Intergenerational attitudes and experiences of older adults

A narrative analysis set within a retirement village participating in an intergenerational programme (IGP)

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ABSTRACT

iPlayed is an intergenerational programme (IGP) taking place between residents of a retirement village in Wellington, New Zealand and preschoolers at a childcare facility nearby. IGPs have been designed to address an increasingly age segregated society and have been shown to have multiple benefits for older people, including generativity (a need to nurture and guide younger people). As no research on the IGP experience of older adults exists in New Zealand, this research aimed to not only understand this, from the older adults' perspective, but to also understand their views and experiences of IGPs in general, and about preschool aged children. In-depth interviews were conducted with eighteen retirement village dwelling older adults about their experiences and then analysed using narrative analysis. From the eight identified narratives the iPlayed experience was found to be a brief, life affirming experience and one in which they had to adopt certain roles in order to enhance enjoyment. Beyond this, no deeper meaning was assigned to it. The influence of ageing being a time of contribution back to society was evident, and, for some, iPlayed was positioned within this narrative as an option to accomplish this. iPlayed was also located within the context of a retirement village as a means to reclaim some of the social identity lost through moving to this environment. Deep meaning was ascribed to the role of great grandparent or grandparent and familial generative exchanges were identified as operating indirectly through the parents of the preschoolers and not via an exchange of cultural artefacts, wisdom or knowledge with the young child. With non-kin children, the traditional direction of generativity was challenged, with older adults implying that the younger person's knowledge of modern technologies was of more benefit to them compared to what they had to offer. Participants identified that, in general, interacting with preschool aged children is stimulating and beneficial, but is not for all older people. In its current design iPlayed was queried, by those not participating in it, for how this might be impacting on its ability to provide an

opportunity for older people to be generative or even as a means for people to contribute to the community they live within.

These findings recognise a different social milieu in operation today, the experience of ageing in New Zealand and how intergenerational exchange fits within this. Set amongst the powerful social narrative to age 'successfully' active today, this research has identified that IGPs can carry out an important role within this structuring force. Building on from this study, researchers should aim to further understand the views and perceptions of older people on younger people which will, in turn, help policymakers and IGP developers harness the best of what both young and old have to offer each other. Finally, for those working in the IGP field, the concept of generativity between non-kin older people and preschoolers needs further exploration.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Prosperity, energy and activity now feature in the modern narratives[1] on ageing and replace the notion that old age is a period of decline and deficit. This shift is evidenced in governmental policy which promotes old age as an active and positive time of life and includes support for older people to contribute to the societies they live in. New Zealand, alongside many other countries, has an ageing population. For those already in older age and for those New Zealanders who are ageing into retirement, many will be looking for ways to stay active and independent. Traditionally, one way older people have contributed to society and their families is through their role as grandparents via caregiving duties or household support. However, due to a number of social conditions changing, for example an ageing population, geographical dispersion of families, a rise in dual-income homes, parents waiting to have their families later and having less children on average than in previous generations, the role of grandparent has changed. Specifically, New Zealand parents (mothers in particular) are encouraged to enter or return to the workforce once their children are aged three, meaning childcare facilities are becoming an increasingly popular option for preschool aged children. This, combined with the fact that more older people are opting to live in retirement villages than ever before, means that increasingly, preschoolers and older people are becoming isolated from one another. To combat this scenario intergenerational programmes (IGPs) have been created and are flourishing in many countries. IGPs are structured programmes of activity between non-kin people from different generations, usually being those aged under twenty and older people aged over 65. IGPs are usually designed to ensure that contact between generations is regular and that the activity undertaken allows the older adult opportunities to be generative towards younger people. The practice of IGPs is proliferating globally and the research into these programmes has identified multiple benefits

[1] Narratives are defined as how individuals and society "explain or understand events"(Cambridge University Press, 2008)

for older adult participants including improvements to general happiness, cognitive functioning, being needed and hope for the future. Increased generativity (the act of giving back to younger generations) is also one recurring benefit from participation. To date, there has been no research undertaken in New Zealand regarding older people's experiences of an IGP and this research aims to fill this gap.

Due to the wide variation in how IGPs are delivered, very few studies have examined older people's perceptions of IGPs. The prevailing narrative is that in order to age well older adults are expected to contribute back to society, therefore, a relative and missing area of enquiry is whether IGPs are seen by older adults as worthwhile opportunities for them to provide this contribution. Also, while the social scenario identified above indicates that older people are seeing less of preschool aged children than ever before, the assumption is that this is a negative scenario. Yet, little research has been undertaken to explore the views of older adults regarding non-kin preschool aged children. Furthermore, in considering the IGP participant benefits outlined above and generativity in particular, a question exists as to whether generativity is a relevant concept between older people and preschool aged children in modern societies. As New Zealand's population ages and more older adults opt to live in retirement villages, older people's attitudes towards IGPs and preschool aged children is critical information to uncover as it will contribute towards the design and development of possible IGPs between older and younger people.

Research Aim

This gap in the literature led to the development of the current study. The research aim is the following:

> To understand the perspectives of older adults regarding an intergenerational programme and preschool aged children.

This thesis will address the research question using a narrative psychology approach. Narrative has been chosen so that the stories of older people's experiences of an IGP and their perceptions about younger people and IGPs and the meanings attached to these could be explored. It is expected that the stories participants will tell about their experiences will highlight the way that these encounters give meaning to their lives and to what it means to age in today's environment. Participants will also reveal how intergenerational practice fits within ageing in a modern New Zealand society and what sort of roles they can perform within it.

Chapter Overview

This chapter has outlined the basis for the current research and the aim of the study is clear. **Chapter Two** identifies the current New Zealand ageing policy in relation to the historical development of ageing theory and explores the dominant narrative of the contributing citizen in relation to ageing successfully. **Chapter Three** introduces the older adults of New Zealand, particularly in relation to their role as contributors to society with regards to younger generations. **Chapter Four** outlines the global practice of IGPs, from the social reasons that they have come about, the theories behind them, the international practice and then to where New Zealand stands with regards to the practice. The chapter concludes with a critical review of the research associated with these programmes and the rationale supporting the present research. **Chapter Five** outlines the methodological approach taken overall. **Chapter Six** covers the research process including a description of the retirement village and the IGP that takes place there. **Chapter Seven** briefly introduces the 18 research participants. **Chapter Eight** outlines the four personal narratives that were identified: 'Life Giving', 'Older People Teach the Young, 'Is This Relationship Working?' and 'Willing to Compromise'. How iPlayed is featured within these narratives is also highlighted. **Chapter**

Nine highlights the socially influenced narratives: ‘Contribution to Society, ‘Plugging the Gap’, ‘It’s There, If They Want It’, and ‘Fear of Closing In’. The dominant social narratives that have influenced each of these narratives are identified in this chapter, alongside any implications of the narrative on iPlayed. **Chapter Ten** recognises the role of reflexivity and its impact on the findings of this research. **Chapter Eleven** includes a discussion of the results incorporating reflections on the research and ideas for future research directions. The conclusion is presented in **Chapter Twelve**.

Chapter Two: The Socio-Political Context to Ageing

In New Zealand and in many other countries, populations are ageing due to a combination of factors including improved healthcare, longer life expectancy and two periods of an increase in birth rates in the early to mid-twentieth century. With an ageing population, concerns arise regarding how nations are to accommodate this social change and ageing theories become an understandable area of focus. This chapter will begin by outlining the historical progression of relevant theories of ageing. Within this approach, the social narratives each theory has influenced will be highlighted and from this, an analysis will follow regarding what it means to age successfully in New Zealand today. The chapter also includes a brief review and critical analysis of New Zealand's policy on ageing, which has developed alongside and been influenced by these theoretical and social narrative changes. New Zealand's ageing policy identifies some targets for ageing successfully that are out of the control of many, for example the availability of good quality housing, health and financial stability. Given these are barriers to ageing positively for some New Zealanders, this chapter will culminate by detailing volunteering as an area of New Zealand's ageing policy where the individual has an increased likelihood of agency and where the communities older people live in can contribute to helping older adults age well. Specifically, this chapter concludes by identifying how volunteering, as a community contribution, and how volunteering time in the role of grandparent may contribute to helping older people age successfully in New Zealand.

Introduction to Ageing Theories

How societies view ageing and the role of older people has changed over time and is strongly influenced by cultural dynamics. For example, in some Eastern and Western societies old age was seen as a time of decrepitude, loss of usefulness and illness for many years. To illustrate this, the practice of 'senicide' was common practice in countries including Japan and with the Inuit people, until relatively recently (Diamond, 2012) and still persists in

India where it is known as ‘thalaikoothal’ (Sivarajah, 2015). Senicide is the practice of abandoning or encouraging an ailing elder to die if they became burdensome and unable to contribute to society. Senicide illustrates the low value placed on the elderly many cultures recently had (Diamond, 2012). Yet, this view of older adults is not representative of all cultures, and is opposite to how older Māori people in New Zealand, for example, have always been perceived within their communities. Within Māori culture, older people have maintained an active contribution to whānau and community life, irrespective of their age, and this input is highly valued (Durie, 1999).

Nevertheless, the notion of decrepitude in older age has broadly given way to the idea that old age can be a time for opportunity and self-reliance, if conditions allow for it (Katz, 2006). This change is partly driven by one of the biggest policy issues facing New Zealand and many other countries of the world, an ageing population (Statistics NZ, 2009). Due to an unprecedented combination of declining fertility and falling death rates, together with decreases in disease and disability, people are living for longer. For example, life expectancy in New Zealand has gradually improved: 67.2 years between 1950-52 increasing to 79.3 years in 2010-12 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013d). When people in a certain age group have the potential to affect the economic position of an entire nation, attention focuses on that age group. A review of some of the central theories that have been driven by and have shaped the narrative about ageing now follows.

Disengagement Theory

The industrial revolution heralded the arrival of many new and more efficient manufacturing processes, including assembly-line production and transfer machines, where a worker’s speed in using the machines was a skill that became valued. The change to the attributes required of the workforce hastened the idea of retirement for many workers, as increasingly younger, more agile staff replaced their older counterparts (Costa, 1998; Denton,

1888; Walker, 1999). For men in particular, retirement became the formal end to decades of workforce participation, and the point of entry into old age. As the changes to manufacturing processes became more embedded, the cohort known as baby boomers (a large group of people born between 1946 and 1964) started to join the workforce making retiring desirable and allowing older adults to legitimately 'disengage' from working roles (Hughes & Angela, 2004; Prasad, 1964).

The development of the *Disengagement Theory* (Cumming & Henry, 1961) coincided with the baby boomers joining the workforce and it posited that growing old was a time of weakness, illness and disability and a period of life where people were unlikely to be able to work productively and contribute efficiently. Outlined in the book *Growing Old – The Process of Disengagement* (Cumming & Henry, 1961), the theory stated that in order for society to be able to protect itself from the inevitable economic strain of older workers leaving the workforce, a mutual disengagement between the older person and society should be encouraged. Thus, the way to successfully age was to withdraw from society, ultimately resulting in less disruption when death inevitably came (Lynott & Lynott, 1996). It was theorised that this retreat also included social roles, for example reducing interaction with family members (Hochschild, 1975). What the theorists posited was that these role changes gave the older adult the conditions for optimum wellbeing as they were allowed space to reflect on their lives, and it also afforded them the solitude they needed to prepare for death (Havighurst, Neugarten, & Tobin, 1968).

The *Disengagement Theory* appropriately takes into account the decline in physical functionality that naturally occurs as people age (Vincent, 1995) and some evidence suggests that older people do appreciate the solitude and space that life in advanced age offers (Dale, Söderhamn, & Söderhamn, 2012). However the theory overlooks social and cultural factors which suggest that not all older adults want to contribute less to society as they get older

(Lynott & Lynott, 1996). Furthermore, there is no attempt to account for the diversity found in ageing, or the different experiences of those within this vast age bracket (Ann Bowling, 2008). In connecting old age so closely with the impact it has on a society's economy, the theory fails to acknowledge the many other contributions an older person can make to society, for example some forms of volunteering or participating in leisure activities (Wearing, 1995). Furthermore, the origins of the *Disengagement Theory* sit firmly within Northern American culture, and this aspect of the theory also invites criticism. Walker (2008) argues that the emphasis of productivity decline in older age inherent in this theory, highlights its United States origins compared with the European inclination, even at this point in history, to associate ageing with health and participation.

During the 1960s when technology was revolutionising the way many products were assembled, the *Disengagement Theory* reinforced the narrative that older adults were less valuable to society, as they were less able to work or contribute. The *Disengagement Theory* had the effect of reducing older adults to a commodity that was worth very little on the market at the time and the narrative associating old age as a negative time was perpetuated (Katz, 2006). Today the uncompromising disengagement position has been widely disregarded (Moody, 2006; Phillipson, 1998; Sneed & Whitbourne, 2005). Furthermore, with ageing populations throughout the world the theory no longer fits with the dominant narrative of 'activity' in older age.

Successful Ageing

In response to the increasing societal challenges associated with the growing number of elderly and in an adverse reaction to the *Disengagement Theory*, theorists began to adopt a more hopeful and positive position on ageing. The expression 'successful ageing' was first coined by Havighurst in the inaugural 1961 'Gerontologist', where he stated ageing could be a "lively and creative experience" (as cited in Powell, 2001). Rowe and Kahn's (1998)

definition of successful ageing at this time also acknowledged this sentiment alongside an embodied experience, ageing they said was "the combination of all three - avoidance of disease and disability, maintenance of cognitive and physical function, and sustained engagement with life - that represents the concept of successful ageing most fully" (p.39). Several theories of ageing were influenced by these positions, which would, in turn, lead to policy and attitudes towards ageing changing.

Activity Theory. The *Activity Theory* posited that older people are interested in staying active and contributing to society (Havighurst, 1961a). The theory also claimed that older people's value to society can be found in physical involvement and the resulting value this has to others (N. Morrow-Howell & Wang, 2013; Weicht, 2013). The theory acknowledged that, aside from the change in physical condition, in old age older people are essentially the same as they have always been and that they have the same psychological and social needs. The implication therefore was that older people should continue their various roles, adapted to suit their lessened physical state, and continue meaningful social interactions, in order to remain engaged (Estes, Biggs, & Phillipson, 2003; Victor, 2015). The *Activity Theory* acknowledged that, when it comes time to relinquish some activities (retiring from paid work, for example), older people should replace these activities with others, for instance, volunteering.

Adopting a much broader focus than the *Disengagement Theory* the overarching position the *Activity Theory* adopts is that ageing is a positive time in one's life and that participation compared to withdrawal is the desired approach. This theory is highly relevant today given that baby boomers who are joining old age in vast numbers, are also associated with a redefinition of each stage of life (A. J. Stewart & Healy, 1989). However, just as earlier theories had, the *Activity Theory* placed expectations on ageing people (the maintenance of middle-aged levels of activity for as long as possible, for example) which

does not address how the process of ageing varies for people (Ann Bowling, 2008). The reality of this position is that the normative standards implied in 'healthy' or 'active', devalues those who are not living life, in old age, in this way (Holstein & Minkler, 2007).

At face value, the *Activity Theory* and the policies it has influenced look to be highly facilitative, however there is little room for those presenting in older age differently who are unable to contribute to society in a work-life form (Biggs, 2001). In a society where gender, ethnicity, class, economic privilege, health and sexuality are expressed in different ways and all impact on the process of ageing, the theories of ageing presented so far, and subsequent social policies tend to ignore these different experiences and the impact that each may have on successful ageing. Particularly, the *Activity Theory* is criticised for overlooking the inequalities in society that do not allow for older adults to participate as fully as the theory sets out is possible, for example economic restraints (Chapman, 2005). As Havighurst cautioned in 1961, "As long as there is disagreement as to what constitutes successful ageing, caution must be used in selecting measures of successful ageing…at present, a theory of successful ageing is an affirmation of certain values" (p.9). Advice which remains as pertinent today, as it was then.

Life Course Theory. The *Life Course Theory* was developed at a time where it was identified that a model for studying human development from birth to death was required. This would then lead to the development of new concepts of life-span development and ageing, new concepts of how human lives evolve over time, and new views of the effect of social change on ageing. In comparison to the *Activity Theory* and the *Disengagement Theory*, the *Life Course Theory* examines the circumstances of the entire life course and also considers the influence of factors such as gender, race, environment, ethnicity, social class, and sexual orientation on life, family, education, work and leisure (Schuster, Francis-Connolly, Alford-Trewn, & Brooks, 2003). One reason why this theory is of particular

relevance today is due to the significant increase in life expectancy and improvements in medical care now seen in older age (Bunker, 2001; Statistics New Zealand, 2013d). When examining old age, life course theory considers the experience of the entire life course, stressing the "life-long interaction of person and social context" (Elder, 2000, p. xiii). Individual old age is best understood when considered within the context of a person's entire life-span, as a summary of the factors that have influenced their whole lives (Settersten Jr, Furstenberg Jr, & Rumbaut, 2005).

Because life course theory recognises the significance of culture and uses it to make sense of the circumstances and experiences of old age, it is a useful theory for understanding the cumulative effects of life's experiences upon well-being in old age.

Redefining the Life Course. On average, there are growing numbers of healthy retired people, with life expectancies of many decades. Due to this, there are large groups of old people who do not match the stereotypes that have traditionally been associated to older people. In a chapter in the report *World Report on Aging and Health* entitled "Old Stereotypes, New Expectations", the World Health Organisation describe the potential for older adults both in both high and low-income countries to achieve things previous generations could not imagine if their health and wellbeing can be fostered (World Health Organisation, 2015). Therefore, due to increasing number of older people who are active and fit in retirement, often described as 'young-old' and also elderly who are 80 to 85 plus, often referred to as 'old-old', a re-evaluation of the structure of old age has been developed.

Peter Laslett, co-founder of the University of the Third Age in the United Kingdom, explored the concept of the "third and fourth" ages, in the 1980s describing it as a novel rearrangement of the three life stages of childhood, working life, and retirement (Laslett, 1990). Within the four stage concept of life, the first stage is designated as childhood and adolescence, the second as independence, earning and saving; the third age as "an era of

personal fulfilment"; and the fourth age as "an era of final dependence, decrepitude, and death" (Laslett, 1990, p.71).

Almost forty years ago, the "third age" was a reasonably small group of retired people, now it is a large group of people who, having completed their first full-time career, may live an additional thirty years in active, good health (Moen, Dempster-McClain, & Williams Jr, 1992). Therefore, in contrast to the stigmatisation encompassing the notion of 'senior citizen' the third age has acquired a generally positive image as older adults are encouraged towards life-long learning to achieve well-being. Furthermore this is now seen a stage of life of twenty to thirty years duration with many possibilities. Health and the third and fourth ages are inextricably linked. One of the goals of medical systems and institutions is to lengthen the third age by extending the years of good health and at the same time compress the illnesses associated with fourth age into a short terminal timeframe (Baltes & Baltes, 1990). Initially, Laslett, influenced by studies at the time, had a bleak outlook on the fourth age given it was found to the age of Alzheimer's, frailty and multi-morbidity (Dolinsky & Rosenwaike, 1988; Melzer, McWilliams, Brayne, Johnson, & Bond, 1999)

However, this position has been contradicted by a considerable number of studies pointing old-old age as a positive time in the lives of many elderly. For example, in a qualitative study looking at experiences of ageing, older adults aged over 75 identified that being actively engaged in life was a primary theme of significance, supported by social support and a successful marriage as secondary themes (Carr & Weir, 2016). Furthermore, a New Zealand study identified that despite the expected increase in chronic conditions as people age and the fact this constricts older adults from engaging in activities, this does not impact on wellbeing in older age (Yeung & Breheny, 2016). The researchers in this study found that through using Saleeby's (2007) model of capability they were able to highlight the multidimensionality of well-being as people age. They identified that healthy ageing for older

adults in New Zealand is not only determined by physical performance, but also incorporates economic, social and environmental aspects.

In recent years, others have found it necessary to consider retheorising the fourth age in response to the increasing institutionalisation of the elderly into resthomes, or care facilities and the negative outlook described by Laslett. While the Third Age has greater individualisation associated to it, alongside a many layered experience, conditions for choice, autonomy and pleasure, this apparent progress has only highlighted the disability, diminishment and death linked, referred to as the fourth age by Peter Laslett. Gilleard and Higgs have started to attempt to theorise the fourth age as a "black hole" as they reflect on the society's oldest old being shut away into aged care facilities (Gilleard & Higgs, 2010). They described this not as an experience defined by chronological age, but instead a level of disability that society has placed within four walls and normalised. They argue that this has helped to create a "new social imaginery where choice, autonomy, self-expression and pleasure collapse into a silent negativity" (p.126). In terms of understanding what the fourth age represents, the authors argue that this normalised institutionalisation is a powerful force; by understanding the policy, the advertisements, and the discourse around rest home care we will come closer to understanding the powerful impact the fourth age is having on how society defines ageing as a whole.

The Modern Narrative on Ageing

Each of the preceding theories of ageing tend to position ageing as a generic experience for those aged 65 and over, except the *Life Course Theory* which identified age-related barriers within 'old age'. Dominant theories and by association narratives, are by-products of their historical and cultural context and strongly influence government policy. To illustrate this, in Western countries if an older adult is unable to arrive as 'active' in older age for whatever reason, they will find themselves alienated from the nation's stated direction.

For, when one is not ageing 'successfully' as the narrative states, the superannuation, health care and prescription drug programmes they require in older age seem to threaten the future of their country and even the wellbeing of their own families (Follette & Sheiner, 2005; Lisiankova & Wright, 2005). The baby boomer generation are making the older adult age group the fastest growing age category and in relation to this, the number of people of working age is declining (Dohm, 2000). Consequently, questions arising today are: how pensions will be funded?; and whether welfare reform will need to be implemented to meet the needs of this generation and subsequent ones (Gahan, 2015; Radio NZ, 2017)? These questions feed a social narrative and the preceding ageing theories are contributing to a redefinition of ageing with an emphasis on neo-liberal principles (Asquith, 2009; Formosa, 2013). These include absence of disease, maintaining engagement and productivity, and high mental and physical functioning (Nussbaum, Pecchioni, Robinson, & Thompson, 2000; Rowe & Kahn, 1998). Thus, older adults in a modern environment feel pressure to age successfully by being active and through a positive contribution to their communities.

New Zealand's ageing strategy and dominant narratives on ageing mirror the theoretical progression outlined in this chapter. This policy will be reviewed next with emphasis on how older people in New Zealand are encouraged to carry out their lives, in order to age successfully. Given the varying barriers to successful ageing many older adults present with in their later years, attention will focus on the policy directives that take into account these barriers as well as those that include how the community around an older person can help facilitate successful ageing.

New Zealand's Ageing Strategy

Ageing became a policy imperative for New Zealand's government in December 1996. At a conference held by the Department of Psychology and the Health Services Research Centre, at Victoria University of Wellington titled "Rediscovering the Elderly:

Choices and Opportunities for Older and Younger Generations in an Ageing World", ageing themes were identified as global strategic imperatives, and therefore for New Zealand (Ng, Weatherall, Liu, & Loong, 1998). Responding to growing awareness and following on from this timely event, in 1997 the government commissioned a Prime Ministerial Task Force to consult widely about the future needs of a society which would contain a much greater proportion of older people. This resulted in the report *Facing the Future* (Jansen, 1997) which provided the foundation for the *New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy (NZPAS)* (MSD, 2001) to launch from a few years later.

The *NZPAS* placed the duty of ageing positively not only on the individual but on society as well. Mirroring the targets the United Nations placed on Member States in 2001, which were linked to the *Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing* (United Nations, 1982), New Zealand's plan focused on improvements in income, housing, health, transport, increased ability to age in place, cultural diversity, rural communities, social attitudes, employment and opportunities. The assumptions this policy made about contributions to positive ageing were in adequate housing, financial security, social engagement, respect and the ability to make independent life choices. These political tenets have been validated within New Zealand, for example, Stephens, Breheny and Mansvelt (2015) looked at older adults' views on the functions of older age they valued. Using thematic analysis, they identified six broad domains of importance to participants: physical comfort, social integration, contribution, security, autonomy and enjoyment.

In reviewing the core principles of New Zealand's policy on ageing, the ability to achieve many of them are often out of the control of the individual, for example, the quality of the housing stock availability, health status and financial security. If it is accepted that physical, financial and health constraints are inevitable in older age and particularly so for those people living in the 'fourth age' (Laslett, 1989), what parts of the narrative and policy

about ageing successfully do individuals have some agency over? Furthermore, what contribution can society make in order to help older people age successfully in New Zealand?

Contribution and Ageing Positively

A repeated narrative associated to ageing successfully and one that is central to the *NZPAS* (MSD, 2001) is that of "productive and/or active ageing". Volunteering is seen as a way to create benefits to the individual and also to society, as a social contract is confirmed via a contribution to the community or nation in some way (J. A. Burr, Caro, & Moorhead, 2002). It is also viewed positively by society, as the physical constraints that affect those in older age and particularly those in 'older-old' can be managed, given the range of volunteering opportunities that can be available. Older adults can not only stay active in older age through volunteering but it has been shown to positively impact on one's sense of well-being (Wheeler, Gorey, & Greenblatt, 1998), increase life satisfaction and happiness (Thoits & Hewitt, 2001), increase self-reported health (Lum & Lightfoot, 2005), and it has also been linked with the developmental task of generativity (Nancy Morrow-Howell, Hinterlong, & Sherraden, 2001) and the activity theory of ageing (Hinterlong & Williamson, 2006).

One voluntary contribution older people have traditionally made to society is through their roles as grandparents. Conventionally, part of this role has involved caregiving duties, enabling the grandparents' children to enter back into the workforce should they wish to. Through this role, older adults have the opportunity to contribute not only to the family unit but to the state. Highlighting this point, Arthur, Snape and Dench (2003) describe the role of grandparent as the 'moral economy', a significant social resource and form of 'social capital'. As identified earlier, because life expectancy rates have increased alongside improved medical care, the view of old age and grandparenting has changed at the same time. Today's grandparents are more likely to be financially secure and in better health than their parents were when they were grandparents (Aldous, 1995). In fact, never has there been a time in

history when this many adults have lived long enough to form a relationship with most, if not all, of their grandchildren (Nicholson & Zeece, 2008).

Grandparenting has been found to be a positive experience for grandparents, as they are able to share knowledge and values across generations (Kennedy, 1992), it improves quality of life (Gabriel & Bowling, 2004), brings stability to the immediate family (Kornhaber, 1996) and it allows the grandparent to achieve purposefulness as they give advice and guidance towards their children as they are raising their children (Szinovacz, 1998). As selected aspects of the *NZPAS* (MSD, 2001) are out of the control of some older adults, focusing on areas where communities can create more opportunities for older adults to age successfully has potential to contribute to the successful ageing of older adults in New Zealand. Therefore, through helping to identify and create opportunities for older adults to volunteer within their communities, or even more specifically, ways in which grandparents can be encouraged to spend time with their wider families, has the potential to bring significant benefit to older people, and the communities they live in.

Summary

This chapter has highlighted that the narrative of ageing has shifted from a period of life experienced in decrepitude to a time of opportunity and involvement. As part of the narrative about successful ageing the *Activity Theory* and the *Life Course* Theory have acknowledged that, older adults and the nations they live in, gain when older adults are active. Furthermore, theories are now starting to acknowledge that even in older-old age (80+) it is possible to participate in roles that contribute to this position. Despite the general narrative about ageing being predominantly positive, this chapter has highlighted that many ageing theories reduce older adults to the material output they are capable of contributing to society. Furthermore, the availability of a healthy home, good physical health and adequate finances are often assumed for each person, yet little consideration is given to how arriving

into older adult years in the opposite to optimum condition, can adversely impact life. The chapter also included the New Zealand Government's older adult strategy and highlighted how there are strategic aims within it that offer agency to older people in New Zealand. To illustrate this point volunteering and specifically carrying out the role of grandparent was highlighted as one way New Zealand's older adults can not only contribute to their families and gain personally, but also contribute to the wider community. Through this activity, core aspects of the *NZPAS* (MSD, 2001) are being delivered, including contribution and social connectedness. Owing to a number of social changes, older adults today are more likely than any generation before them to be alive when their grandchildren are born. However, as will be identified in the following chapter, these same societal changes alongside others that will be introduced shortly, have contributed to a very different social milieu operating in New Zealand. Even though life expectancy has risen, does this mean New Zealand's grandparents are spending more time with their wider family? Are older adults choosing to spend their time in this way and are they physically capable of doing so? The next chapter assesses these issues in relation to older adults in New Zealand.

Chapter Three: New Zealand's Older Adults

Traditionally older people have occupied an active role of grandparents within their wider families. However, due to a range of social changes, there are fewer opportunities for them to now engage with their grandchildren. This chapter begins by describing New Zealand's older adults, firstly by key demographics including their age dispersion and population numbers, relationship status, ethnicity, economic situation and general health. The chapter then features relevant demographic information that emphasises the societal changes that are influencing older adults and their ability to engage with their grandchildren and younger generations. Critically, this includes the rise in older adults opting to live in retirement villages, an increase in dual income households and the uptake of childcare facilities, and the geographical dispersion now experienced between wider families in New Zealand. Reflecting on the tenets of what it means to age successfully in modern society, as discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter closes by critically reviewing how older adults are choosing to spend their time in retirement in New Zealand. Given the multiple barriers to successful ageing older people may face, volunteering as an activity is reviewed including the time older adults engage in this activity and their proclivity towards it.

Age and Population

From the age of 65, New Zealand citizens are eligible for the NZ Superannuation Fund, a non-contributory universal payment, and it is at this age that many in New Zealand choose to retire (Work and Income, 2016). This is one of the reasons why those aged 65 and over are classed as 'old' within New Zealand's society, as their working contribution lessens. Of this age group, the 2013 *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings* identifies that they currently make up 14% of the total population (which is 607,032 people). Of the current older adults in New Zealand, there are more females (328,158 compared to 278,874 males, with females expected to live almost four years longer on average than males - 83.2 years

versus 79.5 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c)). In terms of oldest old (those aged 80 or over), as at 2013, there were 160,500 living in New Zealand, representing 3.6% of the entire population. This number is projected to increase by 220% between 2013 and 2050, meaning 513,000 New Zealanders will be in the older-old age group by 2050 (UN DESA, 2013).

Relationship Status

The 2013 Census identified that of those 65 and over who stated whether they were partnered or not, 62% said they were living with a partner compared to 38% who were without a partner (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). As expected, when the population ages, those that stated they do not have a partner outnumber those who do and in particular from the 80-84 age bracket upwards. Due to divorce becoming more common and fewer people choosing to marry than ever before, those aged between 65-69 represent the highest number of people non-partnered across all age brackets in older age, either by divorce (17,778) or separation (5,334). With average life expectancy for females surpassing that of males, as previously identified, and the propensity for women to marry slightly older men (Statistics New Zealand, 2001), ageing in New Zealand is increasingly becoming a female experience.

Ethnicity

Older New Zealanders predominantly identify themselves as European (87.7%), Māori (5.5%), Asian (4.7%), Pacific (2%), yet these numbers are changing (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Currently the major contributing nations to immigration in New Zealand are Asian with approximately nine percent of the current population from China, the Philippines, Korea, Thailand, Cambodia, Japan, India and Vietnam. New Zealand residents from Pacific Islands make up over five percent of the population, Māori over 12% and in the most dramatic change, the remainder of New Zealand's population, nearly one in five (18%) are from a mix of other countries. The 2013 New Zealand Census also identified that older

people in New Zealand are currently least ethnically diverse age group with 87.8% identifying with one or more European ethnicities (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). However, Statistics New Zealand's (1995) advice is that the baby boomer population profile closely follows that of the general population, meaning that in the future older adults in New Zealand will become increasingly ethnically diverse.

Economic Situation

General measures of economic standards and wellbeing view the financial state of New Zealand's older adults favourably. For instance, New Zealand is placed in the top 15 nations (of 91 that were indexed) on the Global AgeWatch Index 2013 - a ranking based on how well a country ensures the social and economic wellbeing of their older people (HelpAge International, 2013). Also, the 2008 Living Standards Survey found that older New Zealanders have much higher material wellbeing compared with counterparts across other age groups in different countries and that this trend has remained since 2007 (Perry, 2009). For example, only 4% of those aged over 65 are experiencing hardship, compared to a median of 14% in European Union countries. New Zealand's Superannuation Fund allows for greater income certainty in retirement compared with many other countries. For those on average to low incomes in New Zealand it provides a moderate to high replacement income (Periodic Report Group, 2003). Combined with relatively high levels of debt-free home ownership, many older adults are not living in poverty or hardship (four percent compared with 13% of the national population, by global standards (Perry, 2009)).

However, poverty in New Zealand is also measured by including the proportion of older people with incomes below a low-income threshold (after accounting for housing costs), and the proportion of older people experiencing material hardship, as measured by the Economic Living Standards Index (OAG, 2017). As identified earlier, for many older adults their only income is from the NZ Superannuation, which means they are living their lives on

the edge of poverty. Furthermore, the risk of hardship is higher for those who are at the younger end of the older age bracket, Māori or Pacific, or non-partnered (Perry, 2013). A key risk factor for poverty in older age is not owning a home, and research suggests that although 85% of older adults were homeowners in 2014, this is predicted to fall, substantially, in future years (Szabo, Allen, Alpass, & Stephens, 2016). This point is emphasised by the findings of the *2017 Material Wellbeing of New Zealand Households* report which makes it clear that arriving at retirement with a mortgage-free home is the basis of a comfortable retirement (Perry, 2017).

General Health

The majority of those aged over 65 report their health as excellent, very good or good, as measured by the *2015/16 New Zealand Health Survey* (MOH, 2016) and these results are echoed in the earlier *2014 New Zealand General Social Survey* (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Life expectancy has improved for both men and women in New Zealand and this is largely due to medical advances and the delayed onset of disease from these improvements and healthier lifestyles due to an overall higher standard of living. However, older adults in New Zealand are reporting high rates of physical inactivity, for example 35% of adults aged 75 years and over are physically inactive (MOH, 2016). Furthermore, increased numbers of cardiovascular disease, lung problems and diabetes are being reported in older age (Martin, Freedman, Schoeni, & Andreski, 2009). A quarter (25.4%) of 65-74 year olds and 37.2% of those aged over 75 recorded a Body Mass Index over 30, resulting in a classification of overweight (Winter, MacInnis, Wattanapenpaiboon, & Nowson, 2014). BMI's of this number are associated with higher risk of mortality from cardiovascular disease, some cancers, and the incidence of type 2 diabetes (Willett, Dietz, & Colditz, 1999), which corresponds with the increase in the number of diagnoses of diabetes in older adults seen in New Zealand (MOH, 2016). Furthermore, three in four older adults aged over 75 have self-reported hypertension

(MOH, 2016). Therefore, in general, while medical advances have been made and older adults are living for longer, they are now presenting in older age with a number of different concerns that have the potential to impact the way they are able to age successfully.

Living Arrangements

A key element of the *NZPAS* (MSD, 2001) is that older New Zealanders are encouraged to 'age in place'. This means that the state supports older adults to have a choice about where they live, and provide housing that has access to amenities and services; allows for the ability to maintain social connections and interactions with locals; is safe and secure; and allows older adults to be independent and autonomous (Wiles, Leibing, Guberman, Reeve, & Allen, 2011). As mentioned earlier, 85% of New Zealand's older people live independently and own their home freehold and, of those living privately and independently, 51.1% live in a couple-only home, with 28.8% living alone (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b).

Retirement Village Living. For others, ageing in their own home is not feasible. The practicalities of doing so, for example maintenance and the loneliness associated with loss, make the option untenable (Gardner, Browning, & Kendig, 2005). Because age is the key demographic driver to entry, those aged over 80 are more likely to look for rest home or hospital care due to failing health, whereas the baby boomer generation (currently aged 55-73) are more likely to be looking at independent living solutions within a retirement village where they may have licence-to-occupy agreement with the owners of the village, own their homes outright, or share a variety of lease agreements. Current residents of retirement villages in New Zealand tend to be aged over 70 and many are widowed (Grant, 2003; Webster, 2015). As retirement villages continue to establish across New Zealand, it is predicted that the new residents at these facilities will be younger than the average age of current residents and that over the next ten years the demand for retirement village living will increase (Deutsche Bank, 2015).

Conventionally, the reasons people choose to live in retirement villages include health status, lack of security, difficulty managing a large property, social isolation, poor public transport and loneliness (Gardner, 1994; Gardner et al., 2005; Stimson & McCrea, 2004). Due to the recent proliferation of retirement villages in New Zealand, there is little information available about the reasons residents in New Zealand have relocated. What the literature from Australia indicates is that companionship, safety and freedom from household maintenance are key reasons why people move (Buys, 2000; Gardner, 1994; Stein & Morse, 1994). Yet, alongside these findings, a contrasting view about retirement living has also emerged. Regarding psychosocial measures, depression and suicidal ideation has been commonly found in aged care residents, particularly those in nursing homes (Boorsma et al., 2012; Jongenelis et al., 2004) and relocation from a home in the community to a retirement village has been found to be emotionally stressful and detrimental to well-being (Chapin & Dobbs-Kepper, 2001). Chandler and Robinson (2014) also identified that wellbeing is negatively impacted within the village by constant reminders of mortality due to death, disability and illness in residents.

The financial implications of living in retirement villages can also become burdensome highlighted by the fact that the cost of living in a retirement village is out of reach of many New Zealanders (Wiles et al., 2011). Despite home ownership implying the financial ability required to live in a retirement village and that many of New Zealand's older adults are mortgage-free and owners of their own homes (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a), many villages are still too expensive for older adults to occupy. With Māori and Pasifika people of New Zealand negatively featuring in Living Standards research (Perry, 2015), it is becoming evident that retirement villages tend to house middle-class, New Zealand Pākehās (Laws, 1995; Munro, 2002).

The most persistent criticism of the retirement village environment however, is the impact of the segregation of older adults from society in general. Spatial separation of young and old has been found to drive stigmatism, and is seen as harmful for younger generations' knowledge and appreciation of older people (Sherman, 1975; Uhlenberg & De Jong Gierveld, 2004). While there is some comfort in being with others of a similar situation, facing the same challenges and of the same demographics, many have argued about what can be gained by older people putting themselves voluntarily into what Laws (1993) calls "aged ghettos". For example, Friedan (1993) also queried how retirement villages can be beneficial to society when they are contributing to negative stereotypes of ageing and are devoid of youth and spontaneity. With the average age of retirement village residents in New Zealand being over 70, and with longer life expectancy, associated levels of frailty in later years should also be expected. Brown Wilson (2009) and Cook, Brown Wilson and Forte (2006) found that frailty has been associated with the challenge of connecting older people living in retirement villages back into their communities. Furthermore, older adults who move into retirement villages have been found to socialise less with the community they have come from, but rather within the congregate-style community they have moved to (Buys, 2001). This lack of connection between older adults to the communities that were part of their lives prior to moving to retirement village environments has been negatively associated with depression and loneliness (Adams, Sanders, & Auth, 2004). Given the rise in people opting to live in retirement villages, this changing social scenario in New Zealand could be viewed as contributing to less cohesive communities. In summary, through the increasing segregation of older people into facilities that cater for the older person, it is possible that increased stigmatism and a reduced understanding of both old and young is being fuelled by the lack of contact between them that this living scenario presents.

Geographical Dispersion of Families

In many Western countries it is widely acknowledged that grandparents often live geographically distant from their grandchildren or great-grandchildren. For instance in the United States (Cherlin & Furstenberg Jr, 2009; Holladay & Seipke, 2007; Meyer & Kandic, 2017), Canada (Zhou, 2017) and Australia (C. C. Peterson, 1999) this is common place. Partly driven by the increase in single-parent families and dual income households many young families are being forced to relocate to cities and job opportunities away from their home towns. For instance, demographers in the United States report that families are relocating to communities 100 or more miles from elder family members (Federal InterAgency, 2007). Furthermore, technology has been found to play a pivotal role in keeping families in contact with one another (McClure & Barr, 2017; Tarasuik & Kaufman, 2017) indicating families are increasingly turning to technology to bridge living in different locations from one another. However, there is very little information available to identify where older adults live geographically in relation to their wider families within New Zealand, but a number of indicative facts are available. For instance, it is estimated that 10,000 Māori children are living in kin/whānau care (Worrall, 2009) and that many of these children are being parented by their grandparents. Furthermore, in many regional locations there are fewer people at labour market entry age than at exit age (42% in 2010), indicating that in the regions at least, there are far fewer younger people than older (Jackson, 2011). A final indicator that New Zealand has a population diaspora is that Statistics New Zealand report that there are over one million New Zealanders living overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2016b). What this means is that for increasing numbers of older adults based in New Zealand, it is possible that their children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren may live in very distant locations from where they began their lives.

Changing Role of Grandparent

Becoming a grandparent today is not as certain as it once was. This is due to social changes including lower fertility rates, the rise in people choosing to have their children later, childless unions, increasing rates of divorce and singlehood becoming more commonplace (Pool, Dharmalingam, & Sceats, 2007). The 2013 Census revealed, for example, that while 'couple with children' was the most common type of family in 2013 (41.3%), 'couple without children' was the second most common family type (40.9%), with the proportion of this family subtype significantly increasing since 1991 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). Notwithstanding this, if someone does become a grandparent and has the inclination to spend time with the grandchildren, there are societal changes happening that may affect how much time they are able to spend with them. For example, there has been a significant rise in the number of dual-income families in New Zealand, driven by the fact that women are increasingly taking up paid working roles (as a proportion of the working-age population), with an increase from 54.7% in 1986 to 64% in 2016 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016a). With regards to preschool aged children in particular, more have both parents working today than ever before, with the proportion increasing from 29.7% in 1998 to 38.2% in 2009 (Statistics NZ, 2012). Due to this scenario, many families now look for alternate solutions for childcare. These may be either 'formal' childcare facilities including early childcare centres, kindergartens or Playcentres or 'informal', for example grandparents, if they live locally, or another local relative or neighbour.

A policy implementation which instigated a significant rise in the number of children attending formal childcare occurred in 2007 when the Labour Government introduced 20 hours of free early childcare education (ECE) hours (NZ Government, 2007) to encourage women into the workforce. Today, for example, in two-parent families where both parents are employed, formal ECE and care arrangement use was most common option for children

(66.4%) (Statistics NZ, 2010a). Additionally, if childcare choices are compared between 1998 and 2009, the ECE effect is strikingly evident. For example, in 1998, just over half (52.8%) of children who attended a childcare centre were there for three or more days a week, but by 2009, this increased so that 74% of children were there for three or more days per week (Statistics NZ, 2012).

Due to a combination of these changes, where does this leave the role of grandparent in New Zealand's society? Within the age range of preschooler, for example, the most common arrangements for children aged three to six years of age (other than parent), were 'other' childcare centres (37.1%), followed by public kindergartens (34.6%), and then grandparents (29.3%) (Statistics NZ, 2010a). In comparison, the most common arrangements for younger children (those aged under two) was care by a grandparent (32.5%) followed by 'other' childcare centres (18.1%) (Statistics NZ, 2010a). Therefore, formal childcare services are used more often as children get older, whereas grandparents in New Zealand are being utilised, to a certain degree, as informal carers for babies or toddlers (Ochiltree, 2006). A report commissioned in New Zealand by the Families Commission entitled *'Changing Roles'* looked at the intricate role of being a grandparent in New Zealand in 2010 (Kerslake-Hendricks, 2010). Using in-depth focus group interviews, complemented by a telephone survey, they found that younger grandparents had much greater involvement with their grandchildren's lives. For example, four percent of those aged 75 or older were living with one or more of their grandchildren compared to 13% of respondents under the age of 55. In terms of overall frequency of seeing grandchildren, 23% of respondents said they saw their grandchildren several times a week and thirteen said every day. Culturally, this was significantly higher for Māori and Pacific Island respondents who stated that they see their grandchildren daily, 34% and 47% respectively, and 'several times a week', both 25%. The report also noted that of those who stated they had made changes to their lives in order to see

their grandchildren more, nine percent had moved to be closer to them. In contrast, 39% of respondents said they spent fewer than 10 hours with their grandchildren and 33% spent no time with them.

What this section has highlighted is that grandparents feature within the picture of childcare in New Zealand, but that commercial institutions like childcare facilities and kindergartens are increasingly being used as more and more households include dual income earners. There is less information available about the rates of informal social contact between grandparents and their grandchildren, however, the following section reviews what is known about the social impact of the contact New Zealand's grandparents have with their grandchildren.

Impact of Undertaking the Role of Grandparent.

The overwhelming response from participants in both the focus groups and the telephone survey the Families Commission undertook was that the experience of grandparenting was that of love or aroha towards their grandchildren, furthermore, grandparents recounted the joy they experienced as they nurtured and observed their grandchildren develop and grow (Kerslake-Hendricks, 2010). Additionally, many cited the reciprocal exchange of knowledge and support as something they valued from the time they spent with their grandchildren. However, just because grandparents live near their grandchildren does not guarantee that they will choose to spend their time with them (Arber & Timonen, 2012). Some grandparents may adopt an emblematic role and see their grandchildren at family gatherings such as birthdays or Christmas and others may have different demands on their time. As previously noted, the dominant narrative is that of old age being an active and productive time. With this expectation set by society and to an extent the government, how does it correspond with how older adults are actually choosing to spend their time?

Use of Time

There is little information available regarding how New Zealand's older adults are choosing to spend their time. However, the age now considered acceptable to keep working in paid activity in New Zealand is increasing (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b; Stephenson, 2017). Older adults have said they intend to work for longer, which is evidenced by the numbers of older adults working in paid part-time or full-time work (18%) (Sowden, 2017). Whether this intention is driven by fiscal need, or whether the retirement age of 65 is perceived as too early, is clarified by a range of New Zealand longitudinal and applied social research. The consistent finding is that for the majority of those baby boomers still in work, financial concerns about retirement affect their ability to retire (Alpass, 2008; EEO Trust, 2006; Winston & Barnes, 2007).

Outside of paid employment, 19.4% of older New Zealanders said they undertake unpaid work made up of the following activities: 77% household tasks, 5% looking after a child who is part of the household, 5% looking after someone who is part of the household with a disability, 11.3% looking after a child who is not part of the household, 7.8% helping someone who does not live at the household with a disability and 16.6% volunteer (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). In contrast, the 2009/10 Time Use Survey found that those aged over 65 said they spend an average of nine hours and eighteen minutes alone every day, nearly four hours longer than the nearest age bracket (Statistics NZ, 2010b). What the statistics indicate therefore, is that many of New Zealand's older adults are now remaining in paid employment, one fifth undertake some form of unpaid work and many spend a considerable time alone.

Volunteering. The information above indicates that older adults do not allocate much time to volunteering endeavours, despite the evidence suggesting its benefits. Engaging in productive activity in older age, such as volunteering predicts lower frailty (Jung,

Gruenewald, Seeman, & Sarkisian, 2010). Evidence also suggests that engaging in activities that are deemed important to the individual, is associated with positive health and well-being outcomes (Greenfield & Marks, 2004; Harris & Thoresen, 2005; N. Morrow-Howell, Hinterlong, Rozario, & Tang, 2003), including a sense of purpose and fulfilment in life (Bradley, 1999; Eakman, Carlson, & Clark, 2010). In the Life and Living in Advanced Age Cohort Study (LiLACS NZ), the world's only indigenous longitudinal study, participants were asked to report three activities they partake in, that were of importance to them (Wright - St Clair et al., 2012). The patterns were similar for New Zealand men and women and the greatest percentage of activities identified fell within the domain of community, social and civic life. Older Māori identified activities relating to the extended family and collective community, more so than non-Māori who identified more individualistic recreational and leisure activities. Thirty two percent of all important activities nominated by Māori and 49% by non-Māori related to the domain of 'community, social and civic life', and this category was selected more so than any other option. In another New Zealand study, Wiles and Jayasinha (2013) spoke to 121 New Zealanders between the ages of 56 and 92 about the contributions they believed they made to the places they live in and found that their responses could be grouped as either activism, advocacy, nurturing or volunteering. Specifically, in relation to nurturing, older adults actively sought out opportunities to foster peer and youth wellbeing amongst their communities through informal relationships. Therefore, despite the research indicating that a number of New Zealand's older adults are either working in paid employment, or in some cases undertaking important unpaid roles, there appears to be an underlying inclination and propensity towards volunteering in roles that enable them to contribute to their communities. This willingness, coupled with the fact that many older adults are spending a significant time alone each day, indicates that there is potential to be capitalised on if the opportunity is suitable.

A considerable number of older adults choose not to volunteer in any role as they age, in contrast to the dominant narrative of activity in later years being connected to achieving meaning and fulfilment through a contribution to society (Martinson & Minkler, 2006). While some older adults choose to find meaning in their later years through volunteering, it is important to remember that volunteering is not for everyone and that old age can still be viewed positively despite a contribution to society. As Minkler (2000) stated, what is most critical is a commitment to a good late life by, "recognizing and reinforcing the essential meaning of old age," and that is by flourishing and growing in whatever ways are possible (p. 454). For others, creating meaning in later life can take shape in a variety of different ways.

Summary

This chapter has described a large group of New Zealanders who are aged over 65, particularly in relation to their role as grandparents in modern New Zealand society. Bearing in mind the narrative functioning in New Zealand society, about ageing being a time of activity, New Zealand's older adults have been described as a generally healthy, seemingly financial secure and ethnically diverse group of people. However, with the large volume of baby boomers entering old age, changes are expected to these demographics including an increase in numbers of people in poorer health, increased rates of hardship and lower rates of home ownership. Collectively, older adults are opting to live in retirement villages as they age. This societal change, coupled with the fact that New Zealand's population is increasingly becoming geographically dispersed, means older people are becoming progressively isolated from their grandchildren and young people in general. This scenario is further compounded by the fact that today couples are choosing to either not have children, or to have fewer and delay giving birth, divorce rates are increasing and more people are choosing to be single. For older people in New Zealand and for those who want to, being able to enact the role of grandparent is less sure than ever before.

Furthermore, the role of grandparent is changing. As more mothers enter the workforce and as their children age, they are increasingly choosing to place their children in childcare facilities. Despite grandparents reporting that the time they spend with their grandchildren is cherished, older people are interacting with young children much less than ever before. Older adults are faced with other time constraints, in some cases working in paid or unpaid roles of great value to the communities they live in. Yet, many are not and many spend multiple hours alone a day. It is possible that in response to the reduced ability to spend time with wider family, some of New Zealand's older adults have expressed an interest in volunteering in order to stay connected to the communities they live in. In particular, for some, nurturing younger generations in a non-formal capacity is of interest. This presents an opportunity for New Zealand. When opportunities for separate generations decline, attention can be focused on ways in which the generations can be brought together. Ideas that are also mindful of the barriers and challenges some older adults face in old age including hardship or poor health, will be most keenly anticipated. The next chapter describes one idea that addresses these needs, alongside the social conditions that have given rise to it.

Chapter Four: Intergenerational Programmes

This section begins by briefly summarising the conditions from which intergenerational programmes (IGPs) developed and are now proliferating in many countries. The general concept of IGPs is then introduced. As older people are increasingly choosing to live in retirement villages, it is becoming increasingly important to understand the sorts of programmes that are being introduced in these facilities, therefore an introduction to the Shared Site variety of an IGP is covered. A critical appraisal of the theoretical constructs that have so far underpinned IGP design and understanding then follows. To highlight the increase in the number of programmes the chapter then identifies the international picture of the countries where IGPs are most established, including the global policies that have supported this activity. New Zealand's position (both policy and intergenerational progress) is then analysed in view of the global context. The chapter then concludes with a critical review of the research regarding older adults participating in IGPs with preschool aged children, including salient dynamics to consider regarding the populations and the environments within which IGPs are conducted.

Background

A complex mix of social, economic and demographic factors are behind a decline in younger and older generations mixing together. Some of the key reasons for this have been outlined in the previous chapters, for instance, increased rates of divorce, families becoming geographically separated, lower birth rates, an increasing number of households with both parents as earners, an uptake in retirement village occupancy, and a rise in the number of children attending childcare facilities. Due to a combination of these factors, intergenerational contact has reduced. Yet, does this matter? What is the purported impact of these changes and what has been done in response?

Several social theorists and authors say yes, that without this interdependency between generations, society is unlikely to thrive, and furthermore, older people are less able to contribute at every stage of the life cycle. Butts (2010) identified this scenario as a social contract under threat; a contract made up of the exchange that each generation invests in each other. This implicit agreement states that as the generation is nurtured, it is then expected to reciprocate. Historically, this arrangement has been linked to the advancement of societies, as important knowledge and cultural artefacts are taken forward. Hoff (2007), for example, stated that due to a reduction in intergenerational interaction the "systematic transfer of knowledge, skills, competencies, norms and values between generations – as old as mankind, is declining" (p.126). This is relatively new territory, and therefore, new thinking about how the generations are interacting has taken place. One solution, designed to address the decline of interactions between older and younger people, and one that is gathering momentum globally is 'Intergenerational Programmes (IGPs)'. Before IGPs are described, a brief review of the theory that the IGP originators have drawn from will be outlined. In covering this information, the momentum behind this burgeoning area will be illuminated.

Theoretical Background

Newman and Smith (1997) stated in their seminal work on intergenerational practice that as the field grows it is vitally important to ensure its fundamental premise is sound. Jarrott and Smith's (2011) meta-analytical review of theory and intergenerational practice identified Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) and Erikson's Theory of Life Course Development (E. H. Erikson, 1964) as the two theories used most to guide practice development. Similarly, Kuehne and Melville (2014) identified the two previously mentioned theories, and in particular the concept of generativity from Erikson's Theory of Life Course Development (1950, 1982) as theories most often used to research and design IGPs. Due to the centrality of these two theories in relation to IGPs, a brief analysis of the Contact Theory

and Erikson's Theory of Life Course Development, and generativity in particular, will now follow.

Contact Theory. Contact Theory (CT) is central to both IGP development and how a programme is qualitatively and empirically evaluated. This theory states that five conditions are necessary for positive relationships between two groups and they are full support from all stakeholders to deliver the programme; cooperation from all group members to work together on shared activities with shared goals; use of activities with common relational goals; equal group status with recognition that everyone possesses a talent to share and an active role to play; and opportunities for friendships (Pettigrew, 1998; Allport, 1954; Jarrott & Bruno, 2007).

Many of the programmes featured in the literature about IGPs incorporate many aspects of CT. Pettigrew (2008) stated that by instituting the core principles of CT, IGPs should increase self-esteem, empathy, and positive affect or mood of members of disparate groups (in the case of IGPs, disparate ages). One of the core beliefs of the CT is that when a programme has been designed adhering to its principles, attitudes towards 'others' will be improved and this aim has been supported within intergenerational contact (Pettigrew, 1998; Gigliotti, Morris, Smock, Jarrott, & Graham, 2005; Jarrott & Smith, 2011). For example, in an observation of 59 people in two IGPs, where one programme was designed with CT and the other was not, Jarrott and Smith (2011) found that in the CT-designed programme, increased active engagement and lower levels of passive observation were identified. This finding indicates that both age groups were engaged within an age-appropriate environment and tasks (Salari, 2002); a reminder that poorly designed intergenerational contact can be unsuccessful when it is assumed that merely bringing two generations together is enough to engender a meaningful relationship or lasting change (Hayes, 2003).

Erik Erikson's Life Course Development Theory. Two attempts have been made to build a unique theory to guide the interpretation of data and raise the academic veracity of the IGP field. Both have chosen Erikson's stage seven 'generativity' as a framework for understanding intergenerational relationships (Vanderven, 2004, 2011; Villar & Serrat, 2014), highlighting the heuristic value of Erikson's Life Course Development Theory (ELCD) in relation to IGP theory.

According to Erikson, the human life span can be divided into eight chronological, developmental stages, each containing a psychological challenge or crisis which, depending on how it is handled, could end positively or negatively for an individual (E. H. Erikson, 1950). The stages are said to be in accordance with biologically or culturally determined timings, and successfully navigating between the 'syntonic' and 'dystonic' dispositions within each would result in successful development. Some examples of the stages include: 'trust and mistrust', experienced as an infant, 'initiative and guilt', experienced in preschool ages and finally 'integrity versus despair' in late adulthood. As a person moves through each stage, contributions towards maturity are achieved and navigating each stage successfully positively influences personality and development. The goal, Erikson (1950) stated, is not to achieve one end of the spectrum, rather, a healthy ratio or balance between the syntonic and dystonic dispositions is desirable.

Of most relevance to IGP practice is the seventh stage of this theory 'generativity'. Erikson (1950) defines generativity as "the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (p. 267). Due to Erikson's humanitarian viewpoint, he identified it as a vital aspect of his theory (Friedman, 2000), further defining it as a concern for others beyond the immediate family, for future generations and for the nature of the world in which these descendants will live (E. H. Erikson, 1964). In more recent writings, Erikson broadened the definition of this construct to include being productive in older age and engaging in

community activities and organisations in order to make the world a better place (K. Erikson, 2004). The crisis identified at this stage is 'generativity versus stagnation', and if this stage is not successfully navigated Erikson posited that a sense of self-preoccupation could occur. Within this state the individual would have limited desire to share knowledge and guide younger people, instead choosing instead to focus on their own needs (Hiel, Mervielde, & Fruyt, 2006). It is theorised, that a failure to successfully navigate this stage, would result in compromised personal development, because the individual would not be able to see themselves as someone connected to a secure future, that they could contribute to and influence in some way (McFadden, 1985; Rubinstein, 1994). Thus, a successful resolution of the seventh stage crisis of 'generativity versus stagnation', not only benefits the individual and their extended family, but also the wider community. Recent conceptualisations of generativity focused on the role it can play in society (Vanderven, 2004). As Vaillant (2002) identified generativity can be seen as acts of caring for the next generation, and also as opportunities to ensure that one's legacy outlives oneself. These important points are central to the IGP programme theory, in that programmes are often designed to establish relationships between young and old. As Vaillant (2002) stated, older adults are 'keepers of the meaning', and through well designed IGPs the older adult is given an opportunity to preserve what is meaningful from their life and pass it on to a younger generation.

Individuals have varying levels of generative intent, a critical point when considering the uptake or interest in intergenerational activities. For example, Peterson and Stewart (1996) found that high scores on generativity were associated with historical and present political involvement which, in turn, might facilitate the transmission of political values to succeeding generations. Similarly, generative interest has been connected to starting and maintaining volunteering (Snyder & Clary, 2004). Generativity has also been associated with a sense of attachment to communities and neighbourhoods, where it serves as a motivation to

care for them, as a way both to leave a valued legacy for succeeding generations, and to reinforce their identities within this community (Wiles & Jayasinha, 2013). Therefore, generativity is pivotal to the conceptualisation of an IGP theory and programme development, as it highlights the importance of the facilitation of opportunities for generativity in old age and how this can be linked to personal development in older age. For example, Clarke and Warren (2007) found that passing on skills and life experiences to younger generations is critical for older people, as it validates a life lived. Irrespective of the limitations of type of housing, illness, disease or disability, productivity and contribution can be achieved through generativity, in turn, promoting active ageing (Kruse & Schmitt, 2012). As was found with the application of the CT to IGP activity above, by adhering to the principles of these constructs, successful intergenerational interactions are possible. It is not enough to bring two generations together and expect the result to be positive, the opportunity must allow for the older adult to engage in activities that provide them with an opportunity to be generative.

In summary, both CT and generativity are highly relevant theoretical constructs in relation to IGP practice. CT's influence is evident in relation to the structure, design and evaluation of programmes. Through adherence to its principles, quality and meaningful intergenerational interactions have occurred. While generativity is also linked to how the IGP is developed and deployed, it also represents a route to many other benefits for older adult participants of IGPs. While the theories that have been outlined above illustrate the ideal for how IGPs are developed and implemented, the reality of IGP practice is very different. The next section will draw together an accurate description of modern day IGP practice, from the rationale underpinning them through to how they are implemented. Owing to the increasing number of people choosing to live in retirement villages, a short section on the sorts of IGPs that takes place in settings like this will also be included.

Intergenerational Programmes (IGPs)

IGP Definition and Rationale. Formal, extra-familial intergenerational activity was initially developed to address the segregation of the ages and, importantly, the increasingly negative impacts being observed as a result of this, for both older and younger people (A. Hatton-Yeo, 2007, 2011, 2015). The historical development of IGPs centres on the essence of the relationship between young and old, specifically the synergy that is found between the two ends of the age spectrum. As outlined in the seminal paper "*Old and the Young as Generation Gap Allies*", both groups share commonalities including a relative dependence on the generations between them and a diminished productive role (Kalish, 1966). Recognising this position, and in response to the social, economic and demographic milieu outlined above, an intergenerational programme framework has been established and programmes have been designed to create opportunities for positive intergenerational exchange between non-biologically connected older and younger people. For the older adults in particular, IGPs have been developed to offer them an avenue to provide a role in helping grow the next generation and reignite the intergenerational reciprocity that had been lost.

IGPs are designed to increase cooperation, interaction and exchange between people of different generations, allow the sharing of their talents and resources, and help create relationships that benefit both the individuals and their community (Generations United, 2016b). The International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes, established in 1999, describes intergenerational practice as "social vehicles that create purposeful and on-going exchanges of resources and learning among older and younger generations" (Kaplan, Henkin, & Kusano, 2002, p. xi). While these two definitions explain the 'what' of an IGP, they omit the 'why?'. The Beth Johnson Foundation (a United Kingdom charity focused on making the United Kingdom 'age-friendly') extended these definitions and highlighted the potential outcomes of the programmes: "Intergenerational practice aims to bring people together in

purposeful, mutually beneficial activities which promote greater understanding and respect between generations and contributes to building more cohesive communities" (Beth Johnson Foundation, 2011, p. 4).

IGP Design. IGPs tend to also include two non-adjacent generations that are not related. In terms of age of either generation there is no one consistent age-bracket of focus, for example those aged 85 and above have been paired with children aged under five, and 65 year olds, paired with teenagers, with many different age-pairing combinations in between. The programmes, participants and environments in which this work has taken place globally is greatly varied, however, the social drivers and desired outcomes of the programmes are similar. It is the effectiveness of the exchange that is most important and this can be measured by answering the following question: has the programme improved the lives of those who took part and the community around them (A. Hatton-Yeo, 2015)?

When designing an IGP, the objectives can be grouped into four: social; psychological or emotional; intellectual or cognitive; and physical. In order to achieve these objectives, programmes are designed to lay a foundation for young and old to coexist harmoniously, encourage more positive attitudes between each other, and provide benefits into the communities they operate within, thereby contributing to social cohesion and civic engagement (A Hatton-Yeo, Klerq, Ohsako, & Newman, 2001). IGPs have been found to: strengthen communities as they bring diverse groups together; maximise human resources by engaging older adults and youth as volunteers; encourage cultural exchange by sharing cultural traditions and values between the generations; meet the needs and issues of local communities; and unite community members to take action on a number of platforms (Generations United, 2016a). Always, reciprocity is at the cornerstone of the design of IGPs as the younger generation learn something through the exchange, so too do the older population.

IGPs range in size, focus, and intensity. Generally the interactions can be defined as 'doing for', where the younger people undertake a service for the older people, or 'learning with', where collaboration occurs through education or art (Manheimer, 1997). The core proposition in both examples, is that older and younger people participate together in meaningful activities. Examples of 'doing for' could be visits by groups of youths to retirement homes where a skill is shared by either group to the other (oral histories, reflection exercises, mentoring or tutoring for example). 'Learning with' may manifest as young and old participating in performing or visual arts, singing, gardening, environmental preservation, games, cooking, or community service (Beynon, Heydon, O'Neill, Zhang, & Crocker, 2013). In terms of duration, no defined period of time is mandated, but there are examples of as few as three programme sessions (Goodman, 2013) through to a year's worth of interactions (Hayes, 2003). Programme designers and advocates do agree however, that the activity should be sustained and ongoing in order for relationships to be established (Jarrott, Kaplan, & Steinig, 2011).

Shared Site IGPs (SSIPs). There has been a considerable increase in the numbers of those choosing to live in retirement villages, both in New Zealand (First NZ Capital, 2015) and in some Western countries, including the United States and Australia (Cox, 2016). A shared site IGP is where the programme takes place with both young and old in places like youth centres, parks and recreational facilities, libraries or senior citizen centres (Generations United, 2016a), or within the colocation of a retirement village or aged care facility with a childcare centre (Goyer, 2001). Given the rising demand in retirement village living in New Zealand, the latter option will be outlined and the issues inherent within discussed next.

The most common SSIPs include childcare and residential or daycare for frail elders (Goyer, 2001) where rooms, resources, and staff may be shared. As can be expected, shared facilities between older and younger adults can result in logistical issues, for example,

depending on the frailty of the older adults, infection can be a major concern between the two groups (V. Kuehne, 1998). Cook and Bailey (2013) interviewed residents of an aged care facility about their IGP requirements and they found residents wanted purposeful and meaningful interaction with the children, to develop new and use old skills, and to stay connected with the local community. Participants also noted that they would hope IGP activity was designed to take into account difficulties they experience including sensory, communication and mobility problems. Clearly, bringing contrasting generations together regularly at a retirement home or aged care facility must be carefully managed.

Owing to the economic, social and demographic context presented earlier, IGPs have proliferated within many Western nations. The next section highlights the state of IGP practice in New Zealand and around the globe. This information is set within the context of the global governmental policy shifts that are driving an increased focus on IG issues and a critical review of New Zealand's political landscape with regards to fostering the establishment of IGPs.

Global IGP Practice

The practice of IGPs began in the United States and since its establishment there, the United Kingdom and Australia have followed with moderate levels of IGP activity. A review of these three countries' IGP endeavours now follows. Concluding this section is an acknowledgement that the field of IGP predominately features programmes from within 'Western' countries. Culture, in association to IGPs, is reviewed, as are the implications of this for IGP practice within a multi-cultural New Zealand.

United States. For over 55 years formal, non-familial intergenerational activity has been present in various states across the United States. Beginning in the 1960s with the Foster Grandparent Program (CNCS, 2016), IGP activity has connected a variety of older adults

with school-age children of different backgrounds. Messiah Village opened in 1978 and remains an energetic programme, providing the first example of a shared site IGP in the world involving elders with significant care needs (Messiah Village, 2016). The 1980s saw policy and developments that aimed to increase the connection between generations, culminating in the establishment of Generations United in 1986 (an organisation set up to foster national collaboration on public policy issues, promote intergenerational programmes, and encourage efforts to build a cohesive, caring society) (Generations United, 2016b). During the 1980s a shift in the focus of programmes occurred. Not only did IGPs bring generations together, but they started to address critical social concerns such as the environment, literacy, health and cross-cultural understanding (Burke, Henkin, & Butts, 2012). IGP practice during the 1990s saw consolidation of materials and institutes to further support IGP practice, followed by the 2000s where policy and programmes proliferated. For example, it is now estimated that 500 long-term care facilities, centres and other facilities are home to intergenerational preschools (Jarrott et al., 2011). Led by a number of academics and supporters of IGP practice within the United States, this century has seen a number of best practice standards developed, covering areas including development, training, implementation and evaluation of IGP programmes. Additionally, the depth and breadth of intergenerational work across the United States has flourished to include structured programmes, shared sites, grandparents and 'other' relatives raising children, support services and also broad, community-wide initiatives (Burke et al., 2012). Highlighting the prominence of the issue of generations being separated within the United States, the recent White House Conference on Aging (WHCOA, 2015), held a moderated panel titled: 'Power of Intergenerational Connections and Healthy Aging'. From this, a joint commitment to host intergenerational physical activity events to promote opportunities for young and older Americans to be active together was agreed (White House, 2015). This emphasises the worth

placed on IGP practices within the United States, and the role they are playing within congressional policy on healthy ageing.

United Kingdom. Over the last three decades, intergenerational activities have become increasingly well-established throughout the United Kingdom. In April 2001, the Beth Johnson Foundation established the Centre for Intergenerational Practice and, since that time, has led intergenerational work in the United Kingdom and become internationally recognised and influential in the field. In 2002, the Beth Johnson Foundation identified over 300 intergenerational programmes in England and Wales (Granville, 2002) and the Centre for Intergenerational Practice now supports approximately 1200 organisations, either delivering or developing intergenerational projects (A. Hatton-Yeo, 2015). Like the United States, IGPs have developed from programmes where younger people were 'doing things for' older populations or vice versa and were mainly active in schools (Bernard, 2006). The reciprocal nature of the modern IGP exchange can now be seen in many IGPs in the United Kingdom, resulting in mutually beneficial practices. However, whilst intergenerational activities and programmes have been proliferating in the United Kingdom, few specific centres with an 'intergenerational and community-dwelling focus' are operating in the UK (Springate, Atkinson, & Martin, 2008). To remedy this, in 2009, the government allocated £5.5 million to promoting intergenerational practices which culminated in the establishment of Generations Together. One of the key aims of the programme was to connect people of different ages to recreate the support they might have traditionally got from within the family (Third Sector, 2009). Today, 12 boroughs across the United Kingdom participate in significant IGP activity after this successful drive to strategically imbed intergenerational work. Furthermore, both the Scottish and Welsh Governments have funded intergenerational work as a core part of their ageing policies (Scottish Government, 2017; Welsh Government, 2017).

Australia. What precipitated a formal approach to IGPs in Australia was a study by Kendig, Browning and Wells (1998) which showed that intergenerational relations were important factors in the use of health services by older people. Specifically, outcomes in old age were seen to be heavily influenced by whether one has a wife (less so a husband), has cared for or lost a spouse, or has children. The findings indicated that ageing policy in Australia should consider ages across the entire lifespan when developing programmes that would improve older adult wellbeing. Since 2000, initiatives promoting youth in civic engagement have grown in popularity (MacCallum et al., 2010) and a number of IGPs have been identified and evaluated within Australia. From a playgroup established in a residential aged care facility in Victoria (Skropeta, Colvin, & Sladen, 2014), to others that are similar in Western Australia (MacCallum et al., 2010; Palmer, 2010), Australia's IGP practice is establishing.

The Rest of the World. The IGP research that will be presented shortly features programmes in countries as diverse as Switzerland (DeVore & Aeschlimann, 2016), Japan (Morita & Kobayashi, 2013; Sakurai et al., 2016), Italy (Camp et al., 1997) and Portugal (Carson, Kobayashi, & Kuehne, 2011). Predominantly, however, the literature on IGPs comes from 'Western' countries, that is, those that share certain fundamental political, cultural and economic ideologies (Birken, 1992). From this scenario an assumption could be made that Eastern countries may be immune to the social, economic and demographic changes that have prompted the need for IGPs. Furthermore, it may also suggest that IGPs do not have a place in these cultures, due to the assumption families within these nations often live intergenerationally. Yet this is not the case, as the effects of urbanisation, modernisation and globalisation are, in fact, being encountered by many Eastern countries (L. L. Thang, Kaplan, & Henkin, 2003). In addition, the perception that the family unit in Asia is three-generational is also under threat and increasingly IGPs are being seen as way to replace and

compensate for what the family is no longer able to provide (L. Thang, 2002). For instance, in Thailand, all elderly express a desire to live near their grandchildren, yet acknowledge there is misunderstanding and frustration between the two generations (Kamnuansilpa, Pronmmo, Bryant, & Wongthanavasu, 2002).

The impact of culture on programme design and deployment cannot be overstated nor can cultural assumptions be made. The moral norm of filial piety in Asia (a justification of the apparent respect for elders, and expectation to take care of their parents and grandparents in old age) for example, cannot be applied across all Asian countries due to diversity across the region. Furthermore, even in 2002, multinational research started to identify some Asian cultures view older people less positively than some Western cultures do (Giles, McCann, Ota, & Noels, 2002).

The upcoming review of the IGP literature is predominately from Western countries, however IGPs potentially do have a role in all cultures, and as is evident above, meaning can be ascribed to IGPs at a familial and extra-familial relationship level. As New Zealand has such an ethnically diverse population, the introduction of IGPs must be considered alongside these many cultures. For example, in relation to the theory underpinning the programmes, is generativity and the assumption about how a group should communicate relevant to the indigenous culture of Māori (Bostrum, Hatton-Yeo, Ohsako, & Sawano, 2000)? In reviewing the findings and experiences of IGP participants from around the world, it is important to consider the limitations of these findings in relation to IGP practice in New Zealand.

Global Policy Driving IGPs

The phenomena of ageing populations can be seen in countries all over the world. For many agencies and multi-national organisations, the response has been to understand how this demographic change can be provided for, financially and socially. In a recent report

released by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) for example, the majority of member countries are revising older adult programmes to ensure financial sustainability is at the cornerstone of programme reform, compared to quality of service and efficiencies (Swartz, 2013). The World Health Organisation has established the concept of an Age-Friendly World, designed to enable people of all ages to actively participate in community activities and to be treated with respect (World Health Organisation, 2014). Ultimately the aim is that as people age, their quality of life is not diminished, including ensuring access to all communities remains possible.

This convergence of policy highlights the growing issue of ageing populations and also emphasises the role IGPs can play in addressing the political priorities of governments across the world. Healthy intergenerational relations can help to contribute to effective public policy by promoting social cohesion, national unity and shared responsibility (Hatton-Yeo, 2002). Reciprocity between generations was identified in the *Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing* (MIPAA) (a result of the Second World Assembly on Aging, 2002) as a focus. Due to this, initiatives aimed at promoting mutual, productive exchange and learning between generations, focusing on older people as a key societal resource, were identified as critical next steps in combatting some of the issues about ageing populations (United Nations, 2002). The theme of older people as a social resource also emerged in the European Union's *Grundtvig* programme, an objective of it being "effective models on how to make use of the potential of senior citizens to contribute to the learning of others (e.g. retired people as educators and mentors)" (EAGLE, 2007, p. 12). In England, the Government's final review of the Third Sector (2007) identified intergenerational volunteering and mentoring as a means to address social cohesion (Treasury, 2007). In 2013, it simply identified that bringing generations together was a strategic imperative of the 2010 – 2015 older adult policy. It is clear that matters relating to how older adults can be provided with an environment to age

well, alongside how they may be able to contribute to this through a role in intergenerational practices, are being prioritised around the globe. Does New Zealand's Government share this same vision, and if so, what would the political and social landscape look like in New Zealand for IGP activity to flourish?

New Zealand's Ageing Policy and Its Relationship with Intergenerational Activity

New Zealand's ageing policy parallels much of the international policy outlined previously. As this policy has been outlined in a previous chapter, the following section identifies where intergenerational concepts fit within the wider ageing policy. In short, intergenerational concepts are central to New Zealand's ageing strategy, which is illustrated by the following excerpt from the *2014 Report on the Positive Ageing Strategy*:

> "The advantages are clear. Individuals benefit from ageing in good health and being independent, connected, respected and able to enjoy life. Society benefits from a healthy, happy and engaged older population that: contributes expertise and skills to the community and workforce, in both paid and unpaid roles; has little demand for expensive health and social services and provides positive role models for younger generations" (Office for Senior Citizens, 2015a, p. 4).

The report also stated that "better understanding between the generations is critical" (p.3) and that "promoting positive attitudes and intergenerational understanding is an important part of ensuring that people of all ages are connected and respected in their communities" (p. 3). Specific goals from the strategy that link directly to IGP practices include goal eight, "Positive Attitudes – people of all ages have positive attitudes to ageing and older people" (p.30) and goal ten, "Opportunities for Personal Growth and Participation – increasing opportunities for personal growth and community participation" (p.35).

Furthermore, in 2013 the Ministry for Business Innovation and Skills (now referred to

as the Ministry for Business Innovation and Enterprise, (MBIE)) commissioned the University of Waikato's National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis to answer the following question: "The participation of older people: How do older people participate positively in society?" (Koopman-Boyden, Cameron, Davey, & Richardson, 2014, p. v). This request not only acknowledges New Zealand's ageing population as an economic opportunity, but also plainly supports the ideology underpinning the *NZPAS* (MSD, 2001). In response to the question, researchers undertook a series of interviews and focus groups with older people. The result of this was the report *Making Active Ageing a Reality – Maximising Participation and Contribution by Older People* (2014). From an intergenerational perspective, the report identified several themes of relevance, for example, a meaningful life for older people centres on:

> "…having a sense of purpose or motivation and a feeling of significance, with volunteering identified as one means to this end. In terms of establishing significance, the elderly in this research articulate that being referred to by younger generations, handing over traditions, sharing stories and having general contact with others alongside some levels of altruism was one way to achieve this" (p.14).

The findings from the above report highlight not only the inclination of older people towards intergenerational contact, but also the influence of the social narrative of the potential social and financial resource older people now represent to society. This sentiment is also evidenced in the MSD's *Business of Ageing* report, designed to encourage an increased appreciation of the potential contribution older adults have to the community and to New Zealand's economy, including their role as volunteers (Office for Senior Citizens, 2011). The report estimates that unpaid or voluntary work by older people will grow from about $8.5 billion per year in 2011 to an estimated $35 billion in 2051 (Office for Senior Citizens, 2011). Therefore, not only is the financial contribution of older adults significant in

relation, but as identified in the MBIE-commissioned report above, older adults benefit from the intergenerational exchange and stated it made them feel "significant" (Koopman-Boyden et al., 2014).

Within New Zealand, policymakers and researchers agree that bringing older and younger people together has multiple benefits. Yet, what is the state of IGP practice within the country?

Intergenerational Practice Within New Zealand

Despite the policy positions outlined above, the reality of intergenerational activity in New Zealand is that it is limited. An online resource *Link Age* has been launched by the Office of Senior Citizens to promote intergenerational learning programmes through schools (Office for Senior Citizens, 2016). *Link Age* is targeted at older adult volunteers to either assist in classroom activities, teach practical skills such as cooking, sewing or gardening and it offers templates and information for both schools and volunteers online. In return, students can share their knowledge of technologies like mobile phones or computers, or impart cultural knowledge. There are three accessible examples of recent *Link Age* activity having taken place within communities in New Zealand. These have occurred between school age children and older adults either living in a retirement village or in the community. Activities have included mutual life story telling, interviewing between the generations on 'stories about growing up' and a buddy reading programme (MSD, 2016a). In 2010/11, the Ministry of Social Development provided $1.16 million in funding to 17 community groups to run programmes which matched older volunteers with young parents to provide one-on-one life and home skills mentoring, called SAGES (MSD, 2016b). In the year it was funded, 471 families participated in this programme across the 17 regions. Regional councils are also beginning to incorporate and report on specific intergenerational activity, like the Upper Hutt City Council's Intergenerational ANZAC programme, where older adults spoke about their

wartime and life experiences with groups of young people at schools and in community centres (Office for Senior Citizens, 2015b). Anecdotal evidence on IGPs is also increasing, for example a programme in East Auckland where residents from seven retirement villages visit the kindergartens local to their accommodation recently featured in a story on a mainstream news channel (S. Stewart, 2016). However, despite this activity, no research has been published from the older adults' perspective, about the experience of participating in an IGP in New Zealand.

In summary, policy encouraging intergenerational practice within New Zealand has increased since the launch of the *NZPAS* (MSD, 2001), mirroring global trends. Furthermore, intergenerational resources are beginning to accumulate through government departments including the Office for Senior Citizens. Compared to countries similar to New Zealand, New Zealand's formal intergenerational activity is limited. Despite identifying it as early as the late 1990s as an area of real benefit, very little evidence exists of activity of this kind in New Zealand. In countries where the IGP practice is proliferating, so too is empirical and qualitative research that identifies the experience and outcomes of participating in an IGP for older people. In order to understand about how these sorts of programmes can contribute to ageing successfully in New Zealand, a review of this research is now presented.

IGP Research

This section opens with an acknowledgement and a review of the generally positive, and often quantitative, older adults outcomes research into IGPs. As the populations of interest within this literature review are older adults and preschool aged children, a critical analysis of the research undertaken with these two populations will then follow. This will include an analysis of the types of outcomes older adults have found to have experienced from participating, a section on generativity as an outcome and the challenges inherent in researching this construct in relation to IGPs, and research undertaken within a shared site or

retirement village. Closing this section, is an analysis of the assumption that older adults would want to volunteer in an IGP, including a review of the perceptions and experiences older adults have of very young children.

General IGP Research. IGPs have been found to have more benefits than challenges for older adults and four 'meta-analyses' have been conducted in this field to support this claim: Jarrott's (2011) exploration of IGP research to date, emphasising research outcomes and the methodologies used; Kuehne and Kaplan's (2001) diagnostic review of IGPs at shared sites; Springate et al. (2008) review of IGP practice in the United Kingdom; and Park's (2014) literature review on IGP outcomes and activity within the community.

Jarrott (2001) identified a sample of *n*=128 non-familial intergenerational intervention studies published in journal articles and of these 70% reported only benefits, 27% reported a mix of benefits and challenges or drawbacks, three studies (2.4%) reported no impact and just one study, the oldest (Auerbach & Levenson Jr, 1977), reported only negative results of the intergenerational programme. Jarrott also identified that studies reporting only benefits have been steadily increasing and that this corresponds with the fact that qualitative methodology is increasingly being adopted as a key methodology when looking at the experience of participating in an IGP.

The findings identified in the previous paragraph sit in contrast to the report undertaken by Springate et al. (2008) through the National Foundation for Education Research and funded by the Local Government Association in the United Kingdom. A key aim of this review was to understand the effectiveness and outcomes of IGPs in the United Kingdom, in response to increased funding that the intergenerational field had received and the corresponding increase in IGPs throughout the country. Framed within this context, they found that of the *n*=43 sources of IGP evaluation research, *n*=39 reported outcomes. They identified that for older adults the outcomes of participating in an IGP could be grouped in

three areas: health and wellbeing, reduced isolation and a renewed sense of worth. They found that, specifically, IGPs facilitated an increased understanding between generations, friendship, and enjoyment and confidence for both older and younger participants. Some evidence was cited of possible negative outcomes if stereotypes were reinforced through the intergenerational activities, highlighting the importance of quality programme design and delivery. The authors also concluded by recognising the diversity in intergenerational activity across the United Kingdom, and in order to build an "evidence base for the effectiveness" (p.18), a more consistent evaluation process should be applied across the field. Interestingly, despite the United Kingdom having a relatively advanced IGP field in comparison to New Zealand for example, the authors stated the corresponding research was weak. However, as this report was tasked with searching for outcomes and effectiveness of IGP practice, it is possible that in doing so it missed the nuanced range of research available.

Kuehne and Kaplan's (2001) evaluative report was produced for Generations United as a Background Paper for Project SHARE, an initiative designed to advance policy and practice related to intergenerational shared sites and shared resources. Accordingly, their focus was entirely on shared site IGP practice. The report, presented as a literature review on this field, draws upon relatively dated items and focuses predominately on the content, environment and process behind the deployment of IGPs at shared sites. However they were able to identify that older adults identified two outcomes: social enrichment and a renewed interest in others and enjoyment connected to children (Foster, 1997). The authors also concluded that there was insufficient evidence available for review, and as before, more work needed to be undertaken in order to provide better quality IGP research. They cited the small number of participants in IGPs which "makes statistical analysis difficult at best" (p.6) and the community-based nature of such programmes making it hard to "control" or conduct pre or post-test designs. Therefore, once more, the authors were looking for research that was

able to provide "unequivocal recommendations to practitioners, researchers and policy makers" (p.6), in the process, discounting qualitative lines of enquiry in the process.

The two previous reviews into IGPs have cited a lack of empirically produced, consistent research across the field of IGPs, yet Park's (2014) review of IGP outcomes and activity was specific and based only on research with cognitively non-impaired, community dwelling elders. Due to this specificity, it could draw some clear conclusions from the information available. Based on the thirteen studies that were eligible for review, positive outcomes for cognitive functioning, emotional and social factors were identified.

However echoing Jarrott's (2011) earlier finding, due to the range of age groups, locations and activities that constitute IGP practice, findings are difficult to generalise. Yet in this lies the critical point of this review so far: as there is no clear definition of what an IGP is, or how it is designed or practiced, the desire by authors to identify a consistent measure to evaluate IGPs is misplaced. As identified earlier in the chapter, in this regard culture cannot be underestimated too, as it is highly unlikely an IGP in the United States will have the same outcomes if implemented in the Philippines. Moreover, the initial objectives of the IGP are more than likely going to diverge between countries also, resulting in very different programmes from country to country.

In summary, the quality of the research available regarding IGPs is poor but this is reflective of methodological issues. IGPs are unsuited to quantitative research methodologies due to the small sample sizes and difficulty in obtaining a control group and the variability of programmes (Epstein & Boisvert, 2006). What this means is that for those conducting meta-analyses to understand the 'outcomes' of these programmes in their country or community, the pool of research obtained is unsuitable. Research into IGPs must respect the individualism of each programme and provide for research design protocols that produce rich data and allow participants' voices to be heard often the domain of qualitatively designed protocols.

As identified by Springate et al. (2008), the bespoke design of each IGP from community to community will have a bearing on the sorts of results researchers can expect and will impact on the ability of results to be generalised.

IGP Research With Preschool Aged Children and Older Populations.

Intergenerational programmes have been studied across a wide range of age populations. However, few focus specifically on preschool aged children and cognitively able older adults. Due to this and the increasing reduction in opportunities older people have to mix with pre-schoolers and in many cases their own grandchildren, the following section will review research relating to this specific subset of participants. Given IGPs are designed to bring two generations together for mutually beneficial reasons, the first section will review what the research has found in this regard and critically analyse how these findings have been arrived at.

*Outcomes.*There is a limited pool of outcomes based research on IGPs held between older adults and preschool aged children. Of the available research the majority is qualitative in design, with focus groups often used to gather data. In general, the research identifies that older adults experience general enjoyment, hope for the future, being needed and improved cognitive functioning as four benefits to being involved in an IGP. In terms of enjoyment or fun, multiple studies identified this outcome (Bellamy & Meyerski, 2011; DeVore & Aeschlimann, 2016; Doll & Bolender, 2010; Heyman & Gutheil, 2008; Morita & Kobayashi, 2013; Ruggiano, 2012; Zucchero, 2010).

In reviewing the studies identifying this outcome, two significant points arise. First, the design of the programme was identified as playing a corollary role in whether the participants had a positive experience. Morita and Kobayashi (2013) identified that more constructive behaviour and intergenerational conversations were significantly higher in the groups that selected socially orientated activities like playing together, compared with

performance-based activities, where the children sung or danced for the older people, for example. Furthermore, it was the socially-orientated activity that resulted in increased positive interactions or 'smiles' on the faces of participants. Second, only through qualitative means was this finding identified. For example, Doll and Bolendor (2010) found no significant changes on measures of pain, activities of daily living, mood states or weight on the instruments they chose to measure these constructs. Yet in comparison, qualitative and observational data identified that highly involved participants in the programme achieved an improvement in quality of life. Using focus groups to examine the experience of participating in an IGP, Heyman and Gutheil (2008) found that for the older adult participants they simply felt 'joy' when with the children, which continued long after the intervention sessions took place. They could not isolate exactly what it was that gave them joy through the interaction, but the effects were long lasting as evidenced by the input of their carers. This was a multifaceted research design, in that it featured many participants: both older and younger IGP participants, parents of children involved, and carers. Therefore, little detail was available regarding each of the key themes identified, nor information uncovered that contributed to understanding the 'joy' the older adults felt as participants in this IGP. In order to truly understand the positive experience of an IGP from an older person's perspective, qualitative design that allows space for the participants to share their stories would provide that opportunity.

Participation in an IGP has also resulted in increased hope for the future for older adults (Eggers & Hensley, 2005). Once more the programme design, in this case duration, played an important role in this finding. *The Grandfriend Project* was implemented between a retirement community village in Memphis, Tennessee and a local kindergarten. As the author cited, over this two-year period, participants were able to develop "meaningful relationships" (p.105) as they participated in a wide array of activities over multiple

occasions with the same two children. Through multiple interviews, authors also found that alongside enhancing generativity, spirituality was also enhanced for older adults as a result of participation. This was achieved via an increased hope for the future and a stronger connection to others being established. Participants were able to share stories of their experience in this IGP, and how these experiences had impacted them. For example, a participant recounts playing guitar for the child he was paired with, which was important for him: "any child is poor without musical training and I believe that. It's meant a lot to me over the years" (p. 96). This study highlights that programme duration may have an impact on findings, but also that through reminiscing on the experience of the IGP, participants were able to share stories where they had ascribed deep meaning to their role on the programme.

'Being needed' was also associated with participating in an IGP. Through the examination of narratives obtained via interview, Weintraub (2007) focused on the impact of participation on participants' emotional wellbeing. Participants who had a high level of contact with the children in the IGP felt needed or wanted by the younger generation. Participants were able to share how this impression impacted them at an emotional level. For example, one participant received a three page letter from a child's mother whom he had spent three years working with, stating it was because of him that she was able to find work. People also shared stories of being 'stand-in grandparents' through the IGP and how they gave meaning to their role in the IGP as a way of making up for their lack of involvement in their own children's care, as they were too busy providing for the family or inexperienced in raising children at the time. Through a guided interview approach and rich analysis of narrative, Weintraub (2007) draws vivid connections between the experience of an IGP and the emotional outcomes of this participation.

Physical and intellectual benefits have also been identified as outcomes of participating in an IGP. In the only longitudinal study on these populations identified, Sakurai

et al. (2016) found that the Research on Productivity through Intergenerational Sympathy (REPRINTS) programme has had long-term, positive effects that help maintain and promote intellectual activity, physical functioning, and intergenerational exchange. The programme consisted of a weekly picture book reading programme between elderly and preschool children in Japan. Seven years after the participants commenced the programme, compared to a control group, IGP participants had increased cognitive ability and contact with young children. While this study was able to deliver conclusive, empirical results to the research community, it focused on aspects of the intergenerational exchange that are arguably best measured by quantitative means. By selecting certain constructs of focus, this research made assumptions about the goals and objectives of this particular IGP. In doing so, the participants were not able to share what personal experience was like, beyond three quantifiable variables.

In summary, the IGP research presented so far highlights a range of mainly positive outcomes participants in IGPs have experienced (a critical analysis for why this might be the case has already been presented). Primarily, when using qualitative measures to unearth these findings, the results described a rich and detailed story about how the experience has impacted older adults. These findings are also a reminder that IGPs are varied, and that the programme's design has direct bearing on the kind of results that can be expected. The next section will look at the theoretical construct that underpins IGPs - generativity, and its presence in the IGP literature.

Generativity. As an outcome of participation for older adults, Kuehne (1992) identified that generativity was a common theme among programmes of different sizes and participants also shared that, in association to generativity, they felt a renewed sense of self worth as a result of participating in an IGP. Eggers and Hensley (2005) found aspects of generativity as IGP outcomes, including "faith that the future is secure with the next generation as the children knew how to behave" (p.96). Participants in this particular study

noted that these opportunities gave them an enhanced sense of purpose and meaning in life, because they were able to guide the younger generation by modelling good behaviour.

However, in some instances, generativity is not impacted through involvement in an IGP. Belgrave (2011) used standardised measures to identify that while older adults' attitudes towards children (aged around nine) improved and they felt an increased sense of usefulness, they perceived no significant improvement to their psychological well-being. The intervention under investigation was a music-based programme, involving ten 30-minute sessions of singing, structured conversation, moving to music and instrument playing. Both the experimental and control groups showed no difference in measures of generativity and self-esteem. Hegeman, Roodin, Gilliland, and Ó'Flathabháin (2010) also analysed the levels of generativity in a group of older adult volunteers participating in a civic engagement in New York at five colleges. Across three semesters and three separate groups of older adults, no significant differences were found on the Loyola Generativity Scale (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992) measure of generativity. However, both this and the preceding finding, highlight the challenges in attempting to measure generativity via standardised measures. The Loyola Generativity Scale, for example, has been criticised for reducing generativity to a one-dimensional construct (Schoklitsch & Baumann, 2011).

Age of younger participants and meaningfulness of the intergenerational activity are linked to whether generativity occurs in IGPs. It appears generativity is more likely to occur when the younger generation are older (late teenage to early adulthood years). For example, Andreoletti and Howard (2016) saw generativity increase with older adults, when young adults, with an average age of 21.62 (*SD*=2.30), met with them three times to talk and to bond. Similarly, a group of seniors were asked to teach two courses to groups of 10 year olds over an eight week period (Herrmann, Sipsas-Herrmann, Stafford, & Herrmann, 2005). Compared to the non-trainers, participants had significantly increased levels of generativity,

particularly those who taught the violence and aggression course, compared to those who taught a vocational education programme. Furthermore, those who participated in the anger and violence course reported significantly higher levels of generativity, measured by Hawley's (1988) Measures of Psychosocial Development. The authors highlighted this finding and identified that participation alone in an IGP is not necessarily grounds for success, but, with regards to encouraging generativity, the level of meaningfulness of the task is an important consideration. Supporting this point, in a systematic review of IGP practices, Knight et al. (2014) concluded that reciprocal giving should be incorporated into the design of future IGPs and research to ensure the full development of generativity and other psychosocial benefits are achieved for older adult participants. She stated: "This review concludes it is important that interventions utilising non-familial intergenerational interactions maximise the reciprocity of meaningful giving for all participants, and acknowledge both generations' efficacy in giving to the other" (Knight, Skouteris, Townsend, & Hooley, 2014, p. 276). Tabuchi and Miura (2015) found that when younger generations are empathetic to older narrators' stories, participants are more likely to be generative and share narratives that are likely to help young people in the future. Tabuchi and colleagues (2015) also identified that perceived rejection or respect from younger generation participants predicted the decrease or increase in generative concern 12 months later of the older participants, indicating how important the quality of the IGP exchange was.

As there is no evidence on generativity as an outcome of IGPs with preschool aged children, this raises the question about how meaningful older people find the interaction with younger people. Could this be linked to whether the intergenerational interaction is between family or non-family members? For example, for those elderly who still have young grandchildren, research identifies that this kin intergenerational contact is most rewarding as older adults can more comfortably carry out a generative role as a confidant and mentor with

family they are familiar with (G. Cook & Bailey, 2013). In the same study and in contrast, one participant expressed anxiety at the idea of local college students coming to their retirement facility stating: "It isn't every grownup that likes children" (p. 418).

Not only is perceived meaningfulness of the task important, but the design of the IGP will influence the degree of generativity that can be established. Eggers and Henley (2005) identified generativity with IGP participants. Within this IGP the relationships were always between the same people, their meetings were frequent and the programme ran over a long period of time (two years). This scenario allowed for deep and meaningful relationships to develop. In Gruenewald et al.'s (2016) research a similar theme emerged, they found that generativity increases when there were more opportunities for the participant to engage with the programme.

A last point in relation to identifying generativity in relation to IGP participation, is that individuals vary in relation to how generative they are. This means that for those with high levels of generativity, the opportunity to participate in an IGP may already hold some appeal. For some, the need to achieve generativity and leave some sort of legacy has been found to be a motivational factor in volunteering in later life (Nancy Morrow-Howell et al., 2001). Andreoletti and Howard (2016), supported this point by finding that those who volunteered to be part of an IGP, had higher levels of pre-test generativity than those who chose not to partake in the programme.

In summary, generativity as a construct in association with IGPs is multifaceted and raises many questions. It appears generativity is easier to establish with older younger participants and if the conditions of the IGP are carefully managed and designed. However, if the younger generation are not related to the older person, is the task of establishing it insurmountable? Where does this leave older adults volunteering in IGPs with preschool aged children? Are these the people who are highly generative to begin with and therefore

comfortable with this role, or should more be done to create more generative IGP opportunities between older people and younger people?

Shared Sites. The two studies that looked at Shared Sites Intergenerational Programmes (SSIP), identified several negative IGP interactions. These included infantilising environments, activities and behaviours resulting in the older adults retreating from the intergenerational opportunity (Salari, 2002) and negative behaviours and attitudes as a result of resources and space being relinquished to younger children (Ruggiano, 2012). While positive outcomes were acknowledged (pleasure upon seeing the children for example) many older adults were observed as being frustrated, aggravated or stressed by the children's presence. Both of these studies highlight the impact on older adults of this unique environment; a shared facility where older adults are asked to accommodate and share their resources with very young, boisterous children, and sometimes unwillingly. These programmes are partially relevant to the retirement village milieu today, as children coming in for an IGP would not be entitled to 'share resources' within this setting. What is more relevant however, is the juxtaposition of a group of young children within the retirement village setting. For some older people, it is possible that a group of young children en masse, would hold little appeal and serve as an obstacle to participation in an IGP.

There are many challenges to researching IGPs. Each IGP is designed to meet the culture and environment it will work within. Therefore, research design must recognise this individuality and give participants an opportunity to share their experiences from the world view they operate from. Also, despite the social conditions appearing to support a need for IGPs, they are not for every older person. A thorough analysis of an IGP would not be complete without considering the experiences of these people.

Older Adults on Younger Generations

It is an assumption that older people would want to participate in an IGP, however as Eggers and Henley (2005) found out, IGPs are not an activity for all older people, as many dropped out of the IGP they studied. Social theorists have previously posited that due to in-group favouritism (Turner & Reynolds, 2001) and advancing age being related to a time of increasing prejudices (Wagner & Zick, 1995), older adults are more likely to have negative attitudes towards younger people. In considering non-familial interaction between older and younger generations with regards to generativity, an assumption is that older adults will have a general level of care, interest and empathy towards younger people. Also, when 'younger generations' is used as a catch-all to describe younger people, the risk is that by generalising all younger people into one age bracket, older adults' perspectives of the different ages within it is overlooked. What follows now is a summary of the information available regarding the attitudes of older adults towards younger people, which will also illustrate older adults' attitudes towards IGPs.

Many studies have identified that after bringing older and younger generations together, over a particular period of time, attitudes of older adults towards younger people improve (Meshel & McGlynn, 2004; Stoyanova, 2011). However, there is less information available regarding baseline or general attitudes of older people about younger generations. Of the limited information available, older adults generally perceive younger people positively (Seefeldt, Jantz, Serock, & Bredekamp, 1982). Children, in this study, referred to those aged twelve and under and identified that older adults perceived some personality characteristics of children negatively. For example, they believed that children did not appreciate what they have, children have to be told what to do most of the time, there is a time and a place for children and that they ask too many questions. Furthermore, there was a belief that stricter methods of discipline should be used with children. Interestingly, as the

older participants aged in this study, their overall affect towards children dropped and females were more positive to children overall.

Another study compared the attitudes towards older people to that of younger people (youngest aged 21) (Kite, Stockdale, Whitley, & Johnson, 2005), and found that older adults thought younger people were more competent than older people. The authors noted that unlike any other age category, older adults did not show any bias to their own age group. They posit that because older adults were once young, devaluing this group does not create a positive image. In a study undertaken by a public policy group, Public Agenda called: *Kids These Days: What Americans Really Think About the Next Generation* (Farkas, Johnson, Duffett, & Bers, 1997) the conclusion drawn was that there was a "stunning level of antagonism towards not only teenagers but young children as well" (p. 11). While ninety percent of participants thought that young children had failed to learn values, it is worth noting that the sample of the older generation in this study was 18 years and older and not older adults (plus 65). Commenting on the findings, William Turner, Associate Professor of Family Studies at Kentucky University, said they were understandable as children today are encouraged to be more self-assertive and have positive self-esteem than children of previous generations (Parales, 1995).

These findings raise the question about who would volunteer to take part in an IGP. It is not uncommon for example, for some older adults who begin an IGP to drop out (Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Sakurai et al., 2016). Factors that may influence someone's decision about being involved in an IGP may include: whether the activity is meaningful; there is an opportunity to be generative; the age of children; and whether the younger people are kin or non-kin. Sellon (2014) undertook a comprehensive literature review into older adult volunteering and identified several best practices for engaging older adults in programmes of this kind including ensuring meaningfulness, recognition, social interaction and flexibility.

Cook and Bailey (2013) found that residents of a care facility stated their motivation to participate in an IGP would be if they were able to participate in meaningful activity that gave scope for generativity. These sorts of responses may indicate that IGP programmes with older children or even adolescents might provide more of the purpose and meaning that older people are looking for. For example, in the same study, older adults found that they were worried school aged children who visited their care facility would get "bored". This is a point also highlighted in Spiteri's (2016) investigation which identified that the core motivator for a group of older people to attend a day centre with a group of young people (aged 16-17) was that they saw the students helping *them* emotionally through encouragement and practically, by giving them insights into modern day life. While generativity is often cited as an associated benefit of participation in IGPs, the current research indicates that perhaps older generations feel like they have more to learn from the youth, particularly with regards to technological change.

Summary

In many Western countries, older adults have less opportunity to mix with younger generations due to a range of changing social factors. Specifically, preschool aged children and older people are becoming isolated due a range of reasons including the rise in attendance at childcare facilities and more older people opting to live in retirement villages. In response, IGPs have been developed as a way of bringing older and younger people together. Global policy has highlighted the importance of intergenerational activity with regards to how it can contribute not only to positive ageing for the individual but also in helping to build more socially cohesive societies. IGPs are underpinned by a strong theoretical base including tenets of the Contact Theory and generativity, as part of Erikson's Life Course Theory. By using these theories during the design and evaluation of IGPs, the aim is that the programmes will regularly bring older and younger people together in a

structured way, creating the optimum conditions to produce mutual benefits to participants and society.

IGP activity and corresponding research has tended to come from 'Western' countries, the United States, Europe, the United Kingdom and Australia for example. Yet, there is evidence that IGP practice is starting to flourish in Eastern nations, and meaning is able to be ascribed to them at an extra-familial relationship level within these environments. For older adults, benefits have generally been associated to participating in an IGP. However, IGP research is often quantitative and given the bespoke nature of IGPs, this methodological approach has produced a body of work which does not articulate the experience of participating in an IGP for an older person. Furthermore, despite a call for more consistent and quantitative approaches to be taken with IGP research, those within the field openly recognise the limitations of this approach given the usually small sample sizes they have to work with. However, research has been able to identify that older adults experience general enjoyment, hope for the future, being needed and improved cognitive functioning as four benefits to being involved in an IGP, and that the design of the programme – regularity, duration, perceived meaningfulness of task for example, has a bearing on these results. Generativity features as a multifaceted construct within the literature on IGPs. Once more, in trying to establish generativity, IGP design must be carefully managed, also, the research states that the age of the younger participants indicates that the older the children are, the more likely it is that generativity can be produced. Finally, the environment of the IGP must not be overlooked for its role in the research process. Where older adults are asked to accommodate young children in their living environment, the results are not necessarily positive.

Despite the many benefits in bringing older and younger people together, the assumption that all older adults would readily participate in an IGP must be queried. For

example, some older adults may judge the IGP activity they are presented with as lacking in meaning and not able to provide the opportunity for generativity they are looking for. Furthermore, very young children who are not related may simply hold no appeal to an older person.

In the 1990s the New Zealand government identified that by encouraging increased intergenerational activity, multiple benefits for older people and society would follow. Yet, there is very little IG activity recorded, and none researched within in New Zealand. New Zealand is experiencing the social, economic and demographic changes present in many nations around the world, contributing to older and younger people having less to do with each other. Yet, given the lack of intergenerational activity taking place in New Zealand, the question is whether it is a culture where the practice could flourish and would older adults benefit from participating in them? Also, as the findings and experiences of IGP participants from around the world are reviewed, the limitations to the universality of these findings in relation to IGP practice in New Zealand must be remembered. New Zealand is a unique setting, therefore, any research into IGPs must recognise this.

The Current Study: Rationale, Aims and Research Questions

New Zealand's dominant narrative about ageing describes it as a time of activity and a time for the older person to 'contribute back to society'. New Zealand's *Positive Ageing Strategy* (MSD, 2001), the figurehead policy relating to the experience of ageing for older people from the New Zealand Government, offers ideas and suggestions about how older adults can stay connected and active within their communities. In line with this approach, a role older people have traditionally held is that of grandparent. However, the social picture is very different today and many older people either have no grandchildren or if they do, live a considerable distance from them. Additionally, as more older adults are choosing to live in retirement villages and more preschoolers are being cared for within early childcare centres,

the generations at each end of the age spectrum are increasingly seeing less of each other. IGPs have been developed to bridge that gap and have been shown to broadly positively impact on the lives of older people who participate in them. Yet, a common criticism of the methodologies used in the research that has arrived at these findings is that there has been little attention given to the IGP experience of an older person. In pursuit of attempting to quantify the IGP experience, researchers have overlooked the idiosyncratic programme design required of an IGPs and the meaning older people give to their experiences. However, IGPs are proliferating in countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, but to date, and despite there being some isolated IGP activity within New Zealand, no formal research into an IGP programme has been undertaken in this country. This research will begin to fill this gap in the literature by talking to participants in an IGP in New Zealand about their experience.

The impetus behind New Zealand's ageing policy is that older people will age more successfully if they are able to contribute to and connect with their communities. With IGPs being developed to address the segregation of generations, it is important to understand the experience of participating in an IGP. A critical component to both the design and outcomes of IGPs for older people is that of 'generativity'; that older generations are able to nurture and guide younger generations. Much of the IGP outcomes research identifies that if the younger generation are at least school age and beyond, and that the activity within the IGP provides a level of meaningfulness, generativity is more likely to occur. A qualitative research approach will help to explore the meaning and experience of an IGP for older adults, and will allow for close inspection of the concept of generativity. Through this approach the influence of the social narrative operating within New Zealand of older people contributing and connecting with communities will be explored. As IGPs have been associated with generativity, how

may it feature within the experiences and views of older people in New Zealand regarding these programmes with preschool aged children?

Despite New Zealand's government identifying intergenerational activity as an area of multiple benefits to older adults and wider society, there has been little IGP activity in New Zealand to date. Why is this so? Perhaps, for example, it is an assumption that older adults wish to engage in volunteering activity of this kind? Is it also an assumption that non-kin interactions with preschool aged children is of appeal to all? To further understand this an exploration into older adults' attitudes and experiences of preschool aged children and IGPs will be undertaken with other residents of a retirement village who have chosen not to partake in a IGP. Furthermore, as the IGP under investigation is taking place at a retirement village, a qualitative approach will allow for the influence of this environment on attitudes and experiences to be explored. Where does an IGP fit within the lives of residents at a retirement village? To date, this research has not been undertaken in New Zealand. In taking this approach, the diversity of New Zealand's older people is acknowledged and the presumption that IGPs are solely positive for older people is challenged. Furthermore, these experiences will help to understand the role IGPs may be able to hold within the current narrative on successful ageing in New Zealand. Therefore, the general aim of this research is: to understand the perspectives of residents of a New Zealand retirement village regarding an intergenerational programme with preschool aged children (this programme 'iPlayed' and the site it takes place at, 'Village at the Park', will be introduced in the following chapter). In order to achieve this aim, and to address the gaps in the literature, this research will seek to answer the following questions:

1. What is the experience of iPlayed from the perspective of residents at Village at the Park?
2. What do older people think about IGPs?

3. What are older people's views on generativity with preschool aged children?

4. How do older people describe their experiences with preschool aged children?

Chapter Five: Methodology

This research will be conducted from a social constructionist epistemology and will use narrative psychology as a way of understanding the intergenerational experiences of the participants. Through this approach I will be able to acknowledge the complex experiences of older people, the roles they conduct within their worlds and the meaning they make of these experiences in relation to intergenerational activity. Crucially, through a narrative analysis I will be able to understand the social narratives that older people draw on as they construct their stories. From a social constructionist lens, assumptions about human activity can also be challenged.

Social constructionism seeks to understand knowledge by examining how culture and social processes influence our interpretation and our experience of ourselves and the world (Parker & Burman, 1993). It highlights how our perception of reality is produced through these processes, and in doing so identifies that reality is a construction made from the language we use, and the cultural resources and concerns of a specific historical location (Willig, 1999). By taking a social constructionist approach, the implication is that there is no one fixed 'truth', but instead there are multiple systems of knowledge (Parker & Burman, 1993; Willig, 1999). By examining cultural differences, for example courses and changes, the researcher is able to understand how 'knowledge' is produced, why some impressions of 'truth' are privileged over others and what effect this has on how individuals relate to each other in the modern setting (Parker, 1997). This is a useful approach to the current research as older adults today are living within a society asking them to 'successfully age' and contribute back to it. From a social construction lens, I will be able to identify how these forces impact on the shared beliefs and experiences of older people in relation to their roles and activities with preschool aged children. Uncovering how older people construct their relationship with younger children will help to understand whether this has changed over time from when older

people were asked to disengage in older life, as discussed in a previous chapter. I will also be able to look at the level of meaning ascribed to the experiences and beliefs of older people regarding young children. Through this approach, I will seek to understanding the role of 'successful ageing' as a dominant system of meaning, within the shared narratives.

As identified in the previous chapter, much of the existing IGP research has sought to examine the benefits or outcomes of participating in an IGP, often attempting a positivist approach within the methodological design. In aiming to uncover the intergenerational experiences of older adults within a retirement village in New Zealand, I will use an exploratory approach which will identify the social interaction and processes that help to construct 'reality' (Parker, 2007). This is a critically important element with regards to the rationale of choosing this epistemological position within this research. As identified earlier, older adults are part of an ageing population, over one in ten have opted to live in retirement villages, asked to actively age, expected to contribute to society in some way and stay healthy in their latter years. If they live life according to these narratives, the broader narrative society states they will achieve is a 'positive ageing' experience. This is a selection of just some of the narratives influencing older people in New Zealand in modern society. In a multi-cultural society like New Zealand, the research position I have chosen allows for an exploration of 'knowledge' as something that is produced through social processes specific to older people living in this country (K. J. Gergen, 1979). My aim with this research is not to verify an existing idea, but to explore how socially shared resources are used to construct narratives relating to intergenerational experiences and attitudes. Using social constructionism, I will be able to do this by acknowledging the complex social milieu older people operate within and the multiple influences that shape it.

If it is accepted that the historical and cultural context of our experiences form the foundations of our understandings about the world, as social constructionism posits, this also means that research using this methodology can consider and challenge the implicit assumptions about human activity (Gergen, 1985). For example, an assumption in relation to IGPs and intergenerational contact is that older adults have a predilection for wanting to spend time with young children and participate in an IGP. In looking for answers, the social constructionist sees that despite each person partaking of life through a socially constructed process, dominant themes prevail depending on the social, moral, political and economic institutions active at the time the research takes place. Failing to take into account the socio-political considerations that the research is conducted within, fails to acknowledge that humans are sense makers of their existence and that, therefore, assumptions can be challenged (Ashworth, 2008). This research will seek to consider the influence of these factors and in the process challenge dominant assumptions, if necessary.

In relation to the present study, I have identified that knowledge from the vantage point of the older people about their understanding of their experiences of younger people is missing from the present body of knowledge. As knowledge is grounded in social context, language is seen as important to analyse as it reflects the doing of life and the experience, rather than a direct reflection of it (Gergen, 2009). Qualitative interviewing, therefore, offers the production of a much greater and richer set of data that can, in turn, be explored and analysed to enable a more detailed understanding of the complexities and intricacies of the subject at hand. Where social constructionism and discursivity intersect is Narrative Psychology. Narrative Analysis will be used in the current study to facilitate a richer exploration of the social relationships and systems involved in intergenerational relationships than has previously been undertaken.

Narrative Psychology

Narrative Psychologists posit that narrative construction is a common way humans make sense of the world and those around them, and that people are naturally compelled to tell stories (White, 1980). Personal narratives are seen to be products of the interaction between an individual and his or her broader cultural, social and material circumstances and experiences (Elliott, 2005). Illustrating this point and using the analogy that an individual is an 'actor' in life, Bruner (1990) pushed away from the dominant paradigm of an individualised approach to human behaviour, towards a turn for a social model stating that:

> "When we enter human life, it is as if we walk on stage into a play whose enactment is already in progress. A play whose somewhat open plot determines what parts we may play and toward what denouements we may be heading. Others on stage already have a sense of what the play is about . . ." (p.34).

Bruner argues that with the narratives people use they represent their role, or roles within their lives after being exposed to complex cultural meanings and how they then use them to interpret their experience, knowledge and interactions. Furthermore, through the telling of this story, socially embedded language is used, rendering the story not solely that of the actor or narrator. The story is imbued with the immediate presence of others and dominant stories from the society they live in. These broader societal narratives operate discursively to frame and structure the individual's narrative (Somers, 1994). Therefore, a personal narrative will depend on the sorts of social narratives that are dominant and present at that time.

Many have noted that there is a performative and interactive aspect to the way we story the world and create meaning in how we reveal ourselves (Langellier & Peterson, 2004; Phoenix & Sparkes, 2009). For instance, Georgakopoulou (2002) suggested that through

stories, the teller can 'edit' their descriptions and summation of themselves and others, which in turn promotes identity. Then, by sharing these edited narratives, it is possible that an identity may be accomplished or performed. This highlights the role of reflexivity in narrative and serves as a reminder that narratives are not static or a window from the outside for the researcher to peer inside the life of an individual. Narratives are constantly being edited and shaped by society and the individual.

When considered from within an epistemological framework of social constructionism – narrative psychology accepts that knowledge is shaped by and reflects forces of history, political influence and morals. Furthermore, as an individual reveals a sequence to their life events and, in turn, structures their narratives - both of these aspects to individual story-telling impart meaning. For example, in examining what narratives are kept in or out, or how the narratives are ordered, persuasive messages, meanings or the legitimacy of certain actions may be imparted (M. Murray, 2003). Therefore, Narrative Psychology can be described as more theoretical than methodological, as the focus is on understanding and thinking about how people make meaning of their lives. A main distinguishing feature of a narrative approach from analysing narrative for example, is the choices the story-teller makes in their sequence and the consequences of their choices. What they select to say, how they organise it, connect it together and believe it to be meaningful to the person listening offers insight into the world and people's experiences of it. Through this approach, the influence of social life and identity can be looked at within experiences of every day activity. More will follow on how this theory will be operationalised as a way of analysing information in this research in the upcoming Method chapter.

Older Adults and Narrative

A narrative approach is particularly valuable when conducting research with older adults. Given its suitability, it is unsurprising to note it has been used in multiple settings with

this age group, for example: experiences of a natural disaster (Tuohy & Stephens, 2012); issues of masculinity (Smith, Braunack-Mayer, Wittert, & Warin, 2007); interpersonal and intimate relationships (Rosenfeld, 2003); late-life physicality (Tulle, 2007); experiences of health and frailty (Sanders, Donovan, & Dieppe, 2002); carework (Twigg, 2000) and retirement (Savishinsky, 2000).

With older adults, a narrative perspective is well equipped to acknowledge and appreciate the specific intricacies of a long lived life (Randall, 2007). This is because humans tend to live life through many stories and many characters and through an analysis of these stories, much can be gained about the process of ageing. It is a widely held perception amongst social scientists, that ageing and related topics is one of the most complex areas of study due to the dynamism, interactivity and varying experiences found in older age. According to Randall (2007), we become more distinct as we age, therefore a level of analysis that takes into account these complexities and the social forces influencing us, is vital. Laz (2003) identifies some of the considerations required when looking at research with this age group, for example consider the social settings and contexts in which people are asked to age and the variety of resources people utilise in this process. The law, media, medical knowledge and practices, community standards and beliefs, local culture and community networks, the physical body and interpersonal relationships are all aspects influencing the ageing process and the individual, to some degree. For those aged over 65, this array of resources is tapped into in different ways, and through narrative analysis it is possible to look at how each influences and plays a role in older people's lives.

Using narrative analysis also allows the researcher to identify insights into what it means to grow old in the modern age; this is information that will help guide society to redefine the notion of ageing. Coming from a social constructionist viewpoint, and by identifying personal narratives that are important to individuals, narrative analysis can also

identify counter-narratives that challenge the popular position on what it means to age (K. Gergen & Gergen, 2003). In challenging taken for granted assumptions about ageing in the 21st Century it is possible to review the underlying processes that are shaping these norms and in turn elucidate the personal, social and cultural experiences of ageing. For example Biggs (2001) argued that we can dispute the politicisation of the definition of 'later life', with qualitative and narrative based investigations. Moving beyond the narrowing of ageing that a positivist position might adopt, narrative analysis focuses on the 'whys' and the 'hows' of this time of life and the experiences within it, as opposed to the 'what'.

At a broader level, narratives shared by those who have lived for longer are important to consider for the lessons they contain for others. Knowledge gained from those who have experienced life, can be used to help society understand the environment we live in (Polkinghorne, 1988). Because narrative looks to locate a person within the wider social network, the stories provided reflect a personal perspective on the nature of the social world interacting with the forces of that social world at the time (Stephens, 2011). Narratives aligned to ageing in modern society have been raised to be of national interest and exert a powerful influence on older adults. When we consider intergenerational programmes and attitudes therefore within these social narratives, and in a country like New Zealand where the field is fledgling and corresponding research is missing, narrative analysis is an effective fit, given the lessons we will seek to gain from this approach.

A narrative approach does not overlook the listener within the information gathering and analytical processes either. Due to the situated nature of the narratives that are presented, the process has to be seen to be interpersonal, due to the fact that narratives are co-constructed between the person telling the story and the person listening (Mishler, 1986). The dyad exchange is clearly articulated by the researcher within the analysis of the data.

There are a number of examples of a narrative approach when examining older adults and intergenerational programmes and attitudes. Herrmann et al. (2005) investigated changes in senior citizens who participated in a school-based intergenerational programme with students. Asking the older adults to create narrative journals describing the experience of the programme and the effect it had on them, the researchers were able to complement the quantitative findings with rich, descriptive information about the experience. Similarly, George (2011) used narrative interviews (combined quantitative and ethnographic measures) to interpret the effect of an intergenerational programme on older participants. He identified that stress was significantly reduced for those that participated, but, perhaps in a richer finding identified via a narrative approach, he also identified pathways where the intergenerational volunteering affected quality of life: perceived health benefits, sense of purpose and sense of usefulness, and relationships. Laz (2003) also identified the role of embodiment in ageing, through activity, fitness, and health; energy; appearance; and ailments and illness as four key narratives associated to ageing.

This chapter has outlined why a socially constructive, narrative approach is suited to conducting research with older adults. From a social constructionist epistemological position this research acknowledges that facts cannot be objectively obtained, as it is through the complex interplay of people and social, cultural, political, moral and historical forces that knowledge is constructed. This epistemological position is highly relevant to working with older people as through it, older people are able to adopt the role of story-tellers and use narratives to make sense of their experiences. Due to the complexity, dynamism and intricacies of the lives of older adults, combined with the presence of multiple external forces, a narrative methodology gives these detailed lives and stories a level of analysis they deserve. Using a narrative approach also acknowledges the powerful interplay between researcher and

the participant and how this dyad may shape the information that is offered and identified. This point will be covered in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Six: Method

This chapter includes a description of a shared site aged care and childcare facility, Village at the Park and Little Wonders where an IGP takes place and which provided the participants for this research. It then outlines the nature of interaction between both facilities and how an IGP came to be established in 2016. The chapter then details briefly how each of the iPlayed sessions is coordinated and run. The focus then shifts to how this research was conducted within this setting, from a description of the research participants, how they were recruited, the ethical considerations in this research project and the process behind obtaining ethical approval. The chapter also outlines how each interview was conducted and how narrative analysis was applied to analyse the information obtained from participants during the interview process. The chapter closes by outlining the significant role the researcher plays within this process and how I may have shaped not only the interview process but the analysis of information.

Setting - Village at the Park

Village at the Park (VaP) is an aged care village positioned in the suburban hills of Newtown, Wellington, New Zealand. Owned and run by Hurst Lifecare Ltd and The Wellington Tenths Trust, VaP offers care right across the spectrum of needs in older age. The housing options include independent or serviced living options in villas and apartments, through to hospital, dementia and rest home care units. Short-term or long-term care options are available to those who cannot look after themselves independently anymore. VaP has 200 residents in total comprised of 42 in the hospital, 33 in the dementia ward, 10 in the rest home, 69 residents living in apartments and 46 in the village complex. The average age of VaP residents is 81, and in terms of ethnicity, 79% define themselves as New Zealand European, 9% Māori, 5% Chinese, 4% Greek with the remaining 3% being Hungarian,

Indian, Romanian, Scottish, Polish and Pacific Island (M. Leighton, personal communication, 30 July, 2016). Residents have access to facilities including a gymnasium, cinema, chapel, snooker room, beauty salon, indoor bowls, library, outdoor gym and an indoor heated pool and spa. Residents who are physically able to have complete freedom to leave and enter VaP when they choose to giving them access to a variety of local shops, supermarkets, cafes, and transport to anywhere within the local Newtown or wider Wellington areas.

Like 53% of the aged care providers in New Zealand as at 2014, VaP is privately owned by Hurst Lifecare Ltd and The Wellington Tenths Trust (Grant Thornton, 2010). The Hurst Group's vision for their aged care facilities is "helping people make the most of everyday" and is driven by the values of appreciation, pride, ownership, innovation, trustworthy and spark (VaP, 2016). The values are evidenced in VaP being run as a family-orientated facility that uses up-to-date and progressive innovations in caring for the elderly. Staff are encouraged to take pride in the quality of lifestyle and care that their residents receive within a safe, supportive and professional environment.

Making VaP a unique proposition is its proximity and resulting relationship with Little Wonders, an early childhood centre. As the only known early childhood centre and retirement village to share property in New Zealand, the subsequent relationship that has developed between the two organisations is inimitable. Little Wonders is situated 100 metres from VaP across a shared car park and houses a maximum of 150 children at any one time, 30 of which are aged under two. Given this unique configuration, intergenerational contact and activity had organically taken place between residents and children, with the occasional resident visiting Little Wonders to play piano for the children, or groups of children visiting VaP to celebrate key events during the year including Christmas and Anzac Days.

The Intergenerational Programme - iPlayed

As outlined earlier, VaP is owned and run by Hurst Lifecare Ltd whose majority shareholders are brothers Ian and Doug Hurst. However, it was Ian's wife Gloria who was instrumental in ensuring 'play' became a standing item on the agenda at Hurst Lifecare board meetings. Fifteen years ago Gloria noticed that the spark in the eyes of the children in her local Oamaru community had dimmed. Knowing that these children were not naughty children, but that they were bereft of an environment to play and connect with other members of the community, Gloria decided to do something about it. She concluded that there was an opportunity to bring together multiple generations from within the community. In 2008 Gloria's vision became a reality and the Waitaki Community Garden project launched. Since opening, the garden has become a vital community asset and is now a gateway used by 10 to 15 local schools for intergenerational learning, working and socialising. Understandably and owing, in part, to the garden's ongoing successes, 'play' as a concept, was never far from Gloria's mind (Hurst, 2016).

As mentioned above, because VaP and Little Wonders are proximally close, intergenerational contact has occurred naturally. However, as Gloria Hurst's focus on 'play' has endured and as the visits between residents and children have increased a formalised programme of activity was developed. In 2015, with the support of Gloria and the Hurst Lifecare Board Members, iPlayed, which stands for an "Intergenerational programme to learn, appreciate, yield, engage and dream", officially took shape. The proposed programme of activity that Mary Leighton, the General Manager at Village at the Park and Sarah Jimmieson, the Little Wonders Centre Manager developed in 2015 was broad and varied. The vision was that a potential iPlayed programme could include a range of events to cater to the diverse needs of residents and children. Activity ideas included music therapy, an At the Park Choir, shared morning teas, nature walks, tending to the garden, book club, bowling lessons,

tai chi, volunteering with the children at Little Wonders and community projects outside the village. Once the board approved the programme in the middle of 2015, programme coordinators were identified and appointed. For the older adults, Jackie Colley, who had been working at Village at the Park as a Activities Coordinator and Lifecare Coordinator for two years, was appointed to lead the programme. Jackie's existing role at the Village is to inspire and organise a range of events for residents (from within the secure dementia ward, the rest home and to those living independently) to enjoy. With a background in early childcare education and bearing in mind her current role, Jackie accepted the offer to become a key person in the iPlayed programme, alongside two newly appointed Little Wonders' coordinators. Residents were made aware via Jackie and through the VaP newsletter the 'Village Cryer', that participation in iPlayed would be completely voluntary. Prior to the programme commencing, all volunteers were vetted by the New Zealand Police under the requirements of the Vulnerable Children's Act (VCA) 2014. In parallel, coordinators were taken through training on the programme, including its goals and objectives and in 2016 formal activities commenced. The plans were to include Book Buddy Reading, arts and crafts and music therapy as part of iPlayed. At the time of data analysis only one session of music therapy had taken place, and therefore the programme predominantly features Book Buddy Reading.

How iPlayed is Run

Every two weeks on a Wednesday morning at 10am iPlayed takes place. At around 9.45am the volunteers from VaP congregate at the communal lounge and take the children's books from the VaP library and lay them out on a table so that the children can access them. At the same time, carers from Little Wonders randomly select a group of between 10 and 20 children to participate. The children are randomly selected at each session in order for as many children as possible at Little Wonders to experience iPlayed. Another factor linked to

the childrens' selection is whether they are healthy on the day, in order to reduce the likelihood of the older people getting ill. Wearing high-visibility vests, the children pair up and are escorted by carers across the carpark to VaP. The children are taken to the communal lounge within VaP where the volunteer residents greet them. In an informal way the children are paired up with an older adult and together they select a book to read together. Again, informally, the pair (or in some instances two or more children may go with an older adult) take a seat on one of the many soft couches in the lounge. For the next 30 minutes the older adult and children engage with each other over a selection of children's books. During the 30 minutes, the older adult and younger child speak in an unstructured and spontaneous way and after the thirty minutes concludes, the children and older adults say goodbye and the children are taken back to Little Wonders.

To clarify, Shared Site IGPs (SSIP) can be conducted within the colocation of a retirement village or aged care facility with a childcare centre (Goyer, 2001), as identified in a previous chapter. iPlayed is technically not a SSIP however, as the children are brought over a carpark from Little Wonders to VaP, however there are similarities between iPlayed and an SSIP given the children are brought into the older people's lounge facilities.

Participants

Participants in the present research needed to be residents of VaP, and needed to have either been involved in iPlayed, were currently involved, or had not chosen to involve themselves with it at all. Participants also needed to give informed consent and be able to participate in a 30 minute or longer interview. In order to get a similar number of research participants who had participated in iPlayed and those that had not, a sample size of eighteen was obtained. Participants included the entire spectrum of engagement with intergenerational activities at VaP, from being involved at every opportunity to no participation. This allowed for in-depth analysis across all of the areas of interest in the research and provided a rich

representation of the perceptions of IGPs at the retirement village. Participants were aged between mid 70s to 100. Of the 18, five participants were men. The sample was entirely people who identified as European New Zealanders. Participants were not formally cognitively screened, objectively however, all participants were found to easily orient and engage with the interview process.

With regards to programme participation, six were current participants in iPlayed, one was visiting the children at Little Wonders every week on his own, two had started the programme but dropped out and nine had actively decided not to participate in iPlayed for a variety of reasons which will be discussed within the results section.

Recruitment

Initially, participants were formally invited to take part in research via an article that appeared in the September 2016 edition of the VaP weekly newsletter: 'Village Cryer' (see Appendix A). Within the copy of this article it stated that copies of the Information Sheet (Appendix B) were available with the General Manager of VaP, should residents want further information about the study. This first call for participants was specifically for those who were participating in the programme and if interested, they were asked to phone a freephone mailbox to leave a message. I received ten messages and phoned participants back to answer any questions and establish a mutually convenient interview time in November 2016. There was a few weeks' delay between scheduling interviews and the interviews taking place as I live in Auckland and needed to arrange travel and accommodation in Wellington. While participants were not formally cognitively assessed, through this phone conversation I was able to ascertain whether or not the individual was able to participate in the research. This opinion was also tacitly supported by Jackie Colley, the VaP iPlayed Co-Ordinator who knows all of the residents well. All of those who volunteered at this time were able to participate. As there was a short time lag between this conversation and the interviews taking

place, I rang each of the participants a few days prior to the interviews to confirm the date and time and to ensure the participant was still interested in participating. With this approach I wanted to ensure each participant was able to decline their involvement in the research should they want to. All participants confirmed they were still intending to attend the interviews.

A second wave of participant recruitment mirrored that of the first wave. The 'Village Cryer' article (Appendix C) appeared in January 2017 and the interviews took place in February 2017. This round of recruitment broadened the requirements of the participants to those who were residents of VaP and not necessarily on the programme. With a combination of responses to the 'Village Cryer' article and support from Jackie Colley at VaP to identify suitable participants a further eight residents were identified. Of the previously arranged interview schedule there was one drop out on the day of her scheduled interview, due to ill health.

Ethics

The research project was reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Northern, Application 16/16). As older adults are a vulnerable population, care was taken at every stage of the design and the implementation of the research to be aware of the vulnerabilities this population present with.

While there was no formal screening for physical or cognitive impairments of the volunteer participants, I worked closely with the staff at VaP to ensure that the people who volunteered to take part in the research were able to give fully informed consent. Working closely with the Activities Co-Ordinator who is in daily contact with most of the residents of VaP I was able to establish an open line of communication with potential participants to reiterate they were under no obligation to participate in the project. Furthermore, participants

were repeatedly reminded that at any stage of the research they were entitled to withdraw. Only one participant had some difficulty signing their name on the Informed Consent form due to a physical ailment, however he was eventually able to complete this task.

In working with older adults physical frailties including loss of sight and hearing can be more common. With this in mind, I ensured that I spoke in a clear and paced manner in order for participants to feel at ease and comfortable throughout the interviews. Furthermore, before each interview I clearly articulated who I was, my background, the purpose of the study, the participant's rights and the informed consent procedure. This is important to undertake with this population given the loss of vision some participants may have been experiencing.

The subject matter of the interviews was not expected to cause any psychological, physical or social discomfort or distress in participants. However, I was aware that by exploring narratives of participants' childhoods and relations with family members material of a distressing nature may have been provoked. Participants were informed they could decline answering any question. However in considering there was a possibility that distress may occur, I had planned to conduct the interviews in a caring and non-judgemental way. If I noted the participant was becoming distressed my plan was to suggest that the interview was terminated and the recorder turned off. Using my developing Clinical Psychologist training and experience of working with this population at a retirement village in Auckland, my plan was to sit with the participant and support them through the distress. Beyond this, I would seek out a staff member at VaP who knew the participant well to continue counselling them after the interview. This eventuality never occurred.

To ensure anonymity, I have adopted pseudonyms within the analysis section and I have removed any personal information that may be used to identify the participants in this

study. Village at the Park have agreed to have their institution named in the publication of this research, under the stipulation that personal details about residents are not identified.

Interview Procedure

Interviews were conducted in a mutually agreed location within VaP. Some residents chose to be interviewed in their homes or apartments, while others were comfortable speaking in shared spaces such as the communal lounge or television room. Interviews lasted between a minimum of 30 minutes and just over an hour in total. They were conducted in a semi-structured format, with a range of open-ended questions employed (see Appendix D for an example of the sorts of questions I asked). The structure and style of questioning was intended to enable participants the environment and space to feel they could share their stories. I opened each interview by discussing the content of the Information Sheet (Appendix B), including the Participant's Rights as outlined on the sheet. I also introduced myself and talked about my background and what this research was contributing towards. During this process I answered any other questions participants had. I asked participants whether they were comfortable with being recorded and it was at this stage I asked them to sign the Consent Form (Appendix E), if they were comfortable with everything that had been discussed.

The general questions I asked were about their views on preschool aged children today, how often they interact with this age group, the idea of 'generativity' or giving back to this age group, experiences with older people when they were younger and their views on IGPs in general and why they chose or did not choose to participate in iPlayed. For iPlayed participants I explored the experience of participating in more detail by asking questions like: "can you describe what happens when you are participating in iPlayed", "how does it make you feel?" and "why is it you are participating in it?". If I wanted to seek more information on a point I utilised probes like: 'Tell me more about…', "You mean …." Or "Could I clarify

your last point?." I ended each interview with a general question: "During our conversation has anything come to your mind about the topics we have discussed that you would like to share now?". Despite the full interview schedule appearing in Appendix D, it should be noted that the conversations took a shape of their own and very rarely stuck to the order or topics presented in Appendix D. This approach supports the constructionist, collaborative quality of a narrative approach, where the researcher and participant jointly construct meaning (K. Gergen, 1985). The interviews were audio recorded as they were to be transcribed at a later date by the researcher. Participants were informed of this and were offered their recording and transcript returned to them, one participant took this offer up.

Data Analysis

I collected stories from participants as data and then analysed it using paradigmatic processes (Bruner, 2009) by identifying themes or instances of categories in the data that held true across the multiple stories, characters or settings (Polkinghorne, 1995). Within this approach, I wanted to explore some existing concepts including generativity specifically, due to its centrality to the theory and research related to the field of IGPs, as identified in the introduction. I complemented this with an inductive approach, where I stayed true to the data and concepts were allowed to arise from it. I chose to adopt an approach similar to Murray (2000) where I looked at narratives from a personal (commonly held stories about an individual experience, which may include the experience of iPlayed), public (external shared narratives, where moral and social identities can be identified) and interpersonal level (what was co-created between me, the researcher, and the participant). This approach was the same that Stephens and Breheny (2010) used to distinguish personal stories from the broad shared narratives that shape these stories and determined particular social identities.

To achieve this level of analysis, I made notes after each interview to ensure that this detail was captured when it came to analyse the data. For instance, the participant's general

demeanour, level of engagement in the research process, where the research took place (participant's home or communal area), any relevant features of the participant's home environment, for example pictures of grandchildren or great-grandchildren. After this information, the interviews were transcribed using InqScribe, an online transcribing tool. After both interview waves, transcripts were completed within one month of collection in order to mitigate any loss of meaning through a poor recording and recall of the event by myself. There were no issues with the recordings however and all transcripts were clear and the transcripts accurately reflected the eighteen interviews that were conducted.

During the transcribing stages, I started to engage with the data to attempt to seek an understanding of the content and overall structure of each participant's account. Each transcription was checked for accuracy against the audio recording and was then read and re-read to continue to familiarise myself and engage on a deep level with participants' stories. I printed each transcript, double lined which allowed me to make notes about the narratives I was reading. With regards to analytic levels, I read each narrative repeatedly until a personal narrative emerged for each participant. As I continued to read the transcripts I began to notice similar stories across the entire data set, which were refined and developed as I continued to read. Through analysing the data at a personal and public level, I was able to identify narratives emerging and I recursively reviewed the rest of the data to identify where these narratives were reinforced. On a practical level, I found using colour coding to visually identify these narratives a good way to view the data. I fastened the narratives into "narrative boards" which helped me as I drafted the analysis section.

When reviewing the data at a personal level, I asked myself the following questions: What has this person decided to tell me? What have they left out? And in both cases, why was this so? On a reflexive level and when thinking about my role in the information that appeared I asked myself: How did I influence this information? What did I choose to share in

the interview and did that influence the narratives that were shared? Why is this interesting? How did these revelations fit within their personal narrative? At a public narrative level I asked: How does this fit into the wider setting and social context? How has the social context influenced what has been said and what is able to be said? What are the similarities and differences between this narrative and the narratives of other participants? Why might these similarities and differences have emerged?

The Findings

Through the approach outlined above I ended up identifying four common narratives: 'Life Giving', 'Older People Teach the Young, 'Is This Relationship Working?' and 'Willing to Compromise'. 'Life Giving' described the various ways that being with children made participants feel alive. 'Older People Teach the Young' described the role of participating in iPlayed or interacting with young children as opportunities to teach children. 'Is This Relationship Working?' queried the iPlayed programme and what it was trying to achieve and how it was going about that. 'Willing to Compromise' highlighted the flexible and accommodating nature required when interacting with young children. These narratives are presented in detail in Chapter Eight, and each includes a section on how iPlayed is represented within each narrative.

I also identified four narratives which I believe were influenced by socio-political forces, for example the narrative about successful ageing in New Zealand. Appearing in Chapter Ten these narratives were: 'Contribution to Society, 'Plugging the Gap', 'It's There, If They Want It', and 'Fear of Closing In'. 'Contribution to Society' tells a story of older people who are very aware about a need to give back to society despite their age or the physical restrictions they may face. 'Plugging the Gap' describes the meaning assigned to the role of grandparent in modern society. 'It's There, If They Want It' is a story about the reciprocal exchange of experience between older and younger people, specifically between

family members. ‘Fear of Closing In’ tells the story of retirement village living and the efforts people go to within these sorts of environments to stay connected with the communities they live within. As each narrative concludes, it is followed by an analysis of the active socio-political influences on ageing and how they seem to have shaped the narrative. This is then followed by the personal narratives that feature within the meta narrative, alongside any implications for the iPlayed programme.

In Chapter Ten I reflect on my role as researcher and how this may have influenced the narratives I identified. The areas I discuss in this chapter are the choice to use an inductive-paradigmatic approach, which meant I purposively asked participants about their views on the concept of generativity in relation to young children, but also allowed for an exploratory approach to the data. This resulted in influence in the narratives of: ‘Older People Teach the Young’, ‘Life Giving’, ‘Contributing Citizen’ and ‘It’s There, If They Want It’. I also note that due to the interviews contributing towards a Doctor of Clinical Psychology thesis, education was a prominent theme within the ‘Older People Teach the Young’ narrative. Also, mental health as a subject position was adopted within some narratives, for example in ‘Life Giving’. In a related point, I also reflect on the training I am undertaking to become a Clinical Psychologist, and note that in ‘Fear of Closing In’ and ‘Plugging the Gap’ for example, participants shared quite personal and emotional stories. Moreover, perhaps due to the interview environment I was able to establish, some participants felt comfortable enough to challenge me as a representative of ‘my generation’; a generation which is abandoning their children and going back to work. In this chapter I acknowledge the age gap between myself and participants and the revelation I chose to occasionally make, for example, that I was a mother to two young children. The influence of this can be seen in ‘Plugging the Gap’ narrative. Lastly, I discuss my professional background and how it may have contributed to the critical lens I used when looking at the iPlayed programme.

The Role of the Researcher

Within narrative analysis, it is assumed that the researcher has an active role within the research process (Silver, 2013). In the interviews for instance my demographics: a New Zealand Pākehā woman in my thirties who is completing a Doctorate in Clinical Psychology were clearly visible and acknowledged. A narrative researcher understands that these factors will have influenced the narratives the participants chose to reveal of themselves and more generally, the relationship that was formed throughout the interview. Narrative is a joint production of shared understanding between the storyteller and the audience (Mishler, 1986), therefore my input is included in the excerpts from the interviews. Ellipses "(…)" have been used to indicate where speech has been discontinued or narrative threads or conclusions from different parts of the interview (also known as 'delayed codas') have been brought together. Square brackets "[ ]" have been inserted where further context or clarification has been needed, and "( )" have been used where I have joined in with the participant's story or the participant has joined in with mine.

Throughout the analysis, I continued to be reflexive about what narratives I was identifying, due to my own assumptions, biases and beliefs (Silver, 2013). To demonstrate transparency, I ensured these points were noted within the results section by being explicit about my role in the production and understanding of the narratives. My role in the creation of stories and the narratives identified in this research was intrinsic, as I had a vested interest in the populations and subjects being discussed. At a very simple level, how I chose to write up the participant's narratives was another way of telling a story and the thinking behind these choices is clear in my analysis.

Chapter Seven: Meet the Participants

This chapter briefly introduces the 18 participants in this study. As the participants in this research are a diverse group of people who have lived long lives, this short introduction positions each of them in relation to iPlayed and their intergenerational experience. For ease of reference, the participants appear in order beginning with those who participated in iPlayed. I have included a quote from their transcript, at the beginning of each participant, which captures the essence of their intergenerational experience. This introduction is also intended to give the following chapter, which includes the personal narratives that emerged from this research, context. Table 1 highlights each participant and their age, whether they participated in iPlayed, their mobility/disability status, whether they had grandchildren or great-grandchildren and if they see them and their day-to-day contact with children aged under five. This information presented on this table was obtained by me at each participant interview.

Table 1

Summary of Participants' Intergenerational Activity and Physical Health

Pseudonym	Age	iPlayed participant	Mobility/disabilities	Contact great-grandchildren/grandchildren	Contact with preschoolers
Enid	89	Yes	Good, no disabilities	Limited	Yes (iPlayed)
Cathy	79	Yes	Good, no disabilities	Yes	Yes (iPlayed)
Florence	93	Yes	Good, less mobile than previously	Yes	Yes (iPlayed)
Vida	86	Yes	Limited – arthritis, some deafness	Yes	Yes (iPlayed)

Graham	78	Yes	Good, but recent health scare	Yes	Yes, iPlayed and grandchild
Iris	73	Yes	Good	Yes	Yes (iPlayed)
Nellie	90	No (used to attend)	Good, no disabilities	Yes	No
Janet	77	No (been once)	Good, no disabilities	Yes	No
Nina	84	No (been once)	Good, no disabilities	No	No
Monty	75	No	Good	Limited	Yes (visits Little Wonders regularly)
Marion	71	No	Good, no disabilities	Yes	No
Maree	89	No	Limited physically, some deafness	Yes	No
Christopher	78	No	Good	Yes	No
Esther	78	No	Good, hearing difficulties	Yes	Occasional with grandchild
Richard "Dickie"	76	No	Good	Yes	No
Betty	95	No	Recent broken hip, mobility compromised	Yes	Occasional visits from great-grandchild
Miles	77	No	Good, but slowing down physically	Yes	No
Celia	81	No	Good, looking after	Limited	No

Enid

"…and my grandchildren live up in Auckland, so I see them maybe twice, three times a year, that's all. I see people here with grandchildren and I feel very envious. I really do. I just love children."

Enid is married and has three grandchildren, who are all in their twenties and who live in Auckland. She described herself as someone who loves children, and as evidenced by the quote above, is envious when she sees others with their grandchildren. Since moving into VaP, Enid's love of children has been evident in her interaction with Little Wonders which has included personal visits she has made to play one on one with the children and the fact she has been part of the iPlayed programme since its inception.

Cathy

"I'm tied up with all sorts of things outside of VaP, and I thought surely I can manage enough time to read to kids, because I know that I will enjoy that anyway. So, from a selfish point of view I enjoy reading aloud."

Cathy is a widowed grandmother to four grandchildren and she sees them relatively regularly. Despite being an iPlayed participant, because she leads a busy life outside of VaP, she isn't always able to participate, but does when she can.

Florence

"Children under five are about my favourite people."

Florence is aged over 90 and young children have always played a central role in her life. Demonstrating this, for the last two years, Florence had visited Little Wonders every

week with her keyboard to bring music to the children. When iPlayed launched, she was quick to volunteer and she has been a regular on the programme ever since.

Vida

"They amuse me, they entertain me and oh I don't know, they are fun. I enjoy their company if they are good. I never coped very well with tantrums."

Vida is a 86 year old widow and grandmother to two older grandchildren (in their thirties). She wanted to join iPlayed as she has a love of reading and a genuine interest in small children. Now, with no children to read to, Vida wanted to share some fun with the young children across the road at Little Wonders.

Graham

"Fun, simple fun with kids."

Graham is a married grandfather of several grandchildren, the youngest of whom is two years old and who lives several hours drive away from Wellington. Prior to iPlayed launching, Graham was a regular visitor at Little Wonders where he would regularly play with the children. Approximately a year ago he had a major health scare which took him away from this activity. Recently he joined iPlayed, which has brought young children back into his life.

Iris

"Well they're not my responsibility, I'm only doing what I can do."

Iris is a married grandmother to 10 grandchildren from ages six to 16. She has lived at VaP for six months and upon hearing about the opportunity to be involved in iPlayed she was keen to take part in it. At the time of interview she had been to less than five iPlayed sessions, as she had not lived at VaP for long. She sees her grandchildren regularly.

Nellie

"Children have got a different smell entirely to the people we normally are with, they've got that lovely (...) oh they are all spruced up."

Nellie is a 90-year-old widow with many grandchildren and great-grandchildren in England, Canada and Australia, but none in Wellington. Nellie stated that she would not be surprised if a great great-grandchild arrives soon. Nellie was an early participant in iPlayed and as she was very used to young children, was particularly fascinated to see how the children would react to the older people. However, after missing one session and then "breaking the habit", Nellie has never returned to iPlayed and stated that with the sessions starting at 10am, it is too early for her to join in anymore.

Janet

" I would hate to be without contact with younger people, not just littlies but younger people in general. I think that the danger is you get very narrowed, very restricted views, you become very intolerant as an older person if you are not in touch with the young. So, I think older people get as much or more value than the children do even."

Janet is widowed and has two grandchildren (both girls aged 6 and 10) whom she sees regularly. When iPlayed was launched, Janet thought that "in theory" the concept was a good one, particularly for residents who do not have grandchildren or those who don't get to see their grandchildren. However, it was not something in which she chose to participate. Janet was unique to all other people interviewed for this research, in that she had a bad experience as a reluctant participant when the programme first began. After attending one difficult iPlayed session, she never returned.

Nina

"I'm not really a grandmotherly type, I'm single, I've had no children and I don't consider myself particularly good with children but I joined it because I believe in, very

strongly, with a public library background, of the importance of introducing good children's books to young children."

Having spent years as a public librarian, Nina was motivated to join iPlayed given the importance she places on quality books, however, she realised very quickly the programme was not suitable for her. Nina says this was because in the early days of iPlayed the books couldn't sustain the child's interest. This meant that for her due to the combination of being "not good with children" and the poor book selection, she felt she had nothing to fall back on and promptly exited iPlayed. This was not the last iPlayed saw of Nina however, as her experience inspired her to make a lasting difference to the quality of the book stock.

Monty

"In fact I had a very nice letter from the mother and father when the little boy went to school. They said: 'what a great thing you have done, because Jackson's grandparents live way up north (...) and you have been that sort of person for him'."

Monty is a widower and grandfather to grandchildren whom all reside in Australia. However, because he greatly enjoys interacting with children, and since he only sees his grandchildren twice a year, he has created other opportunities in his life to mix with younger generations. Monty has been visiting the four year olds' room at Little Wonders over the last two years on a flexible and casual basis. Should Monty's physical capabilities become restricted, he indicated he would consider participating in iPlayed.

Marion

"Children seem to get something off their grandparents that they don't get from their parents…I don't know that it gets to be close enough actually at a childcare facility, with just visitors, but at least it is something."

Marion is a married grandmother to several children based in Wellington and England. Upon hearing about iPlayed she thought the concept was "absolutely wonderful" but one that she does not have the time for, nor is she inclined to be involved in it. Alongside a wide number of interests, Marion's husband is sick and requiring care. This means she cannot commit to a regular time slot every two weeks. Furthermore, due to the regular contact she has with her Wellington-based grandchildren, Marion did not feel the need to have any more interaction with young children via iPlayed.

Maree

"Well I've done that, you know, I've done it and I've always been interested in children. It's something that I've done and I'm quite happy now, to just, I'm not looking for it, because I am pretty archaic to a little child."

Maree is an 89-year-old widow and grandmother to many grandchildren, the youngest of whom is just entering their teenage years. Maree has lived a long life with a reputation of being good with children, a mantle she enjoyed. Recently, however, Maree has come to the conclusion she is now too old to offer anything meaningful to very young children. In considering participating in iPlayed, she felt her body was not up to the physical challenge younger children present and her failing hearing would also hinder the experience.

Christopher

"Old people are, well certainly in the olden days, maybe even now to some extent, quite old people can be foreboding to some people."

Christopher is a divorced grandfather to six grandchildren, the youngest of whom is six. He has lived at VaP for six years and recalls the opening of Little Wonders and the tour he attended to see the new facility as it opened. Christopher lives an independent and busy

life outside of VaP. He did not recall seeing any information about the iPlayed programme, but stated that if he was asked to do it and he had the requisite skills he would participate.

Esther

"I didn't really think reading once a week was enough of an involvement to do it."

Esther is a widowed grandmother to a number of grandchildren and two great-grandchildren, all based in New Zealand. Esther has carefully considered the option of participating in iPlayed but has decided that although she agrees it was great idea it was not right for her to be involved. A key part of this decision is that up until moving into VaP three years ago, much of her life has involved young children. From co-caring for some of her own grandchildren, to a fairly busy grandmother schedule, to running Bible Studies with young children in a small rural community, Esther felt that coming to VaP she had "moved on" from working with younger people. Also, on a practical basis, Esther's hearing is now poor and given she now has difficulty picking up what children say she believes her involvement would be compromised.

Richard "Dickie"

"I feel out of practice (with young children) now."

Dickie is a 76 year old married grandfather to ten grandchildren, with the youngest being six years of age. Despite enjoying his own children and his grandchildren when they were aged under five and liking the idea of iPlayed, Dickie has no affinity for young children who are not family and is not interested in joining the programme. (Note that Dickie's wife is a participant on the programme and is also a participant in this research (Iris)).

Betty

"I think mainly people enjoy children but they don't want to be stuck with them ad infinitum."

Betty is a 95 year old widow and a grandmother and great-grandmother to several children. She has one great-grandchild who is three years old and she sees him occasionally. Betty loves small children as she thinks they are cute, she appreciates their honesty and enjoys their genuineness. When it comes to participating in iPlayed however, she finds herself too busy to commit to the regular programme. Also, she has had a recent accident which is hindering her mobility and inclination to do much at present.

Miles

"You know, I get a great satisfaction of seeing these eyes widen when I say certain things or show him certain things."

Miles is a 77 year old married man, with three teenage grandchildren and one grandson who is seven. He is very active outside of VaP, still working several jobs and this, combined with the regular interaction he has with his younger grandson, means that Miles is not a participant in iPlayed at this time. He says that there may be a time if he does not get too old or decrepit that he may consider participating in a programme like iPlayed, as he is very interested in the concept.

Celia

"I think we have an enormous amount to give if we are of the right temperament to give to our grandchildren (...) because you learn, as you get older, you learn, you mellow."

Celia is a married grandmother and great-grandmother to children who all live outside of Wellington and she rarely sees them now. Celia's time at the moment is dominated by looking after her ailing husband, therefore, despite a life which has centred around children and preschool education and a keen interest in this age group, she has not been able to participate in iPlayed.

Chapter Eight: Personal Narratives

This chapter includes the personal narratives identified from the eighteen participants' contributions to this research. Four narratives have been identified and labelled as follows: 'Life Giving', 'Older People Teach the Young, 'Is This Relationship Working?' and 'Willing to Compromise'. 'Life Giving' is a narrative that participants used to explain the various ways that being with children makes them feel alive: symbolically, in an embodied sense and psychologically. The 'Older People Teach the Young' narrative was used to describe participating in iPlayed or interacting with young children as opportunities to positively guide a child in a variety of ways. 'Is This Relationship Working?' was a narrative people used to challenge whether the iPlayed programme in its current state is delivering on what participants saw as the tenets of a quality relationship, much like one might do if reviewing a relationship between themselves and a friend. The final personal narrative was 'Willing to Compromise' which highlights how older people recognise the challenges that are inherent when interacting with younger children, but that at the same time they are quite willing to adopt a flexible and accommodating attitude towards these encounters and the children. Each narrative is now illuminated in detail including how iPlayed is storied within it.

Life Giving

Life Giving was a positive story that participants told about being with children, whether this was within iPlayed or elsewhere, and that these interactions give them life in a number of ways. Some participants were reminded of life purely because they were in the presence of and interacting with the children, which they contrasted with their advancing years. For instance, when asked what younger people bring to older people, Maree said: "Aw, life! I mean they are life. They're always so exciting, and they're so alive, but I don't think very old people like me have a great deal to offer them". From this position, Maree suggests that an intergenerational exchange is not automatically reciprocal, in that the older person is

able to witness and possibly prosper from the vivacity a child offers, but that they have little life to offer in return. Florence describes young children from Little Wonders as: “these ones are so fresh and young”. Cathy echoes this idea by saying young children are “bright and interested in things and they make you think or rethink things”. Of note, the three participants quoted here did so with smiles on their faces and sparkles in their eyes. As they recounted these stories, it was noticeable how sharing this information and being reminded of the young life of the children brought them joy once more.

Others shared an embodied perspective on life within this narrative. Participants reminisced about the touch and the smell of the young children when they interacted. Furthermore, the sheer physical nature of interacting with young children through iPlayed contributed to the wider ‘Life Giving’ narrative. For example, within iPlayed, seeing the children clambering over the couches where they sat to read books together, or as they crept in closer to hear the book being read. Nellie, an ex-iPlayed participant, talked fondly about the children’s “warm little bodies”.

> Int.: What is it about it that would bring you back, if only they'd change the time?
>
> Nellie: I think it's only, I enjoyed it. I enjoyed it.
>
> Int.: Anything specifically that?
>
> Nellie: Hmm just their little bodies, little warm bodies I suppose, I don’t know. Remember that we are mixing with people our own age, more or less, and to have little ones coming in like that, I mean some of us are lucky and we've got family. There's a lot of people here haven’t got family here and never see small children, or have any interaction with them and to them, I suppose it's like a wee blessing, to have that time, that warmth.

Nellie chose to describe her experience of iPlayed from a physical position. She further elaborates on this position by referencing the smell of the young children: “they've got a different smell entirely to the people we normally are with”. Nina, who was someone who

participated in iPlayed once but dropped out after one session, also spoke about touch and how this can bring life to some older people.

> Int.: And if you were trying to recruit your friends to do it, what would you say they might get out of it?
> Nina: I think for a lot of older people, when I was a librarian, I organised readers to go into a geriatric hospital, and one of them took her son, he was very tame, he was a gorgeous little boy and they wanted to touch him and pat him and feel him and cuddle him, It was obviously missing from their lives, the touch, the experience of a little child that they hungered for.

Another position adopted within this narrative was how children contribute to the older adults feeling happy and psychologically invigorated when they mix together and a recurring character that appeared within this part of the narrative was the 'Entertainer'. This character was adopted by some participants to describe how iPlayed allowed them to indulge in pastimes they once enjoyed (particularly being able to perform or entertain the children) and how the opportunity to reengage in these skills energised them and made them feel alive. For example, Graham, who used to visit Little Wonders to play with the children before a health incident, and who now is an iPlayed regular reflected on the "high" he felt after these sorts of encounters. While he identified that it was the physical interaction with the children, he also reflected on the opportunity it gave him to "be the star attraction" which seemed to give him psychological benefit. There were several stories of the older adults adopting an 'Entertainer' character which often included rich detail about verbal exchanges between the older adult and child, that left the older adult delighted by the fact they had created a moment together where both parties were left laughing or entertained. The 'Entertainer' indicated an inclination towards participating in programmes like iPlayed as they gave the older adult a platform to use their voice or the skills they had acquired either throughout their careers or many years interacting with children and in doing so it revitalised them.

Graham (…) Well I was on a settee, and he sat beside me and he chose where to sit this time and he changed each time we moved, went to a different spot. (…) And I think being the only man there most probably made a difference, more attractive, I don't know. When you get to the sort of, it wasn't a witches and nasty one, but the book, but there were parts of it where you emphasise with a deep voice and this sort of thing and I think that most probably caught the ears of others.

Int.: Oh and they sort of started to come over and?

Graham: For that one they all started to come in, and cluster in.

Int.: That is funny...

Graham: It was, it was quite funny actually.

Int.: And does that?

Graham: And I enjoyed it!

Int.: Did you? What was it about it you enjoyed?

Graham: Well they claw all over me and you know, they're listening and part listening and part having fun and yes, no it was good.

Within this exchange, Graham delights in the performance aspect to interacting with children. Associated to the role of the 'Entertainer', many participants talked about the benefits they received from any interaction with a preschooler as though they were an 'Audience Member'. For instance, Marion talked about the energy that can be taken from interacting with young children.

Int.: (...) Yeah and stability, also, what are you gaining from the interaction?
Marion: Oh the energy, I think energy, you get energy from them, your energy goes, and you get an input of energy from them, yes. And a lot of enjoyment, a huge number of laughs, which you can't laugh while they are there, but you do after they go. I think we probably get more from it than they do.
Int.: Do you think?
Marion: Oh yes.

Other ways people described being psychologically invigorated within the 'Life Giving' narrative was that being with young children either in a volunteering capacity or with one's own grandchildren or great-grandchildren contributes to their wellbeing. For instance, Florence talked about how IGPs are an opportunity to keep in touch with younger children especially if, like her, you rarely see your own grandchildren. Beyond this though, perhaps the biggest benefit of participating in iPlayed she states is the self worth she gains from taking part.

> Int.: What do they bring to you?
>
> Florence: Well an appreciation of the fact that you are still around and a little bit of self worth because you, as you get older, especially into the 90s as I am, you begin to wonder if you, you know, what you are here for. It sounds a bit pathetic, but you do. Your friends go, your interests go, you get arthritic hands and you can't play croquet or knit. I'm very lucky I can still play the piano. And having these little children around and sort of clambering around is marvellous for your self worth I think.

Monty visits Little Wonders of his own accord and he also talks about the psychosocial benefits gained from these interactions. Monty: "Oh I get a lot of enjoyment out of it (…) being with the kids over there, I find it just a whole different world, it's nice to be with younger kids and see how they are and have a laugh and give kids a cuddle, you know, if they want one and I suppose feel wanted, if I can use that word. Because they do make you feel, kids are very honest and if they don't want to be with you they won't be, end of question. But there are kids there who very much want to see me when I am there, even the boys will come up and give me a hug, not that they shouldn't, boys can give hugs. I remember I was leaving one day and one little guy had a bit of a tear in his eye, and he came over and said "hug before you go" and came and gave me a hug. So it's just those nice little things, that you don't get anywhere else and they are so honest about it."

Within the narrative of Life Giving participants adopted four interrelated positions which described the way that interacting with young children gives them life. Some participants described seeing and being with younger children as being a symbolic reminder of life. Others chose an embodied response to being with younger children, how experiencing their warmth and their fresh smell, for example, is so different to what they are generally exposed to in older age. Some chose to locate the sense of life that being with young children gave them through a role of 'Entertainer' and 'Audience Member'. This was used by some participants to acknowledge that through interactions with the young they are given an opportunity to draw on their skills to entertain and to enthral alongside *being* entertained, and this made them feel alive. Finally, in general terms, some participants adopted a position that identified the multiple ways interacting with young children contributes to their own wellbeing. In particular, participants identified that being with younger children increased their self worth and made them feel wanted.

Within the narrative of 'Life Giving' iPlayed is storied as a highly positive experience and the meaning derived from the experience is related to multiple ways of feeling alive. As the programme currently consists of a reading activity, this allows the older adults to be up close to the young children which allows them to see, touch and smell the young children and in doing so this brings them closer to life. Furthermore through the reading interaction they are given a chance to perform and to be entertained which in turn improves their self-worth. iPlayed is storied as an interactive and dynamic exchange that contributes to older adults in a number of ways that promotes their capacity to feel alive. A salient point to emerge from within this narrative was how important touch is to older people: being able to hug a child if the child wanted to, or being able to let the child snuggle next to them when they were reading a book. Despite the programme being book reading at this stage, even the physical

contact with young children inherent in it, is seen as an enjoyable and beneficial part of the iPlayed process for the older adults.

Older People Teach the Young

Many participants chose a narrative of 'Older People Teach the Young' when reflecting on intergenerational interactions. As a story it describes how important a good education and reading is for young children and that when older people interact with young children this is an ideal opportunity to teach and guide them, even through play. When some participants were reflecting on the reading activity that takes place during iPlayed, they frequently considered their love of books and how intrinsic books are to learning. This point was evidenced by participants recalling stories about specific books they cherished from either growing up or when they were reading to their own children. For example, Vida wanted to join iPlayed primarily due to her love of books and her memories of sharing books with her own children.

> Int.: What it was that attracted you to participating in the programme?
>
> Vida: Well I've always liked reading to my children, when they were young, I always made a point of reading them a story at night when they were in bed and my favourite was Winnie the Pooh, I think because it's so beautifully written from the little Piglet to the morose sort of Eeyore, I always fancied myself as an Eeyore. And I've always, you know, loved reading to children. Now I have no children to read to because my 60-year-old daughter would be surprised if I started to read to her [laughing].

When asked what she thinks the young children are gaining from participating in iPlayed, Vida positions herself within this narrative as a guide for encouraging a love of books: "Well a love of books for one thing, which I think is very important because I know with modern technology, books seem to be going a bit out of fashion. But the smell of a new book, the excitement of a new book is something which I think is just lovely. Does one get that from a computer? I'm not sure. I haven't a computer." The centrality of books to the

education of young children is vividly evidenced with Nina's account of the reason she decided to join iPlayed and the accompanying description she gives of herself.

> Int.: I guess first perhaps we can talk about your experience at iPlayed to begin with, just start wherever you want to start, how it made you feel perhaps?
> Nina: Um well I'm not really a grandmotherly type, I'm single, I've had no children and I don't consider myself particularly good with children. I joined it because I believe in, very strongly, with a public library background, of the importance of introducing good children's books to young children. So, I put my name down.

However, Nina knew the books they had on this first session were unable to sustain the children's interest. This meant that, for her, due to the combination of being "not good with children" and the poor book selection, she felt she had nothing to fall back on and she promptly exited iPlayed. However, due to her passion for quality children's books, this was not the last iPlayed saw of Nina and within this narrative Nina identifies her role as teacher in ensuring that the books were of a standard that would 'stimulate' the young children.

> Nina: (…) but when they brought the books across from Little Wonders I felt that they weren't suitable (…) and I couldn't get any rapport with the children with the books I was given (…) I explained by giving Mary (VaP General Manager) a book that I happened to notice when I was waiting for someone I went into a bookshop and it seemed to give the right criteria for what a preschool children's book should offer a child. It talked about familiar things, that they could understand and relate to and the child being read to would identify with the character and have an emotional response and it would also stimulate their imagination. So, I used that book to give to Mary, to see where I was coming from.[2]

Nina's suggestion and subsequent list of quality books she wrote, resulted in better books being bought for the programme. While Nina felt inadequate to participate in the programme as a reader, she recounted her experience positively as she was able to draw on

[2] See Appendix F for the letter Nina wrote to Mary about this and a picture of the book she donated.

her life experience and impart her knowledge of good quality children's books that would help the child stimulate their imagination and provide an emotional response.

In considering interacting with young children, participants also storied themselves as educators, beyond the scope of reading. For example, Enid thought that IGPs are a kind of gateway to children becoming less intimidated by older people and once this is achieved she said the child can start to comprehend that older people can teach them something. "(…) I just think it's good that you mix with children and the children learn to understand that they're with an older person and they're not afraid of being with an older person and an older person can teach them things." Cathy also stated that she thinks the intergenerational movement is a "continual learning process" for both the older and younger people involved. Miles chose to describe his role as general educator with his grandson and completes it by describing the encouraging response he often receives from him, which he greatly cherishes.

> Int.: You mentioned you enjoyed the time with Leo, what is it that you like about the interaction?
> Miles: We're getting to the stage now where as a 7-year-old he's starting to question things and we have quite a bit of banter over this and we will even get to the stage where we will go and Google stuff, just to see who is right or wrong, because I probably lead a bit of stuff. But no, I'd say the people who are not doing it [iPlayed] are probably missing something, but they don't know what they are missing.
> Int.: What do you think that is?
> Miles: Well just the joy of mixing with younger ones, the interaction. You know I get a great satisfaction of seeing these eyes widen when I say certain things or show him certain things.

The iPlayed programme currently consists of only book reading, however participants shared examples of the many ways in which children and older adults can interact and the older adult can still guide the young child. For instance, Monty acknowledged that

particularly for those aged under five, playing together is the ideal way an older person can help nurture and guide their young companion.

> Int.: Is there anything else about intergenerational interactions, or anything you want to add?
>
> Monty: Within this age group I wouldn't have any other comments I don't think, but I think there is another step up from that which is the 7-10 group, which I think is another challenge and a very interesting group. Because, they are starting to become much more inquisitive and starting to learn a lot more. They are interested in things, they are starting to have things thrown at them, there is a wider breadth of knowledge and I think that group is interesting. Whereas this group [those aged under five] are still in the play stage. It's very much play and whilst they are playing they are learning and we can help guide that. Some of the kids were making some very good models the other days, some big tractors the other day. You could actually see what they were, it wasn't just a bit conglomeration, you could see it was a car or a tractor or whatever it was they were making.

Whether it is through educating via facilitating play, knowledge and skills gleaned from a lifetime of living or the cornerstone of a traditional and historical form of education – reading good quality books, participants in this research frequently used an 'Older People Teach the Young' narrative to give meaning and purpose to their interactions with younger children.

iPlayed is storied as a worthwhile endeavour within this narrative, as participants describe being able to participate in an activity that will benefit the younger generation's education. iPlayed is also storied as giving participants an opportunity to choose and read quality books to children, and this activity is recounted as a lifelong passion for some. Therefore, beyond the education aspect to this narrative, iPlayed is seen to be not only worthwhile for the children but also an enjoyable experience for participants. While the two other levels of this narrative do not specifically refer to iPlayed, they suggest future possibilities for the programme. 'Older People Teach the Young' stretches beyond book

reading, to any skills the older person has to offer the young child, for example woodworking, or even through conversations where the older person's wisdom and knowledge can be imparted. Furthermore, simply playing with children is seen as an opportunity to guide the young person and positively influence their development. Within this narrative older people position themselves as people with something to offer young children. The implication for the iPlayed programme is that there could be a number of different ways in which older people could be engaged with in order for them to teach and guide the young.

Is This Relationship Working?

Much like two people in a fledgling relationship who privately analyse whether it is working, participants chose this narrative to query whether the fundamentals of iPlayed programme were enabling a meaningful exchange for participants. The positions people adopted within this narrative were to query the length of iPlayed sessions, the frequency the children see the older participants, the age of the younger participants and the lack of stability older people offer those younger than them due to death or ill health. Within this narrative people queried each of these aspects of the programme and as a result, wondered whether anything meaningful could take place within these parameters. In contrast to this however, there was also a position adopted acknowledging that for those with limited access to younger people and vice versa, that the exchange was 'Better than Nothing'. The first position of the narrative focused on the amount of time the two parties spend in each other's company. Due to the programme being 30 minutes, every two weeks and alongside the fact the children are rotated and do not attend each session, many participants stated that this was not long enough for anything meaningful to ensue.

> Dickie: Yeah and particularly if I understand the system to be correct, there's no continuing relationship between a single old person and a single young person, or an

> under five. There's a different set of under fives that come every week, so it's a brief episode in the children's life. (...) I don't know whether the kids come once a month or anything, like there's a lot of kids over there, how do they select who goes?
>
> Int.: (I don't know how they select them, but they definitely change the age groups.)
>
> Dickie: So one kid might only get an old person reading to them once every three months, so it's a pretty minor influence isn't it?

Iris focused on the length of time and frequency of the iPlayed encounters. While she said that IGPs give older and younger generations a level of exposure to one another and this is good, she also stated that not a huge amount can happen in each session as the time is so limited. For instance, the ability to establish rapport in such a short time is compromised, and she likens this to her grandchildren she does not see as often as the others, and the difficulties therein for developing a strong relationship. Esther, who had chosen not to participate in iPlayed contributed to this narrative by expressing her concerns about the quality of what could be achieved between the two groups given the programme's structure. As Esther has a relatively significant amount of time to invest in volunteering work, she had concluded that the 30 minutes, every two weeks iPlayed was asking as a commitment, was not enough for her. In fact Esther investigated another programme which would see her being a grandmother figure to families of prisoners as she thought this level of contact gave her the opportunity to really make a difference in someone's life through a deeper connection. She said she wanted "something that was actually happening a bit more rather than a casual connection." Marion used this position within the wider narrative to note that grandparents can give something to grandchildren that their parents cannot. Through this she highlighted that while an IGP interaction is not substantial, it is "at least it is something" which also contributed to the 'Better Than Nothing' position.

A substantial age gap within a relationship can often be cited as problematic for an enduring connection between two people. For example Dickie, a non-iPlayed participant,

wondered about the age of the younger children and whether they are too young to gain anything significant from the encounter, describing it as “a brief experience which is probably forgettable for the children”. Furthermore, he describes trying to make an association between two people with a sixty year age gap, on such an irregular basis and over such a short period of time as “difficult”. From an alternate position, Iris, a current iPlayed participant, who had mainly read to three to four year olds said that conducting iPlayed with children any younger would not be worth it. The main reason for this she says is “because today's children don't know how to sit still and listen to a story, even those four year olds don’t really know how to”. She emphasises that even though she participates in the programme, the children are still very young and this may impact their ability to connect with the older person, listen, sit still and benefit from the encounter.

Another position adopted by Marion, was the lack of stability she perceived the iPlayed relationship would offer. Her view is that after relationships are built up, it is important for children to know that they will endure.

> Int.: (…) So to that point, the iPlayed programme is 30 minutes every two weeks, they rotate the children, so there's not necessarily a continuity of relationship, do you see that as a failing?
> Marion: Well I would say it's probably ok, but I would say that I think the relationship needs to be built, all relationships need to be built and I think it's good for the children to know as they build it - it stays. You know, which is rather hard when we're all dying off here, and getting sick.
> Int.: (And they're going to school.)
> Marion: Yes, they're going to school, so it's quite hard, but it's better than nothing. But I do think that continuity with the same person working at a relationship with the same person sitting with you is probably better though.

Marion reminds the reader, as she and Iris have already mentioned, that the encounter is “better than nothing” and in doing so adds a contrasting position within the narrative of ‘Is

This Relationship Working?'. From this position the underlying points participants raised are: do these traditional principles of a relationship need to be met within iPlayed, and, is a brief encounter actually enough?

The implications of this narrative on iPlayed are nuanced. Within it, iPlayed is often storied as an experience that is of no significant benefit to participants and this is owing to the way it is being delivered (rotation of different children for every session, its frequency and length of time for each session, for example). The implication of this narrative is that iPlayed's goal is assumed to be the facilitation of enduring and meaningful relationships between older and younger people, but based on this assumption it is failing due to the way the programme is being delivered. Interestingly, only one current participant in iPlayed contributed to this narrative, which is a possible indication that participants in iPlayed are content with the sort of relationships and encounters with the young children they are currently experiencing. Within this narrative, iPlayed is conversely storied as a programme that is offering a brief intergenerational encounter to a number of people and that perhaps this is all that is required as it is 'Better Than Nothing'.

Willing to Compromise

Willing to Compromise is a narrative acknowledging that today's young children have limited attention spans and behave badly at times, but that the older adults should attempt to make the most of their interactions with them through compromise. This narrative is set within the context of two groups of people separated by several generations and the older adults' expectations of children's behaviour. However, the chief character within this story is the 'Tolerant Disciplinarian', who, in comparison to other adults, is able to distance themselves from the not ideal behaviour and take steps in order to enjoy the exchange. This character adopts the attitude that within the confines of iPlayed, for example, there is no point disciplining the children in the limited time available. The Tolerant Disciplinarian featured

strongly in this narrative, even by research participants not participating in iPlayed, alongside the character 'The Optimist'. In contrast to the 'Tolerant Disciplinarian', 'The Optimist' has an entirely positive attitude regarding children, choosing not to see their flaws when the children are badly behaved.

With regards to the 'Tolerant Disciplinarian', Celia, for example, talks about having a lot to give young children if you have the right temperament. "(…) because you learn as you get older, you learn, you mellow and you get a lot more tolerant. I mean I can now look at my great-grandchildren in particularly, I mean I've looked at my grandchildren too, and not get upset about what's going on or not going on because you know them, that there are things you can do to help. I think we have a lot to give". Nancy also talks about making the most of being with the children and letting the interaction unfold in a natural way, despite the guidelines: "(…) how you can connect with someone with dementia how you can quickly grab that moment and that's how I am with the children as well because children aren't guarded, they let their emotions show. If they want to have a tantrum they're going to have one, if they want to be close with you and have a cuddle, that's good too. I don't think we're encouraged to touch, no we're not, but if a child cuddles up to you I'm not going to shove them away".

More specifically, from the 'Tolerant Disciplinarian's' perspective there will be instances where the child may engage in play or behaviour that the older adult may find irritating but the response to this behaviour needs to be measured and strategic in order for the older adult to enjoy the interaction as much as possible.

Graham: Oh no, it's fine...they'll enjoy it.

Int.: (Two, a fun age.)

Graham: Oh yes, make the most of it, while it's that age.

Int.: So you have had quite a lot of experience with young children, you obviously enjoy it?

Graham: Oh yes I do, I enjoy young children (…) I think I understand children, but at the same time, I do get a bit annoyed by them.

Int.: Can you tell me a bit about that?

Graham: The physical prodding and poking, that annoys me, and deliberate, acts of deliberately trying to annoy, you can see it quite clearly, so you've got to deflect that, turn it into a game or a joke, there's no point getting angry, absolutely none.

This position was similarly told by Iris. Her view is that the iPlayed session is only half an hour and disciplining them does not seem appropriate or worthwhile. From this position Iris recounted some of the strategies she uses to make the most of an iPlayed session as a 'Tolerant Disciplinarian':

Iris: … I don't know what the other ladies do, if they've got a favourite, or not, I don't know. I deliberately chose someone else the second time from the first time because he didn't really want to sit still and have the story, so I thought someone else could cope with him, and the little boy I got the second time was pretty good, and I also chose to sit on the other side of the room away from the fishpond.

Int.: Sounds like a smart idea.

Iris: Yeah, and I did find the first time we did tend to sit quite close to each other and there was a lot of conflicting stories going on around you, so if you moved down the room a bit you were on your own with the child and it was better, less distractions, for both of us, yeah.

Iris described how she made the most of the iPlayed session by taking control of elements of it: the individual she read to and a quieter, less distracting place to sit. The other character adopted within this narrative was the "The Optimist". Cathy, for example, stated that as the children move about within the room as their interest waxes and wanes in the book she is reading them, she thinks they are building confidence.

Cathy: Well it's quite interesting watching them, if they decide they are not particularly interested in a story, or more likely they will be attracted to something else, someone else, they will wander off and join in with that one, for example I prefer to listen to this story and, that's something I've noticed. So they're getting up enough confidence to do what they want, I guess. Um [pause] and they are quite easily distracted, like, I think they are really living in the moment in a way. So we met over there [points to the VaP lounge room] there's a fountain outside and they will wander off and look at the fountain and the goldfish and all the rest of it, and you sort of let them and talk about it and come back again.

Int.: So that doesn't bother you?

Cathy: No.

Int.: What do you think is driving that for the child?

Cathy: Well, the subject of the book isn't always what they are immediately interested in or grabbed by.

Int.: So they're just going towards something that piques their interest?

Cathy: Yeah.

Int.: And how do you respond to that?

Cathy: Yes, or I go with them usually, and interact over that.

Graham also adopts a similar position.

Int.: Yeah because some of the people I've spoken to in these interviews talk about children being noisier now.

Graham: Yes of course they are.

Int.: But then I'm hearing from you that actually it's a positive, because?

Graham: They are lively and socialising.

Int.: (And socialising more.)

Graham: Yes, and socialising, and you can dampen it down pretty easily.

Betty is not a participant of iPlayed but her view on the programme takes a similar optimistic slant on the fidgety nature of young children.

Int.: Hmm, do you think 30 minutes is long enough?

Betty: Well the children haven't got long, you know, time span have they to, so it's probably enough otherwise they would start getting bored wouldn't they?

Florence stories something similar within this narrative where she talks about her flexible approach to interacting with young children: "It's lovely to see them so natural and one of the things about over there (Little Wonders), they don't mollycoddle them, they let them fall off the bridges or bikes and they naturally and I think that goes for the session to, it doesn't have to be like the old school days you know, sitting at the desk. Not moving, you know". From this position, within the 'Willing to Compromise' narrative, Florence is acknowledging the many generation gaps between herself and the young children, and that compared to the strict behavioural guidelines she adhered to when growing up and that she may have used disciplining her own children, she is much more tolerant. Cathy, Graham, Betty and Florence all share stories about how they are willingly compromising their disciplining behaviours and about how they need to be flexible with the young children, as the way to interact with the children and to enjoy iPlayed experience. Florence highlights this by describing what others have done faced with the same situation and her optimistic position on why children might be restless:

Int.: So I suppose for some of the old people they'd find that annoying?

Florence: Yes, very annoying, very annoying. Some people I know have never gone again because they find that the children don't do what they say and that's not what they are supposed to do.

Int.: Whereas what do you think about that?

Florence: I think it's marvellous, yes, yes, I mean, not all literature is good literature and some of the stories can be pretty appalling, I'd be bored too.

In summary, 'Willing to Compromise' is a narrative that includes the main character of the 'Tolerant Disciplinarian' which operates within the perceived and stated generational

differences in expectations on children's behaviour. From this position it is agreed that with age there comes a mellowing which enables the older person to remain calm and unaffected by the child's behaviour, knowing they have something to offer the situation without launching into full disciplinarian mode. Also from this position, participants were open about being flexible and accommodating towards the younger participants and within the iPlayed programme constraints. Participants talk about the measured approach to children they need to adopt and the strategies they choose within iPlayed to get the best out of the experience. Within this narrative they identify that these interactions do not have to be like it was when they were younger or like "school". In a supporting but related role, 'The Optimist' chose to reframe a child's behaviour in an positive way and in doing so created context to the narrative of tolerance with the young children.

Within this narrative iPlayed is positioned as a catalyst for an interaction between young and older people, but that a significant element of the exchange is the older adults' ability to be measured, strategic, flexible and optimistic in the way they interact with the children on the programme. The implication of this narrative on the programme is that it takes a certain temperament or approach to children from the older adults in order for them to enjoy iPlayed. All research participants were under no illusions that children would conduct themselves perfectly in any interaction, but what they were clear about was the way in which they needed to respond. This 'Tolerant Disciplinarian' was evidenced in strategies to deflect bad behaviour or strategic decisions about where to sit away from distractions, for example. Generationally, many of the participants in this research spoke about their childhoods and how they were expected to be seen and not heard. This jars with how children today are encouraged to express themselves and readily engage with those older than them. What this narrative highlights is that not all older adults will enjoy iPlayed given the temperament that is required to get the most out of this interaction.

In summary, the personal narratives identified within the participants' interviews reveal a multi-faceted experience with regards to iPlayed and preschool aged children. The 'Life Giving' narrative, which describes the multiple ways being with young children brings them life, identifies how the interaction between the two generation benefits older adults. 'Older People Teach the Young' and 'Willing to Compromise' are narratives that describe how one can operate, when interacting with young children and what that interaction can yield, in terms of an opportunity for the older person to share knowledge and guide the younger person. 'Is This Relationship Working?' takes a critical view of the way iPlayed is conducted, and queries what the point of the programme is. However, a dominant position within it is 'It's Better Than Nothing', indicating that the brief encounter is entirely adequate for those without grandchildren, or grandparents, in Wellington. The implications for iPlayed, based on these findings, will be outlined in the discussion in Chapter Eleven.

Chapter Nine: Social Narratives

This section describes narratives participants used in the interviews that are personal, but also influenced by socio-political forces. Four narratives have been identified and given the following labels: 'Contribution to Society, 'Plugging the Gap', 'It's There, If They Want It', and 'Fear of Closing In'. Contribution to Society tells a story of older people who are conscious about giving back to society despite their age or the physical restrictions they may face. Participation in iPlayed is positioned within this narrative as an option, or in some cases not an option, for making a contribution to society possible. 'Plugging the Gap' describes how participants view their role in relation to preschool aged children in today's society. Set amongst the backdrop of how significant the first five years of a child's life are to their development, some older people share a story of fulfilling a societal need in their role as grandparents, given the rise in the number of modern parents now working. 'It's There, If They Want It' is a story about knowledge and wisdom that older people are aware they possess, and could pass on to a younger generation. Yet the narrative also acknowledges that in passing on this information, it is significantly more likely to be with one's own family, and even then, this audience may not be receptive of it. 'Fear of Closing In' tells the story of retirement village living and the efforts people go to within these sorts of environments to stay connected with other communities to prevent becoming closed in, including participating in iPlayed.

At the conclusion of each narrative, the influence of the current narratives about ageing in New Zealand will be identified. If personal narratives from Chapter Eight are evident, these connections will be highlighted, followed by any implications of the social narrative on the iPlayed programme. In identifying this information, the impact of external influences on peoples' own stories will be demonstrated. Furthermore, it will also highlight

the meaning older people give to iPlayed and preschoolers within the context of their lives and these influences.

Contribution to Society

The Contribution to Society narrative was used by all participants in the research and tells a story of the efforts people go to, to ensure they are giving back to society. Within this narrative, people wanted to be 'Contributing Citizens' despite various challenges, and they either saw iPlayed as a means to achieve this, or they found other ways to do so.

In contrast to the narrative of old age as a time of slowing down and long days with little to do, participants described the challenge of enacting the Contributing Citizen amongst their busy schedules. For example, when Vida was asked how she would describe iPlayed if she was trying to encourage friends to take part she stated "I'd tell them that it's fun, the children are lovely, they are extremely polite. There are no tantrums they are lovely kids and she would enjoy doing it and *if you've got a bit of spare time*, why not?" (italics added to highlight focus). Christopher, who does not participate in iPlayed, also described a demanding daily schedule to highlight how little spare time he had to participate in programmes like iPlayed.

> Christopher: "I do remember the person that ran the centre coming to talk to the residents and I, maybe they've got plenty of volunteers from the residents (…) um, reading I could do, but I mean, I do still work a bit and in my earlier days here I was pretty busy, I was secretary of an organisation and most days I would be on the other side of town working and that's probably why. It's only the last year or 18 months that I've, you know I kept the books of this organisation for 15 years after I retired and I've only just, stopped doing that in the last 18 months.

For these participants, agency, in terms of where and when they choose to enact their Contributing Citizens is evident. For example, even though Cathy described this role in

relation to iPlayed, she acknowledged that in terms of priorities in her life, other roles can supersede it.

> Cathy: Yes, I go when I can go, I'm afraid it's not a regular thing.
>
> Int.: Yeah, and that works for you?
>
> Cathy: Yes.
>
> Int.: So you are still getting out of it, the fun and the?
>
> Cathy: Oh yes I will continue with it, when I can. Here I am swanning off for another two or three weeks on holiday.

The reader is reminded of the full and busy lives participants lead and that despite the role of 'Contributing Citizen' being of focus for many, it is not a dominant feature. In fact, within this excerpt, Cathy identifies her 'Contributing Citizen' as being a low level priority in comparison to various other roles she carries out. If Cathy chooses to take a three week holiday and forgo her 'Contributing Citizen' role, she will. She reiterates this with the comment "oh yes, I will continue with it, *when I can*" (italics added to highlight focus). Within this narrative, Cathy stories an individual who is keen to contribute back to society, but juggles this with her other role of holidaymaker, for example.

For others, time is also described as pressured, and their 'Contributing Citizen' identity is described as active within VaP, but in other volunteering capacities. Betty, for example, stated that that due to this and lack of time, she cannot commit to iPlayed.

> Int.: (That's amazing, so you are attracted to children, you find them fun, you love their honesty).
>
> Betty: Why don't I go to the...?
>
> Int.: Well, yeah, we can get on to that, if you like?
>
> Betty: Well I'm pretty busy, I um, I play bridge two days a week, I'm on the library committee and I work in the library and you know, it gets cluttered up, the week.

The location of where the ‘Contributing Citizen’ was portrayed featured in several participants’ stories. Miles located his ‘Contributing Citizen’ both inside the VaP environment and outside of it. Furthermore, in contrast to the narrative that as older people age they have less to offer society physically and mentally, Miles described himself as having a considerable amount to give back to society in this regard. Due to this, he had chosen to volunteer on an individual basis at Little Wonders. Therefore, through this means of volunteering, he was able to contribute more than what was possible within the arrangement of the iPlayed programme.

> Int.: Sorted, so, you've chosen not to participate in iPlayed I take it?
>
> Miles: I'm very interested in it, but I'm so tied up during the week, I do other volunteer work with them actually.
>
> Int.: Do you? That’s great!
>
> Miles: Oh well I've just got over the flu actually, I've volunteered with them for three years now, I love it.
>
> Int.: Oh brilliant, so with iPlayed it's not that you are not interested in the concept?
>
> Miles: No, it's just that, there'll be a time if I don't get too old and decrepit, I'm slowing now a bit (…) anyway, coming back to your thing, because I am doing all of this work I am not very free during the week.

Miles stories a strong and able ‘Contributing Citizen’, but also acknowledges in this passage that enacting this role can be impacted by illness (the flu). Further illuminating this point, he stated he can only do what he is currently doing at Little Wonders, because he is not “old and decrepit”. Miles’ ‘Contributing Citizen’ identity is described as being very active, for now, but acutely aware that current activity may be curtailed due to the increasing risk of illness and physical deterioration that older age brings.

In contrast, the limitations of iPlayed that Miles had decided were not enough for him physically and mentally, appealed to others within VaP. For them, it was only through iPlayed's current structure that they could bring their 'Contributing Citizen' to life. Many participants identified that because iPlayed is relatively short in duration and takes place within the retirement village they live in, participation was much easier for them. With these elements considered, Vida, who used the description of being a taker, not a giver at her stage of life, explained how iPlayed helped her contribute back to society.

> Int.: And just being in this programme, what do you think, in terms of your life now, what does it add or detract?
> Vida: Well it gives me an interest because I feel that the age I am, I'm a taker instead of a giver and I don't really like that, because I don't think it's fair, so if I can give back a modicum of something to somebody, well I like to do it and I've got time on my hands for goodness sake. I can't do a great deal because of my walking disabilities, but you know, it's about the only thing I can do, to give something back.

Vida wanted to keep her 'Contributing Citizen' active, but described the multiple barriers she faced in order to do so. Within this excerpt she identified her physical constraints as the most significant barriers to being able to contribute anything more to society. iPlayed is a relatively sedentary opportunity to give back, and Vida recognises it as "the only thing" she can do. In contrast, Iris is one of the younger participants in the research and faced no physical constraints like Vida. Iris set her 'Contributing Citizen' amongst the context of an extremely busy life, and identified how the current format of iPlayed allowed her to enact this role.

> Int.: So what is it about it, why are you doing it?
>
> Iris: So I can give back to the community, you know I don't volunteer much, my neighbour goes off to the Salvation Army and visits people in hospices, and I don't do that, so that's something that I can do. I don't have a lot of time,

> that sounds ridiculous when you are retired and living in a retirement village, but I don't seem to have much time, so it's something I can do without leaving the Village really, because we do a lot of things outside the Village anyway. So it's something I can do, I can slot half an hour in on Wednesday morning, it means missing croquet, because I play croquet at the same time, but I play croquet on a Saturday anyway.

Iris' 'Contributing Citizen' is positioned alongside other older people in Iris' life and how they enact their roles as contributors to society. She noted that others find the time to contribute, but that she faces significant time restrictions, due to the many other activities she participates in. Due to iPlayed's 30 minute duration, every two weeks, Iris can "slot it in" and this allows her to be a 'Contributing Citizen'. In considering how the arrangement of iPlayed has allowed some participants the opportunity to let their 'Contributing Citizen' be enacted, other people interviewed had determined that their 'Contributing Citizen' would not be fulfilled by participating in iPlayed. In contrast to Cathy earlier, this position highlights that some participants held the role of 'Contributing Citizen' as a high priority role and assigned significant meaning to it in their lives. After iPlayed was considered, for them, the contribution they could make through it was not substantial enough, nor was it addressing a societal need they perceive is as important as others. For example, Esther stories a complex decision making process about whether iPlayed would give her what she needed to become a 'Contributing Citizen'.

> Esther: Because there's a whole different world of needs and health issues and life issues right here which are very fascinating and maybe this is my world now and you know, don't go back there. I didn't really think reading once a week was enough of an involvement to do it and I haven't got the greatest voice really for it. So, I thought, no it's not really right I will do more work with the, you know, within the Village, be more involved in the village, so that was the choice that I made really.

Esther went on to explain how she began to look for opportunities to contribute back to society on a "deeper level". Esther was not only looking to contribute back to society, but

through an analysis of the opportunities available to her, she was attaching meaning to each of these contributory roles. Esther decided that without the opportunity to spend significant time with those she thought truly needed her support she would not be able to forge the sort of deep connection she was looking for. Therefore, Esther saw little value in participating in iPlayed.

> Int.: So you are looking for something that is more, you can have a deeper relationship?
>
> Esther: Yeah I thought so and probably as much with the parent as with the children, because the lives of the parents of people in prison, the one who isn't in prison, is ghastly.

Like Esther, Christopher storied how his contribution to society must be meaningful for him. He sets this role within the context of a busy life, highlighting how making the decision about how he chooses to spend his time is an important decision. Unlike Esther who was looking to spend more time with people in need in order to forge deeper connections, Christopher plans to focus on a separate societal issue, once more time became available to him.

> Christopher: I had ideas once I um reduced my time (…) but I had envisaged getting into something on the environmental front, I feel a bit guilty in a way that I have pretty strong views on climate change and that sort of thing and income inequality and so on, and I feel guilty that I'm not doing anything and I'm thinking, what can I do, um (…) on the other side, I have found this last year or so I have got a bit wobbly.

Christopher describes guilt at not enacting a contributory role. He added later in the transcript: "I must do something" - a statement which encapsulates the sentiment of most of the participants in this research.

The dominant socio-political position on ageing in New Zealand is that of being an active and productive senior citizen. As Rowe and Kahn (1998) stated, successful ageing is

underpinned by a sustained engagement with life. The central premise to the narrative 'Contribution to Society' mirrors this social narrative, as participants in the present research were certain: every single one wanted to make some sort of contribution to New Zealand society. What this narrative identifies is that iPlayed, as a volunteering option, presents a suitable opportunity to participants, and that residents at VaP exercise agency over their decision to partake in the programme or not. With regards to the physical barriers present in older age, for those who believe they are mentally and physically able, iPlayed is seen as a contribution that does not meet their needs at this time, so they choose other ways of enacting the Contributing Citizen. On the other hand, for those who identify that their bodies are declining or that their time is limited, iPlayed represents an ideal vehicle to contribute.

The assumption with active ageing, is that to live successfully in older age, keeping busy and active is positive for society and the individual. Within this narrative, most participants identified their days were very full either with a busy social calendar or with other activities that would be considered 'contributions'. This, therefore, highlights the detailed decision making process that older people undertake as they consider how they may contribute back to society. Related to this point, a difference was identified across either end of the age spectrum of older age. For instance, the 'younger old' (aged 65-79) age group generally sought out a more meaningful opportunity to contribute, than they believed iPlayed could give. Whereas those in the fourth age (80 and over), as identified in the *Life Course Theory* (Laslett, 1989), could enact a Contributing Citizen within iPlayed, and happily contribute back to New Zealand society. iPlayed, therefore, offers a volunteering opportunity that takes into consideration the multiple barriers to engagement older people face, for example, physical, mental and time constraints.

Two personal narratives can be seen to have influenced the present narrative. 'Older People Teach the Young', a narrative where participants storied themselves as guides and

nurturers of the young generations, through educational means (reading) or in more general ways. For some participants, reading to the children within iPlayed therefore was "about the only thing" they could do to contribute back to society. The connection between these two narratives is that in passing on wisdom and ideas to grandchildren, or reading books to the children from Little Wonders, older people are able to adopt a role that delivers a contribution to society. Yet for others, the contribution iPlayed offered was not perceived to be enough. For these people, their Contributing Citizen was being performed either through paid employment, volunteering at other programmes or contributing to the lives of their own grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Others went a step further and assessed the offering of iPlayed as not being substantial enough or covering a social issue they felt strong enough about. The personal narrative that influences this position is that of 'Is This Relationship Working?', a narrative which queried whether the foundations of iPlayed and what it is trying to achieve were satisfactory. From this personal narrative, participants wondered whether quality relationships could materialise from the programme, given the short amount of time it took place over and whether the children were too young to obtain any meaningful benefits from it. A very similar story was told by some within the 'Contribution to Society' narrative, as above. What these two interlinked narratives identify is the meaning that individuals place on a contribution to society. For some individuals it is not enough to provide an opportunity like iPlayed to give back to society, as it is the perceived meaning or value in the opportunity that is of more significance to them.

Plugging the Gap

This narrative is about how older people describe their role with young children today, which has come about because today's parents are often working when their children are in their preschool years. To give the narrative a setting and some context, participants often storied the significance of the first five years to a child's development. This

significance was used to assign meaning and importance to the role that they, and the child daycare facilities, have in relation to young children today.

> Celia: I mean, I feel that preschool is so important, I mean, I was lucky I stayed at home with my children (…) I really think that we need to, because we know that before five, we don't need any more reports or seminars, we know that the years before five are the most important years for children's development and we know what happens at home is really important. And because now that children are in preschools almost from when they are born, I don't know what effect, what that is going to have on children, I have no idea, and probably nobody else has either.

In choosing to share this chronologically nuanced story about staying at home with her preschool aged children, alongside her citing of the significance of the first five years of a child's life, Celia set the scene for the 'Plugging the Gap' narrative. With this, she juxtaposed the current milieu against how things once were and in doing so warned there may be negative consequences for young children and their families in the future. Iris is less diplomatic and provided a pejorative account on the rise of childcare facilities for preschool aged children in New Zealand.

> Int.: What are your thoughts in general about younger kids these days, maybe in comparison to you, your kids?
> Iris: Well I'm anti childcare centres for children of your children's age, no offence. I feel that what a Mum can give a child in that first five years, you are going to benefit at the other end when the child is 15. I do not know and please don't take offence, some parents have their children before they can even crawl and they don't come out of crèche until they go to school. Now, nobody can convince me, that Mum who has worked all day has the time or the energy to put into her child who is also tired, so you give them their tea, if they are lucky they get a story read to them before bed, they get up in the morning you rush them through their breakfast and then the weekend comes and I'm sure there is some compensation and I call it guilt, that you spend all your time in the weekend with children and you lavish them with presents and that's the situation.

Iris shared a narrative of a modern day mother, working all day in paid employment, while her children are in all day care. Like Celia, she is not a fan of the childcare facilities and the implied lack of time mothers and fathers spend with their children as a result of this and their desire or need to be in full-time work. These accounts provide the background for the identity of those who are working in childcare facilities. Celia and Iris suggested that it is childcare facilities that are fulfilling the role of helping to nurture and develop a preschooler, plugging a gap that mothers leave when they go back to work.

Participants also reminded the interviewer about other contextual elements that contribute to how older people are being asked to meet the needs of young children today. For example, Nina and Esther both identified the geographical dispersion of families within New Zealand and how the lack of wider familial contact through the generations has a negative impact on young children.

> Nina: (…) I think it's very good, yes, particularly today when families are more scattered and there's so many other things going on in a child's life. Grandparents, and Aunts and Uncles made up much more of our social life I suppose than a lot of these families today.
>
> Int.: What do you think the impact is of that?
>
> Nina: I think it's serious really, I think you need your roots, you need to understand them, there's I think there's a lot less family influence and much more peer influence today and kids are so different from what we were.

Esther identified that the role of grandparent was traditionally used to meet a societal need, and, like Nina, she recognised that today's grandparents are often separated from their kin and therefore the traditional duties and role in society of grandparents today has diminished. She highlighted the role that grandparents played in their families' lives only a few generations ago, and through this, identified that today the role has all but disappeared.

Esther: Well I think, I mean it's not just nice, it's natural. Like this separation of the age groups that we live with now has never been the norm, the norm has been that the grandparents look after the children because, early times, the multigenerational, the grandparents did a lot of childcare and that's the norm and natural place for a lot of that nurturing and life skills. I don't just mean that sort of skills, but coping skills, um, like go and have a sob to granny about what was going on when your mother might not be quite so helpful and I think we've destroyed that and I think if there is any way we can put that back then we need to somehow and for both the grandparents and the children, because we have no role.

Consequently, within this layered account of an altered social setting, participants in this research gave identities to 'others' in the child's life who are able to plug the gaps that the situation outlined above creates. Childcare facilities are one 'other' that participants described as adopting this role and they also describe older people as contributing in this way. Monty, for example, has no grandchildren living in New Zealand, therefore, he chose to visit Little Wonders of his own accord and has kept up this activity on a regular basis for several years. He also has a close relationship with a local family and has adopted a grandfather role with their children. From within this context, Monty gave meaning to his role as a stand-in grandfather and older person in the lives of children at Little Wonders.

Monty: So that's another relationship that I've got, but that's quite specific and I look after the kids in the school holidays quite often, take them to the pictures, take them to the Zoo, anywhere else that's interesting for them, yeah, so, so I've got that grandfather role, because my grandchildren are all overseas. In fact, I've done more with these local kids than I have done with my own grandchildren.

Int.: Do you miss that?

Monty: Up to a point yes, sometimes I look back what a pity I'm not taking my own grandchildren to football or cricket or looking after them in the holidays sorts of things, it just hasn't been so. (…) I haven't had a lot to do with my grandchildren, so I guess in some ways going over here is another role I suppose in connecting with

younger kids and doing something with them that I've never done with my own grandchildren.

Within this excerpt Monty identified how he is 'Plugging the Gap' for his family friends and the children at Little Wonders, and also how this helps him to fill a gap in his own life. In his self-described role as grandfather, Monty highlighted the common plight of many older people in modern society who have few or no grandchildren living nearby. Monty finds meaning in this grandfather role and in doing is able to stay connected with younger generations, as his own grandchildren live in different countries. Esther shared the same situation and confirms she would be willing to adopt this role, even if the grandchildren were not her own kin. "So ok it might not be my grandchildren but I'm very happy to give that time to somebody else's grandchildren and hope that mine find similar".

When participants set the contextual backdrop to this narrative by outlining the busy lives modern parents live and the rise in number of people choosing to send their children to childcare facilities, they were generating meaning for the role this has created for them. As they adopted the role of stand-in parents for young children today, they addressed the societal changes outlined above with the very thing that the parents cannot give their children, time. In describing this role they have adopted in modern society, they storied their generation as benevolent givers of time, in contrast to the busy lives of today's parents. Bringing this point to life, some participants reflected on their own upbringing and the interaction they had had with their grandparents and the meaning they took from these encounters.

Esther: I lived with my grandparents and I had another grandmother who we spent holidays with and I absolutely doted on all three of them and they were my adults and I just remember that endless time for us. I'd be playing on the floor and one or other of the grandmothers would be sitting, doing her own stuff, knitting or whatever, but she was always there and she would always chat and I would sort of tell

her nonsense about what I was doing, you know, look at my picture, this endless reflection of what I was doing back.

As Esther reflected on the endless time her grandparents provided her with as she grew up, she identified that she is the one with this time to give now. Yet, as mentioned earlier, Esther does not have her own grandchildren around her to give the time to. Other participants storied similar accounts of time available for the young children in their lives, and identified the different sorts of activities they can partake in with their grandchildren, that their parents do not have the time to do. In detailing these accounts, participants continued to build the identity of who they perceived themselves to be, as they plug the gap that today's parents are creating. By sharing stories of their own grandparents, to their own recent experiences, the identity of this person is one with time and capacity to accompany young children through important activities in their formative years.

Int.: (…) Any other skills or particular knowledge or?
Marion: Well when you have them at home you do things like cooking that parents just don't have the time for today and making things. We have a collection of old toys, they just love to sit and play, and we allow them to sit by themselves and play whereas I think life is so busy they're rushing from this thing to that thing, they're in preschool, they're all organised and they're out again, and they don't have time to themselves.

Marion reflected on the tangible nature of the time that she is able to share with her grandchildren and in doing so reminded the interviewer how busy the lives are of young children today. Despite the narrative this contributes to being labelled 'Plugging the Gap', in this instance, Marion described that part of the role she has is to create some space for the young in her care, which is sorely missing from their lives. As she recounted how she is able to bring this space to her family through giving them time, she reminded the interviewer of the reciprocal nature of this activity in relation to her own grandparents.

Marion: I think they see there is another person you can cuddle, that you can relate to, um, they love coming, you know you take them places and spend time with them. Yes, but whether that's the same in a preschool, I don't know, but certainly when you are sitting reading with them, you are giving them more 1:1 attention, yes, which most kids seem to like. (…) I think they are very necessary, because otherwise there's this great whole gap in a child's life if they don't have that older generation, you know you used to grow up with Granny in the house, you know sitting in a corner.

Int.: (…)Yeah because I've spoken to quite a few people here and I would say you have had a lot of older people in your life from a young age. What do you think older people today can bring to younger people?

Marion: Stability, because I think families are so up and down and around and about and changing that it brings a stability, you know, they see you and Grandpa jogging on and it brings a stability, being the same and sort of, we've just got a stability that doesn't seem to be in other relationships.

A changed social milieu has created options for 'others' to plug the gap for today's preschool children. Of note, iPlayed did not feature within this narrative. Instead, participants linked the moral and social capital within the role of grandparent, or that of more meaningful and longstanding relationships with young children, as ways to be engaged and contribute in older age. The previous narrative of 'Contribution to Society' is closely linked to 'Plugging the Gap'. However, 'Plugging the Gap' describes a more meaningful and significant contribution, critical to the wellbeing and prosperity of the nation, as it allows the modern family to operate. At a moral level, older adults also identify that the role of grandparent allows them to provide stability for younger people, as they give them space to enjoy unrushed time and their company. Often drawing on their experiences growing up with grandparents nearby, participants identified a vacant role in society today that they adopt as they know it will contribute significantly to their family and friends. In relation to what it means to age successfully in New Zealand, this narrative highlights the nuanced role of grandparent in terms of providing an opportunity to contribute to society with deep purpose and meaning to the individual.

In ‘Older People Teach the Young’, participants shared a narrative about the reward and enjoyment they obtain from being able to spend time with and nurture younger generations. The present narrative touches on this sentiment, as older people story themselves in a role that has primarily been brought about due to the lack of time parents seem to have for their children in today’s society. Within this role, the key lesson that older people seem to want to provide for younger generations, is that time *can be* available to them. Through the role of grandparent, participants are not only nurturing the young people in their lives with their knowledge and wisdom, they are trying to instil a sense of stability in, what they perceive to be a very hectic world.

It’s There, If They Want It

This narrative tells the story of older adults acutely aware of the knowledge and wisdom they possess, but reticent to impose it on younger generations for a number of reasons. Within this narrative older adults identify themselves and also others as obstacles to whether they share their wisdom or knowledge. For example, some participants state that younger people will be reluctant to take on board the advice or knowledge that an older person might have to offer.

> Int.: [Laughter]..um, so, one thing I am interested in talking about is this idea of generativity, the idea that older generations as part of our life as we develop, we get to a point where we are ready to give back, give to younger generations, to share knowledge, to share wisdom.
> Vida: If they want to know.
> Int.: Yeah.
> Vida: ‘Cos they don't always want to know; they have to find it out for themselves.
> Int.: Hmm.
> Vida: And that, I've reached the stage that I realise that, that they have to find it out for themselves and they do, and they make these amazing discoveries that we could have told them, but that's the way life goes.

Within this passage Vida acknowledged that she has reached a point in her life where she is aware she has knowledge and wisdom, but forcing it on a younger person, she has come to realise, is fruitless. It is through living life for 86 years, that Vida has not only absorbed knowledge, but also wisdom in understanding how younger generations are to be communicated and interacted with. Betty echoes this sentiment by illustrating what she learnt being a parent and then a grandparent.

> Int.: What do you think older people can offer younger people?
> Betty: Wisdom, I suppose, but you know they have their own lives to lead, you don't really interfere.
> Int.: Yeah, have you, do you think that's a thing that you have learnt as you have gotten older?
> Betty: Yes, I think so, ‘cos when you have children of your own, you want them to be top notch don't you, and they're not always and you learn that, they come right in the end.

Many participants also adopted positions which were modest in the way they responded to the idea of passing on wisdom or knowledge to younger generations. On the one hand, as above, participants approached the concept of generativity from the perspective of being able to offer wisdom, due to living a long life and gathering sage observations on the way. Others approached generativity from the angle of being able to pass on knowledge to younger people. From this perspective, many of the participants shared stories about their perceived deficiencies in this regard. The consensus seemed to be that young children today have been born into a very different time and that their knowledge and uptake of technological change, for example, meant that the children were the ones who could do the knowledge sharing. For example, Cathy felt the idea of generativity was an important one, but acknowledged that children today can probably offer older people more. “It's like kaumatua, people going, the wisdom and in some societies that's valued and so on. I think it's very important I really do. I say, don't they ever learn, history repeats itself in whatever form.

I don't feel envious of my grandchildren with the amount of technology they have to cope with, they're more likely to help me than I am them. That's for sure. But if you can somehow get through to them the enthusiasm of doing stuff, of experiencing stuff, trying things out." Cathy talked about generativity generically, but also referenced the technological change and the knowledge young people have to offer her. She concluded this piece by humbly suggesting that if she can model a behaviour of energy and joie de vivre, she is achieving a version of generativity. Janet also talks about the reciprocity of generativity between the two generations: "Well, I don't know about the knowledge thing, I think, they're, I don't know, depends what you mean by knowledge I suppose, I mean they are out there learning all sorts of things that I can't talk to them about. Wisdom, they may or may not want to receive thank you very much. It is there in certain situations, but I think it's very easy to say, we've got this to give we can pass this on, do that, things like that, but I'm not sure how true that is. I think it definitely works both ways, very much so." Here, Janet storied generativity as a reciprocal process, much as Cathy had done previously. Participants all agreed that the process of generativity does not only go one way, rather that older people value and gain from the knowledge that the younger people are able to pass back to them as well.

Within the narrative 'It's There, If They Want It', participants also noted that as they age, they have something to offer, but there is a fine line between giving advice to their grandchildren, while at the same time not insulting their own children, the parents of their grandchildren.

> Int.: But what is it about that idea, like, what do you think older people can give and sort of, what impact can they have on small people in today's age?
> Christopher: Well there is that generation, the family thing and funnily enough I am reminded of some magazine I was reading when I was waiting to have a blood test or something. There was a letter to, not quite an Agony Aunt column, somebody had said that she or he had said something to a grandchild and had promptly been rounded

> on by the mother. “What on earth did she think she was doing?”, suggesting something to the grandchildren and she didn’t get the parents’ permission. I think about that sometimes in my life, I say something to the grandchildren and I think I hopefully am not cutting across the parents on the matter. (…).

This position is closely related to another view identified within this narrative, which is that of the older adult describing that their knowledge and skills are alive in their own children, as they have previously taught them. They identified that it is through their own children, that the act of generativity is being enacted.

> Int.: Yeah, so you are saying kind of, the older you are, I mean you have obviously got a lot to give, but it’s more about what does the child want?
> Maree: Yes, I think I give to my own children, I see quite a lot of them and um, it goes on, and they’re parents now and they talk about what their kids are doing and so on, so the intergenerational thing is with them rather than the younger ones.

As a woman approaching her tenth decade of life, Maree acknowledged that what she has to offer younger generations can be accessed through her own children she raised. She, like all of the other participants, shared stories that related to the way they do or do not influence, family members. It was rare for participants to discuss the notion of sharing wisdom or information with younger people whom they did not know. Maree acknowledged she was well past the age of having anything meaningful to offer a young child who was not related to her, but could do so with her own family members. Janet confirmed this position and in doing so arrived back to the reciprocal nature of knowledge sharing between generations.

> Janet: I'm not motivated to nurture younger generations en masse, no I am definitely not, but my own grandchildren yes and I value the contact enormously. I would hate to be without contact with younger people, not just littlies but younger people in general. I think that the danger is you get you get very narrowed, very restricted views, very intolerant as an older person if you are not in touch with the young. So I

think older people get as much or more value than the children do even, 'cos the children are out there with a variety of people anyway.

Int.: So one aspect of your answer is that it is as much for the older person than it is for the..?

Janet: Definitely, possibly more for the older person.

For many participants within this narrative there is an acknowledgement that knowledge and wisdom resides within the older person and should the younger person request it, or if the opportunity arises, they are willing to share it. Within intergenerational family interactions, older people are very aware of their own children and not wanting to impinge on them as they try to bring up their own children. Furthermore, they acknowledge that wisdom is certainly something they possess, but what constitutes knowledge to pass down is a very different scenario in today's society. Older people story the younger people within this interchange of knowledge as being very active and full of information that the older people, in fact, value obtaining. Technological insights feature within these exchanges, but also the younger person's point of view and how this is very different from most of the people the older person is mixing with. Within this narrative, older people see it as being difficult to share their knowledge and wisdom with those they are not related to, and that within these sorts of exchanges it is more beneficial for the older adult as they value the contact of the younger person as a welcome alternative to their current interactions. As the narrative title suggests 'It's There, If They Want It' is a reciprocal statement, both generations have something to offer the other and it is there if either wants it.

In contrast to the notion that older people must guide and nurture younger generations, within this narrative, participants acknowledge that, today, there are obstacles to this transaction and that the direction of this exchange may have altered. In terms of a purpose to knowledge sharing, this narrative suggests that older adults are less likely to go direct to their grandchildren or great-grandchildren, but maintain this link with their own

children instead. Ageing successfully today is, in part, defined as being socially connected and engaged. 'It's There, If They Want It' describes wisdom and, more specifically, knowledge as being present in *both* older people and the younger generations. In this narrative, older people describe a vastly different environment young children now operate within to the one they grew up in. Navigating modern society is now dependent on a different range of skills, that today's younger people are versed in. Yet, within this narrative older people describe themselves as being open to the knowledge and experiences that younger people possess. This highlights that in terms of ageing successfully older people are willing, and see benefits, in socially engaging and connecting with younger generations. The same was identified with regards to motivation to be part of iPlayed. Within the IGP environment, this narrative suggests that it is less about what the older adults can offer to the young children, but instead the diverse perspectives that the young children can offer the older adults. Through this exchange, the older adult is connected and engaged with a more nuanced society.

'It's There, If They Want It' partially complements the personal narrative of "Older People Teach the Young" as both narratives tell stories about the offering older people believe they have for younger generations. However within the present narrative, older people story themselves as being reticent to share this knowledge or wisdom due to either the younger people not being interested in the offering, or not wanting to get in the way of their own children and how they are choosing to raise and teach their children. 'Older People Teach the Young' talks about older people teaching younger children skills, such as reading, which is slightly at odds with the story that unfolds within the present narrative. Within this narrative, older people acknowledge that whilst they have wisdom, they think that younger people have surpassed them in terms of the knowledge they require to succeed in today's society. In 'Older People Teach the Young', there is an acknowledgement that perhaps with

the excess time some older people have to spend with younger children, they are able to participate in educator roles, including teaching to read, but that as far as the content goes, younger children have more to teach them today. 'Plugging the Gap' identified that due to changing social conditions, older people are seeing that the time they have available to families provides children today with stability and continuity. What all three narratives have in common are stories about knowledge or skills sharing between those who are related, and less so about those who are not. While 'Older People Teach the Young' includes the position of older participants in iPlayed being given the opportunity to pass on a love of reading and good books to the younger children, more often than not, older people find sharing their knowledge or wisdom easier within a kin setting.

Fear of Closing In

This narrative outlines how living in a retirement village signals that life is closing in for residents particularly in relation to mixing with younger generations. Celia described vividly how her world is closing in, as she had had to move to VaP due to an ailing husband. Within this narrative, Celia depicted a world in which her grandchildren no longer exist, significantly threatening her ability for intergenerational contact.

> Celia: What I'm missing now of course is my grandchildren because I am here now. At home I had a big three bedroomed house and our life was, to a certain extent, because we did lots of other things, but I mean nearly every month, I would have one of my family come. Because none of my family live in Wellington and they would bring the grandchildren, so you know (…) I am really missing them now, because I've got two great-grandchildren, I'm missing seeing them because I am not up in my house and so they don't come and stay, they can't come and stay here and so my life is sort of you know, I'm missing out. Now I'm really closing in, this all this going on around there and I just have a husband to look after and either I give up looking after him, or I keep looking after him, but if I give up looking after him there's not much

> left for me anyhow. You know there is not a lot left for me personally, so I feel that it has closed my life down but I'm not, and coming here and leaving my home.

From Celia's position within this narrative she illustrates that moving to a retirement village with a sick husband is truly like her life has begun to close in. She sees the move as completely shutting the door on her ability to see her grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who were a big part of her life when she lived in a private residence and was able to host them. For her, taking these young children out of her life is a unquestionable sign that life has closed in, and that there is little left for her.

Others choose to story the 'Fear of Closing In' narrative as a reminder to themselves about how things could become, particularly if they do not seize opportunities to interact with younger generations. One way they storied keeping their world open was by opting to be part of the iPlayed programme or individually heading over to Little Wonders to interact with the young children. Within these scenarios, they recounted that by proactively mixing with a wide variety of generations, this would contribute to their worlds not closing in.

> Monty: Oh I get a lot of enjoyment out of it, simply because it takes me out of this place. Well I'm out of it a lot, I'm quite independent, I live in a Villa I'm quite independent, I go to the gym, Senior Net, I help at that hospice, I've got plenty of things going, I don't rely on this place for entertainment. But just being with younger kids is another dimension in that process. And being with the kids over there, I find it just a whole different world.

Others storied accounts of interacting with young children outside of VaP and Little Wonders, and due to these arrangements that they were able to keep their world open, the antithesis of closed in.

> Christopher: (…) I think I enjoy it, it's variation. I mean one of the things about being here (…) That's the case with doing something with the grandchildren, it's doing something different, mix and match. I mean I could do something with my own age every day, but I don't get too involved with things here.

Not only was being with younger generations classed as a variation, others chose to highlight the psychological variation that came with spending time with young people.

> Miles: When you are talking about the company of older people, I should be careful here, they like to talk about their illnesses. Whereas you get quite a different attitude with younger kids, they tell you what they've been doing during the week and the exciting things that they wouldn't tell Mum and Dad. And I find out what's going on with the family, and they're all very busy. Course, I've got three teenage grandchildren as well and they're all about 10 minutes from here, so, it just quite a refreshing thing to get away from older people, I tend to work with older people too you see.

Miles' position highlighted the multiple options available to residents at VaP. Whether they chose to lead an active life within the Village, including seeing the children at Little Wonders through iPlayed, or whether they keep up an active life outside of the Village with their grandchildren is a choice not necessarily within the control of some of the residents. Miles reflected that some residents may have always lived an introverted existence and that being within the Village this character trait may be enabled.

> Miles: (…) I said we see so many of the, I call them inmates here because they lock us in so we can't run away, but the inmates here there's a lot who are very introverted, and they probably have never been like that but they tend to close their world around them and to me they're the sort of people who should be getting over to what's a name [Little Wonders], but I'm not sure they know where to start.

Miles described the different sorts of people who reside in a retirement village and shared one tactic they could employ in order to not let their worlds close in, which was taking part in iPlayed. As is commonly evidenced within this narrative, the participants describe interacting with young children as one way they can prevent their worlds from closing in. Whether it is through interacting with the children at Little Wonders alongside their own role as grandparent, or whether it is only through the iPlayed experience, the 'Fear of Closing In' can be prevented by some intergenerational contact. Furthermore, for those who some

perceive to be introverted, the opportunity that iPlayed presents is potentially rewarding, for those who choose to take part in it.

Despite the increase in the number of older people living in retirement villages, the 'Fear of Closing In' narrative suggests that there are many tactics residents use within these sorts of environments to stay connected with people of other ages. The New Zealand Government includes social integration within the *NZPAS* (MSD, 2001). This narrative highlights that older people seek the company of other generations outside of VaP, or choose to participate in iPlayed, in order to create a variety in the communities and ages of people they come in contact with. This narrative also highlights that older people are motivated to engage in this sort of activity because the different perspectives bring them pleasure, another aspect to ageing well in today's society.

This narrative is strongly related to the 'Life Giving' narrative, as the vitality and the variation that young children offer residents of a retirement village is precisely what participants described could counter the 'Fear of Closing In'. What this narrative paints is a story of how to keep mentally stimulated and interested within an environment that has the potential to stifle. Residents talk about needing variation, needing to "get out" and to keep activities up that expose them to different attitudes, environments and ages. In 'Life Giving' residents storied how being with the young children gave them vitality. How the physical contact, including their smells, with the young children was a welcome relief to continually being with older people. They also spoke about the psychological benefits of these exchanges and how the verbal interactions with the children made them think differently about the world around them.

As far as the narrative goes, to age successfully New Zealand's older adults must be engaged in the societies they live within, be active and productive. The narratives identified within this chapter are stories about a group of people who are significantly influenced by

this narrative, every single participant articulated a desire to want to make a contribution to their world. However, participants demonstrate high levels of agency over how they choose to do this. Depending on their age within the older age spectrum and the barriers they face, they ascribe different meanings to the opportunities to contribute that are available to them. The role of grandparent or great-grandparent cannot be underestimated in this regard. Within the narratives it was described as a vital cog in the machinations of modern families and their lives, thereby providing a valuable opportunity to contribute, be active and engaged. With regards to social capital, grandparenting or great-grandparenting offers older people a rich and rewarding experience, the same cannot be said always, for non-kin interactions.

iPlayed is storied within these narratives as one way some older adults choose to contribute back to society, for those with physical and time constraints in particular. Furthermore, for the growing number of those choosing to live within in a retirement village, iPlayed is seen as one way to keep them engaged and active within the wider community. It is clear from these narratives that older adults value the perspectives and vitality of younger generations; demonstrating an inclination and enthusiasm for intergenerational relations as a way of connecting to the communities that they live in. While participants acknowledge iPlayed is a contribution of sorts, it is recognised as being limited in terms of the depth of exchange that kin relationships offer.

Chapter Ten: Reflexivity in Action

This chapter reflects on my role as researcher and how I influenced the narratives previously identified from the interview data. In reviewing the transcripts through a reflexive lens, it is evident that aspects of who I am as a person, adopting a paradigmatic approach to parts of my interviews and information I chose to reveal about myself to some participants shaped the information that was presented. Also, throughout the analysis process, I have identified how my working history and present role may have shaped one narrative in particular. The first point this chapter will cover is the inductive-paradigmatic approach I took with the interviews, where I purposively asked participants about their views on the concept of generativity in relation to young children. Evidence of this can be seen in 'Older People Teach the Young', 'Life Giving', 'Contributing Citizen' and 'It's There, If They Want It'. Generativity as a concept featured heavily throughout many narratives, indicating a strong influence on results.

Due to the nature of the work I was undertaking with participants – researching their views to contribute towards a Doctor of Clinical Psychology thesis, a second area of influence on the narratives was identified. First, that education was prominent within the 'Older People Teach the Young' and furthermore and in relation to this point, mental health as a subject position was adopted within some narratives, for example in 'Life Giving'. In relation to this I also consider where I am on the journey to becoming a Clinical Psychologist, my personal style and the training I am receiving. In 'Fear of Closing In' and 'Plugging the Gap' for example, the way the interviews were conducted created an environment where participants felt comfortable enough with me to either share personal and emotional stories or to challenge 'my generation' who are abandoning their children to go back to work.

Another key area of influence was the age gap between myself and participants. This age gap highlighted generational differences between myself and participants on many levels.

The key part to this was when I sometimes revealed I was a mother to two young children which strongly influenced the 'Plugging the Gap' narrative. This narrative tells a story of working mothers in today's society and the, sometimes negative, changes to family life this is now bringing. Participants used this narrative to describe the ways mothers today either use them to help run their busy lives, or child daycare facilities. Given my children are in this sort of care, the relationship that established between myself and participants in regards to these sorts of conversations impacted the narratives that were being presented. There were times when I felt like I was either colluding with the participant to solicit their views on the subject, or defending my generation.

Considering my role as researcher reflexively, the last significant area of influence I identified was that as I was interviewing participants and undertaking analysis I tended to approach the iPlayed programme critically. In doing so I contributed to the narrative 'Is This Relationship Working?' and the positions that appeared within it. Furthermore, while I acknowledge this research's aim was not to evaluate this programme, my background in corporate communications has potentially influenced the way I receive and want to process information about programmes. Each aspect of my role as a researcher and how it may have impacted on and contributed to the narratives I identified in the previous two chapters is now outlined.

Generativity and a Paradigmatic Approach

In preparing this thesis I reviewed the literature on intergenerational programmes throughout the world and a reoccurring benefit of participating for the older participants emerged. Often when taking part in programmes similar to iPlayed, older adults were found to increase their sense of being 'generative'. The definition of this term is "a need to nurture and guide younger people and contribute to the next generation" (E. H. Erikson, 1950). Furthermore, I identified a significant amount of research stating that generativity could

occur between people who were not family and between young and old who are separated by multiple generations, and not just parents and children. Therefore, I wanted to understand the views of these research participants on this particular subject, not only in relation to participating in iPlayed but also generally and how the concept featured in their day to day lives. At some point in each interview, I explicitly outlined the concept of 'generativity' usually describing it as I have done with Florence below:

> Int.: You are obviously very positive about young children, and older people mixing. One thing I am looking at is a concept called generativity and that's about older adults giving back to younger generations, customs, knowledge wisdom to smaller people. What do you think about that as a thing in a general sense?
>
> Florence: That would be with older children?
>
> Int.: I'm looking at younger children, but yes, generally..
>
> Florence: I think it's a great idea.

Most participants responded to the concept of generativity in a positive way, as Florence has above although some disagreed with the idea. For example, the excerpt below shows me explaining the concept once more, but this time in relation to intergenerational programmes.

> Int.: Because part of these programmes, there's quite a bit of research around the world about why they are good or bad or whatever and quite a common theme is this concept of generativity, about kind of older adults giving back their wisdom, their skills, and their cultural knowledge to younger people, what's your thoughts on that as an idea?
>
> Graham: Um, I've not really thought about it, I would have my doubts about it. I think that when you start getting that going you are running the risk of perpetuating a lot of prejudices. May even use the term vendettas in particular situations, which, you know the children at that stage are very vulnerable. An adult, I suspect maybe more a male than a female, I don't know why, impacts on their ideas more than you know, you've got to be very careful about how they impact. But then I'm a total atheist and I think

churches and big businesses are half the problems in the world, but still, that's me, I wouldn't pass that onto the kids.

When participants were asked about generativity in terms of what they could offer the generation of children aged under five in New Zealand, participants were reticent regarding what they had to offer. My line of questioning on this topic contributed to the narrative: 'It's There, If They Want It', where participants spoke about the fact they believed they were being generative with very young children through their own children, as it was through the skills they had taught them that they were guiding the younger generation. An important point in relation to this is that the average age of participants in this research was 81 years old. What this meant is that very few participants had grandchildren aged under five and, in fact, quite a number of participants were great-grandparents or expecting to become so. Therefore, generativity between themselves and very young children was quite a distant concept for many participants due to their age and the lack of contact they have with small children. In fact, in this narrative participants adopted a position that stated young children in today's society can, in fact, teach them more due to the technological change their generation has grown up with.

Despite being interested in whether generativity was occurring within the iPlayed reading experiences, I chose not to explicitly ask the question "do you believe generativity is happening between generations within iPlayed". What I did do however, was look closely at the interview data for any stories participants were sharing or positions they were adopting that featured generative aspects. Within 'Older People Teach the Young' a position was adopted by some participants about the importance of good books in a child's life and that through iPlayed they were able to hopefully instil this idea with the child. Within 'Older People Teach the Young' participants were more positive about how iPlayed interactions allowed young people to interact with older people and that this ignites a 'continual learning

process' between the two generations. Within this narrative, some participants identified that in showing young children new skills, they also gain. However, within the 'Contributing Citizen' narrative, a position was adopted that described iPlayed as a programme that was unable to provide them with the level of generativity they perceived they had to offer young children. What was interesting was that, like the position adopted in 'It's There, If They Want It', older adults described generativity in reverse terms as they believed they were gaining and learning from the young children within the 'Life Giving' narrative. The narrative described all the ways the experience gave the older participants life, including how the young children help them to think about things in a different way. In this narrative, and 'It's There, If They Want It' participants downplayed their generative offering for young children and emphasised what the young children actually bring to them.

Therefore, the concept of generativity was evident in many of the narratives I identified. Due to the line of questioning I took and the concepts I kept in mind as I reviewed the narratives, I strongly influenced how generativity featured and influenced these results.

The Importance of a Good Education

As part of the recruitment process, participants received information about the study which included the line from the Information Sheet (see Appendix B) "This research forms part of my Doctorate of Clinical Psychology which I am undertaking at Massey University". From the first introduction to the study, participants were primed that this was a post-graduate thesis and that it was contributing towards a psychology qualification. Furthermore, when I talked each participant through the project face to face in order to get informed consent, I reiterated where I was from and what this research was contributing to, as above.

It was my impression that this information influenced some of the narratives participants shared in that often topics were brought up which linked to the importance of a

good education or the significance of learning as people grow. The obvious narrative where this was evident was within ‘Older People Teach the Young’. Within this narrative people adopted the position of the importance of reading and books in a child’s development, but the narrative also covered other ways in which older people can impart knowledge and encourage learning with younger people. Also, within the interviews there were multiple references to participant’s own educational history, for example, Enid commented on her poor education:

> Enid: I can talk to people, the only thing is, I feel because I have never had, because I have never had a wonderful education, I don’t feel a very intellectual person and I meet people here who I have discovered went to University and a lot of things they talk about, I don’t always understand them.

Or Maree wondering whether I knew much about Piaget’s theories she had learnt through her University training.

> Int.: Do you think that young children today are the same as they ever have been?
>
> Maree: Oh yes, children are the same. I mean it's what you do to them that is different, but the child itself is the same. As I say, I got very interested in Piaget's writing and looking at children of all the people that wrote, the children confirm what he says, more than anybody else, I think he had the right.
>
> Int.: What was his core tenet? Sorry I'm asking you to rack your brain.
>
> Maree: I can't remember.
>
> Int.: I just don't know, I will check him out.
>
> Maree: Well you would've done him in your theory wouldn't you?
>
> Int.: No, I've heard about him, but I don't know much.

While the references above are not explicitly tied to any one narrative, it is my view that in being a post-graduate research student the ‘Older People Teach the Young’ narrative was either influenced by the fact I might have been perceived as an ‘academic’, or because I identified more strongly with the stories being told.

The fact that I am studying Clinical Psychology was explicitly explained prior to the interview commencing and seemed to influence several of the narratives. For example, in 'Life Giving', I often attempted to extract how the iPlayed experience made participants feel. I ended up asking questions that were somewhat leading towards an emotional or psychologically slanted response. Examples of these include: "So, afterwards, how did you feel?" or "You are still getting out it, the fun and .." or "So, when you are in the sessions with the children, what is going on for you, if you had to pinpoint what was good about it, what is it emotionally, what's happening inside Florence?" 'Life Giving', unsurprisingly, included information that covered the stories that people told in relation to this line of questioning, including increased self-worth, joy and feeling needed and wanted.

On a more general point in relation to psychology, often participants were very forthcoming with their current mental state, or their concerns about their current life. My interviewing style was to gain rapport with participants, which is both a personal style and also a significant part of the Clinical Psychology applied training in preparation for practising as a Clinical Psychologist. Due to this approach, whether I was able to uncover information that perhaps another researcher could not is a point worth considering. The narrative of 'Fear of Closing In', for example, included very personal stories about how some participants feel their world is closing in around them, and how involving themselves with programmes like iPlayed gives them some variety in their day. Also, in 'Plugging the Gap' for example, several participants felt comfortable enough with me to be honest about their views on mothers of children my age and that they should be with their children at home. Whether they would have been comfortable to say that to another researcher is impossible to tell, but the style adopted within my interviews was to establish rapport and to create a climate for honest and meaningful stories to be shared.

A Generational Difference

I am a mother to two children (aged two and four at the time of the interviews taking place). In some of the interviews, I shared that information if the conversation naturally veered there. However, in sharing this information, particularly with female participants, the narrative of 'Plugging the Gap' was distinctly influenced. Within this narrative participants told a story about the changing geographical and social structures that young families are operating within in modern society. Also as part of this narrative reference was often made about mothers going back to work and the possible impact that the participant thought this was having on families. 'Plugging the Gap' referred to the way in which either Grandparents, intergenerational programmes or childcare facilities (like Little Wonders) are plugging the gap that mothers and busy parents are creating. How participants felt they were individually 'Plugging the Gap' was by picking up duties such as evening baby-sitting, taking children to various after school activities and stepping in to help families that were 'too busy' to do all they had committed themselves to. Some participants commented on the number of activities that their grandchildren were being asked to do, and the pressures this placed on the family and the child. In response to this I was aware that I found myself wanting to stand up for 'my generation' by challenging some of these generalisations that were being made, yet often I did not as I did not want to break the relationship we had formed within the interview and jeopardise further information gathering. For example, the following comes from Marion regarding her two young grandchildren she recently spent three months with:

> Marion: We allow them to sit by themselves and play whereas I think life is so busy they're rushing from this thing to that thing, they're in preschool, they're all organised and they're out again, and they don't have time to themselves.

In another generational comparison, participants spoke about children being more outspoken, confident and demanding than either the children they brought up, or themselves

as children. In talking about ‘children of today’ and remembering I had disclosed I was a mother to two young children, I found myself at times colluding with the participant with regards to this ‘unruly generation’. I believe my motives in this instance were to state a contrasting generational position as I felt the entire generation was being unjustly maligned, and to also continue to establish rapport with the participant. A typical exchange that typifies this point follows.

> Iris: You know like yesterday we went to a music store and I was highly embarrassed by my two well brought up 14 and 11-year-old, one picked up a banjo or something and one picked up a guitar and they both played them, and I said, if you are not buying those instruments you don’t play them, put them down. Alf went over to the banjo and said if you drop it and break it, I've got to buy it and he went over to banjo and it was $3,500. When we got out of the shop I said, look, I don’t know what Mum lets you do, but I don’t want you picking things up and playing it and Jackson said, well we wanted to know what it sounded like. I said, if you were going to buy it then you could try it out. But you know lots of children would do that and they'd never be told, I mean the shopkeepers must despair.
>
> Int.: But you do, you see children in shops don't you, they just run riot and Mums don’t say anything? Maybe it's linked to that guilt thing you were talking about, to tell them off, they feel like they, I don't know, I'm hypothesising.

With this sort of sentiment about the younger generation of today, another narrative was being influenced ‘Willing to Compromise’. Within this narrative participants spoke of how they accept that young children are more boisterous than generations before, but as they have aged, they have mellowed in the way they discipline and interact with younger children. Once more, throughout these exchanges I was reminded that I was the generation of parents that participants were suggesting were parenting children in a way that meant they are behaving markedly worse than previous generations.

> Int.: Do you think that preschoolers are any different today to children of your generation?

Marion: I think they're more undisciplined, I don't think they know the difference between right and wrong a lot of the time.

Int.: Are you answering that based on your three months spent with your grandchildren recently, or just in general?

Marion: In general, but a lot of my three months too. Most of my children have understood that there needs to be a discipline, not a hard discipline but there needs to be, because we had the conversation and I introduced her to some books I thought it was better to have some rules and children like rules, but the two aren't managing that very well because my son is, he's a brilliant man, but he fires very easily.

I was less inclined to feel an emotive response to defend 'my generation' within these sorts of exchanges, as the information being shared was usually very specific to the individual's family. However, I was also aware that in order to encourage as much information as possible from participants it was probably best I stay as neutral on the subject as possible.

A final aspect to this interpersonal influence was the impact of childcare facilities on children's wellbeing and behaviour. Upon hearing I was a mother to two young children one participant, for example, kept repeating 'no offense to you, because your children are probably in daycare' as she proceeded to pass her judgement on the ills of childcare for young children. As Little Wonders is such as presence within the VaP complex and the programme of iPlayed, child daycare was always likely to be mentioned within the interviews. However, the discussion about the perceived impact of these facilities on young children was something I was interested in identifying given my own circumstances. For participants who knew I had two young children, it was also an opportunity to remind me of 'my generation'. In comparison to today, participants recounted their stories of bringing up children at home or taking them to Plunket, Community Centres and the opportunities this gave for interacting with their children and helping to develop them. Once more the 'Plugging the Gap' narrative was influenced as participants made it very clear that parents

these days are resorting to child daycare facilities to help them deliver what they need to their families.

Accentuate the Negative

I noticed throughout the transcripts that when negative aspects of the programme were identified by a participant, I found myself drawn to them and sought to extrapolate on the ideas in subsequent interviews. Sometimes the words I used to do this were leading, for example with regards to the frequency of the programme I asked a participant "So to that point, the iPlayed programme is 30 minutes every two weeks, they rotate the children, so there's not necessarily a continuity of relationship, do you see that as a failing?" In other examples I asked a participant "What would you do differently with the programme?", possibly insinuating that in its current form it was not appropriate. Due to this approach, the narrative of 'Is This Relationship Working?' was influenced. This narrative tells a story about the basics of a strong and stable relationship and compares iPlayed's to that. However, a position that was described within this narrative was that of 'Does it Matter?', indicating that what is perceived as important in a usual relationship, may not be relevant within the iPlayed format.

With regards to a critical position when considering iPlayed, I am conscious that as someone in an academic field I am trained to cast a critical eye over information for review. Furthermore, I am aware that when I consider a programme like iPlayed I am setting it amongst dominant social and political narratives and trying to make sense of it. By taking this position, it is not surprising I identified and explored the criticisms of the programme that were shared.

Another final aspect to how I may have influenced this narrative is my background prior to Clinical Psychology in corporate communications. Within this industry, programmes

are constantly being launched and their successes and failings are then measured to ensure that key stakeholders can see how the programme is contributing to the relevant goals and strategy. Coming from this environment, it is likely that part of me wanted to identify information that could help the people running iPlayed to tweak the programme, if necessary, in order to improve it from its current state. In doing so, I may have created focus on aspects of iPlayed that do not warrant this focus. With 'Does it Matter?' I was left with the idea that despite some of the ponderings by mainly those not on the programme, any interaction between young and old is beneficial. The positions held within 'Is This Relationship Working?' therefore, including stability, time and relevant age are perhaps the goal of an entirely different programme.

This chapter has revealed the intrinsic nature of researcher and research and the influence each have on one another. At each step of the research process I made decisions which tacitly and overtly influenced the findings of this study.

Chapter Eleven: Discussion

This research set out to understand the perspectives of residents of a New Zealand retirement village regarding intergenerational programmes with preschool aged children. To achieve this, the questions it aimed to answer were: 1) What is the experience of iPlayed from the perspective of residents at Village at the Park? 2) What do older people think about IGPs? 3) What are older people's views on generativity with preschool aged children? 4) How do older people describe their experiences with preschool aged children? The results will now be discussed in four sections reflecting each research question. These findings will be compared and contrasted to the current body of research and the social forces that have shaped the narratives. When the findings of this research are placed within the body of literature on this subject and understood within the current social milieu, the implications for iPlayed can be identified and they feature later on in this chapter. For researchers considering investigating this area, the chapter closes with reflections on how the present research was carried out and how the subject area could be studied differently.

Experiencing iPlayed

The present study found the iPlayed experience as being a multi-faceted life giving opportunity for older people. This finding included simple joy through being with the young people, complemented by psychological and physical benefits. Beyond these responses to being with the children, the older adults recognised the iPlayed experience as a fleeting encounter and no deeper meaning was assigned to it. Within the environment of a retirement village, participating in iPlayed was described as being able to counter the fear of being closed in and stay connected to an external community. Participants also described adopting particular roles within iPlayed in order to enjoy the experience, a unique finding within the literature and one that is a reminder that IGPs are not an activity for all older adults. These findings are now discussed within the context of the existing research.

The multiple levels of meaning that older people gave to the IGP experience with regards to life giving differs from previous studies. Other research has identified that by being around young children, older adults have an opportunity to observe and enjoy the youthful exuberance of preschoolers and that through this exchange the adult is reminded of life and vivacity (Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Skropeta et al., 2014; Weintraub & Killian, 2007). A typical example of how this narrative appears in research is how older adult IGP participants feel a "charge" and "joy" at being around the children, as their enthusiasm is vitalising (Eggers & Hensley, 2005, p. 95). However, the current research also identified how IGPs give older people an opportunity to experience a physical interaction with preschool aged children, and this is often missing from the lives of those in this age bracket, particularly those living in a retirement village. For example, in the current research, only three of the 18 participants had any contact, at all, with children aged under five outside an involvement with iPlayed. This finding is supported by Ruggiano (2012) where older adults were observed smiling and patting the children affectionately as they passed by them. Mood enhancement or simple joy in seeing the children has previously been identified in other works where experiences and outcomes of participating in an IGP for the older participants were the focus (Doll & Bolender, 2010; Heyman & Gutheil, 2008; Ruggiano, 2012). The findings from this study complement the body of literature about older people interacting with preschoolers within IGPs: older people find the experience life affirming in multiple ways.

Skropeta et al. (2014) identified that older adults felt some value in the experience of interacting with young children through an intergenerational playgroup, but that, like the present research, the motivation to volunteer appears to be less about the young children, and more about the enjoyment for the older adult. In contrast to the powerful public narrative of older people having to contribute back to society as they age, in order to not be a burden on society, iPlayed participants describe a slightly different encounter. Through participating in

iPlayed it is they who feel joy and they acknowledge the limitations of the exchange. Some state that a passion for reading and good books may be an outcome of iPlayed for the young children, but they more commonly specified the fleeting 30 minutes of pleasure that *they* themselves enjoy.

iPlayed was also identified by participants as a chance to reclaim some of the social identity lost after moving into a retirement village and a way of preventing an inevitable retreat from society. This finding is indirectly linked to the experience of participating in iPlayed as all of those contributing to this narrative did not participate in the programme, however, in most cases, they had created opportunities to interact with younger people elsewhere. These participants described their interactions with young people and how they provided them not only physical variation, but social variety, for example different topics and paces of conversation. Skropeta et al. (2014) also identified this, finding that participating in an IGP was a surprise to some upon entry to living in an aged care facility, as they assumed they would only have older people to socialise with. Within the current study, residing in a retirement village was defined as a negative structuring force; living in this environment meant that previous intergenerational networks had to be abandoned. However, iPlayed was storied as an opportunity to counter this position. The present research has identified that by giving retirement village residents a formal opportunity to mix with younger generations, connections will be nurtured within the local community, confronting the shared narrative of being closed in. This finding is of relevance to retirement village operators as they seek to encourage older people to live within these environments that some perceive to be isolated. There is very little research available on IGPs within retirement village settings, nevertheless there has been a recent push to ‘marketise’ the social service sector (Simpson & Cheney, 2007). The emphasis within this approach, from the public-facing messages, has been a shift from healthcare to lifestyle, or from hospital to hospitality (Biggs, Bernard, Kingston, &

Nettleton, 2000; Simpson & Cheney, 2007). Operators within this industry are encouraging a narrative that describes younger old people (aged 55 and over) engaged in positive and active ageing pursuits at their residences. Programmes like iPlayed therefore, fit within the narrative operators are seeding, that maintaining a life outside of the village is entirely possible, but there are also multiple activities on-site should they wish to partake in them (Metlifecare, 2016; Ryman Healthcare, 2016).

Participants also described the sort of identities people adopted in order to maximise their iPlayed experience. Eggers and Hensley (2005) identified a similar theme – that it is not possible to reach all older adults with these sorts of programmes, and that many older adults do not feel comfortable in the social spaces of this age group. However, they also noted that, even so, some participants who had very limited interactions with young children enjoyed the time they spent with them. Ruggiano (2012) also identified that some older adults found the young children too loud and that they bother them when they are sharing facilities. Within this study, some older adults admitted that as they had aged they had lost their patience with younger children. Where the current research deviates from the existing literature is the identification of the role people adopted within iPlayed of 'Tolerant Disciplinarian'. Heyman and Gutheil (2008) identified a related theme however, where they found some older adults were unable to complete some of the intergenerational activities they had scheduled due to noise distractions. What these and the present study's findings suggest is that participation in an IGP with very young children is not to every older person's liking. Instead, by adopting a particular identity within the intergenerational interaction, the exchange is perceived more positively by some.

Attitudes Towards iPlayed and IGPs

Participants in the current study challenged the way iPlayed is currently being run including the length, frequency, the age of the children and the lack of stability older adults would bring to the younger participants due to potential death or illness of the older people participating. These responses were influenced by external forces including the 'successful ageing' idiom that older age is a time to be productive and contribute back to society, and the reality that families are becoming more geographically separated then ever before. For those outside of iPlayed, there was a question about whether any meaningful identity through participation in iPlayed is possible. For them, iPlayed does not represent a place where they can contribute to society. Yet for others, challenged by some of the barriers to successful ageing, such as frailty, participating in iPlayed is the only vehicle they have for contributing. Furthermore, many participants in the present research are in the older-old age group, with no contact with preschool aged children at all, even in their own families. For these people therefore, the brief encounter with children from Little Wonders is enough. This research has highlighted the link between perceived meaningfulness and volunteering in older age as identified by others previously, and places IGPs within that context. These findings will now be reviewed within the current body of literature on the subject.

Comparing the iPlayed programme length and frequency (every two weeks for half an hour) with other IGPs between preschool aged children and older adults, it is the briefest and most irregularly run, alongside the IGP researched by Morita and Kobayashi (2012). Of the comparable research available IGPs are often conducted at a shared site, for example an adult daycare facility that has invited children in, and this means interactions are many times in a day (Doll & Boldender, 2010; Salari, 2002; Bellamy & Meyerski, 2011; Ruggiano, 2012; Weintrub & Killian 2006), or at least weekly (Sakurai et al., 2016; Eggers & Hensley, 2005; DeVore & Aeschlimann, 2016). The majority of IGPs outlined above resulted in positive

outcomes for the older participants, but in contrast, Salari (2012) observed multiple IGPs at an adult daycare facility and the multiple daily visit programme was found to be too much for some of the older adults. Unlike the environment iPlayed takes place in however, this was also a shared site and the older adults had expressed their frustration at their inability to escape the activities and noise associated with the children.

As well as the frequency and duration, the nature of the intergenerational interactions varies greatly, and some themes can be associated to the type of activity and participant experiences or outcomes. For instance, Doll & Bolender (2010) found older adults were left with a strong sense of feeling needed and valued after multiple opportunities to mix every day and a wide range of activities including exercise, reading and special events were conducted. Bellamy and Meyerski (2011) also identified multiple 'loving' exchanges between the older and younger participants in their research, who were able to join in activities including singing, arts and craft and jewellery making. Morita and Kobayashi (2012) compared a performance-based IGP (children sing and dance) with a social-oriented IGP (older adults and children play games together). They identified that the more meaningful the interaction, for example if the adult is given an opportunity to nurture or mentor a young child by passing on cultural information through games in this instance, a sense of feeling valued or needed was created. A key and related finding Tabiuchi and Miura (2015) and Tabuchi and colleagues (2015) identified, is how important the younger generations' perceived attitude (empathetic for example) within the IGP exchange are with regards to whether or not they felt "generative" afterwards or during the IGP.

While the present study did not ask residents of VaP what they would want from an IGP, Cook and Bailey (2013) did and found that people wanted the intergenerational interactions to be time-limited, have purpose and provide an opportunity for both parties to be

generative. An important point to note is that within this study, the children were of school age and the older adults sought and received feedback that they were able to contribute to the children's education and positively impacted the child's development. Looking to a future where the number of older adults in the population will significantly increase, Sellon (2014) identified that in order to engage the baby boomer cohort to carry out their 'Contributing Citizen', intergenerational volunteering opportunities must be meaningful. This finding has been replicated elsewhere (Martinez et al., 2006; Tang & Morrow-Howell, 2008) and indicates that for the younger cohort entering older age, volunteering opportunities should be created as opportunities for older people to give back to the community they live in as it is a major motivation to continue volunteering. Participants in the current study however, see their involvement in iPlayed as an opportunity for them to enjoy themselves, seek a short benefit and it is generally not driven by a need to 'give back' to society. This finding serves as a reminder, as Minkler (2000) posited, that a good late life is about flourishing and growing in whatever ways are possible for the individual.

In the present study, participants accepted that iPlayed was not necessarily creating meaningful, long-standing relationships, but that the joy and pleasure in the short exchange was likely to be enough for those participating. This finding was also identified in Skropeta et al. (2014), where, in the face of a lack of family contact, the intergenerational exchange led to enjoyment in an environment that provided a mix of generations. As the Little Wonders' children are rotated at each session, it is highly unlikely an older adult will read to the same child repeatedly and therefore build any sort of meaningful bond with the child. In a related finding, Park (2014) identified the importance of sufficient time is important to consider as a factor in achieving the desired outcomes of an IGP, as it takes time to trust non-family members.

How Generativity Was Constructed

This research has also explored the concept of generativity with older adults in New Zealand, for the first time. In relation to the iPlayed experience, some participants shared stories about how they could gently guide and nurture the younger generation through a passion for books. Also, participants identified that generativity, in terms of connecting to society, was able to be enacted through their involvement. Separate to iPlayed, familial generative exchanges were identified as operating indirectly via the parents of the preschoolers and not via an exchange of cultural artefacts, wisdom or knowledge with the young child. In relation to this, participants acknowledged that whilst they have accumulated wisdom and knowledge over their lifetime, it should not be forced upon the young. Instead it should be available only if the young child seeks it out. Furthermore, in relation to non-family preschoolers, the current study identified that older people believe there is little opportunity to guide and nurture these children, instead generativity is a reversed exchange, where the older person can benefit from the younger person's knowledge. These findings have potential implications for the iPlayed programme and these will be covered shortly.

Through iPlayed, some participants were able to gently guide and nurture the younger generation through a passion for books. In comparison, older participants in other IGP programmes have described being able to increase their generative fulfilment through book reading with younger generations (Carlson, Seeman, & Fried, 2000; Glass et al., 2004; Gruenewald et al., 2016). The difference between these findings and the current study, is that these IGPs were held with older children compared to the children in iPlayed. Therefore, it is possible that the age of iPlayed's younger participants was a factor in the inability of the older adults to describe a generative experience within the present research. In other research, participation in an IGP has enabled the older person to feel 'needed' or 'wanted' (Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Weintraub & Killian, 2007), which was not identified in the present study. In

research with IGPs that were similar to iPlayed, participants were able to create a role for themselves, where the meaning of the work was so important to them that they felt they were caregivers for the children (Weintraub & Killian, 2007). Within this specific IGP, the children were encouraged to call older adults 'Grandma or Grandpa' and the activity took place in a shared site facility. More will follow later regarding the implications this result has on how iPlayed is designed and carried out.

The Contributing Citizen narrative identified that older people in New Zealand are keen to contribute back to the country in any way that is possible for them. In this way, participating in this particular IGP gave participants an opportunity to do this. As generativity has latter been defined as not only about nurturing and guiding younger generations, participating in this IGP enables some older people to engage with the community they live within. This finding is supported by Goodman (2011) who found that participating in an IGP within a kindergarten environment helped older participants feel connected to this community. In IGPs conducted with older children, whilst not specifically sought as a research variable Anstadt (2009), Carson and colleages (2011) and Zucchero (2010) all were able to identify that participation in these sorts of programmes helps older people feel more socially connected to the places they come from.

Outside of iPlayed, generativity was constructed in complex ways. With regards to the role of grandparent or great grandparent, participants recounted becoming close to their grandchildren through the gift they gave or continue to give them, of time. Like the present study, other research has highlighted that grandparents identify the time and space that they can provide to their young grandchildren, and that through this it can lead to strong and enduring bonds with their grandchildren (Jenkins, 2010). However in terms of assigning generative meaning (nurturing and guiding) to the interaction, participants in the present

study identified this as occurring with their own children, as they saw themselves helping the parent get back to work to provide income for the family.

Participants shared the multiple ways they interact with their young grandchildren which has a slight generative function. Whether it was through play or conversation, for example, participants shared a narrative about how it is possible to be generative with preschool aged children, particularly if they are related to them. Generativity is positioned in the current study as a growing bond with young children, not necessarily the passing on of cultural artefacts, wisdom or knowledge**.** Despite there being some theoretical support for the notion that older people should be guiding the very young (Vaillant, 2002; Vanderven, 2004; Snyder & Clary, 2004; Wiles & Jayasinha, 2013) and findings within IGP outcomes research which also support this (Herrmann et al. 2005; Kuehne, 1992; Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Andreoletti & Howard, 2006), participants in the current study did not share a strong narrative of generativity when interacting with young children. Supporting this finding, a New Zealand Families Commission study found that the experience of grand parenting was described as being full of love or aroha towards the grandchildren and that they experience joy as they observe these relations develop and grow (Kerslake-Hendricks, 2010).

Participants in the current study were adamant that any wisdom or knowledge they possess should not be forced upon their young grandchildren, and should only be shared with them if 'they want to hear it'. In England, this was found in the ambivalence some grandparents feel as they negotiate their roles with their children and grandchildren where the power balance within this dyad usually sits with the parents (Mason, May, & Clarke, 2007). They also found it was the norm of always being available to their grandchildren, but being seen not to interfere that influenced the narrative. A similar conclusion was identified in New Zealand as grandparents drew on the narrative about valuing their own independence, which in turn justified their reduced grandparent role that they had adopted (Breheny, Stephens, &

Spilsbury, 2013). In fact, in this study as grandchildren aged, grandparents reported they should 'be there' less to prevent 'interference' and enable the grandchild's increasing independence. Within the present study also, older adults identified that within their interactions with their grandchildren they are very careful to navigate their relationship with their own child first and foremost, to ensure they are not seen to be interfering.

With regards to the willingness of children to take on board knowledge or wisdom from an older person they do not know, participants in the current study suggested that they would hesitate to force advice or wisdom on both related and non-related preschoolers. Instead, they identified that generativity as a reversed construct and that young children today have more to offer them, specifically with regards to technology. This is a unique finding and there is no research to compare it to. Within the IGP body of literature some programmes have been established where the two generations are brought together over technology (Gamliel & Gabay, 2014; Kolodinsky, Cranwell, & Rowe, 2002), however there are no findings of this kind with preschool aged children.

Attitudes and Experiences of Children Aged Under Five

The current research identified the significant meaning older adults derive from their roles as grandparents and great-grandparents, supporting the literature on this topic. The contribution to society is seen by older adults as being towards their own children, and primarily gifted through the time they give to their young grandchildren. The current study also found that interacting with preschool aged children is a multi-faceted life giving experience. However, in order to get the most out of each exchange, the older person must adopt different roles in order to counter the challenging behaviour young children can present with and enjoy the interaction. These findings are now discussed set amongst the available literature.

Despite the common understanding that generations of families are now more geographically dispersed than ever before, 17 of the 18 participants in the current research had grandchildren and most said they see them at least, semi-regularly. In fact, several of the research participants had grandchildren residing within the Wellington region, making access to their grandchildren relatively easy. Therefore, when questions about contact with preschoolers arose, participants often recounted the role they play within their own families. Many storied how they had significantly contributed to society by providing care for their children's children, thereby facilitating the rise in dual-income families. This social phenomenon has been seen across many Western countries and within New Zealand the situation is no different (Kerslake-Hendricks, 2010). Research on grandparenting and the critical role they play to support parents in many families has been highlighted in Australia and overseas (Barnett, Scaramella, Neppl, Ontai & Conger, 2010; Barnett, Scaramella, Neppl, Ontai & Conger, 2010; Griggs, Tan, Buchanan, Attar - Schwartz, & Flouri, 2010). In New Zealand, Breheny et al. (2013) found that grandparents believe they have not only a familial responsibility, but also a social and moral obligation to look after their grandchildren. This finding is reflected in the current study as participants often remarked on the significance of the first five years of a child's development and how they and childcare facilities are 'plugging the gap' that parents are creating. By positioning the narrative within a changed social environment where both parents are often working, older adults also story the duty they have to step in and support their wider families.

There is a paucity of research regarding older people's views and experiences of children, and preschool aged children in particular. A relatively dated study supports the current research finding that while older adults positively gain from interacting with young children, poor behaviour can hinder the encounter (Seefeldt et al., 1982). In contrast to this finding, a 1997 United States public policy document identified stunning antagonism towards

young people (Farkas et al., 1997). Adopting certain roles in order to maximise the experience with young children has been identified earlier in this section in relation to IGPs (Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Ruggiano, 2012; Heyman & Gutheil, 2008). However there are no other findings, with regards to interacting with children in general, to compare the current research finding to. As New Zealand's population ages and if the popularity of IGPs increases as it has done around the world, understanding older adults' views on this age group will provide much needed information for IGP developers and facilitators. More will follow on this later in the chapter.

Discussion Summary

The current research uncovered a wide range of interesting findings. iPlayed was found to be a positive and life affirming experience. Participants described the different roles they use within the programme, which help to facilitate a better experience for them. Rare within the literature, iPlayed was seen as a fleeting encounter with little opportunity for generativity to take place other than potentially passing on a love of books. However, for some who had constructed the retirement village environment as isolated and distant from the community they once inhabited, iPlayed was positioned as a possible counter, as it is seen as a link to the local community and an opportunity for variation.

Perhaps the strongest identity distinguished within the current study is that of grandparent or great-grandparent. This identity was described within a willing, yet somewhat obligatory notion of contributing back to society, due to the major social changes facing modern families. In this role, older people describe a civic duty in looking after their grandchildren allowing their children to go back to work. Contrary to the theoretical literature, it is not through these exchanges that older adults believe they are guiding or nurturing this younger generation, but instead this generative exchange takes place with their own children. Most significantly for the field of IGPs with preschoolers, older adults were not

able to identify a generative role for themselves within this setting. The age of the children combined with the fact they were not related to the child may be contributing to this finding. Promisingly though, they were able to identify that it is possible some form of exchange could take place, where the older person is also benefitting from the younger person's knowledge. In general, older people find the presence of and interacting with preschool aged children as a life-affirming and positive experience. Yet, one in which they need to adopt different roles in order to get the most out of each exchange.

This research was not designed to evaluate iPlayed, however, through this process participants did question some aspects of the programme. From this position, some participants identified that through volunteering in older age they are looking for more meaningful opportunities than what iPlayed offered them. Yet for some, faced with a variety of barriers that old age presents, iPlayed delivered this for them. Through reviewing each of the narratives identified in this research, implications for the iPlayed programme are evident and they now follow.

Implications for iPlayed

iPlayed is the first IGP to be researched in New Zealand. Through looking at the intergenerational experiences of VaP residents and understanding them within the dominant narratives active in New Zealand including what it means to age successfully, implications for iPlayed have been identified. It is important to remember that each IGP is designed to fit the social needs of the community it will operate within. In order to place these implications within context, a reminder of the original goals of IGPs will open this section and the implications for iPlayed in relation to each goal will then follow.

IGPs were originally established to address the increasing geographical segregation between old and young happening in Western societies. This segregation was seen to be

driving some negative consequences for both older and younger people (A. Hatton-Yeo, 2011). Also, as one ages the opportunity to hold roles which provide meaning and self-worth (paid employment or parenting for example) diminish, therefore IGPs were also developed to offer older people an opportunity to help nurture the next generation and reignite the intergenerational reciprocity that was being lost. The Beth Johnson Foundation's definition of an IGP highlights the goals of the programmes: "Intergenerational practice aims to bring people together in purposeful, mutually beneficial activities which promote greater understanding and respect between generations and contributes to building more cohesive communities" (Beth Johnson Foundation, 2011, p. 4). Unsurprisingly, IGPs are greatly different all over the world, yet the social drivers and desired outcomes of the programmes are similar. Ultimately, an IGP should be designed to improve the lives of those who took part and the community around them (A. Hatton-Yeo, 2015).

Addressing Segregation of Young and Old. iPlayed is bringing together two very disparate age groups, on a semi-regular basis and is therefore delivering on this goal. Most of the participants in the current study were grandparents or great-grandparents. Moreover, many of them were in the position of not seeing their relations on a regular basis, a social phenomenon facing many Western families today. Significantly, participants in this study were, on average, aged 81 years old placing them in the 'older-old' category (World Health Organisation, 2017). This meant that for many of the participants, their grandchildren are much older than preschool age (for example, three of the 18 had grandchildren aged under five). Therefore, while some participants saw their grandchildren regularly or semi-regularly, *half had no contact with preschool aged children at all*. Of the iPlayed participants, for five of the six interviewed, iPlayed is the only time they interact with preschoolers. The implication therefore, is that for many of those living in a retirement village having the opportunity to participate in an IGP with preschool aged children represents the only

opportunity they have to interact with this age group. Thus, iPlayed gives those that want to participate, a rare opportunity to experience the vibrancy and enthusiasm this age of child offers, as reflected in the Life Giving narrative. Furthermore, as other research has identified, even if residents at VaP are not participating in iPlayed, the opportunity to observe and be in the same space as the young children has been found to be beneficial to them (Ruggiano, 2012).

There are ways that iPlayed could have designed that may have further met this goal, for example, extending the amount of time and regularity of the reading sessions. Through more time spent in one another's company, it is possible that the older people will have been able to build deeper more meaningful relationships and feel less segregated from pre-schoolers.

Providing an Opportunity to Nurture the Young. Generativity as an outcome for older adults, can be associated with IGPs with preschoolers (Kuehne, 1992; Eggers & Hensley, 2005). However the participants and observers of iPlayed in the current study do not see this as a primary outcome of the programme as it is being run today. They identified the frequency, length of time, changing the children at each session and possibly the age of the children as reasons that might contribute to the interaction being less meaningful to older adults in iPlayed. In instances where generativity was found as an outcome in an IGP with preschoolers, the programmes are run very differently. For instance, through the pairing up of children and adults on an ongoing basis, introducing names like 'Grandma and Grandpa' and participating in different activities which provide more personal interaction between the adult and child, IGP programmes have been able to foster environments where older adults can adopt a generative and meaningful role (Weintraub & Killian, 2007).

Should programme facilitators decide iPlayed should be offering more opportunities for their residents to nurture the children from Little Wonders and build closer relationships,

some changes to the existing programme may facilitate this. Some of the ways the programme could be changed might include pairing the children and older people up permanently, introducing different activities and ensuring that the older children at VaP are the focus of the programme (aged four and above). Isolated pockets of this sort of activity are already taking place between some residents of VaP and the children of Little Wonders, as identified in Life Giving and Contribution to Society, and deeper and more meaningful connections were highlighted as a result of these interactions. In relation to developing stronger relationships between the participants, the programme facilitators would need to reassess the goals and objectives of iPlayed, to understand whether changes to the programme would be necessary.

With regards to increasing the level and type of activities between Little Wonders and VaP, a note of caution is required. As Ruggiano (2012) found, where children's programming was prioritised, the older adults exhibited negative behaviours. Furthermore, research indicates that allowing the older adult participant in an IGP to choose their level of involvement with the children and has been linked to the older adult feeling respected and an overall sense of emotional wellbeing (Weintraub & Killian, 2007). Therefore, any changes to iPlayed should be considered in consultation with VaP residents.

Provide an Environment to Promote Greater Understanding Between the Ages. As previously identified, the iPlayed experience is a brief one compared to many other IGPs, where there is little interaction going on between the two generations beyond book reading. Within Willing to Compromise, participants identified that children today are louder and appear to have short attention spans and that a certain style of disciplining them and tolerance is required in dealing with them. While the observation is not universally positive, there is evidence within this narrative, that despite this view, participants are able to enjoy their time with the children and focus on their strengths. Within the narrative 'It's There, If They Want

It', older adults suggest that the wisdom and knowledge they have accumulated is available to younger people, but only if they seek it. These two narratives reveal an opportunity for iPlayed to introduce other activities, for example, life story telling, arts and crafts or even technology-based activities. As identified in other research, these sorts of activities may provide more of an opportunity for the two generations to focus on their respective strengths and better understand each other. Several participants made the point that children, even as young as preschool age, are able to offer knowledge back to the older people. For example, the advent of technology was often referenced and the amazement the older people had at how even the very young children are so adept with technology. An implication arising out of this, therefore, is that future iPlayed activities could aim to be more reciprocal and incorporate technology.

iPlayed is currently held with children aged from between 18 months through to four years of age. As identified in the research, there is no evidence available to compare to regarding children this young. Furthermore, the psychosocial benefits interacting with an 18 month old on one older person may greatly vary. However, the IGP research does indicate that the older the younger participants are within the IGPs, there is more of an opportunity to create intergenerational exchanges that can lead to generativity (Andreoletti & Howard, 2016; Herrmann, Sipsas-Herrmann, Stafford & Herrmann, 2005; Knight, Skouteris, Townsend, & Hooley, 2014). Therefore, the implication for iPlayed would be to understand what the older participants would like to get out of the interaction and match them accordingly with children of a suitable age who might be more likely to be able to help deliver this outcome.

Contribute to the Cohesive Communities. The implication of the 'Contribution to Society' narrative on iPlayed is that on balance, the time commitment it asks of participants is brief . This was found to suit the residents at VaP, as the general consensus is that most people lead busy lives and have little time to spare. However, through the programme, older

adults are forging a connection with the wider community outside of VaP. This was evidenced in Fear of Closing In, when iPlayed was positioned as a counter to the narrative.

Positively Impact Participants. Undeniably, participants in iPlayed are positively impacted from their involvement with the programme. Each of the narratives Life Giving, Older People Teach the Young, Contribution to Society and Fear of Closing In, include positive impacts of iPlayed on older people. In particular, being involved in iPlayed provides a short moment in time, every two weeks, where participants greatly enjoy their experience and are left in a positive frame of mind. Furthermore, through iPlayed participants are given another opportunity to enact a contributing role back to society, something each participant was keen to do. Given the proximity of Little Wonders to VaP, there could be an opportunity to increase either the occasions of the young children coming over to VaP, or possibly open the invitation from Little Wonders for older people to be with and observe the children more regularly. In shared site research, where preschoolers and adults mix sometimes on a daily basis, even the older adults who choose not to partake of the formal intergenerational activities have been found to simply enjoy the company being in the presence of young children (Eggers & Hensley, 2004). By expanding the intergenerational opportunities for VaP residents, it may be possible to further challenge the narrative that moving to a retirement village is like life is closing in. Furthermore, with increased opportunities for residents to interact with the preschoolers, deeper more meaningful relations may develop which may in turn, provide opportunities for older people to contribute to society through a generative role.

For some participants the way iPlayed is set up is perfect for them given the time or physical constraints they face and is the only way they feel they can ‘contribute’ back to society. Therefore iPlayed is a useful opportunity for some people to enact their Contributing Citizen, for others however, iPlayed does not offer the substance they are looking for in order for them to adequately give back to society. The implication therefore is similar to the above,

how else can intergenerational experiences be set up between VaP and Little Wonders to allow for more interaction and deeper and more meaningful relations to develop?

Implications for Working as a Clinical Psychologist

Societal Expectations. A social narrative within my research which influenced the findings heavily was that all participants wanted to contribute back to society in some way. My research opened by identifing that the discourse around ageing has altered; ageing is now seen as a time to be successful through activity and staying connected to the communities older people live in. For those working with older adults in a clinical psychology capacity, as I have in 2018, it is important to continue to challenge this widely held perspective, as not all people arrive in older age in good physical or mental health. Furthermore the economic position of many of New Zealand's older adults leaves them restricted in terms of what they are able to achieve and this has been very evident within the population I work with at Counties Manukau, Auckland, New Zealand. It has lead me to ponder the significance of loss in the ageing adults' mental health presentation. The clients I have had the priviledge to work with are experiencing loss in many aspects of their lives. Most signficantly, they are battling with the physical effects of ageing and because of this, their ability to give back to society is greatly diminished. Part of me wonders whether the chronically mentally unwell older person could benefit by being given opportunities to give back, as the focus of their attention may briefly come off their own mental or physical illness and externalise to something else.

Within the wider thesis I covered some of the literature which takes a critical approach to this position and states: that a good late life is about flourishing and growing in whatever ways are possible for the individual (Minkler, 2000). With this in mind as a clinician it is critical to distance ourselves from the popular narrative of activity and productivity in ageing. Not only are many older people bound by the situations they find themselves in, they also have a choice to participate and "contribute", or not. The diversity of

cultures within Counties Manukau has also highlighted to me that a contribution does not necessarily equate to society in a general sense, but that it can be very close to the individual's home or with individuals or organisations in other countries. Or, not occur at all. It is a choice and clinician's must be respectful of what the client has chosen to prioritise in their life.

Loss of Confidence. My research highlighted the huge technological change that older people have experienced in their lifetimes. The average 70 year old was born prior to television being introduced, nothing was digitalised, household chores were barely automated. Not only this, but societal expectations on dual-income homes, and the role of women in particular, have drastically changed. As I spoke to participants in my research, I did get the sense that these changes had in some way created a "them and us" mindset in some older people.

Clinicians working with older people should try to embrace the unique experiences and skills that each client presents with, through this approach we would demonstrate respect surrounding the frustration some clients present with regards to technology. However, I have noted that I do encourage clients to participate in technology related classes local to them, should they wish to. I often talk to clients about interviewing two participants for my thesis and then afterwards sitting with them for an hour and showing them pictures of their daughter's art works on the internet they had never seen before. They had no computer skills, but through our time together they were able to see the potential these machines hold and were moved by seeing this content. Using small anecdotes like these with clients may go some way to encouraging some form of technological participation, if useful.

The Power of Small Things. I keep reflecting on the fact that my research did not find iPlayed to be a deep and meaningful experience with the older people. I recall thinking this was disappointing. However, what I came to realise was that this 30 minute event every

two weeks was bringing joy to the participants at that time and that simply, this was a very powerful thing.

This observation relates also to the therapeutic encounter with clients which does not need to be laced with expectations of deep and meaningful outcomes for the client. Therapy with older adults may not cover huge amounts of material, nor might there be many moments within the encounter where significant progress was made with the client. However, simply being within the encounter, being present, ensuring that the client feels connected with and heard is powerful in and of itself.

Access to Community Events. The research is certainly true; older people are very isolated. Nearly all of the clients I have seen this year present with social isolation as a key area of distress in their lives. However, in association to this point, I have been astounded at the range and number of community events and organisations are available for the older person. What this presents with is the dilemma of what is the likelihood of someone who is suffering significant mental health distress getting to these events? iPlayed took place in a middle-class, predominately New Zealand European retirement village. With it taking place within the building the residents lived in, the usual barriers my clients present with such as transport and cost for example, were eliminated. I know that many of older adult clients would greatly benefit from experiencing something like iPlayed on a regular basis, yet reaching them in their isolated council flats is not straightforward. As part of our offering as clinical psychologists we should be looking to find information about community events like iPlayed and work with the provider system we operate within to see how clients can participate in such events.

Considerations for Future Research

In reflecting on how the present study was conducted, attention now shifts to the future of research within this promising area of enquiry. The nature of qualitative research is that it is not wholly objective, as it is closely linked to the social fabric that the participants and the researcher are embedded in. Therefore, this research has been considered as a whole, and instead of focusing on limitations in isolation I will instead highlight areas of this project that researchers should consider carefully if they choose to embark on a similar research project. This section will acknowledge what is still to be done within this area, and the ways in which researchers can build on from the current study. The areas of focus will include participant characteristics including culture, location, attitudes of older people towards younger people, the experience of the younger participant in an IGP, key stakeholders, the uniqueness of the design of iPlayed and how obsevational data may have enriched the richness of the data collected.

Participant Characteristics. The findings within this study represent only the perceptions of some of the participating members of an IGP and fellow residents of a retirement village in Wellington, New Zealand. A small and homogenous group of participants is often cited as a limitation in research, however social constructivism states that knowledge is provisional and there is no one correct and objective truth, therefore generalisability is not actively pursued in this style of research (V. Burr, 2015). Notwithstanding this, the participants in this study were all New Zealand European/Pākehā, healthy, well-educated and, by association with the fact they were living in a retirement village, financially wealthy by New Zealand's standards. Of the iPlayed participants interviewed, only one was male.

IGPs have been associated with a variety of benefits for older adults and the current research confirms these findings. With an ageing population and the focus from the New

Zealand Government on older people being able to be recognised and appreciated as valuable members of their communities, it is likely that IGPs will play a role in New Zealand's future. Future research should identify IGPs taking place in communities that represent the diversity of ageing experience of New Zealand's older people. Given older people in New Zealand are not a homogenous group, their ability to volunteer for IGP programmes will vary. Understanding the experiences of those who are less physically able than the present research's participants, for example, will provide valuable information for others in the country looking to emulate these sorts of programmes. For example, dementia and Alzheimer's disease specifically, is projected to be the biggest health concern facing people entering old age. In fact, according to Alzheimer's New Zealand 170, 000 New Zealanders will be diagnosed with dementia by 2050 (compared to 48,182 in 2011), with the majority being Alzheimer's diagnoses (Alzheimer's New Zealand, 2017). IGPs conducted with cognitively impaired older adults therefore, are another rich area for future research and have been extensively researched elsewhere with preschool aged children (George, 2011; Gigliotti et al., 2005; Isaki & Harmon, 2014; Jarrott & Bruno, 2003, 2007; Low, Russell, McDonald, & Kauffman, 2015).

Culture. All of the participants in the current study were European Pākehā. In the 2013 Census, 74% of people identified with one European identity, but 15% identified with Māori ethnicity, 12% identified with one Asian ethnicity and 7% identified with at least one Pacific ethnicity. As New Zealand is increasingly becoming ethnically diverse, understanding how an IGP would be perceived and experienced from a mixture of cultures would be an important area of study. For example, Asian cultures have a strong emphasis on intergenerational harmony and reinforce multigenerational intergenerational interactions (C. Cheung, Kwan, & Ng, 2006; Corso & Lanz, 2013; Leung, Wong, Wong, & McBride-Chang, 2010). However, age stereotypes are also becoming more widespread in Asian cultures

(Boduroglu, Yoon, Luo, & Park, 2006; Luo, Zhou, Jin, Newman, & Liang, 2013), and so too is the trend toward fewer familial intergenerational exchanges (C. K. Cheung & Kwan, 2009).

New Zealand's indigenous people, have been heavily impacted by colonisation. The whānau (family), hapū (extended family) and iwi (tribe) have had land, language and cultural values and practices removed from them. Within Māori families, the position within the family structure is more important than age. The analogy of the flax plant (te harekeke) illustrates how all the generations of a whānau interact (Nicholls, 2005). The child is at the centre of the flax plant and is nourished by the outer leaves (elders) as they die and fall to the ground. If the shoot, or child, is removed from the protection of the plant, or the extended whanau unit, it will not flourish. The harakeke metaphor is widely used in contemporary Māori society and demonstrates the centrality of intergenerational relations within the whānau structure. However, with the introduction of Victorian social norms through colonisation, the collaborative structure of Māori society was altered resulting in a weakening of connections between wider whānau, hapū, iwi, tūpuna (ancestors), and atua (deities, gods) (Kruger, 2004). Furthermore, Census 2006 data showed that 59% of Māori families live in households with only one whānau with adults and children in the household and only 7% live in multigenerational whānau households (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Understanding the IGP views and experiences of Māori in New Zealand would provide significant information not only on IGPs but more importantly, on the role they might be able to play in strengthening the harakeke bonds within modern Māori society.

Location. Much of the international research into the experience of older adults participating in IGPs took place at 'Shared Sites'. These are usually adult daycare centres that share their facilities with a kindergarten or some form of childcare service. In comparison to the current study, IGPs at environments like these allow for significantly more contact

between the two generations and therefore there are increased opportunities to build lasting and meaningful relations with the young children. Little Wonders and VaP are unique in New Zealand, as there is no other child daycare and retirement village occupying the same site in the country. Due to the close physical proximity of the two organisations, iPlayed is able to be facilitated on a regular basis with relative ease. The location of an IGP is an important consideration in any future IGP research. When children enter the space of older adults and are encouraged to mix, careful consideration needs to be given to how the programme is facilitated as the outcomes can be negative (G. Cook & Bailey, 2013).

Attitudes of Older People on Younger People. Despite the evidence base for IGPs around the world being strong and largely positive for older people, there is a paucity of research looking at the views of older adults on younger people. As was found in the current research, participation in an IGP is not for all older adults. With an ageing population, research looking at the role that older and younger people can play in each other's lives would be useful information. For example, understanding where an older adult may find meaning in a proposed intergenerational exchange would give programme designers useful information as IGPs are developed and implemented in New Zealand. An older adult who has been a farmer, for example, may be able to see an intergenerational role in horticulture as providing meaning and purpose.

A limitation of this research is that it did not ask the participants of iPlayed what their hopes and aspirations in joining this IGP were. There is a vast body of literature that discusses the importance of establishing clear expectations for the volunteer with regards to their role or the programme in order to retain and attract volunteers (Barraza, 2011; Karl, Peluchette, & Hall, 2008; Phillips, 1982). Identifying this information and placing the narratives within this context is an area of prospective investigation. In the present research, taking this information into consideration may have helped to understand the narratives of

those who had chosen to cease volunteering with iPlayed and those who chose not to participate in the programme.

The Experience of the Younger Participant. Obviously this study has focused on the experiences of older people within intergenerational exchanges and elected to not look at the experience of the younger participants. The current study has been completed alongside a fellow Doctoral researcher who is looking at the experiences of the younger participants of iPlayed. Reflecting our individual interests in the population we chose to research, I was interested in looking at a programme that has the potential to positively impact older people in New Zealand as the population of older adults significantly increases. It is envisaged the results of the younger participants' study and this one will be reviewed alongside one another by retirement village operators and those running childcare facilities.

Other Stakeholders. Another possible limitation of this study is that key stakeholders, for example those running the programme, were not interviewed. In overlooking these voices from the data collection, their interpretation of how the IGP is progressing has been omitted. This is an important consideration as within the analysis a narrative was identified which suggested that the IGP was not delivering anything meaningful for participants. Had key stakeholders been canvassed for their views, this finding would likely have been challenged. However, the findings presented here aimed to recognise older adults' experiences and attitudes regarding the subject areas of interest.

Programme Design. This study examines only one IGP and therefore, it is highly likely that iPlayed represents a unique programme of activity, with features that will not be present in other IGPs. In comparing this study with other similar work, caution is therefore advised. It is important to consider iPlayed's unique design in that it required a very limited engagement from the older adults (30 minutes every two weeks). Due to this, it is likely that the impact on the lives of the older adults will have been restricted therefore influencing

some of the narratives that I identified. Lastly, other than Nina's views on the quality of the books, no attempt was made to gather any data on the sorts of books that participants selected to read to the young children. It is possible that the content of some children's books may not provide a platform for the older adult to transfer values and ideas to the younger people. Capturing this information may have helped to illuminate more about how generativity did or did not materialise for participants.

As identified earlier, enhanced generativity is a common outcome of IGPs. However, due to a multitude of factors, generativity, in terms of nurturing and guiding a younger generation, was not a dominant feature of the iPlayed participants' narratives. One finding that highlighted this was that many older adults identified a gulf between them and young children regarding uptake and use of technology. An area for further enquiry could be to explore technology and the relationship between it and generativity between the generations. Furthermore, for those working in the IGP field understanding how their programmes can either incorporate or adapt to ensure the transmission of values and ideas can still take place, despite this possible obstacle.

Observational Data. In attempting to understand the perspectives of older people regarding an IGP, a limitation of this research is that iPlayed sessions were not observed and the content of these exchanges taken into consideration. Another study may consider analysing not only interview data from the older participants in an IGP, but also data which captured the IGP exchanges between the very young and the old

Chapter Twelve: Conclusion

As New Zealand's population ages and the opportunities for older people and preschool aged children to interact are diminishing, IGPs have been identified as a way to bridge this gap. The current study sought to understand the perspectives and experiences of older adults regarding IGPs. Critically, this research also sought to understand older people's views on preschoolers and how generativity was constructed within both the IGP experience and with young children in general. Set amongst the social milieu that older people operate within today of ageing successfully through contributing and staying connected to society, this research used narrative analysis to understand how these social forces influenced the findings.

The findings relating to the IGP experience were that participating in this IGP with this age group was a life-affirming but fleeting experience. Participants adopted certain roles to combat the children's distractedness within the IGP, and these roles enabled the participants to maximise their experience. A rare finding was that participating in an IGP within a retirement village can counter the fear some residents have of their worlds closing in around them. In keeping with the idiom of 'successful ageing', all research participants expressed a desire to contribute back to the society in which they lived in and, for some, participating in the IGP gave them the opportunity to do this. For others, it was not seen as giving them the meaning they sought from a volunteering opportunity.

A finding that was unexpected and contrasted with the majority of IGP research was that participants in the IGP were generally unable to identify that they had been able to nurture or guide the younger generation, but that they were able to connect with their community. Furthermore, generativity was only identified as being able to occur with great grandchildren or grandchildren, and in these instances only indirectly via the older adults' own children. While participants described themselves as having wisdom and knowledge that

had built up over their lifetime, they described that they would not foist this on preschool aged children. This finding contrasts not only with the research literature, but also with some of the theoretical underpinnings of IGPs. In a unique finding, the participants in the current study noted that instead of them being the ones to pass through cultural knowledge or wisdom; with the advent of technology, perhaps the direction of generativity should be queried today? Few researchers have looked at the views of older adults on children and specifically preschool aged children. This study found that significant meaning is associated to the role of great grandparent or grandparent and this is associated to a sense of contributing back to society through the time they can give them. As with the findings relating to the IGP experience, older adults also shared that being around or interacting with young children brought them much joy, but that in order to enjoy the experience roles had to be adopted to overlook the bad behaviour children exhibit today.

Combined, the findings of this research offer up many valuable implications to multiple groups. For those associated with running the iPlayed programme, in order to establish increased generativity and deeper meaning to the experience other research has identified factors that may help this to occur. For example, older adults could be paired regularly with the same child, only children aged four and over could participate in the programme and a broadening out of activities to include those that may offer the older adult a chance to pass on a valued skill, such as gardening, for example, may enhance the programme in its current state.

For retirement village operators, these findings demonstrate that an IGP has multiple, short term benefits for residents. Despite the retirement village setting exerting a powerful and sometimes negative presence in the lives of some participants, by offering residents an opportunity to interact with younger generations within their facilities, the environment alters for residents. Simply, having young people on site brings a vibrancy that residents can gain

from. IGPs, therefore, may offer older people who have no interaction with young people, purpose and meaning. Moreover, as New Zealand's population ages and the government look at ways to keep older adults engaged with the communities they live in, this research has identified how a simple IGP can contribute to these goals. IGPs provide some older adults an opportunity that allows them to be connected to their local community, enjoy a rich and fleeting moment of pleasure and a chance to contribute to society, irrespective of the programme design.

The findings relating to generativity are of relevance to those working in the field of IGP theory and programme development. It is clear that the social milieu older adults now operate in is vastly different to when they were preschool aged children. For instance, the rate of technological change over the last two decades underscores the loss of identity of older adults as gatekeepers of the meaning. The tools people use to survive and thrive have altered significantly. The findings of this research suggest that generativity as a concept between very young and old people, in contemporary New Zealand society at least, may be of decreasing relevance. Therefore, from the finding of this research, theorists could look at querying generativity as a concept between the old and the very young. Of note within the findings, was the proclivity of older people to be open to a generative exchange where modern day cultural artefacts (the instructional use of an iPad for example) could be taught to them by the young children.

This research has also highlighted several strands of important discovery about the nature of the relationship between older people and those of preschool age and how this fits within IGP practice. While there are undoubted benefits in bringing these two disparate generations together, this research has challenged the assumption that this is a generalised and positive experience. For some older adults experiencing physical barriers associated to older age, participating in an IGP might be an attractive option. For others, it may not give

the perceived meaningfulness they desire as they look to contribute to society. Also, there are those who, despite very rarely interacting with preschool aged children in their advanced years, find the prospect of spending one on one time with this age group of no appeal. Consequently, the agency of older adults in partaking in IGP encounters must be respected. Those working within the field of IGPs, conducted between preschool aged children and older adults, must be mindful of the very different social setting in operation and how this impacts on how older and younger people interact. Considering the meaning that participants in this research ascribed to the role of grandparent or great-grandparent, creating an IGP that would provide that level of bond between the generations will be challenging. Moreover, as baby boomers are entering old age with ambitions of volunteering roles that provide purpose and meaning, the challenge for programme designers and facilitators will be: how can IGPs meet the many needs New Zealand's older people have.

It is hoped that the findings of this research will encourage others to investigate the IGP experiences of older adults across many different types of programmes and with a wider variety of participants. This study has also revealed a distinct lack of research regarding the views and experiences of older people on young children and this should therefore be a focus for future endeavours. As New Zealand's population continues to age, it has become critical to uncover how the young and old, who share commonalities such as dependence on the generations between them and a reduced productive role in society, can best interrelate. Exploring the views of older adults regarding younger people is one way society can come closer to understanding this important information.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Article Advertising the Research in the 'Village Cryer' September 2016

Invitation to participate in research

Are you participating in the iPlayed programme with the children from Little Wonders? If so, Joanna Macfarlane would love to talk to you. As part of her Doctorate in Clinical Psychology she is researching our very own iPlayed. She is wanting to talk to people about their iPlayed experience and their views on older and younger people interacting in September. If you are interested in taking part an Information Sheet is available from Mary. Or phone and leave a message for Joanna to call you back on 0800 244 344.

Appendix B: Information Sheet

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Intergenerational attitudes and contact

INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Joanna Macfarlane and I am conducting this research which aims to understand the experience of taking part in an intergenerational programme and also investigates the attitudes of and contact older people have with younger people. This research forms part of my Doctorate of Clinical Psychology which I am undertaking at Massey University. I am being supervised by Professor Christine Stephens and Dr Joanne Taylor from the School of Psychology at Massey University, Palmerston North.

iPlayed is being trialled between residents of Village at the Park and children from Little Wonders. This is the first time in New Zealand an intergenerational programme will be trialled and researched. With this research I aim to understand the experience of participation for the older adults. I am also very interested in understanding the attitudes and perspectives of older adults regarding intergenerational contact, attitudes and experiences. To collect this information I will be interviewing Village at the Park residents. I warmly invite you to participate in this research.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. If you choose to take part your identity will be kept confidential. I am looking for at least 20 participants in total in order to produce enough data to analyse. It is anticipated that there will be little to no discomfort arising from participation in this research, however if in participating in the interview you feel any discomfort please talk to a member of staff.

What you need to do:
Your involvement will include participating in a recorded interview with me. It is anticipated that this activity will take between 30 minutes to one hour to complete. If you would like to

take part in this research, please either phone Joanna Macfarlane on 0800 244 344 and leave a message for me to call you back. It is envisaged that the interviews will take place during the week of the 29th of February 2017.

All of the data obtained in this research will be stored securely and only my supervisors, Christine Stephens and Joanne Taylor, and I will have access to it. The findings will be published as my Doctoral thesis and will be shared with other community centres, researchers at conferences and in publications. At the conclusion of the study, the data will remain at Massey University for five years, thereafter being destroyed. At the conclusion of the study I will share the findings with you.

Your rights:
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- withdraw from the study at any time,
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation,
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used,
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded,
- you have the right to decline to answer any particular question and
- you have the right to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

If you have any queries about any aspect of this study please contact myself, Joanna Macfarlane, on 0800 244 344 (email: joanna.macfarlane.1@uni.massey.ac.nz)

Or contact my supervisors: Prof. Christine Stephens on (06) 356 9099 ext. 85059 (email: c.v.stephens@massey.ac.nz), or Dr. Joanne Taylor on (06) 356 9099 ext. 85068 (email: j.e.taylor@massey.ac.nz).

I thank you for your time and look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,
Joanna

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 16/16. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Andrew Chrystall, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x43317 email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Appendix C: Article Advertising the Research in the 'Village Cryer' January 2017

Invitation to participate in research

As part of her Doctorate in Clinical Psychology, Joanna Macfarlane from Massey University is researching our very own iPlayed (the programme being run with the children at Little Wonders). After interviewing participants in the programme in November, she would now like to talk to any other Village residents about their views on older and younger people interacting. If you are interested in taking part in a short interview in February 2017 with her an Information Sheet is available from Mary containing further information. Or phone and leave a message for Joanna to call you back on 0800 244 344.

Appendix D: List of Topics/Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews

iPlayed participants:

- What is the experience like?
- What do you feel when you're involved and afterwards?

General:

- What are your views on preschoolers?
- How often do you interact with preschoolers?
- What do you think older people can give to children today?
- What do you think the concept of generativity (after explaining it)?
- How are you generative in your life?
- What can children bring to older people?
- What were your experiences with older people when you were young?
- Why did you chose to get involved with iPlayed/why did you not chose to get involved with iPlayed?
- What is your view on Intergenerational Programmes, like iPlayed?
- In what way do you think non-familial intergenerational contact is worthwhile?

Appendix E: Consent Form

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Intergenerational attitudes and contact

CONSENT FORM

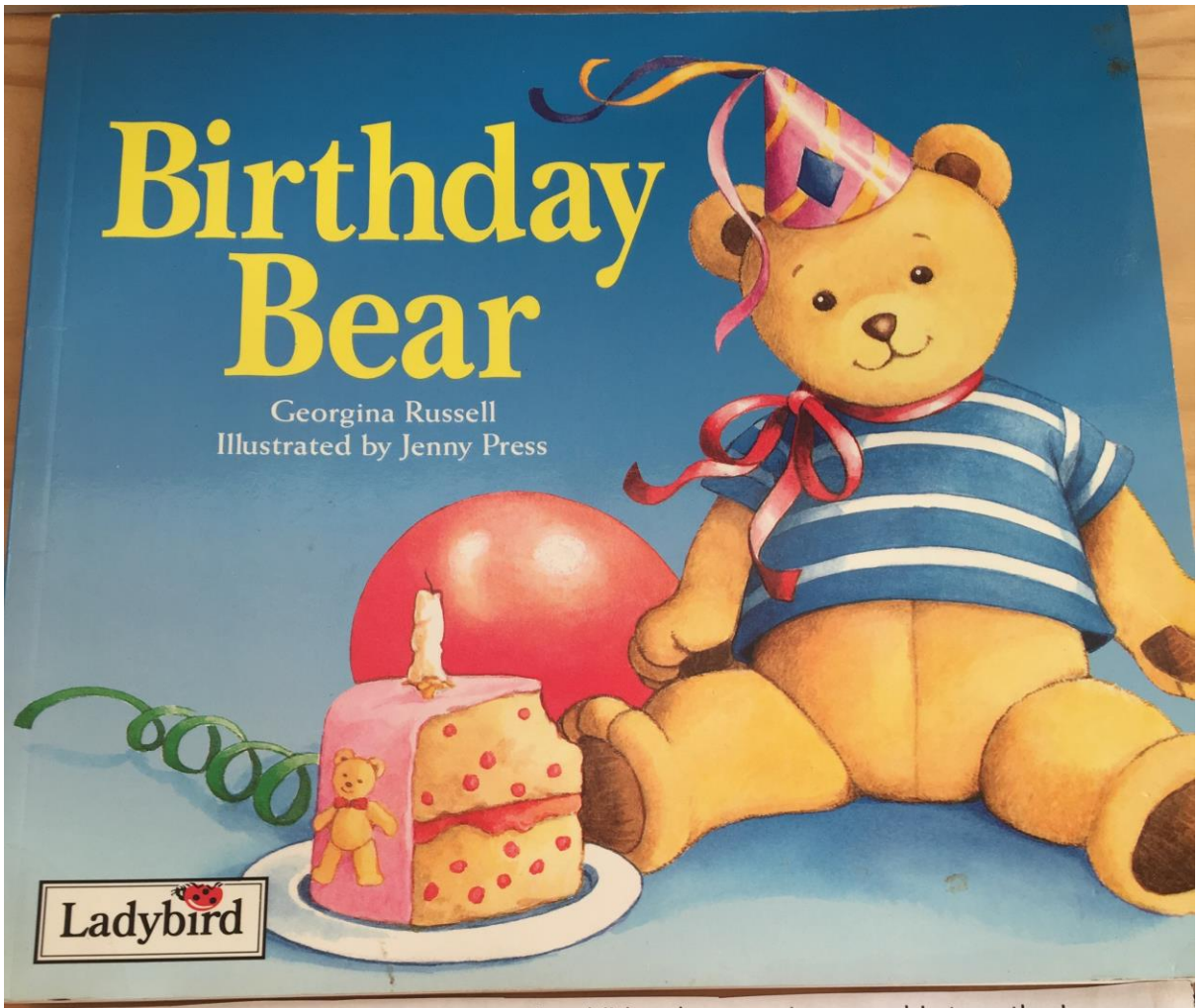
I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

- I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.
- I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.
- I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: ..... **Date:** .....

Full Name - printed .....

Appendix F: Nina's Letter and the Book she Donated to iPlayed



I purchased this book to read to the children because I was unable to enthral them with the books provided. It tells a good story with the illustrations able to be explored to back up the plot. It is about things a small child can have an emotional response to because they are familiar; bedtime, teddy bears, cupboard contents, birthdays etc.

I have just looked up the author on Google and find she is a Sydney university doctor specialising in children.

A good children's book should also enchant adults.

For some years prior to being able to hire a trained childrens' librarian I purchased the childrens' books and I was very very fussy. It was so important. I have pulled out of reading to the children because I cannot hold their interest with the books provided and I am not very good at entertaining them.

This book is a donation.

MARY

Appendix G: Research Case Study

CASE STUDY TWO

Understanding Intergenerational Experiences and the Role of Generativity: A Narrative Analysis

Candidate: Joanna Macfarlane
Clinical Psychology Programme Massey University
Student ID: 11065716

This case was completed during the internship at Counties Manukau DHB – Koropiko Mental Health Services for Older People in 2018 and represents the work of the candidate.

Supervisor	Student
Dr Joanne Taylor	Joanna Macfarlane
Registered Clinical Psychologist	Intern Psychologist
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Date:	

Abstract:

Intergenerational programmes (IGP) are designed to address an increasingly age-segregated society and have been found to have multiple benefits for older people. This research aimed to understand the experiences of older adults participating in an IGP and how older people perceive 'generativity' in relation to the IGP and preschool aged children. In-depth interviews were conducted with 18 older adults and analysed using narrative analysis at personal and social levels. The IGP experience was found to be a brief yet life-affirming experience, and one where the older adult chooses to adopt certain roles in order to maximise their experience. The narrative of successful ageing influenced responses as all participants expressed a desire to contribute back to society and, for some, the IGP was positioned as an opportunity to do this. The findings indicated that generativity is not relevant in today's social milieu between the very young and old, particularly in relation to their contribution back to society.

Key words: intergenerational programmes; generativity; narrative analysis; successful ageing

Prosperity, energy and activity now feature in the modern narrative on ageing, replacing the notion that old age is a period of decline and deficit (A. Bowling, 1993, 2007; Cumming & Henry, 1961; Havighurst, 1961b). This shift is evidenced in governmental policy which promotes old age as an active and positive time of life and includes support for older people to contribute to the societies they live in (Dalziel, 2001). One way older people have made a significant contribution is through the role of grandparent or great grandparent, yet, due to changing social conditions, such as an ageing population and the geographical dispersion of families, the ability to perform this role is under threat (Pool et al., 2007; UN DESA, 2013). To combat this, intergenerational programmes (IGPs) have been created and are flourishing globally (A. Hatton-Yeo, 2011). IGPs are structured programmes of activity between non-kin people from different generations. Multiple benefits from participating have been identified, including increased generativity (the act of giving back to younger generations) (V. S. Kuehne, 1992). The present research aimed to investigate the experience of an IGP for older adults in New Zealand, and to understand their perceptions of generativity within their relationships with preschool children.

Narratives of Ageing

The narrative of decrepitude in older age, driven by *Disengagement Theory* (Cumming & Henry, 1961) has been widely disregarded (Moody, 2006; Phillipson, 1998; Sneed & Whitbourne, 2005), and has given way to the idea that old age can be a time for opportunity and self-reliance, if conditions allow for it (Katz, 2006). This change is partly driven by one of the biggest policy issues facing many other countries of the world: an ageing population (WHO, 2011).

Contributing towards the narrative of successful ageing (C. Stephens, M. Breheny, & J. Mansvelt, 2015) volunteering is seen to create benefits to the individual and to society, as a social contract is confirmed via a contribution to the community or nation in some way (J. A. Burr et al., 2002). Older adults can not only stay active in older age through volunteering but it has been shown to positively impact on one's sense of well-being (Wheeler et al., 1998), increase life satisfaction and happiness (Thoits & Hewitt, 2001), increase self-reported health (Lum & Lightfoot, 2005), and it has also been linked with the developmental task of generativity (Nancy Morrow-Howell et al., 2001).

Changing Role of Grandparent

One voluntary contribution older people have traditionally made to society is through their roles as grandparents. Through this volunteering role, older adults have the opportunity to contribute not only to the family unit but to the state; Arthur, Snape and Dench (2003) describe the role of grandparent as a significant social resource and form of 'social capital'. Yet, in many Western countries, grandparents often live at a geographical distance from their grandchildren or great-grandchildren. In the United States (Cherlin & Furstenberg Jr, 2009; Holladay & Seipke, 2007; Meyer & Kandic, 2017), Canada (Zhou, 2017) and Australia (C. C. Peterson, 1999), this is commonplace. Additionally, technology plays a pivotal role in keeping families in contact with one another (McClure & Barr, 2017; Tarasuik & Kaufman, 2017), indicating families are increasingly turning to this method of communication to bridge living in different locations from one another.

Therefore, being able to enact the role of grandparent today is not as certain as it once was. Social changes, including lower fertility rates, the rise in people choosing to have their children later, childless unions, increasing rates of divorce and singlehood

becoming more commonplace (Pool et al., 2007), are also contributing to this scenario. Today in New Zealand, for example, the most common childcare arrangements for children aged three to six years of age (other than parent), were 'other' childcare centres (37.1%), followed by public kindergartens (34.6%), and then grandparents (29.3%) (Statistics NZ, 2010a).

Grandparenting is an opportunity to share knowledge and values across generations (Kennedy, 1992), improve quality of life (Gabriel & Bowling, 2004), and bring stability to the immediate family (Kornhaber, 1996) while allowing the grandparent to achieve purposefulness as they give advice and guidance to their children, as they are raising their children (Szinovacz, 1998). Hoff (2007) stated that, due to a reduction in intergenerational interaction, the "systematic transfer of knowledge, skills, competencies, norms and values between generations – as old as mankind, is declining" (p.126). This is relatively new territory, and therefore, new thinking about how the generations are interacting has taken place. One solution, designed to address the decline of interactions between older and younger people, and one that is gathering momentum globally is 'Intergenerational Programmes' (IGPs).

IGPs

Formal, extra-familial intergenerational activity was initially developed to address the segregation of the ages and, importantly, the increasingly negative impacts being observed as a result (A. Hatton-Yeo, 2007, 2011, 2015). The historical development of IGPs centres on the essence of the relationship between young and old, specifically the synergy that is found between the two ends of the age spectrum (Kalish, 1966). For older adults in particular, IGPs were developed to provide a role in helping to grow the next generation.

IGPs are designed to increase cooperation, interaction and exchange between people of different generations, allowing the sharing of talents and resources and supporting each other in relationships that benefit both the individuals and their community (Generations United, 2016b). The International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes, established in 1999, describes intergenerational practice as "social vehicles that create purposeful and on-going exchanges of resources and learning among older and younger generations" (Kaplan et al., 2002, p. xi). IGPs include two non-adjacent generations that are not related. In terms of age of either generation, there is no one consistent age-bracket of focus. The programmes, participants and environments in which this work has taken place globally is greatly varied, however, the social drivers and desired outcomes of the programmes are similar. It is the effectiveness of the exchange in improving the lives of participants and their communities that is most important (A. Hatton-Yeo, 2015). The outcome research on IGPs between older people and preschool aged children identifies that older adults experience general enjoyment, hope for the future, being needed and improved cognitive functioning as benefits to being involved in an IGP (Bellamy & Meyerski, 2011; DeVore & Aeschlimann, 2016; Doll & Bolender, 2010; Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Heyman & Gutheil, 2008; Morita & Kobayashi, 2013; Ruggiano, 2012; Sakurai et al., 2016; Weintraub & Killian, 2007; Zucchero, 2010).

Generativity

Of most relevance to IGP practice is the seventh stage of Erikson's Life Course Development Theory, labelled 'generativity'. Erikson (1950) defines generativity as "the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (p. 267). The crisis at this stage is 'generativity versus stagnation', and if this stage is not successfully navigated, Erikson

posited that a sense of self-preoccupation could occur, resulting in limited desire to share knowledge and guide younger people, instead choosing to focus on their own needs (Hiel et al., 2006). Recent conceptualisations of generativity focused on the role it can play in society (Vanderven, 2004). As Vaillant (2002) identified, generativity can be seen as acts of caring for the next generation, and also as opportunities to ensure that one's legacy outlives oneself. These important points are central to IGP programme theory, in that programmes are often designed to establish relationships between young and old.

As an outcome of participation for older adults, Kuehne (1992) identified that generativity was a common theme among programmes of different sizes, and participants also said that they felt a renewed sense of self-worth as a result of participating in an IGP. Eggers and Hensley (2005) found aspects of generativity to be outcomes of an IGP, including "faith that the future is secure with the next generation as the children knew how to behave" (p.96). Participants in this particular study noted that these opportunities gave them an enhanced sense of purpose and meaning in life, because they were able to guide the younger generation by modelling good behaviour. However, in some instances, generativity was not impacted through involvement in an IGP. Belgrave (2011) used standardised measures to identify that, while older adults' attitudes towards children (aged around nine) improved and they felt an increased sense of usefulness, they perceived no significant improvement to their psychological well-being.

Despite this interest in generativity as a focus of IGPs, and the growing interest in conducting IGPs with pre-school aged children, there is very little research on older adults' experiences of IGPs with preschoolers in regard to generativity. The present

study sought to answer the following questions from the perspective of older adults living in a retirement village in New Zealand: 1) What is the experience of an IGP? 2) What are older people's understandings of generativity with preschool aged children?

Method

Methodology. This research was conducted from a social constructionist epistemology and used narrative psychology as a way of understanding the intergenerational experiences of the participants. Social constructionism is an approach to knowledge that examines how culture and social processes influence how we understand and experience ourselves and the world around us (Parker & Burman, 1993; Willig, 1999). This approach enabled us to explore the complex experiences of older people within their social world, and the meaning they make of these experiences in relation to intergenerational activity.

Study Location. The study took place at Village at the Park (VaP), an aged care facility in Wellington, New Zealand which is home to 200 residents with an average age of 81. Making VaP unique is its proximity to and close relationship with Little Wonders, an early childhood centre. Little Wonders is situated 100 metres from VaP across a shared car park. Given this configuration, intergenerational contact and activity had organically taken place between residents and children, with the occasional resident visiting Little Wonders to play piano for the children, or groups of children visiting VaP to celebrate key events during the year.

IGP. *iPlayed* is a formalised IGP used at VaP. It includes Book Buddy reading between VaP residents and children from Little Wonders, every two weeks for 30 minutes. Older adult volunteers were recruited onto the programme by VaP's General Manager and Activities Co-Ordinator and were vetted by the New Zealand Police under

the requirements of the Vulnerable Childrens Act (VCA) 2014 (MSD & MoE, 2014). A randomly selected group of between 10 and 20 children participate, from ages 18 months to four years of age. The children are taken to the communal lounge within VaP where the volunteer residents greet them. In an informal way, the children are paired up with an older adult and together they select a book to read together. For the next 30 minutes, the older adults and children engage with each other over a selection of children's books.

Participants. Participants were formally invited to take part in the research via two articles that appeared in the VaP weekly newsletter: 'Village Cryer', in September 2016 and January 2017. Eighteen residents (aged from 71 to 95) of VaP, who were able to give informed consent, volunteered to participate. Five participants were men and all 18 identified as European New Zealander. Six were current participants in iPlayed, one was visiting the children at Little Wonders every week on his own, two had started the programme but dropped out, and nine had actively decided not to participate in iPlayed [Insert Table 1 about here].

Interview Procedure. Data was collected through a one-to-one interview during which the participants were asked to share their views on iPlayed and their intergenerational experiences. Care was taken at every stage of the design and the implementation of the research to be aware of the physical vulnerabilities of older people, for example hearing or vision difficulties. Before each interview the interviewer (JM) introduced herself, the purpose of the study, the participant's rights and the informed consent procedure. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and just over an hour in length and were conducted in a semi-structured format, with a range of open-ended questions designed to encourage participants to share their stories. For iPlayed

participants the experience of participating was explored by asking questions like: “can you describe what happens when you are participating in iPlayed”, “how does it make you feel?” and “why is it you are participating in it?”. I also asked about the idea of ‘generativity’ or giving back to preschool aged children. These research procedures were reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Northern, Application 16/16).

Narrative Analysis. Interview data was analysed using a paradigmatic approach (Bruner, 1993), which aims to identify concepts derived from theory (generativity) and the research aims, complemented by an inductive approach, which stays true to the data and allows the concepts to arise from it. Analysis proceeded by considering shared narratives at different levels (Murray, 2000; Stephens & Breheny, 2010); a personal level (stories about individual experience, which may include the experience of iPlayed), a public level (external shared narratives, in which moral and social identities can be identified), and an interpersonal level (which was co-created between the interviewer and the participant). Within narrative analysis, it is assumed that the researcher has an active role within the research process (Silver, 2013) and the narratives are a joint production of shared understanding between the storyteller and the audience (Mishler, 1986), therefore, interviewer input is included in the excerpts from the interviews used as examples below.

Results

Four narratives were identified from within the interview data that, together, describe the personal experience of participating in an IGP and how this and interactions with preschool aged children in general, are positioned within the dominant narrative of ageing successfully in today’s society. By using a mixture of

personal and social narratives, we were able to identify generativity at the personal experience level, but also understand how the narrative of ageing successfully influenced participants' views of this construct. 'Life Giving' was a personal narrative that participants used to explain the ways that being with children made them feel alive: symbolically, in an embodied sense, and psychologically. The 'Older People Teach the Young' personal narrative was used to describe participating in iPlayed or interacting with young children as opportunities to positively guide a child in a variety of ways. 'Willing to Compromise' highlighted how older people recognise the challenges that are inherent when interacting with younger children, while being willing to adopt a flexible and accommodating attitude towards the children. 'Contribution to Society' was a compelling 'social' narrative which told a story of older people who are conscious about giving back to society despite their age or the physical restrictions they may face. Participation in iPlayed was positioned within this narrative as an option, or in some cases not an option, for making a contribution to society possible.

Life Giving. The iPlayed experience was described as a multi-faceted life giving opportunity for older people. This finding included simple joy through being with the young people, complemented by psychological and physical benefits. Some participants were reminded of life purely because they were in the presence of and interacting with the children, which they contrasted to their advancing years. For instance, when asked what younger people bring to older people, Maree said: "Aw, life! I mean they are life. They're always so exciting, and they're so alive, but I don't think very old people like me have a great deal to offer them".

Others shared an embodied perspective on life within this narrative. Participants reminisced about the touch and the smell of the young children when they interacted.

For example, seeing the children clambering over the couches where they sat to read books together, or as they crept in closer to hear the book being read. Nellie, an ex-iPlayed participant, talked fondly about the children's "warm little bodies".

> Nellie: Hmm just their little bodies, little warm bodies I suppose, I don't know. Remember that we are mixing with people our own age, more or less, and to have little ones coming in like that, I mean some of us are lucky and we've got family. There's a lot of people here haven't got family here and never see small children, or have any interaction with them and to them, I suppose it's like a wee blessing, to have that time, that warmth.

Another position adopted within this narrative was how children contribute to the older adults feeling happy and psychologically invigorated when they mix together.

> Graham (…) Well I was on a settee, and he sat beside me and he chose where to sit this time and he changed each time we moved, went to a different spot. (…) And I think being the only man there most probably made a difference, more attractive, I don't know. When you get to the sort of, it wasn't a witches and nasty one, but the book, but there were parts of it where you emphasise with a deep voice and this sort of thing and I think that most probably caught the ears of others.
>
> Int.: Oh and they sort of started to come over and?
>
> Graham: For that one they all started to come in, and cluster in. And I enjoyed it!
>
> Int.: Did you? What was it about it you enjoyed?
>
> Graham: Well they claw all over me and you know, they're listening and part listening and part having fun and yes, no it was good.

Other ways people described being psychologically invigorated within the 'Life Giving' narrative was that being with the young children in iPlayed contributed to their wellbeing. For instance, Florence talked about how IGPs are an opportunity to keep in touch with younger children especially if, like her, you rarely see your own

grandchildren. Beyond this though, perhaps the biggest benefit of participating in iPlayed she states is the self worth she gains from taking part.

> Florence: Well an appreciation of the fact that you are still around and a little bit of self worth because you, as you get older, especially into the 90s as I am, you begin to wonder if you, you know, what you are here for. It sounds a bit pathetic, but you do. Your friends go, your interests go, you get arthritic hands and you can't play croquet or knit. I'm very lucky I can still play the piano. And having these little children around and sort of clambering around is marvelous for your self worth I think.

Willing to Compromise. Participants also described adopting particular roles within iPlayed in order to enjoy the experience. This narrative acknowledged that today's young children have limited attention spans and behave badly at times, but that the older adults should attempt to make the most of their interactions with them through compromise. The chief character within this story is the 'Tolerant Disciplinarian', who, in comparison to other adults, is able to distance themselves from the not ideal behaviour and take steps in order to enjoy the exchange. This character adopted the attitude that within the confines of iPlayed, for example, there is no point disciplining the children in the limited time available.

> Graham: Oh yes I do, I enjoy young children (…) I think I understand children, but at the same time, I do get a bit annoyed by them.
>
> Int.: Can you tell me a bit about that?
>
> Graham: The physical prodding and poking, that annoys me, and deliberate, acts of deliberately trying to annoy, you can see it quite clearly, so you've got to deflect that, turn it into a game or a joke, there's no point getting angry, absolutely none.

Generationally, many of the participants in this research spoke about their childhoods and how they were expected to be seen and not heard. This jars with how

children today are encouraged to express themselves and readily engage with those older than them. What this narrative highlighted was that not all older adults will enjoy iPlayed given the temperament that is required to get the most out of this interaction.

Older People Teach the Young. Many participants used this narrative when reflecting on intergenerational interactions. As a story it described how important a good education and reading is for young children and that when older people interact with young children this is an ideal opportunity to teach and guide them. When some participants were reflecting on the reading activity that takes place during iPlayed, they frequently considered their love of books and how intrinsic books are to learning. For example, Vida wanted to join iPlayed primarily due to her love of books and her memories of sharing books with her own children. When asked what she thinks the young children are gaining from participating in iPlayed, Vida positions herself within this narrative as a guide for encouraging a love of books: "Well a love of books for one thing, which I think is very important because I know with modern technology, books seem to be going a bit out of fashion. But the smell of a new book, the excitement of a new book is something which I think is just lovely." iPlayed is storied as a worthwhile endeavour within this narrative, as participants describe being able to participate in an activity that will benefit the younger generation's education. However, beyond possibly encouraging a love of books, generativity did not feature as a strong element in the narratives associated with iPlayed.

Instead, older adults constructed generativity as an exchange that could take place better between family. They described an awareness of the knowledge and wisdom that they possess, but a reticence to impose it on younger generations. In considering the current social milieu, participants shared stories about their perceived

deficiencies in this regard. The story told was that, young children today have been born into a very different time and that their knowledge and uptake of technological change, for example, means that the children were the ones who could deliver the knowledge. Cathy illustrated this point: “I don't feel envious of my grandchildren with the amount of technology they have to cope with, they're more likely to help me than I am them. That's for sure. But if you can somehow get through to them the enthusiasm of doing stuff, of experiencing stuff, trying things out.”

Participants also identified that generativity to them is their knowledge and skills being alive in *their own children*. Therefore, indirectly, the act of generativity is being enacted with their grandchildren.

> Maree: Yes, I think I give to my own children, I see quite a lot of them and um, it goes on, and they’re parents now and they talk about what their kids are doing and so on, so the intergenerational thing is with them rather than the younger ones.

Contribution to Society. This narrative was used by all participants in the research and told a story of the efforts people go to to ensure they are giving back to society. Within this narrative, people wanted to be ‘Contributing Citizens’ despite various challenges, and they either saw iPlayed as a means to achieve this or found other ways to do so.

Many participants identified that, because iPlayed is relatively short in duration and takes place within the retirement village they live in, participation was much easier for them. With these elements considered, Vida explained how iPlayed helped her contribute back to society.

> Vida: Well it gives me an interest because I feel that the age I am, I'm a taker instead of a giver and I don't really like that, because I don’t think it’s fair, so if I

can give back a modicum of something to somebody, well I like to do it and I've got time on my hands for goodness sake. I can't do a great deal because of my walking disabilities, but you know, it's about the only thing I can do, to give something back.

Iris, one of the younger participants in the research and who faced no physical constraints like Vida set her 'Contributing Citizen' within the context of an extremely busy life, and identified how the current format of iPlayed allowed her to enact this role.

Int.: So what is it about it, why are you doing it?

Iris: So I can give back to the community, you know I don't volunteer much, my neighbour goes off to the Salvation Army and visits people in hospices, and I don't do that, so that's something that I can do. I don't have a lot of time, that sounds ridiculous when you are retired and living in a retirement village, but I don't seem to have much time, so it's something I can do without leaving the Village really, because we do a lot of things outside the Village anyway. So it's something I can do, I can slot half an hour in on Wednesday morning, it means missing croquet, because I play croquet at the same time, but I play croquet on a Saturday anyway.

The 'Contributing Citizen' was a high priority role for most participants and many assigned significant meaning to it in their lives. Some considered that iPlayed could not provide substantial meaningfulness, nor was it addressing a societal need they perceived is as important as others. For example, Esther storied a complex decision making process about whether iPlayed would give her what she needed to become a 'Contributing Citizen'.

Esther: I didn't really think reading once a week was enough of an involvement to do it and I haven't got the greatest voice really for it. So, I thought, no it's not really right I will do more work with the, you know, within the Village, be more involved in the village, so that was the choice that I made really.

Within this finding, a connection between volunteering in an IGP and generativity is identified. For some, they perceive iPlayed has limitations in terms of a providing longer term benefits to themselves. For some, it is not enough to participate in iPlayed to give back to society, as the perceived meaning or value in the opportunity is not significant enough for them.

Discussion

The narratives identified above show that the experience of an IGP is life-affirming, but one that the older adult must adopt a flexible and tolerant mindset in order to enjoy. Generativity is positioned within this experience, but more strongly linked to relationships between older adults and their own family members. Older people describe a need to contribute back to society, highlighting the powerful force of the successful ageing narrative and participating in an IGP is seen by some as one way to do this, however more meaning is derived from the relationships and time they spend with family members. Generativity, is queried for relevance in today's social milieu between the very young and old. Older people do not see generativity as a means to contribute to society, moreover they describe children today as having more to offer them with regards to technological change.

The multiple levels of life-affirming meaning that older people gave to their IGP experience differs from previous studies. Other research has identified that, by being around young children, older adults have an opportunity to observe and enjoy the youthful exuberance of preschoolers and that through this exchange the adult is reminded of life and vivacity (Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Skropeta et al., 2014; Weintraub & Killian, 2007). However, the current research identified how IGPs give older people an

opportunity to experience a physical interaction with preschool aged children, and this is often missing from the lives of older people, a finding supported by Ruggiano (2012), where older adults were observed smiling and patting the children affectionately as they passed by them. Mood enhancement or simple joy in seeing the children has previously been identified where experiences of and outcomes of participating in an IGP for the older participants were the focus (Doll & Bolender, 2010; Heyman & Gutheil, 2008; Ruggiano, 2012). The findings from this study complement the body of literature about older people interacting with preschoolers within IGPs, in that older people find the experience life affirming in multiple ways.

Participants also described the sort of identities people adopted in order to maximise their iPlayed experience. Eggers and Hensley (2005) identified a similar theme – that it is not possible to reach all older adults with these sorts of programmes, and that many older adults do not feel comfortable in the social spaces of this age group. Ruggiano (2012) also found that some older adults found the young children too loud and that they bother them when they are sharing facilities. Where the current research deviates from the existing literature is the identification of the roles people adopt to get through these situations. The implication therefore is that participation in an IGP with very young children is not to every older person's liking.

Generativity was storied in a number of ways. Through iPlayed, some participants were able to gently guide and nurture the younger generation through a passion for books. In comparison, participants in other IGP programmes have described an to increase their generative fulfillment through book reading with younger generations (Carlson et al., 2000; Glass et al., 2004; Gruenewald et al., 2016). Participation in an IGP has also enabled the older person to feel 'needed' or 'wanted'

(Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Weintraub & Killian, 2007), where the meaning of the work was so important to them that they felt they were caregivers for the children. The difference between these findings and the current study is that these IGPs were held with older children compared to the children in iPlayed.

Despite there being some theoretical support for the notion that older people should be guiding the very young (Vaillant, 2002; Vanderven, 2004; Snyder & Clary, 2004; Wiles & Jayasinha, 2013) and findings within IGP outcomes research which also support this (Herrmann, Sipsas-Herrmann, Stafford, & Herrmann, 2005; Kuehne, 1992; Eggers & Hensley, 2005; Andreoletti & Howard, 2006), participants in the current study did not share a strong narrative of generativity when interacting with young children. In the current research, generativity was found to be situated between grandparent and their child. In another study this was found in the ambivalence some grandparents feel as they negotiate their roles with their children and grandchildren, where the power balance within this dyad usually sits with the parents (Mason et al., 2007). A similar conclusion was identified in New Zealand as grandparents drew on the narrative about valuing their own independence, which in turn justified their reduced grandparent role that they had adopted (Breheny et al., 2013). In fact, in this study as grandchildren aged, grandparents reported they should 'be there' less to prevent 'interference' and enable the grandchild's increasing independence.

The powerful influence of a changed technological landscape influenced how participants described generativity as a altered construct. Older people told a story about young children today having more to offer them, specifically with regards to technology. This is a unique finding of the present study. Within the IGP literature, some programmes have been established where the two generations are brought together

over technology (Gamliel & Gabay, 2014; Kolodinsky et al., 2002), however, there are no findings of this kind with preschool aged children.

Some participants identified that participating in this IGP would allow them to enact a contribution to society, while others did not. While the current study did not ask residents of VaP what they would want from an IGP, Cook and Bailey (2013) did and found that people wanted the intergenerational interactions to be time-limited, have purpose and provide an opportunity for both parties to be generative. Looking to a future where the number of older adults in the population will significantly increase, Sellon (2014) identified that, in order to engage the baby boomer cohort to contribute to their communities, intergenerational volunteering opportunities must be meaningful. This finding has been replicated elsewhere (Martinez et al., 2006; Tang & Morrow-Howell, 2008) and indicates that, for the younger cohort entering older age, volunteering opportunities should be created as opportunities for older people to give back to the community they live in as it is a major motivation to continue volunteering.

Limitations and Considerations for Future Research

There are several limitations to the current research. First, the cuturally and socially restricted group of participants who took part which featured only New Zealand European/ Pākehā, cognitively unimpaired individuals. As IGPs have been associated with a variety of benefits for many groups of older adults, future research should look to create and encourage IGP projects in communities that represent the diversity of ageing experience of New Zealand's older people. Also, the experience of the younger participants in iPlayed has not been overlooked. In a parallel study, a fellow researcher also investigated the IGP, but chose to focus on the experiences of the younger children (Hebenton, 2018). Lastly, participants in the current research were interviewed

between three and six months into their iPlayed experiences and no attempt was made to discern any differences in their responses.

Conclusion

This research has highlighted that, despite the evidence base for IGPs around the world being robust and largely positive for older people, there is a paucity of research illustrating how older adults perceive younger people. Furthermore, the traditional construct of generativity has been challenged within the modern technological milieu young children are growing up within. These are areas for obvious consideration by future researchers and those associated with IGP theory and programme development. Participating in an IGP is a positive way that *some* older adults can achieve a contribution to society they desire and they do this by adopting roles within the exchange. Therefore, this research has challenged the assumption that bringing older and younger people together is a positive experience. IGPs are not for all older people and respecting the agency of older people within the intergenerational exchange is critical. Perceived meaningfulness of the IGP exchange was identified as important by many participants in the current study. As baby boomers continue to populate older age, the challenge for IGP developers is to deliver this important outcome through their programmes.

A Reflection on How this Research Contributed to my Clinical Practice

Societal Expectations. A social narrative within my research which influenced the findings heavily was that all participants wanted to contribute back to society in some way. My research opened by identifing that the discourse around ageing has altered; ageing is now seen as a time to be successful through activity and staying connected to the communities older people live in. Working with older adults so far this

year, I have found myself querying this widely held perspective, as not all people arrive in older age in good physical or mental health. Furthermore the economic position of many of New Zealand's older adults leaves them restricted in terms of what they are able to achieve and this has been very evident within the population I work with at Counties Manukau. It has lead me to ponder the significance of loss in the ageing adults' mental health presentation. The clients I have had the priviledge to work with so far are experiencing loss in many aspects of their lives. Most signficantly, they are battling with the physical effects of ageing and because of this, their ability to give back to society is greatly diminished. Part of me wonders whether the chronically mentally unwell older person could benefit by being given opportunities to give back, as the focus of their attention may briefly come off their own mental or physical illness and externalise to something else.

Within the wider thesis I covered some of the literature which takes a critical approach to this position and states: that a good late life is about flourishing and growing in whatever ways are possible for the individual (Minkler, 2000). With this in mind as the year has progressed I have tried to distance myself from the popular narrative of activity and productivity in ageing when I am with clients. Not only are many older people bound by the situations they find themselves in, they also have a choice to participate and "contribute", or not. The diversity of cultures within Counties Manukau has also highlighted to me that a contribution does not necessarily equate to society in a general sense, but that it can be very close to the individual's home or with individuals or organisations in other countries. Or, not occur at all. It is a choice and I must be respectful of what the client has chosen to prioritise in their life.

Loss of Confidence. My research highlighted to me the huge technological change that older people have experienced in their lifetimes. The average 70 year old was born prior to television being introduced, nothing was digitalised, household chores were barely automated. Not only this, but societal expectations on dual-income homes, and the role of women in particular, have drastically changed. As I spoke to participants in my research, I did get the sense that these changes had in some way created a "them and us" mindset in some older people.

As this year has progressed I have noticed that I embrace the unique experiences and skills that each client presents with. In doing so I am also respectful of the frustration some clients present with regards to technology. However, I have noted that I do encourage clients to participate in technology related classes local to them, should they wish to. I often talk to clients about interviewing two participants for my thesis and then afterwards sitting with them for an hour and showing them pictures of their daughter's art works on the internet they had never seen before. They had no computer skills, but through our time together they were able to see the potential these machines hold and were moved by seeing this content. Using small anecdotes like these with some clients has been empowering this year.

I also like to point out the rate of change that has occurred with regards to technology with clients. I am 39 and my generation did not grow up with the internet, for example. The changes have occurred at break neck speed and the confusion and sense of being overwhelmed within this scenario is completely understandable. Showing humility and understanding with clients has been important this year. I have been conscious that even though I am younger than my clients, I do not want the bridge between them and myself to be too wide. There is no escaping our age difference, but

my job has been to ensure the clients feels comfortable with me and know I am respectfully there understanding their position in life.

The Power of Small Things. I keep reflecting on the fact that my research did not find iPlayed to be a deep and meaningful experience with the older people. I recall thinking this was disappointing. However, what I came to realise was that this 30 minute event every two weeks was bringing joy to the participants at that time and that simply, this was a very powerful thing.

When I came to this conclusion last year, I was also growing as a therapist and coming to the conclusion that the therapeutic encounter with clients need not be laced with expectations of deep and meaningful outcomes for the client. I was starting to realise that the weekly sessions I was having with clients did not cover huge amounts of material, neither were there many moments within the encounter where significant progress was made with the client. The expectation on myself was that I must be within the encounter, be present, ensure that the client feels connected with and heard and that perhaps two or three 'therapeutic gems' may occur.

As this year has progressed I have taken this attitude with clients. What it has enabled me to do is properly listen to the client and pick up the more subtle and social cues they present with. In doing so, I can tailor and match the therapy to the client. Not only is this the best approach for the client, but I believe I have been able to manage my own neuroses about how I am faring throughout my training. Reflecting on the small wins is something I have found to be truly important as continue my training. I could spend the whole year wondering how the work with that client could have been better, but my progress would be constantly stalled. iPlayed participation was positive in many

ways and expecting too much from any human interaction is unrealistic and counter productive.

Access to Community Events. The research is certainly true; older people are very isolated. Nearly all of the clients I have seen this year present with social isolation as a key area of distress in their lives. However, in association to this point, I have been astounded at the range and number of community events and organisations are available for the older person. What this presents with is the dilemma of what is the likelihood of someone who is suffering significant mental health distress getting to these events? iPlayed took place in a middle-class, predominately New Zealand European retirement village. With it taking place within the building the residents lived in, the usual barriers my clients present with such as transport and cost for example, were eliminated. I know that many of my clients would greatly benefit from experiencing something like iPlayed on a regular basis, yet reaching them in their isolated council flats is not straightforward. Through pondering this, I decided to keep an updated list of community events like iPlayed, that I could recommend to my clients.