho or Nxlo. Some of them did not have internal electricity or running water, which could make an older person very dependent on younger people for assistance. Walking and taxis were the main modes of transport. The younger participants relied on their parents and older people for financial support, housing and

food. The Vaalharts region has a very high unemployment rate (Coetzee, 2011). Most of the people in the community rely on grants. Additionally, many were seasonal farm workers, with an irregular income. In the Vaalharts valley 70.2% of the residents needed to apply for social (government) grants (Coetzee, 2011). The older people's (60 years and older) sole income consisted of a small old age grant (also called a pension) they receive from the government. They were also illiterate; the younger participants attend school.

Participants were initially selected by means of purposive sampling because older people were being specifically targeted. Inclusion criteria for the participants required that they had to be older than 60 years, with no discernible cognitive disabilities and that they should be living in the above-mentioned community. The participants also had to have experienced intergenerational relationships with a younger persons aged 16 years and younger. Different data collection methods were used for the purpose of the initial study to contribute to the trustworthiness of the findings. For the purpose of this study only data obtained by means of the Mmogo-method®, focusing on the perspective of older people in relation to younger people, were used.

Procedure, Data Gathering and Ethical Considerations

The psychology department of NWU had been invited to take part in the bigger WIN research project to conduct studies of intergenerational relations. The WIN project was approved by the Health Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Health Sciences in the North-West University, with ethical number NWU-00053-10-S1. Guidelines provided by the Health Professions Council of South Africa for psychologists (Health Professions Act 56 of 1974) were followed throughout. The mediator for the WIN research project was informed about the study and requested to invite participants as she had previously been involved with other projects in

this area. The mediator also arranged access to the community for the period during which data gathering took place. Participants from the initial study (WIN project) were identified with the help of clinic executives and the WIN project mediator. Posters were put up in the local clinic to advertise the research project. Those who showed an interest in volunteering were asked to provide their names and contact details. If they were willing to participate they were contacted by the mediator and informed about the necessary arrangements. These included transport and venue details. Transport was provided free of charge to the participants. The venue in the community could accommodate all the participants and researchers. The venue was identified by the mediator and the community and approved by the research team. The hall was used for data collection and separate rooms were available, which ensured privacy.

Before data collection, the participants were welcomed and information regarding the research (the procedure and purpose) was explained to them in detail. Informed consent was obtained in accordance with the ethical requirements of the Health Professions Council of South Africa. Students registered for a Master's degree in Research Psychology and who had received training in obtaining informed consent explained to the participants individually what was expected of them, the aim of the study, and the risks and benefits of participation. Participants were informed that confidentiality could be assured only partially because of the way in which the Mmogo-method® was applied. The researcher protected the participants' rights to confidentiality, ensuring that the raw data were seen by the research team only. Their names were not linked or connected with anything that they might have said throughout the data collection process. When reporting the findings, participants' identities were further protected by the use of participant numbering, thus ensuring that anonymity was confirmed. It was explained that participants would not receive any money for taking part in the study. They were

reassured that they could withdraw at any time without any consequences. Informed consent was obtained from all participants after a thorough explanation of everything involved in the research process and again after they had had some time to consider whether to participate or not.

The researchers (10 master's students from NWU) were introduced to the participants, who were then asked to form a group of between 8–10 people to participate in the Mmogo-method® (Roos, 2008; Roos; 2012). Each participant was provided with a circular piece of cloth, a lump of potter's clay, beads, and straws (Roos, 2012) and asked: *"Make us something that we can see about your experiences or how you perceive care in relationship to a younger person (16 years and younger)"*. After receiving instructions, the participants began to make their visual presentations, which took them up to 45 minutes to complete. Each participant was given the opportunity to explain what his or her presentation meant. The researcher and other participants then asked questions about the presentation. As soon as the task had been completed, photographs were taken of the presentations the participants constructed; these images comprised the visual data. All conversations during the session were recorded verbatim and transcribed to contribute to the textual data. The participants were thanked for their contribution and refreshments were offered before they left. They were allowed to take their presentations home with them.

There could be advantages for the participants in the research study. On a personal level they had an opportunity to interact with other participants and share their inner stories. Refreshments were provided as a token of appreciation for their participation. When participants shared personal experiences it could have involved some degree of emotional risk by provoking feelings of emotional confusion. Accordingly, a clinical psychologist was available for debriefing in addition to the masters' students involved who had all been trained in counselling

procedures. Participants were encouraged to tell the researchers if they experienced any discomfort or distress as a result of the research process.

As a result of the study new information about intergenerational relationships was obtained. This can be used to improve quality of life by developing intergenerational programmes to enhance intergenerational harmony. The Health Professions Act (Act No 56 of 1974), the Professional Board of Psychology's Ethical Code of Professional Conduct (2002) and the guidelines provided by the Health Professions Council of South Africa for psychologists were followed strictly throughout the research process. All data collected are stored at the North-West University in Potchefstroom, in a locked room under secure control at the Department of Psychology, where all electronic data will be password-protected.

Data Analysis

The collected data were analysed using thematic and visual analysis, which contributed to the material's trustworthiness.

Thematic Analysis: Braun and Clarke (2006) recognise thematic analysis as a procedure for the identification, analysis and exposure of patterns within data. Thematic analysis provides "an accessible and theoretically flexible approach to analysing qualitative data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78). The following steps as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) were followed. First, the researcher familiarised herself with the data. Second, initial codes were generated; the analyst thus systematically coded significant characteristics of the entire data set. The third step entailed searching for themes while all relevant codes from the previous phase were sorted into their applicable groups.

Themes or keynotes were reviewed and a thematic map of the analysis was generated that focused specifically on locus of control. The themes were then defined and named. Last, the findings are reported in this article, and contextualised with the research question and literature.

Visual Analysis: Visual presentations were analysed by means of visual analysis. It is important because visual analysis reflects a person meaning about a topic (Roos, 2008). The researcher analysed the visual representations by observing what each participant was making, the relationship and action in which the objects were involved, and in what context the objects were placed and how this related to the research question. Finally, the themes of the visual analysis were linked to the themes that had been identified through the other methods of analysis to ensure the trustworthiness of the data.

Trustworthiness

The following guidelines were followed to contribute to trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (Guba ,1981). Over the three days the researchers spent with the participants, patterns of recurring data were identified (Leininger, 1985). A process of member-checking allowed for sharing and dialoguing with the participants about the study's outcomes, and gave participants time to ask questions, critique and give feedback and confirmation (Tracy, 2010). After the data had been gathered all the participants joined in a formal conversation to confirm that the researchers' observations and findings were reasonable and truthful. This reinforced credibility (Morse, Barret, Mayon, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). Furthermore, a process called crystallisation was applied to improve the study's credibility. This confirmed that the research project, the data obtained and the analysis made from the data were trustworthy.

Crystallisation is known as a frame in which theory is joined with the data presented (Ellingson, 2009). More than one data set was collected, and included the discussion sessions

and photographs of the representations the participants made during the Mmogo-method® session. According to Ellingson (2009), all the above, taken together, could provide us with an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Trustworthiness was further enriched by checking the data against existing literature.

Dependability was ensured by checking with the participants for any inconsistencies (Morse et al., 2002). Developing themes emerging from the data were coded and recoded by the researcher and the data peer-examined by the other researchers (Guba, 1981), who worked on the same data but with a different focus (Krefting, 1991). Finally, the researcher sought assistance from other research associates and specialists to ensure that the data analysis was accurate and presented a true image of the collected data (Morse et al., 2002). The researcher also guarded against any personal bias during the research process by keeping a personal reflective journal. No new themes emerged from the data and this led to data saturation being reached (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). By using two methods of analysis, which included visual and textual, trustworthiness was further reinforced (Ellingson, 2009). Conformability of the research was improved by the above.

Findings

The findings illustrate the manifestations of locus of control of the older people in relation to the younger people. Four themes emerged from the data. These were: expressions of internal control in relation to the younger people and in relation to environment; strategies to exert control by using internally motivated strategies, making use of external assistance for disciplining younger people; the outcomes of strategic attempts to exercise control; and escalating patterns of efforts to discipline.

Table 1: *Themes and subthemes*

Theme	Subtheme
Expressions of internal control	In relation to younger people: Accept responsibility In relation to environment: Use land to provide food
Strategic attempts to exert control	Internally motivated strategies: Modelling of expected behaviour Educating the younger people Monitoring school work External assistance to discipline younger people
Outcomes of strategies to exercise control	Subjective expressions of disappointment Rejecting behaviour of younger people
Escalating patterns of efforts to discipline	Older people using escalating patterns of discipline

Expression of internal control

The older people demonstrated an internal locus of control in relation to the younger people as well in relation to the environment. In relation to the younger people they demonstrated locus of control in assuming their responsibility for the younger people. In relation to the environment they used the environment to feed their families.

In relation to younger people. The older people said they took responsibility for the younger people. They were responsible for providing care for the younger people. *We are older, we took responsibility for them (the younger people) (Participant 4, female).*

In relation to the environment. The older people were proactive in using the land in order to provide food and to ensure that no one went hungry. *The garden is made so that they can plant seeds then it can grow and then tomorrow we can eat from the land (Participant 3, female).*

Strategic attempts to exert control in relation to younger people

Internally motivated strategies. Different strategies older persons apply to exercise control in relation to the younger people were observed, namely modelling expected behaviour, educating the younger people, and monitoring their school work.

Modelling of expected behaviour. The older people model behaviour they have learned from the previous generation and which they expect the younger people to adopt. *They must tomorrow know how they must do the things. We show them the way. Our elders or our mother or grandmother, she's been doing something somewhere so I must take care of my mum. My grandmother or my mother was doing this thing (Participant 4, female).* The older people demonstrate care to the younger people so that they as older people can in turn receive care from them. *We do it for the younger people so that they can see, so that they can also care for the older people (Participant 1, female).*

Educating the younger people. Direct education is another strategies older people employ to exercise control in relation to the younger people. *[It] is to teach them that they must know that (Participant 4, female).* Care is to show and teach children: *Care is to teach (Participant 6, male) and I can show and teach the children (Participant 6, male).*

Monitoring school work. The older people monitor the young people's school work as another strategies to execute control. *When he comes home from school, I want to know how was it... at school... I want to check the books (Participant 4, female).* This participant also controlled the environment so that she could assist the younger person in focusing on school work: *And then tonight I say let's start ... Let's leave the Tv, let's start with the books ... and then we start to write and write (Participant 4, female).* The older persons focus on specific learning outcomes for the children and serve as educators if the children do not understand their school work: *I ask, do you understand the meaning of these words? He say no ... I say alright, this word, it means this ... (Participant 4, female).* Older persons assist the younger people to internalise the control so that if he or she is no longer around, the younger person should be internally motivated: *I want to show them how must they do, even if I die, they must know when they come from school, they must know they've got homework and they must start to do it (Participant 4, female).*

External assistance to discipline younger people. Participants used external resources, such as the police, God, and other people, like the researchers, to help them discipline the younger people. *I call the police, I don't worry, because I just call the police to come fetch them (Participant 5, female).* The participants call upon a more powerful higher authority when the young people do not obey them. *We can pray, we ask God to help us so the children leave their manners, they must listen for the older people (Participant 2, female).* The older people depend on their God who has power over humans and nature. God must help them so that the younger people can start obeying them and stop behaving badly. *I think you, because you are something, you know better than us you can teach us to (Participant 4, female).* The older people assessed the competence of the researchers and concluded the researchers were better equipped than themselves to assist with the younger people.

Outcomes of strategies to exercise control

Subjective expressions of disappointment. The subjective evaluation of older people in terms of the younger people is expressed as disappointment. The older people are disappointed that they do not receive care from the younger people. *They (young people) haven't shown (care) yet, they haven't shown anything (Participant 1, female).* According to the older people, they are the only ones who know about care: *The children don't know anything about it, just the old people know about care (Participant 2, female).* From the perspective of the older people, younger people are ignorant and do not show they care (*Participant 2, female; Participant 6, male*).

Rejection of control by younger people. The strategy of exercising control by the older people is rejected by the younger people by ignoring their elders or disobeying them. *But if you call him and teach him, he doesn't want to listen. He just wants to play outside (Participant 2, female).* The older people feel that the younger people refuse to follow their instructions. *No, the children must show it (care) to me. The children don't know about it... They don't worry about those things (care) (Participant 2, female).* According to the older people, the younger people do not demonstrate care as they are not concerned about it. *The younger people today when she asks them to come and look at these things and do them so that they are not being naughty in the streets ... they do not want to listen (Participant 2, female).*

Escalating patterns of efforts to discipline

Older people tried with increasing efforts to exert control over the younger people because none of their strategies seemed to be working. *He feels that the young people don't show care, you can show them something 110 times but still they won't do it (Participant 6, male).* The older people used repetitive explanations but still the younger people paid no attention. *Take*

them to the police station and give them hidings (Participant 5, female) and If they come, I just give them a hiding (Participant 1, female). The efforts of disciplining escalated to the point at which physical punishment was resorted to.

Discussion

The findings in this study indicated that the older people displayed both internal and external locus of control in relation to the younger people in a caring relationship. The literature is in agreement that locus of control is the manifestation of a reciprocal relationship between people's own subjective evaluations of the environment which ultimately inform a person's behaviour (Bandura, 1989).

An internal locus of control was demonstrated by older persons who subjectively concluded that they had control over the younger people by providing for their physical needs and their education: they accepted their responsibility in relation to the younger people and proactively used the environment. In relation both to the younger people and the environment there was the expectation that their input would be rewarded: younger people would reciprocate the care and the land would provide food so that the older persons could care physically for the younger people. Further research could be conducted to determine why such strong emphasis is placed on physical and instrumental care and less on emotional and social care between older persons and younger people.

Literature confirms that strategies related to exercising control by modelling of behaviour, educating and monitoring are associated with how older people define the relationship between them and younger people (Roos, in press). The former are in the leading position and the younger people in the submissive position. In this complementarily defined relationship, older persons want to transfer the care they have received from previous

generations. In relation to education, older persons aim to ensure a good education for the younger people because they would be in a better position to reciprocate with care for their elders. Achieving an education in a deprived community has the benefit that future generations would also be better equipped and be able to obtain employment (European Commission, 2011; Mirowsky, 1995). What was not clear from the findings of this study is the link between education and employment. It would appear that attaining a school education is all that matters and that a prosperous future would follow automatically as a consequence. Literature confirms that education is important because it develops the learner's ability to collect and analyse information and to solve problems on many levels, and it increases control over events and outcomes in life (European Commission, 2011; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). Younger people with an education have more social power and this could help provide control over their circumstances (European Commission, 2011; Mirowsky, 1995) in comparison with the older people who had received no schooling.

The external manifestation of locus of control in caring relationships is observed in the subjective experiences of disappointment on the part of the older people and the rejection of control by the younger people. Older people in this study expressed their disappointment in relation to younger people and according to Lazarus (2006), these subjective experiences give an indication of what is occurring between people. The rejection by younger people of control could be regarded as a symbolic threat to older people's expectations of reciprocal care (Roos, in press). The subjective evaluation of this threat in the relationship with younger people is so overwhelming that older people resort to external sources, ranging from the spiritually-informed to the researchers to assist them with the discipline of the younger people. The disciplinary style the older persons apply in this study is an authoritative parenting style. Authoritarian parents are

highly controlling and have strict disciplinary methods they make use of, such as a restrictive, punitive style, and insist that their rules be followed without questions asked (Rosenthal, 2009; Smetana, 2008). As a result, adolescents may become rebellious. The escalating patterns of interpersonal violence indicate that older people's interpersonal environment is subjectively experienced as unsafe and that they depend increasingly on an external environment for solutions to their relationships with the younger people. Although internal manifestations of locus of control are present in the older people in this study, it is dominated by a conviction that the external environment should compensate for what they subjectively experience as something they lack.

This research highlights that locus of control as an interpersonal construct is not a static construct but should rather be seen as a co-constructed experience that emerges between people as a result of subjective experiences of reward or punishment that flow from the relationship. Locus of control and care in intergenerational relationships are therefore relational and context specific.

Limitations and recommendations

Although data saturation has been achieved in this study, it is nevertheless recommended that other data-gathering methods be followed to further enrich the information obtained. It is also suggested that future research might extend to a wider range of sample representatives, to include a more even gender distribution. It has been found that men are more internal than women (Mamlin, Harris, & Case, 2001), which means that the preponderantly female composition of the group of participants in this study could possibly have resulted in undue emphasis on external locus of control.

It is recommended that intergenerational interventions be developed to facilitate positive relationships with younger generations, since they constitute a significant factor in the overall health and well-being of both generations. Interventions could include activities in which both generations can take part because these could help the older and younger people to move closer together and form better relationships in which they respect and care for one another. An activity such as the “Blind Man’s Walk” will be the perfect game to play in pairs. Pair off family members and blindfold one member of each pair. Challenge the pairs to make it from one point to another. The seeing partner cannot touch the blindfolded partner and must guide her purely by speaking to her. Another activity that can also be used is “Sharing Your Fears”, each member of the family should write down a personal fear or worry on a small piece of paper. Encourage them to be honest and to write down a real concern. After collecting the papers, read them through anonymously and discuss them as a family. While you won't know who wrote down each fear or worry, you can talk about how to help all members of the family in whatever area is being discussed. These 2 activities can lead to better communication, showing empathy, control and caring for others.

The Mmogo-method® revealed that the older persons vary in manifestations of internal and external locus of control based on their subjective evaluation of their relationships and the environment. For future research it is recommended that this be explored further in a different context.

Conclusion

Locus of control and care in intergenerational relations manifest both internally and externally. The manifestations are dependent on the subjective evaluations of how rewarding or punitive the relationships and the environment will be in terms of ensuring care for others.

Giving care included mainly physical and instrumental care and navigated from strategies demonstrating an internal locus of control. When older persons applied specific strategies to ensure reciprocal care, however, their efforts were rejected by younger people. An external locus of control was demonstrated in older persons' seeking to deal with the overwhelming threat of younger people who reject control. Older persons' escalating efforts to regain control demonstrate a subjective evaluation of their helplessness in this regard. Locus of control is a flexible construct in intergenerational caring relations and depends on the evaluation of the individuals in the relationships, and on the context. Effective intergenerational caring relationships can be beneficial to both generations for the purpose of building close relationships with others.

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CRITICAL REFLECTION

There is a growing interest, nationally and internationally, in understanding intergenerational relationship as an increased expectation that families will provide for the needs of older people (Wisensale, 2003). Little research focuses on the locus of control and care in intergenerational relationships although locus of control is a well-researched topic in the field of Psychology (TRP, 2014) and it was therefore important to conduct this research. Even though intergenerational relationships occur in historical lineage, it was particularly appropriate to conduct the research in non-familial lineage as members of different generations do not distinguish between familial and non-familial relationships, when it comes to caring for someone else (Chilisa, 2011). The focus of this research was on exploring how locus of control emerges between generations when asked about care, specifically from the perspective of older people (60 years and older).

The relevant theory in psychology about locus of control that was used in this study is social learning theory (Bandura, 1989). When comparing with literature of other studies contradictory information was found. First, internal locus of control decreases after middle-age (Gatz & Karel, 1993; Wolinsky & Stump, 1996). Therefore it could be expected that external locus of control increases later in life (Duffy & Mac Donald, 1990). Second, education also plays a vital part in locus of control and not being educated can also lead to external locus of control (Wolinsky & Stump, 1996; Nelson & Mathia, 1995). Third, people who live in economically deprived areas, and have a low socio-economic status, like the people in Vaalharts, may believe that they have less control over their own lives and this can lead to learned helplessness as they fail to respond even though there are opportunities for them to help themselves by gaining positive rewards (Poortinga, Dunstan, & Fone, 2008). But in this study

we have found that the older people also use internal locus of control to help them take control over their lives and the environment.

The intergenerational relationships between the old and the young people could benefit from psychological and community programmes or interventions. It is recommended that interventions be developed to facilitate positive relationships by introducing activities that focus on communication, empathy, control and caring for others to improve intergenerational relationships with the ultimate goal of ensuring effectiveness (Costanzo & Hoy, 2007).

The Mmogo-method®

Researchers are able to obtain an understanding of the participants' subjective lived experiences through visual projective data (Roos, 2012). The Mmogo-method® proved to be suitable for this study because it uses visual projections to access participants' individual and collective lived experiences. Through this visual projective technique, participants' social and cultural contexts lead us to a deeper understanding of the relation dimensions (Walkerdine, Lucey, & Melody, 2001). The theory on which the Mmogo-method® is based suggests that people are relational in nature, and that any visual demonstrations created in terms of this concept will also be a projection of the self and the social context in which one lives (Roos, 2008). Therefore the Mmogo-method® motivated locus of control in a group of older people in their relationships with younger people in a personal as well as social context in which they live (Roos, 2008).

Conclusion

This research has addressed a clear gap in the literature regarding locus of control in intergenerational relationships. The research was conducted by using the Mmogo-method®, which allowed the researcher to collect detailed experiences of care in intergenerational

relationships. Internal and external locus of control emerged in intergenerational caring relationships from the perspective of older people in relation to non-familial younger people. This research contributes to intergenerational literature because it can be used to promote interventions to facilitate positive relationships with younger generations, which constitute a significant factor in the overall health and well-being of both generations.

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