

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH 64

HELENA HURME

CHILD, MOTHER AND GRANDMOTHER
INTERGENERATIONAL INTERACTION IN FINNISH FAMILIES



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, JYVÄSKYLÄ 1988

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Abstract

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This monograph reports the results of a Finnish study on intergenerational relations in the family. It is based on semistructured interviews with 70 maternal grandmothers, their daughters and their 12-year-old grandchildren as well as on a larger questionnaire sample of these individuals. The study concerned several content areas: geographical distance between the generations, contacts between them, mutual aid and support, filial responsibility as well as affective relations. The grandmother role was also a topic of study.

The results showed that the adult daughter almost invariably had loosened her ties with her mother and was less dependent on her than on her husband. The relationship between the adult generations is clearly an ambivalent one. In some families, the relationship was a very close one, but there were families where the relationship between the elderly mother and her adult daughter was almost nonexistent.

The grandmother does not occupy a central role anymore in the life of a 12-year-old Finnish child. It is not that the relationship is a cold one; rather, the child seems to have so many other activities going on that the grandmother is not as important as before.

This study did not support the contention that the oldest generation is left alone. The study also showed that Finnish daughters help their mothers independent of any emotional attachment to the mother. Help is determined solely by the mother's need for help.

The results also partly supported the contention of earlier studies that the grandmother role is a roleless role. About a fifth of the grandmothers found it difficult to spontaneously define the main tasks of the grandmother.

Keywords: intergenerational relations, grandparenthood, grandchildren, social support, filial responsibility, affective relations.

PREFACE

This monograph is the main report on a research project on inter-generational relations and social support in the family, supported by the Academy of Finland. It was begun in 1984 and parts of it has been published earlier (e.g. Hurme 1987a and b) and presented at various congresses and seminars. Parts of the project will be reported in later publications as well and the same theme will be continued in collaboration with a research team at the Institute of Psychology at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poland.

I have had many inspiring discussions with my colleagues, first and foremost with Professors Lea Pulkkinen at the University of Jyväskylä and Maria Tyszkowa from Poznan, Poland, who is my colleague on a comparative research project which will be a continuation of this study. I wish to thank them both. I was also inspired by contacts with members of the cooperative group on gerontology under the auspices of the Academy of Finland. The Academy has also financed this project, which I am deeply grateful for.

I also wish to thank the Series for accepting it for publication as well as its Editor, Mikko Korhonen, for helpful comments..

It is rather uncommon nowadays that a person carries out all the different phases of a large research project him- or herself. Rather, help is needed during different phases of an investigation. This is the case in this study as well.

I am especially indebted to my research assistant Anitta Salmi, who carried out the first phases of the study, the collection of child essays, very much on her own. She also took an active part in designing the interview schedules with me and interviewed more than half of the subjects. She organized the distribution and collection of the questionnaires as well, and it was a pity for the project that she had to leave it for a permanent job as a psychologist. I am also grateful to Kristiina Kontiainen, Raija Hanhela and Pirjo Kainulainen who helped with the interviews.

My thanks are also due to Ari Mäkiäho who has done all the data analysis of the project and often has had to work very much on his own, Raija who helped me with an earlier version of the drawings of this report, to Dino Cascarino who checked the English and Lukas Nyberg who helped me with the printing of the manuscript. I am also thankful to my colleagues at the Department of Psychology at the University of Jyväskylä, where I worked while collecting the data for this study as well as to my

new colleagues at the Faculty of Education of Åbo Akademi. My time at the Department of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry at the Institute of Psychiatry in London with Professor Michael Rutter also inspired me. And of course I wish to thank all the children, mothers and grandmothers who accepted to fill in questionnaires and to be interviewed.

Vaasa, September 6th 1987

Helena Hurme

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. POINTS OF DEPARTURE OF THE STUDY

This study is concerned with the relationships between generations in the family, and more specifically with the relationships between mothers, maternal grandmothers and grandchildren.

Intergenerational relations is a relatively new area in developmental psychology and the psychology of the child. It is so new that up to 1982 there were hardly any references to grandparenthood, for instance, in Psychological Abstracts. Also, only during the very recent years have Finnish references been found. This area, however, has not been the main focus of research in Finland during this period (with a few exceptions, e.g. Sysiharju 1983), although grandparenthood has been touched upon in some recent work (e.g. Haavio-Mannila 1983; Suutama 1986; Harmainen & Ruoppila 1985).

Child development and factors which influence development have been the target of research for decades. The role of upbringing and child rearing was acknowledged, but it was often thought of as unidirectional, from parent to child, and the studies concentrated on the nuclear family and very often on child rearing attitudes and practices (e.g. Sears, Maccoby & Levin 1957; Takala, Nummenmaa & Kauranne 1960). In psychology, however, certain more general trends have led to interest being turned to the extended family, intergenerational relations and to the role of the grandparents in the child's life.

A central development in psychology is that the principles of systems theory are applicable to human development (e.g. Stapf 1978). It is more and more commonly accepted, for example, the the family forms a system (e.g. Ackerman 1983; Stierlin 1981). Changes in one person influence the behaviour of other members in the family, and as a consequence, the whole family changes. This contention has important consequences for the cross-sectional study of such concepts as attachment, for instance. It also inevitably leads to the acceptance of a developmental or historical view of behaviour and to the contention that whole systems change in time. This, again, underlines the importance of earlier generations in the family.

A central feature of systems theory is that a system consists of

subsystems and that the boundaries of a system are fluid and arbitrary. Often it is a definitional problem as to which entity belongs to which system, and which entities again are external to it. This view coincides with another general trend in developmental psychology, viz. the ecological view of development. According to this view the individual does not develop in a vacuum, but through interaction with his or her physical and social environment. The environment is often viewed as consisting of many layers, embedded in each other (c.f. Bronfenbrenner 1979, 1986). The individual's own active role is central. He is not viewed as a passive recipient, but as an active agent. Stierlin (1981), for example, stresses the active role of individuals participating in the transaction process. He says (p. 8) that "their (conscious and unconscious) intentions, their actions, their sufferings, their messages to, and perceptions of, the others are the main focus of study".

When applied to the family, the ecological view implies that the family is considered as a part of the larger social system and as one institution among other institutions. This also means that the boundaries of the family are fluid and variously defined in different families and in different cultures. A central feature is, however, that these different parts of the ecology of the individual interact and influence his development.

A special application of the ecological view of development (although perhaps not acknowledged by most human ecologists) is the social networks approach to the family (e.g. Finset 1986). In this approach each individual is seen as being a part of a social network consisting of other persons who know each other more or less well and interact with each other more or less frequently. Several studies have shown that the individual's family and his kin occupy central positions in his or her social networks but that mothers, for example, rely on other persons as well (e.g. Gunnarson 1981; Cochran, Gunnarson, Gräbe & Lewis 1984). Again, external factors, such as geographical distance, influence networks. The functioning of networks is also dependent of social class, for instance.

The social network is a structure, but it would not exist without a content. Another research tradition, for a long time rather apart from the social network studies but now merging with them (see Gottlieb 1985), viz. the social support approach, furnishes at least part of the content of the networks. Again it has been shown that the extended family is a central source of social

support and that the ability of network members to support others depend on their personal factors, on one hand, and on external factors, such as other commitments, e.g. work, and geographical distance, on the other. Social support is most needed in cases where major life events have happened.

In developmental psychology the life span approach is now commonly accepted. This has several implications for the study of intergenerational relations. It has led to an increased interest in older age groups, including grandparents. It has also led to an interest in the past and the role of historical factors in the development of the individual. The life span view also stresses the role of social change which can be seen as differences between different cohorts. This, again, has led to an understanding of, for instance, grandparenthood being different now as compared with the situation some decades ago.

Another central factor in development which has been stressed during recent years is the role of cognitive factors. The individual builds up his own schemas, conceptions, of his own behaviour and the world around him and this is achieved through interaction with other people (and this view can be considered close to those stressing "the social construction of reality" (Berger & Luckman 1966). This, again, would point to the need to consider more psychological dimensions of support, for instance, as well as individual interpretations of interpersonal relations and social networks. Partly, this goal may be achieved by adopting methods (e.g. semistructured interviewing) which allow such subjective meanings to be expressed

1.2. CENTRAL CONCEPTS IN INTERGENERATIONAL RESEARCH

Certain concepts are central when speaking of intergenerational relations. The first is the concept of generation itself. It has been analyzed by, for instance, Acock (1984). One meaning of the word is "ranked descent", i.e. being a parent or grandparent. This meaning of the word is independent of age and corresponds to a *lineage* position within the family (Hagestad 1984). This use of the word also corresponds to a macro level analysis of generations in the family (Bengtson 1971; Bengtson & Black 1973). This use of the word has to be distinguished from generations as age homogeneous groups or *cohorts* (Acock 1984) (on the macro level). This study is concerned with the former meaning of this term. The word generation may, however, also mean task

homogeneous groups, e.g. hippies, independent of age, or discrete timespans, i.e. around 30 years, or it may even refer to the *Zeitgeist*, i.e. shared content of style, politics, values etc. (Acock 1984). These different meanings are important to remember when speaking of generations. It must also be stated that nowadays the criteria for "being a parent and grandparent" are less clear than earlier as people remarry and form new families.

It might seem that the term family is a clear one. This is, however, not always the case. First of all, the term is often understood as the nuclear family and in this sense it correspond to the "alpha focus" on the family, mentioned by Hagestad (1984), i.e. a focus on the time when the children are small. This is in contrast with an "omega focus" with a stress on the time when the children are grown up and have offspring of their own. This study has both an alpha and an omega focus. Secondly, a problem is created by common law-marriages and in-laws. In this study, common law - marriages are equated with marriages and in-laws, when touched upon, are treated from the child's viewpoint, and therefore as a part of the family.

The term child contains the same problems as the concept of "family". As Hagestad (1984) points out, it may mean a chronological category or a role. In this study the latter definition applies. "Daughter" may therefore refer to an adult daughter or a 12-year-old daughter.

Parent and grandparent are concepts which have much the same problems as the terms "family" and "child". Parent refers to a role relationship but also to a lineage position, for example when speaking of "child, parent, grandparent". In this study, "parent" may refer to the middle generation or to the oldest generation. The meaning depends on the context.

Parenthood, again, is a concept which is very much dependent on time and culture. The same applies to grandparenthood. Both concepts have been the target of research and grandparenthood will be analyzed in detail in this study.

1.3. THE STUDY OF INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS

The study of intergenerational relations is interdisciplinary to its nature and in this study, use has been made of concepts from different disciplines. First of all, the study of intergenerational relations encompasses areas which traditionally have been the target of *sociological* studies (e.g. Handel 1970). Sociology

furnishes the main concepts needed for understanding the interaction between the generations, for instance the nature of family roles and the norms related to them, typical behaviours expected in these roles, e.g. as grandmothers or adult children, changes in roles and statuses as well as relationships with other institutions in society, for instance the day care system. *Psychology/social psychology* is more interested in interaction on the micro level and especially individual aspects of interaction, for instance the feelings of the individual or his attitude towards members of the other generation. Where sociology might describe what material exchange is like, for instance, psychology might be interested in why there is exchange and how this is interpreted by the individuals. The central role of social psychology in understanding intergenerational relationships is underlined by Hagestad (1981) who says that it is not enough to have data from economic surveys, but forces inside the family has to be studied as well. *Demography* again would not only be interested in the size of age groups, transitions from one role to the other, age of entering a role, but also in the geographical distribution of the generations - "the geography of the family" (c.f. Roussel 1976), their occupational similarities or the birth of social classes. Other disciplines as well, for instance *anthropology* (e.g. Mering & Mulhare 1970), *history* or *literature*, are interested in intergenerational relationships and provide important material for interpretation.

Figure 1 shows a way of delineating the main problems in the study of intergenerational relationships. It is an adaptation to intergenerational relations of Kivistös and Vahervas (1981,32) more general scheme.

	SOCIAL STRUCTURE	SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS	SOCIAL PROCESSES
INTERNAL FACTORS IN THE FAMILY	E.G. -CHANGES IN AGE OF GIVING BIRTH -CHANGES IN ROLES -CHANGES IN THE GRANDPARENT STATUS	THE FAMILY -CHANGES IN CONCEPTIONS CONCERNING THE FAMILY -CHANGES IN NORMS	PROCESSES IN THE FAMILY -SOCIALIZATION -HELP -COOPERATION -CONFLICT -ETC.
THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY	FACTORS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE -NUMBER OF OLD PEOPLE -REGIONAL STRUCTURE -ETC.	OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS -DAY CARE -THE SCHOOL SYSTEM -ETC.	PROCESSES COM- CERNING GENE- RATIONS -ATTITUDES TO OLD PEOPLE -CHANGES IN HELP NEEDED ETC.

FIGURE 1. Factors influencing intergenerational relationships
(an application of Kivistö's and Vaherva's (1981)
general frame of reference)

Figure 1 looks at internal family factors on one hand and the relation of the family external to it on the other. These are treated in relation to three subgroups: 1) the social structure, 2) social institutions and 3) social processes. The social structure, both in the family and in relation to society at large, form the structural prerequisites of intergenerational interaction, in other words the general frame of it. When looked upon as a social institution, the *functions* of the generations and the individuals in the family as well as norms governing them become central. Finally, social processes in connection with generations in the family concern, for instance, *socialization* and cooperation and conflicts between the generations. These factors will be treated in detail below.

1. Structural prerequisites of intergenerational interaction

There are two types of prerequisites of intergenerational relations. One consists of social prerequisites, such as the number of elderly people in society and the age structure and subgroups of the elderly, the other being the structural factors in the family. These factors interact, however, and will be treated under the same heading below.

In Finland, the population structure has changed so that now

the number of elderly people is rapidly increasing (STV 1984, Table 17). This is a consequence of lower mortality after middle age (STV 1984, Table 54) and thus a longer life expectancy (STV 1984, Table 55) both at middle age and after the age of 70, especially for women. Persons belonging to large cohorts are also now starting to enter middle and old age. As mortality is higher among middle age men than women, women are predominating among the elderly.

For younger generations these phenomena have both positive and negative consequences. Adult children get support from their parents for a longer period of time and more grandchildren have grandparents alive (c.f. Sprey & Matthews 1982). On the other hand the elderly may live longer, but be rather frail, which implies a burden to the adult children. On the financial side the consequences may be that inheritance is transmitted to the middle generation rather late, perhaps during a period when it is not so badly needed anymore.

There are other structural changes as well which have influenced the relationships between generations. The industrialization process and the birth of urban centres has led to a rise in migration which often has implied a splitting of families. This may have led Hagestad (1981) to contend that the nuclear family is more on its own now than during earlier periods. Although no direct data are available it is probable that on average the generations in Finnish families live further apart than half a century ago. This is a very central determinant of intergenerational relationships and it seems to have been largely neglected in Finnish thinking on social policy. Children, grandchildren and grandparents form a *natural* part of the social network and social support of each other, and taken together they form a system which in a positive sense could be taken advantage of.

On the other hand there are factors which have made it easier for adult children, grandchildren and grandparents to keep in contact. Travel is much faster than before and a car is a common commodity. Almost every family is on the telephone and postal services are fast. This has led to what Troll, Miller and Atchley (1979) term "intimacy at a distance".

The introduction of a general pension system makes the oldest generation at least partly financially independent of their adult children. The well-developed Finnish health care system eases the burden of the middle generation in taking care of their parents. The same factors apply to the middle generation. Often both

spouses work and are able to support the family. Unemployment benefits, maternity benefits, a developed day care system etc. increases the independence of the offspring. Therefore, the generations are relatively independent of each other, at least financially. Hess and Waring (1978) have suggested that the fact that adult children don't have to take care of their elderly parents any longer should lead to positive feelings among generations. They say (p. 247): "The essential change has been that the adult child now provides for an aged parent in the *citizen* role rather than the familial one". This implies a transition from satisfying instrumental needs to satisfying expressive ones.

2. Functions of intergenerational relationships in the family

The relationships between generations in the family are determined by several factors and aim at multiple ends. The relationships between the adult generations (adult children and their parents and grandparents) rely heavily on norms concerning what has been termed filial obligations or filial responsibility (Seelbach & Sauer 1977; Hanson, Sauer & Seelbach 1983), i.e. expectations concerning the behaviour of adult children towards their parents. These norms vary from country to country and can be expected to have developed in order to ensure the survival of the group in question, that is, a balance between a need for continuity and transfer of wisdom from the old, feelings towards them and the burden caused by their weakening. Lately, Schmitt, Dalbert and Montada (1986) have classified this type of behaviour under the heading "prosocial behaviour", a term mostly used only in child studies.

The interaction between the adult generations is also determined on an exchange basis, i.e. during early parenthood the parents take care of their children in order to ensure care by the children in later life. Part of this interaction is voluntary and altruistic, and part of it is instrumental and calculating, based on future inheritance, for instance. Hess and Waring (1978) even suppose that some adult children try to keep their parents active and healthy in order to avoid having to take care of them.

It is important to observe that the relationships between the generations in the family are not always only positive. Hess and Waring (1978) have treated this point at length. They say that status transitions, e.g. the empty nest, widowhood, retirement, becoming a grandparent etc., may imply a threat to

intergenerational relationships. It is difficult to give up roles which have constituted a part of the definition of the self and it is difficult to enter roles which implies a lower status. It is equally difficult for other persons to adapt new ways of relating to these new roles. On the other hand Hess and Waring point out that these transitions (or life events) during adulthood, contain the possibility of a renewed closeness as well as of learning new role models, mutual support and anticipatory socialization.

The feature which at least in popular accounts on intergenerational interaction is dominant, is that the relationship is one based on feelings, and that it satisfies basic emotional needs, thus being expressive in its nature. Feelings would thus account for the high amount of contacts seen between the adult children and parents. Feelings between adults in the family are, however, one of the least studied areas in psychology so far. The truth is probably that a combination of obligations and affects determine the interaction.

3. Processes and mechanisms of intergenerational influence

For decades, socialization was considered the main task of the family and intergenerational interaction. There are, however, reasons which support the use of the term 'intergenerational influence' instead, a term used, by for instance, Acock (1984).

Socialization has often been defined as the transmission of culture to the younger generation. This definition, however, does not correspond to the systems view delineated above, and also not to the fact that influence is not unidirectional, but bidirectional. The same type of criticism has been made by Bengtson and Black (1973). They have treated socialization in an intergenerational context. The broadest possible definition, according to them, is that socialization is "the attempt to ensure continuity in a social system through time" (p. 209). The same function of socialization has been stressed by other authors, for instance, Cohler and Grunbaum (1980). The task of the older generations is to transmit information which enables the young to act in an increasingly complex society. Bengtson and Black, however, are not content with this type of macro level approach, which neglects the fact that children socialize their parents as well. Bengtson and Black view socialization as continuing bilateral negotiations. They say (p. 209) "The socialization process may be viewed as an interactional confrontation between developing individuals in which those factors leading to continuity and those leading

toward difference are negotiated". This view has since been quite commonly adopted. One of the foremost researchers in intergenerational relations, Gunhild Hagestad (1981) says that socialization is not a transmission of expectations, but a creation of them. Socialization is based on negotiations, where common expectations are formed. In the same fashion, family culture is created, transmitted and redefined. Symbolic interactionism especially has led authors to stress the central place of transmitting symbols during the socialization process and in the interaction between generations (e.g. McCready 1985, Tinsley & Parke 1984).

Socialization has been the target of several theoretical approaches in psychology and sociology (see Mortimer & Simmons 1978). Role theory has stressed that socialization is a process of acquisition of appropriate norms, attitudes, self-images and values as well as of role behaviours. Identification theory, on the other hand, has focussed on the affective relationship between the parties. The attachment of the socializee is underlined and he is viewed as a dependent recipient. "Generalization theory" is a more sociological type of theory. It stresses the fact that "attitudes, values and ways of thinking are abstracted and generalized from successful adaptation to daily life pressures and situations" (Mortimer & Simmons, 1978, 429).

Each of these theories stress a certain type of mechanism or process which underlies intergenerational influence. The truth is most probably that all these factors play a central part in intergenerational interaction. It is also important to understand the developmental and interactional nature of this process.

The process begins with the expectations of the parents even before the birth of the child. These are partly governed by biological/hormonal factors. Social factors are, however, at least as central in this process. Benedek (1970), for instance, has observed that only man is able to change motherhood. These factors together ensure the survival of the group and species. After the birth of the child, the same factors contribute to nursing behaviour and to the formation of attachments to the child. The child is dependent on the parents and they satisfy his basic needs. The parents, therefore, act as reinforcers to the child. This increases their status and value in his or her eyes. Soon the child starts to identify with them and by the process of observational learning and imitation, learns to act like they do. This process of identification is especially strong with the parent (and

grandparent of the same sex) (Magrab 1979).

At the same time, the child internalizes behaviours and attitudes appropriate to a certain society. The child, among other things, forms schemas of how adults are supposed to behave towards old people, and from their grandparents they learn how old people behave (e.g. Hess & Waring 1978). As the child grows older, the role of cognitive factors increases, and he is himself able to interpret phenomena connected with intergenerational interaction. Norms of mutuality and exchange are internalized, and these form the basis of the adult child's later support and helping behaviour towards his old parents.

With time, the role of identification is supposed to decrease, and the young person is supposed to move towards separation and individuation (e.g. Cohler & Grunbaum 1981). This is a phase which often seems to lead to later problems, for instance, in the form of symbiotic relationships between mothers and daughters which hamper the relationships with the youngest generation (e.g. Stierlin 1981). This is not only a consequence of the fact that parenthood is a lifelong task, but also that its nature must change at the same time.

The older the child is, the more he starts to influence his parents and grandparents. This may even lead to situations where the child sets the norm and gives the example of how to behave, and this leads onto what Margaret Mead (1970) has termed a 'prefigurative' society where the younger generations act as models for the older generations. This is a consequence of rapid social changes, which has led to a situation where the family faces more and more difficult tasks. The models the parents and grandparents give will not be valid when the child reaches their age. Riesman (1950) says, for instance, that "grandmothers as authorities are almost as obsolete as governesses. There is no room for them in the modern apartments, nor can they any more than the children themselves, find a useful economic role. Nevertheless they endure, concomitant with the increased longevity of the later population phase". He continues: "The elimination of the grandmother from a central role in the home is moreover, symbolic of the rapidity of the changes we are discussing. She is two generation removed from current practices on the "frontier of consumption" (p. 56-57). A consequence of this, is that children and youngsters search for and have other models. This is also in line with Riesman's (1950) observation that where people in earlier times had interiorized their forefathers as models of behaviour, the individual today is more dependent on

his peers. Mead's (1970) solution is that the adults change and that teaching, education and child rearing should convey not what is to be learnt but how to learn.

If these were the only factors explaining intergenerational transmission, society would never change. Individual variations in behaviour and aberrations from norms lead to slow changes in the typical behaviour of individuals, and societal factors and planned social change in the form of legislation, for instance, cause changes in intergenerational behaviour as well, as was mentioned above. Stierlin (19781) says that society even has institutionalized youth culture with norms that stand in conflict with those of the parents. This new culture will eventually lead to permanent changes in society.

2. PROBLEMS

As to its nature, the study is an exploratory and descriptive one. Its main aim is to give a rather comprehensive picture of the most central factors in the interaction of three generations in the Finnish family.

The study covers several central subareas which all are interconnected. These are: 1) Distance between the generations and its impact on their relations, 2) Contacts between generations, 3) Intergenerational support, 4) Affective relations and 5) The grandmother role. Besides these, some more general questions are asked concerning the interaction of these factors, e.g. what the role of filial obligations are in determining helping behaviour.

In each area, some more specific questions may be posed. In these areas hypotheses may be formed based on earlier studies. These are presented in connection with the introduction to each chapter. The central questions in each area are the following:

1. Distance

- how often do three generations live together?
- how far apart do these generations live?
- to what extent does the grandmother have her kin close to her?
- what is the influence of distance on the intergenerational relations?

2. Contacts

- how common are contacts between the generations in the Finnish family (visiting by adult generations, grandmother-grandchild visits, grandchild meeting different grandparents, contacts by telephone and letter)
- what activities are typical during these meetings?

3. Support

- what forms of support does the older generation give to the younger?
- to what extent is there support during life events?

- which persons forms the social network of the middle generation?
- to what extent does the middle generation get help from these sources?
- what is the help life to the older generations?
- to what extent doe the grandchildren help grandparents?

4. Affect

- what are the affective relations between the adult generations like?
- what is the importance of the oldest and youngest generation to each other?

5. The grandmother role

- how do grandmother view their role?
- what are the dimensions of the role?
- what does the middle generation consider as central factors in the grandmother role?

6. Factors determining help to the older generation

- what is the relative impact of affect, distance and filial obligation norms on helping behaviour?

3. SUBJECTS AND METHODS

The population of this study consists of triads with 12-year-old children, their mothers and maternal grandmothers. Common to all triads is that at least the child and the mother lived in Jyväskylä, a town with about 60.000 inhabitants.

During the first phase of the study, all 600 pupils in the fifth classes in ordinary schools in Jyväskylä were asked to write an essay on the topic "My maternal grandmother". 487 essays were accepted for a content analysis (the results of this part of the study are reported in Hurme 1987a), the rest of the children having written on someone else, often because the maternal grandmother was dead. In the essays, the children also stated where the grandmother lived. 179 children had grandmothers living in Jyväskylä and its surroundings. Among these, 40 were randomly drawn for the interview sample and later, 30 more were randomly added. One grandmother died during the study.

The children were interviewed, mostly at school, but some at home, using a semistructured, tape recorded interview, called the thematic interview (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1982). The results of this part of the study are more thoroughly reported in Hurme (1987a) and (1987b).

The 69 mothers and grandmothers were then interviewed using the same type of interview. The interview lasted from about one to two hours. The interviews were subjected to a content analysis in order to extract variables from them. The list of variables for the mothers is presented in Appendix 1, and for the grandmothers, in Appendix 2.

In the first interview sample of 40 triads, an index of attachment between the adult generations was formed, and 12 triads, high and low on attachment, were selected for observations in a laboratory. However, due to technical difficulties in the computer assisted coding of videotapes, the results are not presented in this report.

On the basis of the interviews, questionnaires for the mothers and the grandmothers were compiled. These were sent to a sample of the mothers who were not interviewed during the first interview phase. 175 (or 65 %) of these mothers returned the questionnaire (The questionnaire is presented in Appendix 3). The mothers were then asked for the name and detailed address of their mothers. Of the grandmothers, 121 (69 %) returned the

questionnaire. The grandmother questionnaire contained also the Life Satisfaction Index A (this part is not analyzed in this report), and a series of statements on the grandmother role, as well as statements on filial responsibility as measured by Seelbach and Sauer (1978). (The grandmaternal questionnaire is presented in Appendix 4). In most cases, the questionnaire results are based on these 121 dyads.

4. RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

4.1. RELIABILITY OF THE MEASURES

The reliability of the child variables is presented in more detail in Hurme 1987a and b. In general, the reliability, as measured by the correspondence of the categorization of two independent judges, can be considered satisfactory. For the interviews, the correspondence for different types of categories varied from 85 % to 95 %. For the 25 variables in the content analysis of the essays, the average percentage of agreement was 87 when the criterion was absolute agreement. The agreement varied from 55 to 100 %.

As the author has used the same type of thematic interview in her former studies (Hurme 1981) with mothers of the same age and with questions of the same type, the reliabilities of the interviews were not computed here. It turned out (Hurme 1981) that the thematic interview is a rather reliable measuring instrument, with reliabilities around .80-.90 when clear description of the variables and their classes are given.

4.2. CROSS-VALIDATION OF ANSWERS

In the maternal and grandmaternal questionnaire sample, some questions were exactly the same for both persons. This gives an opportunity to cross-validate the answers. The correlations are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Cross-validation of the questionnaire answers (correlations between maternal and grandmaternal questionnaire data)

1.00	Mother has telephone
1.00	Daughter has telephone
0.98	Number of grandchildren
0.94	Number of daughter's siblings
0.91	Distance to grandmother
0.76	Daughter phones mother
0.75	Granny manages: cooking
0.74	Daughter visits mother
0.74	Grandchild visits grandmother
0.74	Visits when grandchild born

- 0.73 Granny manages:hygiene
- 0.71 Granny manages:visits to doctor
- 0.70 Granny visits grandchild
- 0.60 Mother phones daughter
- 0.68 Granny manages:heavy chores
- 0.68 Granny manages: office visits
- 0.67 Granny manages: cultural activities
- 0.60 Grandchild phones granny
- 0.60 Granny phones grandchild
- 0.60 Grandmother manages: light chores
- 0.59 Grandmother manages: walks
- 0.58 Daughter helps: cooking
- 0.58 Mother visits daughter
- 0.54 Grandmother's health
- 0.53 Mother writes to daughter
- 0.53 Financial help when grandchild born
- 0.52 Daughter writes to mother
- 0.45 How common is embracing
- 0.42 Importance of grandchildren
- 0.40 Grandmother's enthusiasm over grandchild
- 0.38 Child writes to grandmother
- 0.38 Common activities at reunions
- 0.38 Financial help in life events
- 0.36 Daughter helps granny: hygiene
- 0.35 Advice during pregnancy
- 0.34 Time in life events
- 0.30 Daughter helps: light chores
- 0.33 Are there tabus in the family?
- 0.31 Emotional support during pregnancy
- 0.30 Time during pregnancy
- 0.29 Advice during pregnancy
- 0.27 Daughter helps: walks
- 0.26 Common work at meetings
- 0.24 Emotional support during life events
- 0.19 No interaction at meetings
- 0.19 Watching TV at meetings
- 0.16 Has granny accepted daughter's decisions?
- 0.16 Satisfaction with embracing
- 0.14 Can you confide secrets?
- 0.11 Daughter works, mother not at reunions
- 0.11 Daughter helps: office visits

0.08 Number of life events
0.06 Chatting at meetings

In Figure 1, the different types of variables are presented graphically to show the variation in the answers.

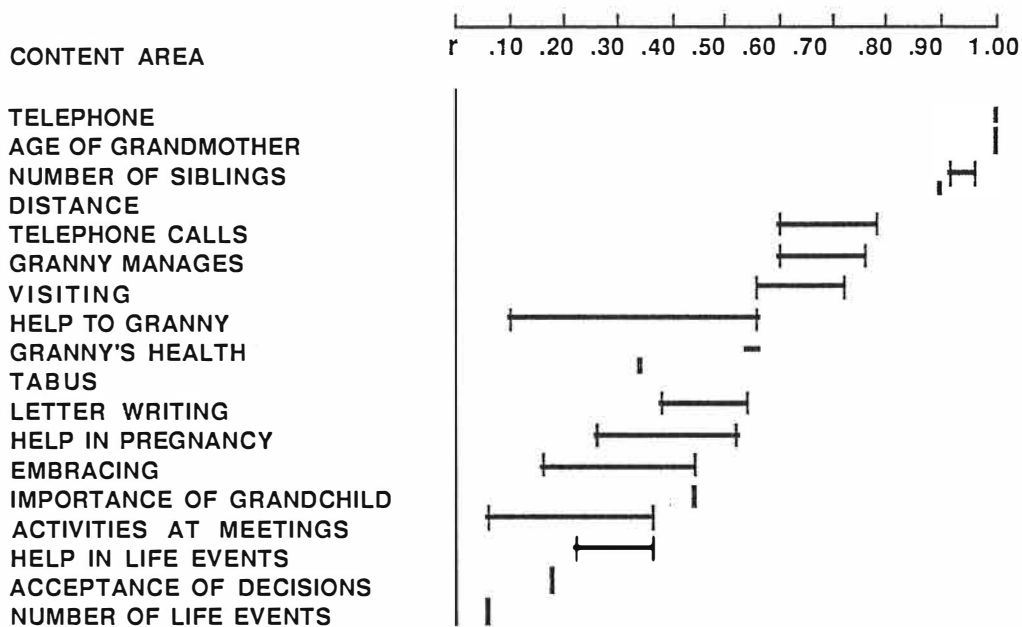


FIGURE 2. Range of correlations in mother-daughter pairs for variables of different types.

Table 1 and Figure 2 show several things. First of all, they give a general picture of the honesty of the respondents. One might generalize and say that if they know the answer, they give it. This is seen in the correlation 1.00 for having a telephone and .98 for the grandmother's age (as there was a certain period of time between the questionnaire to the mother and to the grandmother, the latter may have had her birthday in between, and this may explain the slight deviance from 1.00). It is also understandable when the daughter does not remember all the grandchildren of the grandmother, especially in cases where there are about thirty of them. The correlation of .94 for the daughter's siblings is also understandable: there are different ways of defining a sibling. One person may count only living siblings, the other also dead ones. Also, someone may count only siblings by the

same mother or father, whereas someone else also counts siblings by different parents, etc.

Thus, the variables where there are exact answers, and where a ratio scale was used, form a group apart, with very high correlations. A second group is formed by those factual questions where a distance scale was used instead (e.g. phones "daily", "a few times a week" etc.). One explanation for the high agreement on how well the grandmother manages, is that most of them manage quite well. Phoning and visiting are also quite common, whereas writing to each other is almost nonexistent. Here, the disagreement is also highest.

It is interesting to note, that help from the daughter, especially with office visits, has a very low agreement. This may depend on how "office visits" is defined by the respondents, but the feeling of received help, or helping the mother, may be subjectively colored.

It is also worth noticing, that the agreement for activities during reunions is very low. This is probably so because it is very difficult to give a generalized answer to a varying pattern of interactions. Therefore, one ought to use time budget studies instead, to show the content of the interactions between the generations. As such, the results, at the most, give a hint of what the interaction between the generations is like.

Perhaps the most surprising variable is the number of the daughter's life events, where the agreement is almost nonexistent. There may be at least three reasons for this: firstly, the question was asked as an open question, with room for written answers in both questionnaires. Thus, only 41 of the 121 dyads have answered this question. Secondly, the definition of life events varies from one person to the other. One person may count a move as a life event, the other does not, for instance. Thirdly, the grandmother may not keep track of her daughter's smaller life events, especially if she has several children. The result thus shows that one has to be especially careful in measuring life events in a multigenerational study.

The results show that one cannot speak of the validity of a study in general, not even of certain types of variables. The validity varies from variable to variable. The best validity is reached on variables measuring factual information, and by using ratio scales. Slightly lower validities are reached for factual information with interval scales, and the lowest validity for variables which involve emotional and subjective components, or which require cumbersome, written reporting.

5. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTANCE BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS

Distance between the generations refers to the geographical distance, or propinquity or proximity, between the homes of the adult generations. It may vary from living in the same household, to living several hundred of kilometers apart. This feature has been a favourite topic in studies on intergenerational relations. Troll (1971), for instance, found 16 years ago more than twenty American studies on the topic. The popularity of the concept may perhaps be explained by the fact that proximity determines many features of interaction, for instance its frequency and content, as will be seen later.

5.1. PROXIMITY IN EARLIER STUDIES

The fact is that when a new family is formed, at least one of the spouses has to move out from his or her family of origin. If children of neighbours marry, this may mean that both spouses move only a few houses away from their parents. However, children mostly move further away.

It is rather difficult to compare the results from different studies, as some give the distance in kilometers, others in time. Some again report the shortest distance to any of several children, others the distance from the parents. As people only have two parents, but may have several children and grandchildren, the probability of having at least one child or grandchild close, is much higher than having a parent or grandparent close. The age of the parent may also determine distance. It is probable that when the parent gets older, there is a tendency for the distance to get smaller.

5.1.1. Living together

The shortest possible distance is living in the same household. This is not very common in Western Europe or the United States. Shanas (1980), for instance, reports that in the USA, only 12 % of the elderly live in a household with one or more of their children.

In these cases, the children are not often married. It is even less common to live with the child's family. Treas (1975) reports that only 3 % of the households in the USA are in this situation, where parents, children and grandparents live together. Slightly higher figures are reported from France by Roussel (1976), who found that 6 % of the oldest generation reported living together with the middle generation.

In Finland, the figures are much the same. Sysiharju (1983) reports that 3 % of 33-44-year-old daughters live with their parents, and 28 % of 55-66-year-old women live with their children, and 7 % with their grandchildren (but this may be when the grandchildren are already grown up). Karjalainen (1980) found that 13 % of the elderly in the sparsely populated countryside, and 5 % in the biggest cities in Finland lived with their children.

Eastern Europe seems to form an exception from the rule. In Poland, for instance, the different generations of the family live much closer to each other than in Western Europe or the USA. This was found, for instance, in the study of Tyszka (1982). In the city of Poznan (about 700.000 inhabitants), 32 % of the families of physicians and 18 % of the families of teachers consisted of three generations. Also, 41-53 % of different types of farmers lived together with their parents. Tyszka also mentions Piotrowskis results from 1973, according to which 67 % of all Poles over 65 years old who had children, lived together with one of them. The figure was even higher for farmers: 76 %.

5.1.2. Reasons for propinquity

There are several reasons for the higher propinquity in Poland compared with other countries. One reason is a lack of houses and flats. A second reason is that the norms prescribe at least residential propinquity, if not living together.

It is rather uncommon that the parents, or the child, is considered a reason for living closely nowadays. Roussel (1976) says that in France, 27 % of the adult children reported that they had made efforts to live close to their parents (and the parents reported that 17 % of these children had made such efforts). Roussel points out that propinquity is not a measure of affective solidarity, at least not any more. Rather, propinquity between the generations is determined by several other factors. Nowadays, the most important one is the possibility of getting a job. This

again is determined by education, which in turn at least partly depends on the social class of the parents. The lower the social class, the less aspirations the parents have for their child's education. The lower the education, the easier it is for the child to get a job in the same community as his or her parents. In the lower social classes, the norms favour residential proximity as well (Adams 1968). Other studies (e.g. Roussel 1976, Fischer 1981) have also shown that in the working class, residential proximity is closer than in the upper social classes.

5.1.3. Actual distance between the generations

It was shown above, that in only a small number of the families do the generations live together. It is a general contention (e.g. Troll, Miller & Atchley 1979, Daatland & Sundström 1985) that the generations wish to live close, but apart, and that it has always been so (Nydegger 1982).

The following studies give a hint of the distance. Daatland and Sundström (1985) found that in 1977 in Denmark, about 74 % of the elderly lived at a distance of 30 minutes or less from the nearest child. In Poland, the elderly live even closer to their children. Kotlarska-Michalska found that of all retired couples in Poznan, 96 % had at least one child in the city (which approximately corresponds to the 30 minute criterion above), and only 4 % had all children living outside the city. Roussel again (1976) found that 27 % of the married children in his sample lived at a distance of more than 100 kilometres from their parents.

5.2. DISTANCE BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS IN THIS STUDY

There are several measures of the distance between the generations in this study. The most general measure is the information from the essay sample (Hurme 1986a) that of the 487 12-year-old children who wrote essays on their maternal grandmother, 179 or 37 % had their maternal grandmother living in the same community (Jyväskylä or its surroundings). As the questionnaire sample did not include the first 40 dyads, which all lived close, the population was initially biased towards the distance between the generations. However, the sample of 121 dyads contains almost as many dyads living close (32.5 %) as the original population, and it may therefore be considered representative of it.

5.2.1. Distance to kin from the viewpoint of the grandmother

Table 2 contains on part of the grandmother's social network, i.e. the number of some of her kin and the number of kin living in the same community as her.

TABLE 2. Number of kin and kin in the same location as reported by the grandmother.

	Number of siblings		Siblings in same location		Number of children		Children in same location		Number of grand-children		Grand-children in same location	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
0	11	9.2	63	56.8	-	-	29	29.4	-	-	39	39.5
1	22	18.3	19	17.1	3	2.5	36	30.6	4	3.3	14	12.4
2	15	12.5	13	11.7	21	17.4	34	28.6	9	7.4	12	10.6
3	18	15.0	10	9.0	30	24.8	9	7.6	9	7.4	12	10.6
4	14	11.7	4	3.6	17	14.0	2	1.7	16	13.2	8	7.1
5	17	14.2	2	1.8	20	16.5	4	3.4	16	13.2	7	6.2
6	9	7.5			12	9.9	3	2.5	12	9.9	4	3.5
7	4	3.3			7	5.8	1	0.8	10	8.3	1	0.9
8	4	3.3			3	2.5	1	0.8	10	8.3	2	1.8
9	6	5.0			8	6.6			11	9.1		
10-15									15	12.4	3	2.7
16-20									5	4.1	1	0.9
21-25									4	3.3	1	0.9
26-30									2	1.7		

Table 2 shows that of these grandmothers, who all have at least one living child, about 29 % have no child in the same location. This figure is rather high when compared with the Polish data of Kotlarska-Michalska (1984) above: 4 % for retired couples. About 31 % have at least one child in the same community (often

the daughter who took part in this study), and 32.5 % of the daughters report living 20 kilometers or less from their mother.

Table 2 also gives data for the number of grandchildren living in the same location as the grandmother, a figure which seems to have been lacking in former studies. It may be observed that the average number of grandchildren is rather high (7.7), and this already explains the fact that 65.5 % of the grandmothers have at least one grandchild in the same location, and 4.5 % have at least 10 grandchildren living in the same community.

It may be added that in the interview sample (N=68), only two families, or 1.5 % of those who lived in the same community, lived in the same house as the grandmother.

In the questionnaire sample, the cases were grouped on the basis of the father's occupation and the daughter's occupation into four groups: those having remained socially low, those daughters having lowered their social status, those having remained socially high and ,finally, those having risen socially. Figure 3 shows that those having remained in a socially low status live considerably closer to their parents than the other ones (F 2.90, $p < .05$ for all classes). This result corresponds to the findings of , for instance, Adams (1968) that the lower social classes live much closer to each other than the upper social classes.

5.2.2. Distance to the grandparents from the child's viewpoint

Another way to look at the distance between the generations is to take the child's viewpoint, and analyze the distance to his or her different grandparents. In this study this was done by asking the mother how far away the grandparents lived. The result is presented in Table 3.

It has to be remembered, that in this sample , all maternal grandmothers are alive, but several of the other grandparents are dead. They may also be more ill than the maternal grandmothers (who have all agreed to answer the questionnaire), and therefore live closer to the children. Therefore, Table 3 is not especially suitable for a comparison of the different grandparent categories.

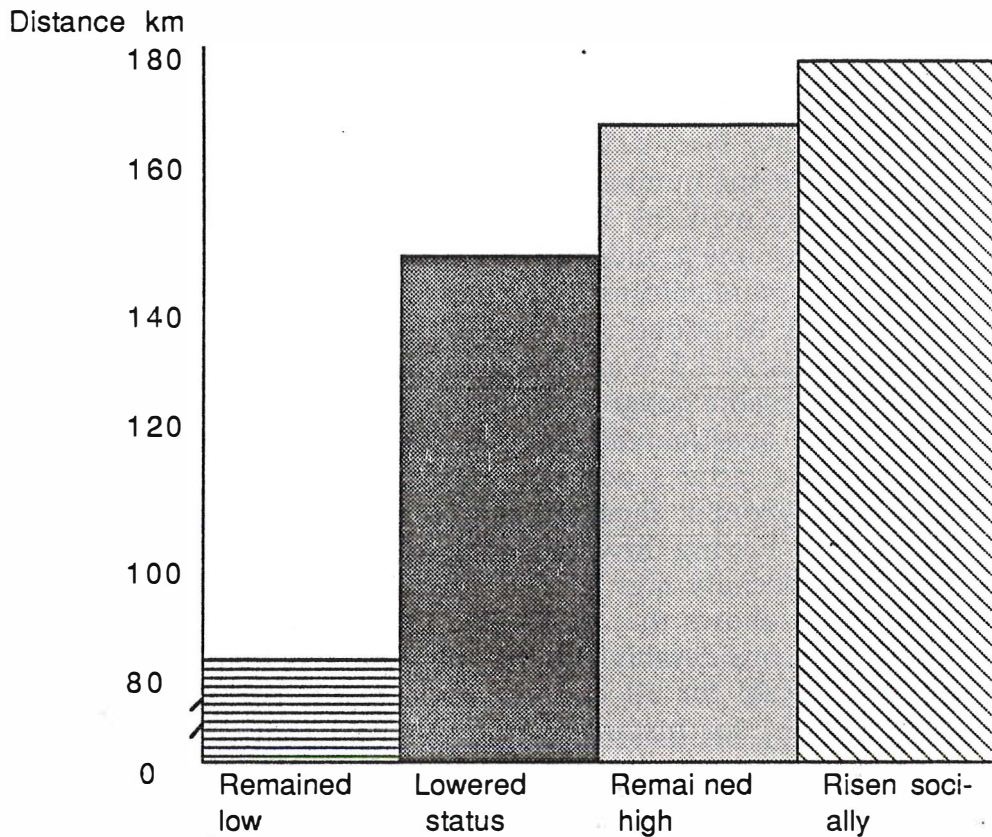


FIGURE 3. Average distance between the daughter and her mother according to the social status of the daughter.

It shows at the most, that around 40-60 % of the grandparents live within a radius of 60 kilometers, and that only about 6.5 % of them live further away than 320 kilometers.

TABLE 3. Distance to living grandparent.

		<60	60-89	90-179	180-319	>319 km	N
Maternal grandmother	f	50	15	24	21	10	120
	%	41,7	12,5	20,0	17,5	8,3	
Paternal grandmother	f	56	8	7	11	486	
	%	65,1	9,3	8,1	12,8	4,7	
Maternal grandfather	f	30	8	7	8	5	58
	%	51,7	13,8	12,1	13,8	8,6	
Paternal grandfather	f	32	6	2	4	2	46
	%	69,9	13,0	4,3	8,7	4,3	

5.2.3. Influence of distance on intergenerational relations

Here, other aspects of the relationships than contacts will be treated. The influence of distance on contacts will be analyzed in section 6.2.2.

Distance between generations is one of the most powerful modifiers of their relations. Below, the distance between the grandmother and the mother is divided into three groups: those who live in Jyväskylä with its surroundings (a distance of less than 20 kilometers), those who live 20 to 60 kilometers apart, and those who live further away from each other.

First of all, the distance between the generations is related to their relations at the time when the grandchild is born. Figure 4 (a, b, c and d) shows that 20 kilometers is the limit, after which, the daughter got less emotional support during her pregnancy from her mother, was less satisfied with the support.

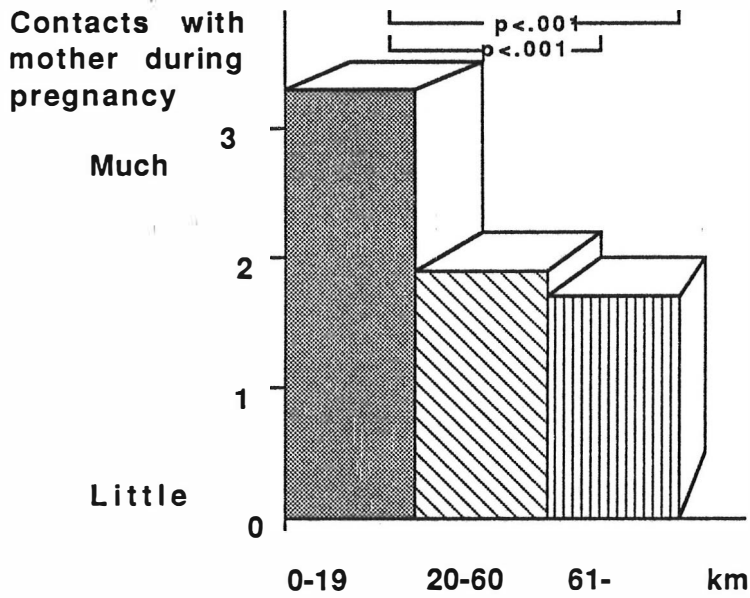


FIGURE 4. (a) Contacts with mother during pregnancy as a function of geographical distance at that time.

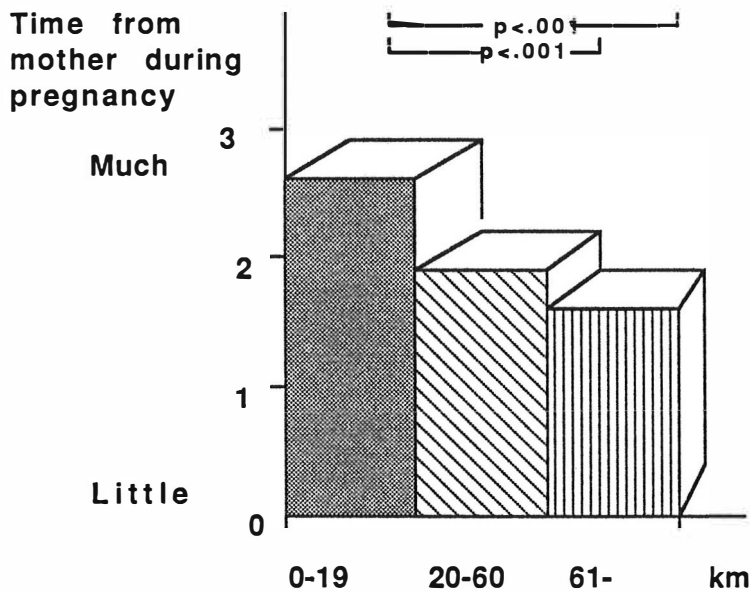


FIGURE 4 (b). Time from mother during pregnancy as a function of geographical distance at that time.

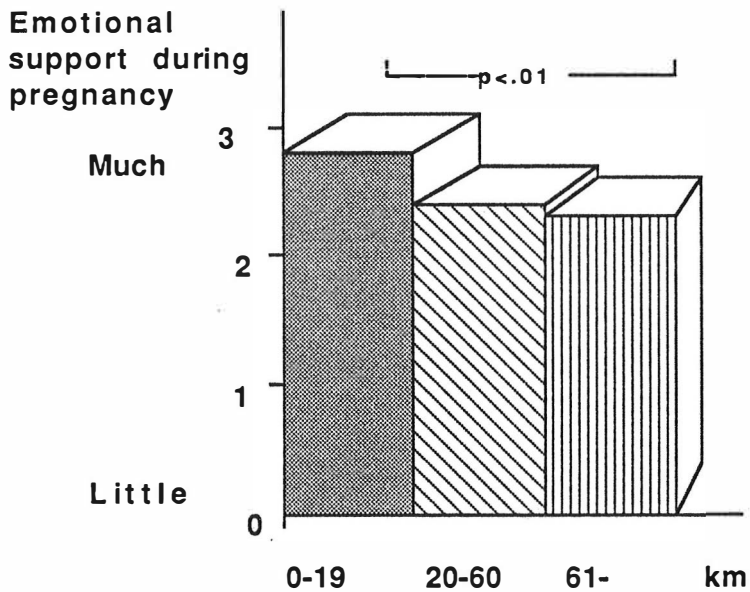


FIGURE 4 (c). Emotional support from mother during pregnancy as a function of geographical distance at that time.

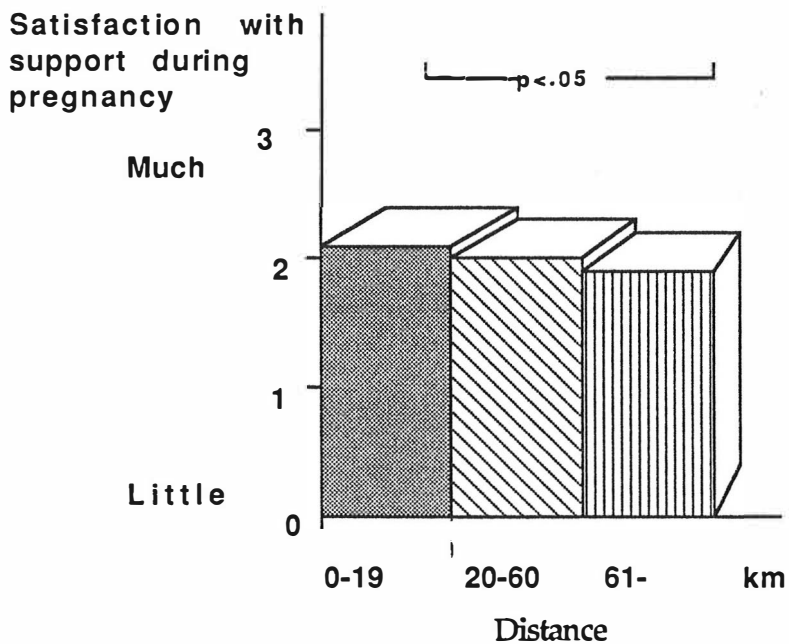


FIGURE 4 (d). Daughter's satisfaction with support from her mother during pregnancy as a function of geographical distance then.

Figure 4 (e) ,again, shows that even the grandmother's attitude was less positive after the birth of the grandchild the longer the distance.

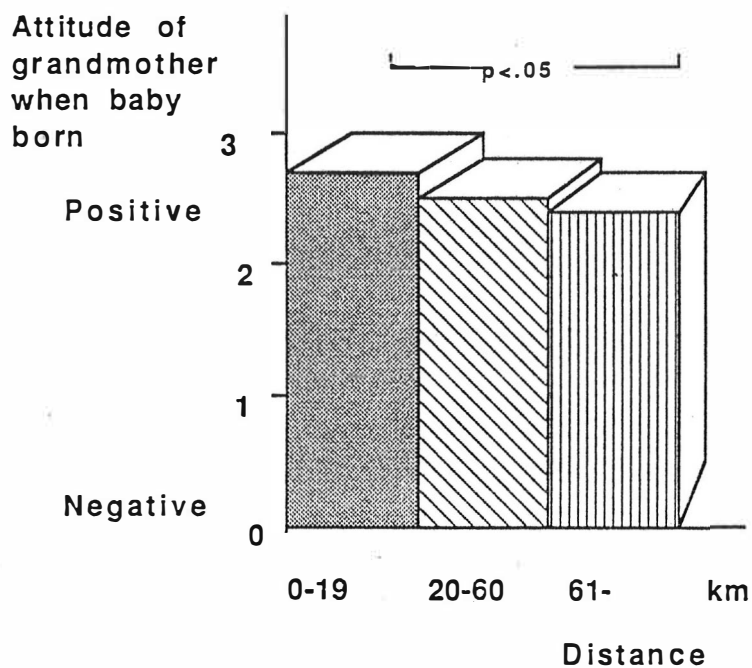


FIGURE 4 (e). Attitude of grandmother when baby born as a function of distance.

Secondly, the distance is related to some aspects of support for the grandmother (Figure 5 a,b,c,d).

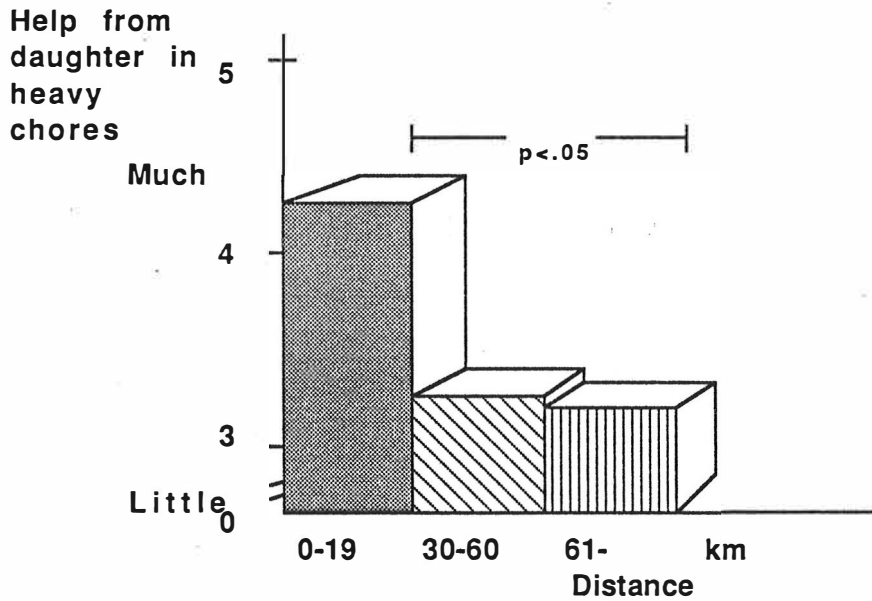


FIGURE 5 (a). Help from daughter in heavy chores as a function of distance.

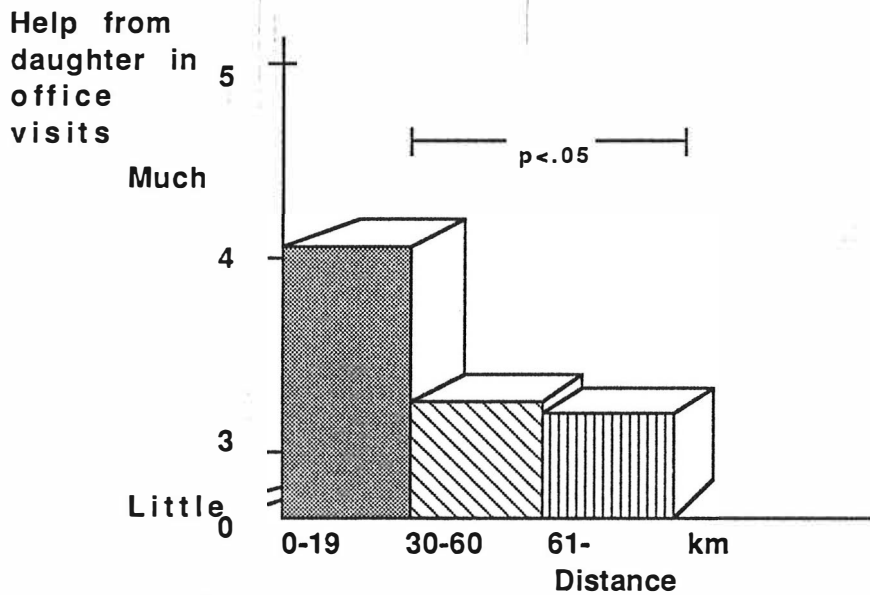


FIGURE 5 (b). Help from daughter in office visits as a function of distance.

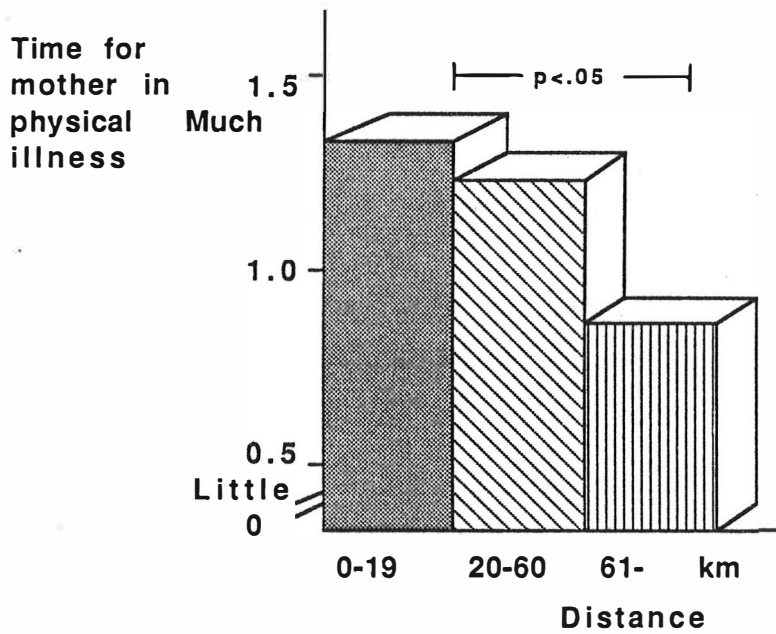


FIGURE 5 (c). Time for mother in physical illness as a function of distance.

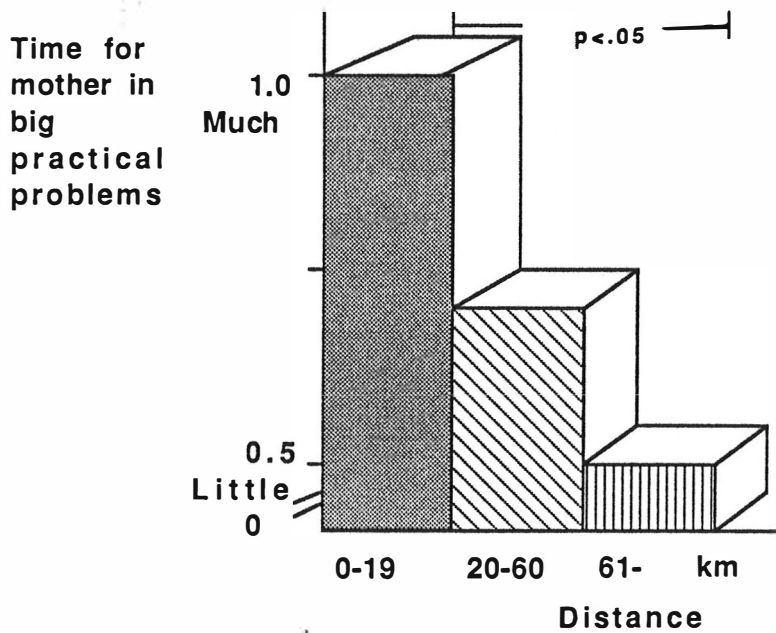


FIGURE 5 (d). Help to mother in physical illness.

Usually, 20 kilometers in the limit after which there is a sharp drop in helping. This is so for helping with heavy chores, office visits and help in big practical problems. Help in physical illness is given almost as much even by a daughter living up to 60 kilometers from the mother. Thus, physical illness is a reason for overcoming the distance.

The closeness between the grandmother and the grandchild remains at the same level up to a distance of 60 kilometers, after which it drops (Figure 6). The importance of the grandchild to the grandmother again drops sharply after 20 kilometers, as does the importance of the grandmother to the child (Figure 6).

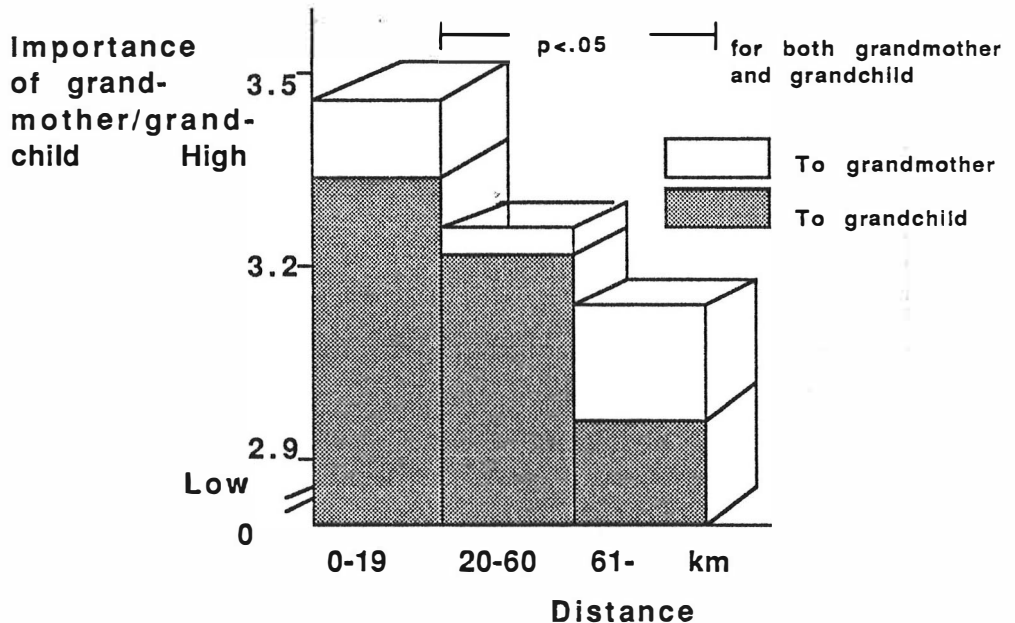


FIGURE 6. Importance of grandmother to grandchild and vice versa according to distance.

Fourthly, distance is related to the type of activities during reunions (Figure 7 a,b,c,d). There are more common hobbies or activities when the generations live apart. The change takes place already after 20 kilometers. It is also more common to watch TV, read or just be in the same room without interaction the longer the distance is. This holds also for being together without interaction and for working together.

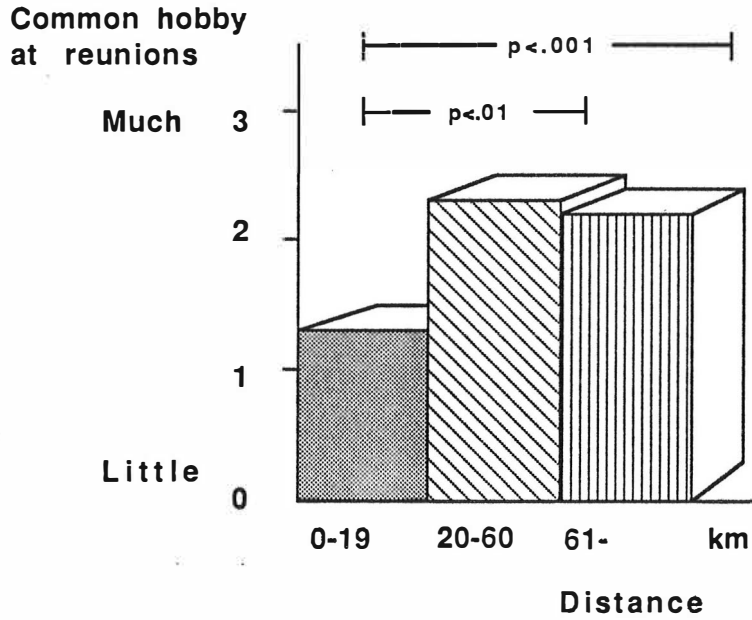


FIGURE 7 (a). Common hobbies at reunions as a function of distance.

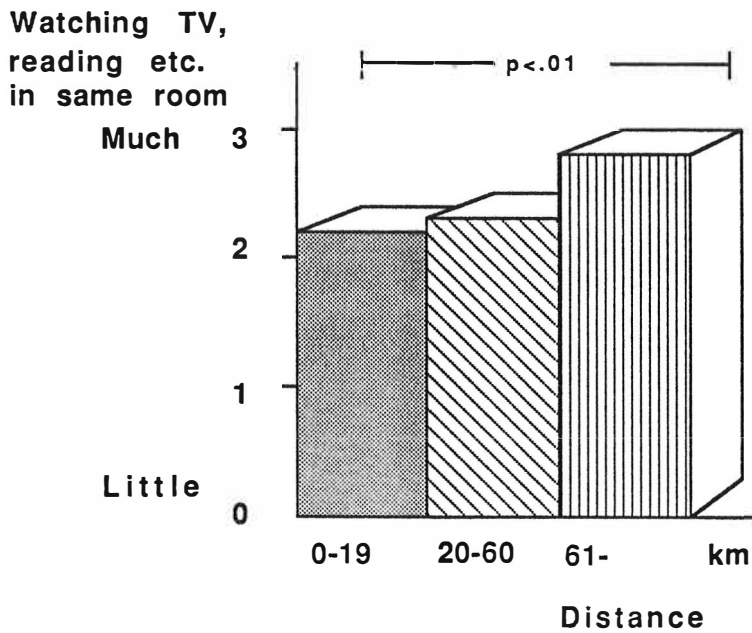


FIGURE 7 (b). Watching TV, reading etc. at reunions.

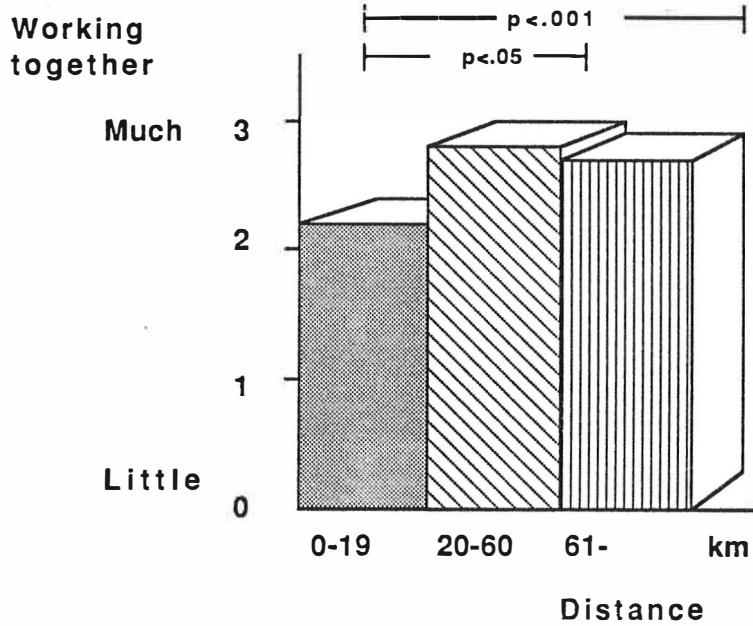


FIGURE 7 (c). Working together as a function of distance.

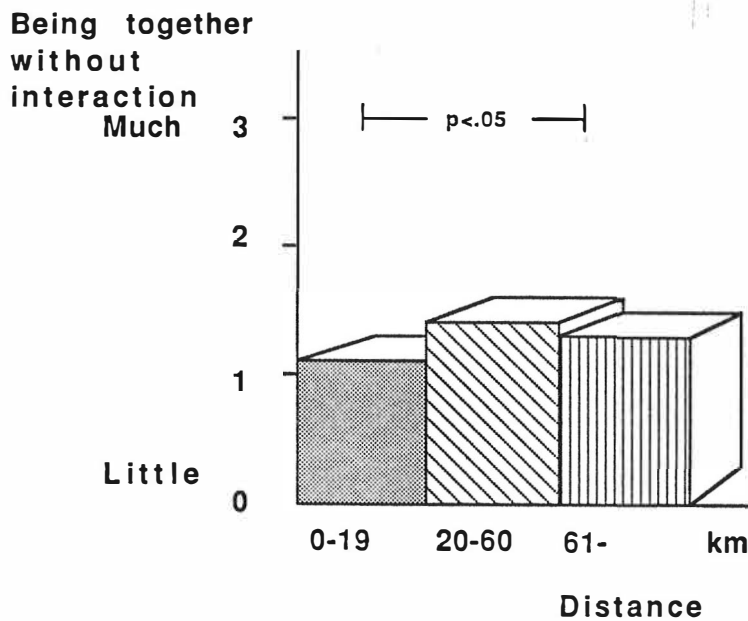


FIGURE 7 (d). No interaction at reunions as a function of distance.

5.2.4. Summary

Most of the 12-year-old Finnish children from this middle sized town with 60.000 inhabitants, have at least some of their grandparents within a radius of 60 kilometers. Slightly more than a third have their maternal grandmother in the same town, but only 1.5 % of these families actually live in the same house with the grandmother.

From the viewpoint of the grandmother, the picture looks slightly different. About a third of these grandmothers (who have at least one child alive) have no child in the same community, and a slightly bigger group of grandmothers have no grandchild in the same community. On the other hand, 4.5 % of the grandmothers have 10 or more grandchildren in the same community.

The distance between the generations influences different aspects of the relations, even the affective side of them. The grandmothers and grandchildren who live further away from each other are, for instance, less important to each other. Mostly, the behaviour already changes when the distance is more than 20 kilometers. There is one exception, however: the daughters who live from 20 up to 60 kilometers apart help their mothers in her physical illness as much as daughters who live less than 20 kilometers from her.

6. CONTACTS BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS

If distance between generations is not a good indicator of affective solidarity, contacts might be such a measure. However, it is not only the frequency of contacts that counts, the quality and meaning of contacts are at least as important.

The contacts between generations may be analyzed as to their form, i.e. whether they are visits or contacts by telephone or letter (or something else, for instance computer contacts). Each of these may be analyzed for their frequency, their content and their meaning. Finally, contacts may also be analyzed for the factors which determine them, such as distance, social class or age of the person in question.

6.1. EARLIER FINDINGS ON INTERGENERATIONAL CONTACTS

6.1.1. Contacts between the adult generations

It is obvious that at least visits depend on the distance between the generations. Therefore, some caution is needed in interpreting the results of different studies.

Shanas (1981) says that in the USA, 50 % of all old with children had met one of them on the day they were interviewed. For parent-adult child dyads living in the same community. Fischer (1984) found that in the USA, 86 % of the daughters met with their mother at least once a week. Much the same figure has been reported by Cohler and Grunbaum (1981). 89 % of those respondents who had volunteered for the study on intergenerational relations met with their mother weekly, whereas the percentage among a matched non-volunteer group was somewhat lower. In Shanas (1979) study only 10 % of the oldest generation was such that they had not met their one of their child during the last month. She also remarks, that especially in illness, the elderly turn first to their children, and only then to other persons. Kendig and Rowland (1983) found almost exactly the same figures for Australia: only 12 % of the aged saw their children

less than once a month. 69 %. Roussel (1976) reports from France, that 74 % of married sons and daughters met at least weekly with their parents, and in Gokalp's (1978) (see also D'Costa 1985) study, the corresponding percentage was 86 %.

In Finland, Karjalainen has studied contacts between the elderly and their children. She found, for instance, that in towns with 50000-100000 inhabitants, 44 % of those 65-74-year-olds who had children in the same city, met with them daily or almost daily, and 25 % about once a month or less frequently.

One of the best documented findings concerning intergenerational contacts is the fact that women tend to have more contacts with kin than men. Young and Willmott (1975) found, for instance, that 55 % of the daughters in their study had talked with their mother, but only 31 % with their father during the last two days, and Hammer, Gutwirth and Phillips (1982) found in three independent samples, that women tended to report more contacts with kin than men did. These findings are important to remember when analyzing the results of this study, where the adult generations consists only of women.

These findings are corroborated in Finland as well. Sysiharju (1983) and Haavio-Mannila (1983) report on a Finnish survey with a random sample of persons born in 1916-1965 of whom 744 were interviewed. The study showed that daughters meet their parents more often than sons do. A finding not observed elsewhere was that daughters in the age group 36-44 years meet their father more often than their mother. Furthermore, mothers report that they meet an adult daughter (any of them) more often than daughters report that they meet their mother.

There has been a debate concerning the importance of the quantity of contacts as compared with their quality, especially for the aged. Beckman (1981) and Houser & Beckman (1984) found that the average quality of contacts is a better predictor of the well-being of the aged than the average quantity.

It would also seem that the amount of contacts is usually rather stable (Leigh 1982) and does not decline over the years.

6.1.2. Contacts between grandparents and grandchildren

There are surprisingly little data available on grandchild-grandparent contacts. Large-scale demographic studies are totally missing. The results depend on whether or not one or several of

the grandparents is the target of research. Results from the few existing studies must also be interpreted with caution, as the contacts of grandchildren with their grandparents depend on the distance between the generations, the sex of both grandparents and grandchildren, as well as of their age. This is clearly shown in the results of a Norwegian study (c.f. Helin 1979) where 50 % of 12-year-olds in the countryside met with their grandparents daily, but only 5 % of 12-year-olds in a suburb did.

There are some data for children both younger and older than those in this study. Burke (1981-1982), for instance, found that about half of the 4-7.5-year-olds of his study visited their grandparents weekly, or at least once a month. About 60 % of the grandparents lived at a distance of 120 kilometers away from their grandchildren. Hoffman (1978-1979) again studied the contacts of young adult grandchildren with their grandparents. He found that 42 % met their maternal grandmother at least once a month, whereas 30 % met their paternal grandmother this often. The result was much the same when asked about meeting the grandparent last time. Hartshorne and Manaster (1982) also found that young adult grandchildren (median age 21 years) met with their mother's mother more frequently than with their other grandparents.

6.2. CONTACTS BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS IN THIS STUDY

Table 4 presents the different forms of contacts between the generation in the questionnaire sample according to the daughter and the grandmother (c.f. Section 6.3., where contacts are analyzed in relation to distance).

A comparison of the answers of the two respondents concerning the same behaviour shows, for instance, that the answer "Daily" and "A few times a week" and "Once a week" is almost systematically given more often by the grandmother than by the daughter. This may imply either that the grandmother wants to give a better picture of the relationship, or that she really perceives the contacts as more frequent.

A second way of analyzing the table is to look at the corresponding behaviour of the daughter and the grandmother. The results corroborate earlier findings by, for instance, Hammer, Gutwirth and Phillips (1985), that daughters are more active in contacts than their mothers are. This trend is especially clear when it comes to visits a few times a year. About 20 % of the

grandmothers visit their daughters once a year or less, whereas only 2.5 % of the daughters visit their mothers so seldom (according to the daughters.)

TABLE 4. Contacts between the generations in the questionnaire sample according to the daughter and the grandmother

(D=Daughter's questionnaire; G=Grandmother's questionnaire)

		Daily	A few times a week	Once a week	2-3 times a week	Once a month	A few times a year	Once a year	Less often
Grandmother visits daughter	D f	5	2	4	9	13	61	13	13
	%	4,2	1,7	3,3	7,5	10,8	50,8	10,8	10,8
	G f	9	6	7	7	15	53	9	6
	%	8,0	5,4	6,3	6,3	13,4	47,3	8,0	5,4
Daughter visits grandmother	D f	6	9	9	23	20	50	2	1
	%	5,0	7,5	7,5	19,2	16,7	41,7	1,7	0,8
	G f	7	8	16	18	12	48	4	2
	%	6,1	7,0	13,9	15,7	10,4	41,7	3,5	1,7
Child visits grandmother	D f	6	3	13	23	16	56	2	2
	%	5,0	2,5	10,7	19,0	13,2	46,3	1,7	1,7
	G f	3	8	14	19	14	47	6	3
	%	2,6	7,0	12,3	16,7	12,3	41,2	5,3	2,6
Grandmother visits child	D f	5	1	4	9	14	53	13	13
	%	4,3	0,9	3,4	7,7	12,0	49,6	11,1	11,1
	G f	6	2	10	9	13	52	8	9
	%	5,5	1,8	9,2	8,3	11,9	47,7	7,3	8,3
Daughter phones grandmother	D f	10	22	36	25	17	4	0	3
	%	8,5	18,8	30,8	21,4	14,5	3,4	0,0	2,6
	G f	15	18	32	21	17	5	1	3
	%	13,4	16,1	28,6	18,8	15,2	4,5	0,9	2,7

		Daily	A few times a week	Once a week	2.-3 times a week	Once a month	A few times a year	Once a year	Less often
Grandmother phones daughter	D f	4	15	30	24	21	17	1	3
	%	3,5	13,0	26,1	20,9	18,3	14,8	0,9	2,6
	G f	10	19	26	30	13	8	2	2
	%	9,1	17,3	23,6	27,3	11,8	7,3	1,8	1,8
Child phones grandmother	D f	1	10	8	12	13	38	9	25
	%	0,9	8,6	6,9	10,3	11,2	32,8	7,8	21,6
	G f	5	7	14	21	6	31	4	14
	%	4,9	6,9	13,7	20,6	5,9	30,4	3,9	13,7
Grandmother phones child	D f	3	6	11	16	12	31	11	23
	%	2,7	5,3	9,7	14,2	10,6	27,4	9,7	20,4
	G f	8	9	15	14	11	26	3	14
	%	8,0	9,0	15,0	14,0	11,0	26,0	3,0	14,0
Grandmother writes to child	D f	0	0	1	0	1	17	10	82
	%	0,0	0,0	0,9	0,0	0,9	15,3	9,0	73,9
	G f	2	0	1	1	0	13	12	58
	%	2,3	0,0	1,1	1,1	0,0	14,9	13,8	66,7
Daughter writes to grandmother	D f	0	0	1	0	1	20	13	76
	%	0,0	0,0	0,9	0,0	0,9	18,0	11,7	68,5
	G f	2	0	0	2	2	17	10	53
	%	2,3	0,0	0,0	2,3	2,3	19,8	11,6	61,6

		Daily	A few times a week	Once a week	2-3 times a week	Once a month	A few times a year	Once a year	Less often
Child writes to grandmother	D f	0	0	1	0	1	18	20	71
	%	0,0	0,0	0,9	0,0	0,9	16,2	18,0	64,0
	G f	0	0	1	1	6	23	11	37
	%	0,0	0,0	1,3	1,3	7,6	29,1	13,9	46,8
Grandmother writes to child	D f	0	0	1	0	0	20	18	72
	%	0,0	0,0	0,9	0,0	0,0	18,0	16,2	64,9
	G f	0	0	1	1	7	19	6	43
	%	0,0	0,0	1,3	1,3	9,1	24,7	7,8	55,8

D= Daughter's questionnaire

G= Grandmother's questionnaire

One of the clearest findings in Table 4 (c.f. Figure 8), is that writing is a very rare means of communication between family generations in Finland. About 70 % of the grandmothers and 65 % of the daughters write to each other less than once a year. Grandmother and grandchild write to each other somewhat more often.

Naturally, contact frequency is very significantly (chi 47.65, $p < .0001$) related to the geographical distance between the generations. For example, when 41 % of those living less than 20 kilometers apart had met "today or yesterday", 12 % of those living 20-60 kilometers from each other and 5 % of those living more than 60 kilometers from each other had met this often. Moss, Moss and Moles (1985) say that 50 miles or 80 kilometers is the distance when contacts between the generations decrease. In this study, a much shorter distance influences contacts.

Besides the frequency of contacts, satisfaction with contacts was looked at. Table 5 shows the satisfaction of the mothers and grandmothers. It shows, first of all, that the daughters would like

to meet more often than now. Secondly it shows, however, that there are some daughters, but no mothers, who would like to meet less often than they actually do.

TABLE 5. Satisfaction with contact frequency.

Would like to meet	Daughter		Grandmother	
	f	%	f	%
Much more often than now	28	23,3	18	15,7
Somewhat more often than now	28	23,3	36	31,3
About as now	59	49,2	61	53,0
Somewhat less often than now	5	4,2	0	0,0
Much more less often than now	0	0,0	0	0,0
	120	100,0	115	100,0

These results may be compared with those of Streib (1965). Streib found that retired parents more often than their children would like to be in touch a good deal more or somewhat more than they are. In this study, the percentages for mother and daughter were almost identical.

It may be added that the wish to meet the partner depends on the geographical distance between the generations ($\chi^2 27.46$, $p < .0001$). When 73 % of those who live less than 20 kilometers apart would like to meet about as now, 53 % of those living 20-60 kilometers and 34 % of those living more than 60 kilometers apart would. Of those living closest, 11 % would like to meet somewhat less often than now, whereas nobody in the most distant group gives this answer. In this respect the results resemble those of Fischer (1983).

Figure 8 represents the grandmother's opinion concerning the extent to which she has met her grandchild during different periods in relation to her expectations. It shows an important finding: there is a clear drop in satisfaction with the amount of contacts after the age of 7-8 years. The grandmothers complained during the interviews that the children have so many hobbies and friends they do not have time to visit them anymore. In the interviews, the largest single class consisted of grandmothers who said that the children formerly used to visit them but that they now had hobbies and friends etc (43.4 %). 15 % of the grandmothers in the interview (whose grandchild was in the same town) said that

the grandchild hardly ever visits them whereas about as many (17%) visits them often, even many times a week. Also Baranowski (1982) has made the observation that it is during early adolescence when there is greatest distance between grandparents and grandchildren.

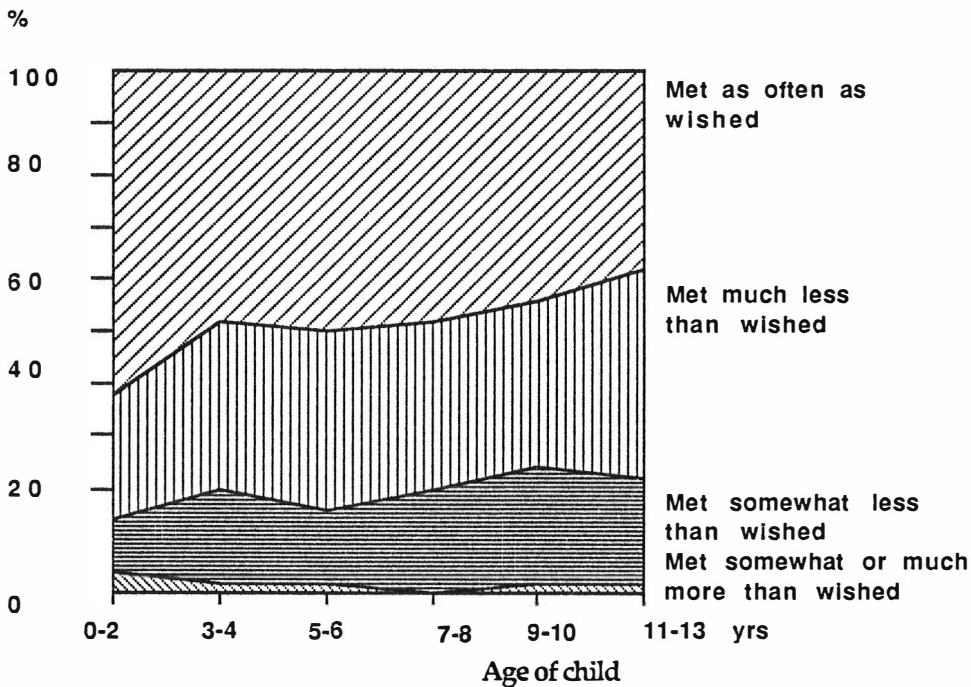


FIGURE 8. Grandmother's contacts with grandchild during different periods.

Here are some examples of the grandmother's reactions to a question concerning contacts with the grandchild:

"Almost always only during weekends, as they are busy. As Liisa is bigger now she comes more infrequently"

"We do not meet so often anymore. She visits me almost weekly with her parents".

"Now and then they come, but they do not have much time. We do not insist they to visit us too often, because I understand their lack of time".

"Maija does not come often: she does not come here like that to look at granny. She comes once a month, but we are in contact with them."

"Ulla comes so seldom. She has a close girl friend with who she's often with she is and they have some sort of club. Her sister comes more often."

"He is not here so much anymore as he has his own pals and hobbies. Once a week at least, sometimes more often. He comes alone."

"We meet at least during weekends. In the summer he pops in on his bike, and in the winter on his skis."

In earlier studies (e.g. Kahana & Kahana 1971), the distance to the child's different grandparents has been studied. Table 6 compares the results of this study with the 11-12-year-olds of Kahana's & Kahana's study.

TABLE 6. Meeting the different grandparents as compared with Kahana's & Kahana's (1971) data.

	K&K Every few weeks	FIN At least once a month	K&K Every few months	FIN Several times a year	K&K Once a year or less	FIN About once a year or less
Maternal grandmother (N=119)	69.2	49.6	15.4	45.4	15.4	5.0
Paternal grandmother (N=87)	57.1	52.9	38.1	39.1	4.8	8.0
Maternal grandfather (N=60)	70.6	46.7	17.6	45.0	11.8	8.3
Paternal grandfather (N=45)	52.9	62.2	35.3	31.1	11.8	6.6

A closer look at Table 6 shows that, contrary to assumptions, the most frequent contact in this study is not with the maternal grandmother, but with perhaps the most unlikely grandparent, the paternal grandfather. This trend is also seen by looking at the number of children that meet their respective grandparent at least once a week. 24 % meet their paternal grandfather at least once a

week, whereas 14 % meet their maternal grandmother as frequently. There may be several reasons for this. One is that he is the oldest of the grandparents and therefore may be so much weaker that he has to be seen more often. This may also partly explain the fact that the paternal grandfather lives closest to the family.

In Kahana's & Kahana's study, 62 % is the average for meeting the grandparents at least once every few weeks, whereas the corresponding figure for this study is 52 %. It is of course very different to draw conclusions concerning contact frequency when one does not know the exact distance to the grandparents, but it would seem that it is slightly lower in Finland than in the United States.

6.3. THE INFLUENCE OF DISTANCE ON SOCIAL CONTACTS

Distance influences contacts in two different ways, as Figures 9 (a,b,c) show. Visits and telephone calls drop, but contacts by letter increase with increasing distance. This finding is interesting, as it contradicts the contention of several authors (e.g. Troll, Miller & Atchley 1979) that there are compensatory patterns of contact when the possibility of face-to-face contact decreases.

None of the grandmothers who live further than 20 kilometers away from the daughter visit her more often than once a month, whereas 47 % of the daughters in the 20-60 kilometer group and 9.2 % in the group over 60 kilometers visit their mothers more often than once a month. In the group living in the same community (< 20 km), 13.9 % of the grandmothers visit their daughter daily and 18.6 % at least once a week, and 16.2 % of the daughters visit their mother daily and 56.7 % at least once a week. This figure would seem somewhat lower than in other countries. However, asking people about how often they meet is often considered a fallacious measure as the frequency of contacts varies from one time to another. Therefore, many studies ask when the respondents last met. Table 7 gives data from the daughter's questionnaire on this question according to distance. (It may be added that the grandmother and the daughter agreed to a large extent on this question, although there was a slight tendency for the grandmother to say they had met more recently than what the daughter had said.

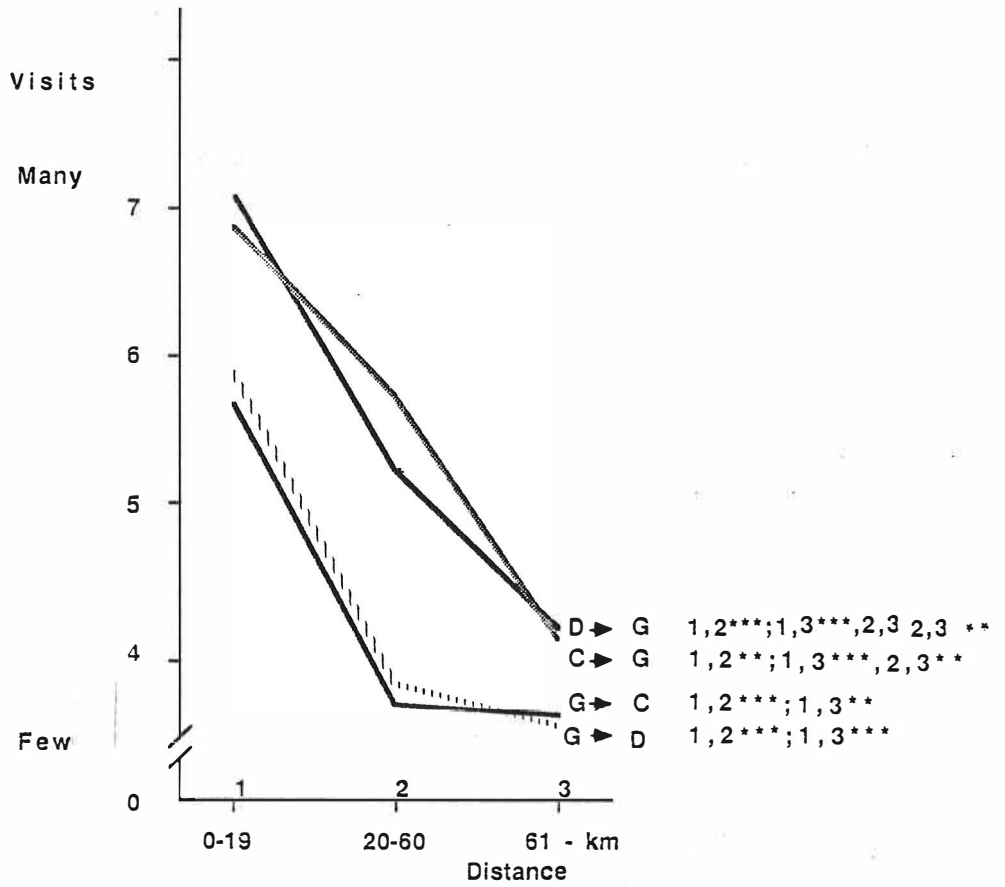


FIGURE 9 (a). Visits as a function of distance.

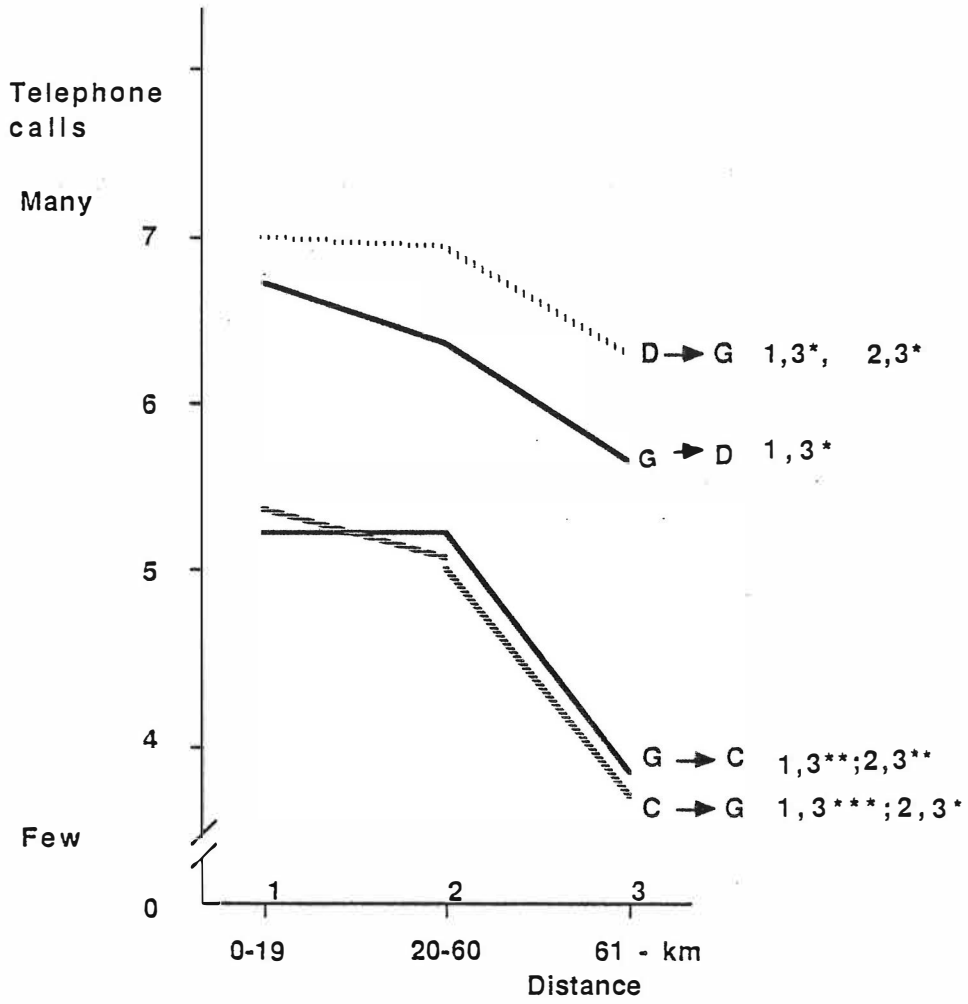


FIGURE 9 (b). Telephone contacts as a function of distance.

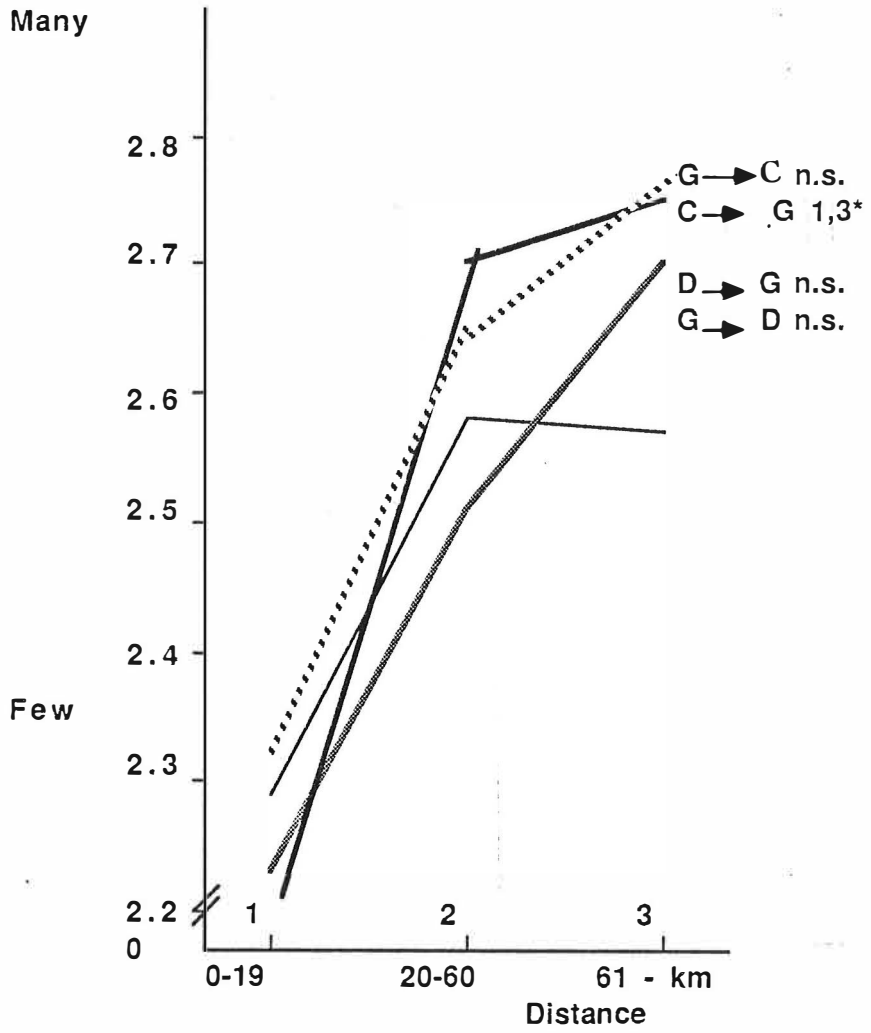


FIGURE 9 (c). Letter contacts between the generations as a function of distance.

TABLE 7. Meeting last time according to distance (daughter's questionnaire)

		Distance			N
		<20	20-60	60- km	
Live together	f	4	0	0	4
	%	10,8	0,0	0,0	3,4
Today or yesterday	f	15	2	3	20
	%	40,5	11,8	4,7	16,9
2-7 days ago	f	12	5	16	33
	%	32,4	29,4	25,0	28,0
8-30 days ago	f	6	10	30	46
	%	16,2	58,8	46,9	39,0
31-365 days ago	f	0	0	15	15
	%	0,0	0,0	23,4	12,7
Not during last year	f	0	0	0	0
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
	f	37	17	64	118
	%	100	100	100	100

The chi square is very significant, .0000 with 8 degrees of freedom. Table 7 shows that all 37 grandmother-daughter pairs who live within a 20 kilometer radius from each other have met during the last month, whereas 23 % of those living more than 60 kilometers apart have not. 40 % of the close dyads have met during the day of filling in the questionnaire or the day before. These figures come very close to those of foreign studies (e.g. Fischer 1981; Roussel 1976) and on the basis of these, one may draw the conclusion that at least Finnish middle-aged daughters see their mothers as often as daughters in other countries.

There are some patterns connected with the initiator of the contact as well. For visits, the drop in the case of visits by the daughter or by the grandchild is almost linear, whereas for the grandmother, there is a sharp drop after 20 kilometers. This may

be interpreted as the daughter and the grandchild being ready to overcome the distance more easily than the grandmother. For telephone calls, the pattern is different. Here, calls remain at the same level for both the grandmother and daughter even in the group living up to 60 kilometers apart. After that, there is a sharper drop for the grandmother than for the daughter. Both Figure 9 a and b clearly show that the middle generation (and with it, the grandchild) is more active in making visits and in making telephone calls than the grandmother.

6.4. ACTIVITIES DURING REUNIONS

Information concerning activities during reunions was collected both from the daughter and the grandmother. In section 3.2., the correspondence between these two views turned out to be very small. In Table 8, data from the daughter's questionnaire and interviews are presented.

Table 8 shows, first of all, that there are some discrepancies between data obtained in interviews and those data obtained by questionnaires. The methods agree, for the most part, that conversation and socializing - perhaps not surprisingly - are very common activities during reunions. There is also agreement on the fact that "no interaction" as well as "common hobbies" are rare. It is much more common during the interview to say that watching TV and reading is rare, and that common work does not occur. During the interviews many more daughters also say that it is uncommon for only one partner to be working. One explanation for this may be that during the interviews there is a possibility to give exceptions, like "Well, it happened one or two times, as far as I remember", whereas in the questionnaire, people tend to avoid too categorical answers.

TABLE 8. Activities during reunions according to daughter

		Interview		Questionnaire		Interview		Questionnaire		N (interview)	N (questionnaire)
		Never	Some times	Quite often	Very often	Never	Some times	Quite often	Very often		
Conversing	f	2	0	2	1	9	12	53	103	66	116
	%	3,0	0,0	3,0	0,9	13,6	10,3	80,3	88,8		
Watching TV, reading	f	24	9	12	48	9	31	14	28	59	116
	%	40,9	7,8	20,3	41,4	15,3	26,7	23,7	24,1		
Some common hobby	f	24	29	27	51	5	19	8	17	64	116
	%	37,5	25,0	42,2	44,0	7,8	16,4	12,5	14,7		
Common work	f	27	5	22	52	4	33	6	27	59	117
	%	45,8	4,3	37,3	44,4	6,8	28,2	10,2	23,1		
Grandmother works	f	26	33	12	68	7	13	5	2	50	116
	%	52,0	28,4	24,0	58,6	14,0	11,2	10,0	1,7		
Daughter works	f	24	15	13	82	7	15	3	4	54	116
	%	51,1	12,9	27,7	70,7	14,9	12,9	6,4	3,4		
No interaction	f	47	97	6	16	0	0	1	2	66	115
	%	87,0	75,0	11,1	16,3	0,0	3,3	1,9	5,4		

7. SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SUPPORT

7.1. FORMER USE OF THE CONCEPTS SOCIAL NETWORK AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

Social networks and social support are today terms *en vogue*, but the concepts are not new. At least the term 'social network' is an old one. Bott (1957/1968) observes that Barnes (1954) was the first who used the term, but she adds that the *idea* of social networks was known to, for instance, social anthropologists since the 30's and 40's. Social support seems to be a somewhat newer term.

Social networks refers to informal relationships with kin, neighbours and friends and to the relations among these persons who all know each other more or less well (e.g. Finset 1986).

When "real" network studies are carried out, a certain individual's whole social network is traced and all its members are contacted. The network is then analyzed for such dimensions as frequency of contacts, content of activities, the degree of intimacy and satisfaction with contacts etc. (e.g. Pilisuk & Froland 1978). In many studies, however, the term is used to refer to *partial* networks, i.e. to certain classes of persons, for instance family members or neighbours. This is the case in this study, which does not pretend to contain a full network analysis. This position may be defended by referring to Moum (1984) who says that there has been oversophistication in this field. He adds that in studies with few subjects, there may, for instance, be multicollinearity of the variables.

Usually, the term "*social support*" is used. In the title above, however, the term "support" was chosen on purpose. The reason for this will be stated below.

There are several definitions of 'social support'. Thoits' definition (1982) taps some of the relevant features. According to her, social support is "the degree to which a person's basic social needs are gratified through interaction with others". These basic social needs include affection, esteem, approval, belonging, identity and security. These needs may be met by either provision of socioemotional aid or by instrumental aid, according to Thoits. This last observation is open to some objection, however. It would seem that instrumental aid does not satisfy social needs, but practical ones instead, and therefore the term "support" is better

suited than "social support". Often, the terms 'aid' or 'help' have been used for these types of practical activities (e.g. Stoller & Earle 1983). In most studies, more detailed classes, such as help with shopping, heavy chores or light chores are used. Hirsch (1980) calls this type of help 'tangible assistance' and Veiel (1985), in classifying support into psychological (i.e. emotional/cognitive support) and instrumental, refers to the last mentioned class as practical/informational support. (It may be added, however, that the distinction between cognitive support and informational support does not seem especially clear. Rather, the terms are synonyms for the same phenomenon).

Financial support is rarely mentioned when speaking of social support. Rather, it has been treated as an activity apart. It seems to be a rare form of support between the generations in the family (or at least families seem unwilling to report on it). Haavio-Mannila (1983) reports that only 4 % of the Finns give this type of support to their parents and relatives. In Anglo-Saxon countries

(Atchley & Miller 1980) the trend is much the same. Poland again differs from these countries. Kotlarska-Michalska (1984) says that a third of Polish children and a fifth of the parents reported having given material help to the other generation. Material help was much more common in the upper social classes.

Cutrona (1984) speaks of relational provisions, based on Weiss' analysis. According to Weiss and Cutrona, there are five types of relational provisions: attachment, social integration, opportunity for nurturance, reliable alliances and guidance in the form of advice. This last point makes an important addition to Thoits' classes which covered only the interpersonal side of social support. It would seem close to what Gottlieb (1978) has termed 'problem solving behaviours' and what Hirsch (1980) terms 'cognitive guidance', i.e. "the provision of information, advice, or an explanation of something troubling".

Thoits' (1982) classification contained the class 'socioemotional aid'. This class resembles what Hagestad (1984) has termed 'interpersonal resources' and Gottlieb (1978) 'emotionally sustaining behaviours', i.e. "personal qualities of the helper which promote emotionally supportive conditions". Hirsch (1980) again defines emotional support as "an interaction which makes one feel better or worse when one has already been feeling upset or under pressure". This definition is a realistic one, in that it takes into account the fact that the intention of the giver of social support may be good, but the support may not always help. Veiel (1985) again remarks that the dimension 'intimacy' seems to have

been missing in studies of social support. It would seem especially important to cover these more psychological aspects of support in the study of intergenerational relations.

A non-tangible dimension, central to support, which has not been used in former studies consists of giving one's time to the other person. This dimension would seem especially important when taking into account the comments of Hess and Waring (1978) that at least the middle generation has so many commitments that it does not have time for contacts with the older generations.

It is important to note that support as such does not imply a higher well-being in the older generation, as Lee's and Ellithorpe's (1982) study shows. Rather, it is quite a separate dimension.

7.2. DEFINITIONS OF SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT IN THIS STUDY

In this study, a part of the social networks of the mothers in the middle generation (generation 2) was studied. Included were the husband, his relatives, the mother's own relatives, colleagues at work and other (woman) friends. Besides these persons, a class "other" was included as well. None of these groups were contacted, however.

Five types of support were studied:

- 1) *Emotional support* which may be defined as merely being there and the fact of being able to discuss things with the person in question which is helpful when he or she is faced with problematic situations.
- 2) *Financial support* covers giving money or gifts to the other generations in the family.
- 3) *Advice* means giving information concerning how to handle troubling situations.
- 4) *Time* means allocating one's own time to a member of the opposite generation when he or she needs it .
- 5) *Practical help* from the youngest and middle generation to the oldest generation was asked for in more detail. It may be defined as doing something for the other person. The following classes were used:

- help with light chores
- help with heavy chores
- help with office visits
- help with shopping and cooking
- help with doctor's visits
- help with walks
- participating in social activities (e.g. theatre) together

7.3. SUPPORT FROM MOTHER DURING DAUGHTER'S PREGNANCY

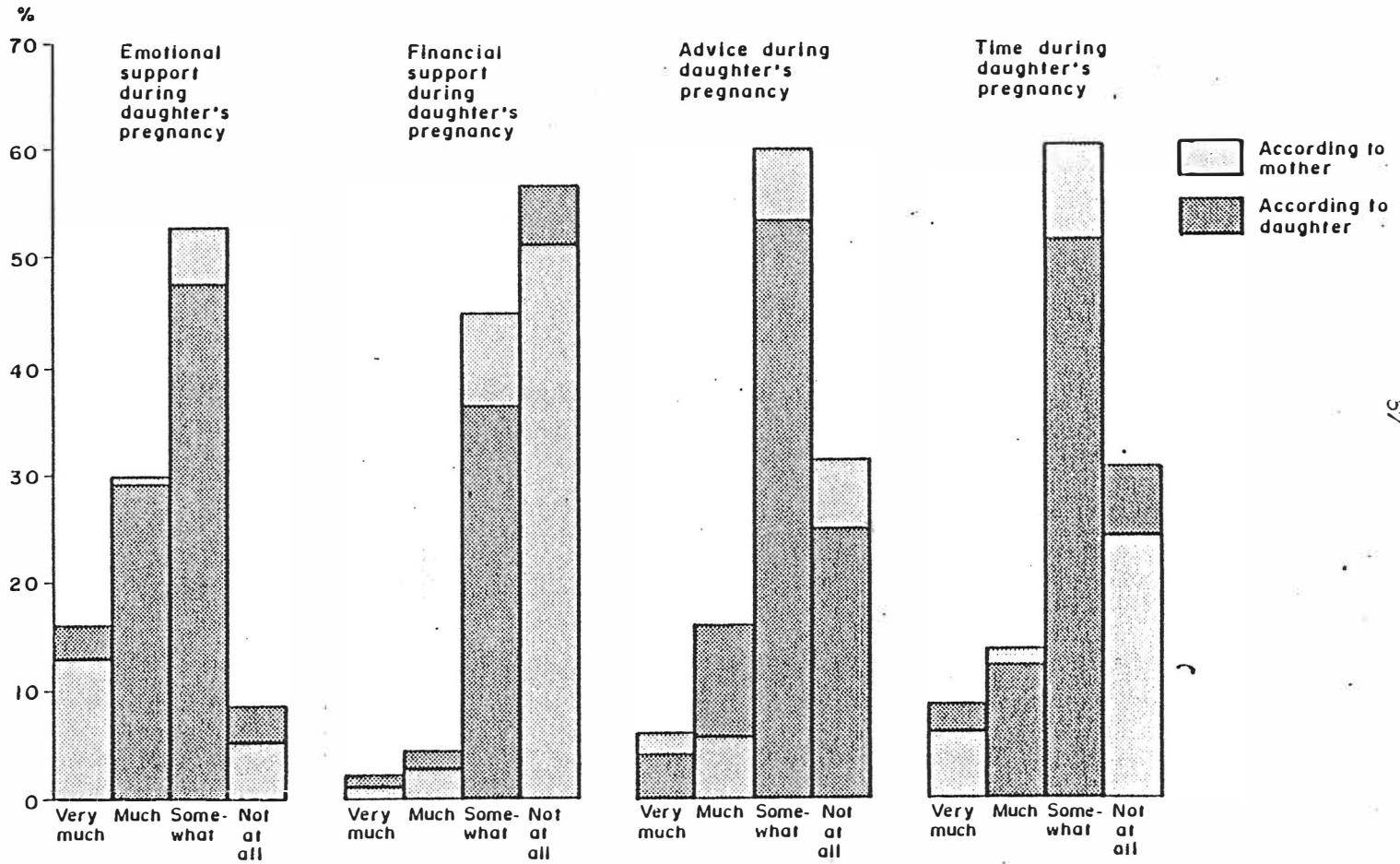
An area of special interest was the very early support from the mother to her daughter at the time when the first grandchild was born, i.e. when the generational chain of this study was completed. Hader (1985) has made the observation that for the mother of the oldest generation, this situation provides an opportunity to be a mother again and therefore to work through unfulfilled expectations.

Most of the dyads in the questionnaire sample (63.6 %) lived at least 15 kilometers apart at the time of the daughter's pregnancy, but 14 % lived in the same house as the mother and another 2.5 % lived as neighbours. Only about 30 % of the grandmothers worked full time at that time so at least in theory they could take care of the baby. Slightly more than half of the dyads met at least weekly after the birth of the grandchild and in about 55 % of the cases the grandmother's attitude was very enthusiastic towards the baby. 1.7 % of the daughters said her attitude was negative or indifferent, whereas none of the grandmothers said so.

The same questions concerning types of support were posed both to the mother and her daughter. Table 9 summarizes the data for the questionnaire samples and Figure 10 gives a graphical representation of the same data.

Table 9 and Figure 10 show several things. Firstly, both mother and daughter most often give the answers "Very much" for emotional support, the daughter, however, slightly more often than the mother. In this respect, financial support is the least often mentioned form of support. Emotional support is also the type of

FIGURE 10. Support from mother during daughter's pregnancy



support which has received the answer "Not at all" least often among the different types of support. Secondly, mothers and daughters agree quite well on these measures.

TABLE 9 . Different types of support from mother to daughter during pregnancy in the questionnaire samples.

		Very	Much	Some- what	Not at all	Total
Emotional support	D f	21	36	58	6	121
	%	17.4	29.8	47.9	5.0	100%
	M f	15	35	62	6	118
	%	12.7	29.7	52.5	5.1	100%
Financial support	D f	3	4	51	63	121
	%	2.5	3.3	42.1	52.1	100%
	M f	1	3	53	61	118
	%	0.8	2.5	44.9	51.7	100%
Advice	D f	4	20	68	29	121
	%	3.3	16.5	56.2	24.0	100%
	M f	7	6	69	36	118
	%	5.9	5.1	58.5	30.5	100%
Time	D f	11	14	64	32	121
	%	9.1	11.6	52.9	26.4	100%
	M f	7	15	69	27	118
	%	5.9	12.7	58.5	22.9	100%

Another way of looking at the correspondence is to make a pairwise comparison of the answers. This is done for emotional support in Table 10 .

Table 10 shows that slightly under 50 % agree fully concerning the amount of emotional support during the daughter's pregnancy . There are no dyads where the opinion would be diametrically opposite compared with the partner, but there are about 3 % of the cases where the mother considers having given

very much support, but the daughter thinks she got only somewhat emotional support from the mother. Again, two mothers think they have given no emotional support at all, but the daughter feels she has got much such of support. - In this relatively small sample, the number of such discrepant pairs is rather small. They would, however, merit a more thorough study in a larger sample.

Most daughters (90.8 %) were satisfied with the support they got from their mother. 5.8 % thought they did not get enough support from their mother during that time and 3.3 % thought their mother was even too involved.

TABLE 10 . A pairwise distribution of answers by mother and daughter concerning emotional support during pregnancy.

		MOTHER			
		Very much	Much	Somewhat	Not at all
DAUGHTER	Very much	f 6 % 5.1%	7 5.9%	8 6.8%	0 0.0%
	Much	f 5 % 4.2%	13 11.0%	14 11.9%	2 1.7%
	Somewhat	f 4 % 3.4%	14 11.9%	36 30.5%	3 2.5%
	Not at all	f 0 % 0.0%	1 0.8%	4 3.4%	1 0.8%

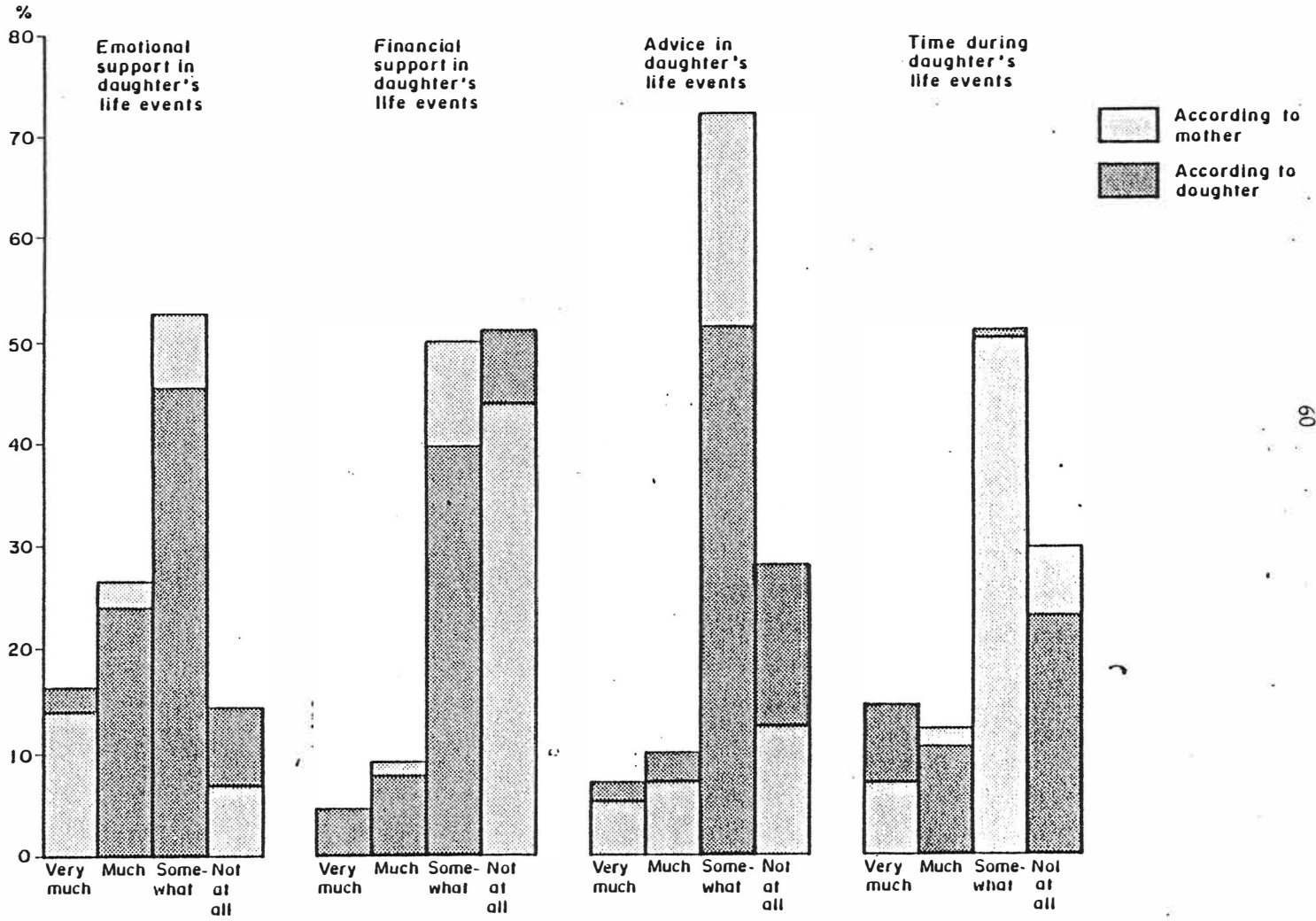
N=118

7.4. SUPPORT DURING DAUGHTER'S LIFE EVENTS

A special section concerned support to the daughter by the mother in the daughter's life events. The life events as such were asked for in an informal manner, whereas support in life events was asked for more systematically. Only 75 daughters reported on life events. 16 % of these said they had not encountered any event, 28 % had had one event, 20 % two events, 12 % three events, 10.7 % four events, 6.7 % five events and 4 % six events.

Support from other persons than the mother is reported in Section 6.5. Figure 11 shows the amount of different types of

FIGURE 11. Support from mother in daughter's life events.



support as reported by mothers and daughters in the questionnaire samples. It shows that emotional support is the most common type also when it comes to life events (c.f. Table 9 for support during pregnancy). Financial support is, again, the most uncommon type of support. The agreement is lowest for advice. It may be interesting to note that the mother thinks she has given "Somewhat" support rather more often than the daughter thinks she has received it , whereas the daughter says she has got "Not at all" advice much more often than the mother does.

10 % of the daughters who had encountered at least one life event said that they would have liked more support from their mother than they had got, whereas 62 % were quite contented and 25 % did not ask for help or wanted to manage on their own. About 2.5 % said their mother had interfered too much in the life events.

Here are some examples from the interview sample of support from the mother to the daughter in life events:

"She has helped me. I thought for example then that I would change my education and become a nurse. My mother supported me in my decision. It was a hard time as we had bought a flat. Mother took Miia and cared for her when I had exams and my husband worked night shifts to get money."

"Life has been terribly even". "My mother is unable to give psychological support".

"My husband died last winter. Mother was the first person whom I told and she helped me a lot. She has never said 'no' at least, she has never interfered and pushed her help on me. Sometimes I expected her to take the kids for a while .Sometimes I expected that she would have taken the kids for a while when they were small. Well, she took them when I asked, but never took the initiative herself."

"She has interfered a lot in our life: she still considers me her small girl and that I ought to follow her example: she does not accept my lifestyle , but I do not care.". "My mother has helped in the material sense".

7.5. SUPPORT TO THE MIDDLE GENERATION FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

A question of interest in this study concerned the relative degree of support to the middle-aged mother from her own mother as compared with other sources of support. The simplest measure of this support is the percentage of persons of each type that has been mentioned as being close or distant. Table 11 summarizes these data. It has to be observed that for the siblings, for instance, data concerning both positive and negative relations were asked separately.

TABLE 11 . Percentage of middle-aged women with close and negative relations to different persons

	Close %	Negative %
Siblings	54.6	5.2
Neighbours	46.5	0.0
Colleagues	60.2	—
Maternal relatives	25.2	0.0
Husband's relatives	21.4	0.9
Mother-in-law	49.2	0.0
Husband	71.6	4.3

Table 11 shows that most of these women have a close relation to their husband. Besides this, 82.6 % of them reported that they have a woman friend. It is also quite common to have a close relation to a colleague and about half of these women had a close relationship with at least one sibling. Almost half of them had also made friends with a neighbour. It was much less common to have a close relationship with other relatives.

A negative relation was more often mentioned with a sibling than with the husband. For the other groups, such answers were almost nonexistent.

Table 12 shows the number of close friends of the middle-aged woman.

TABLE 12 . Number of close friends .

Number	f	%
0	2	1.8
1	7	6.2
2	17	15.0
3	26	23.0
4	17	15.0
5	17	15.0
6	4	3.5
>6	20	17.7
	113	100.0
		Mean 4.2 Std 2.4

Table 12 shows that most of these women say they have three close friends (or families of friends) (they were defined as families who one can drop in on unannounced or to whom one feels especially close). The result corresponds to those of other studies in the area which have found that the number of close friends is rather limited . Babchuk (1978-79) differentiates between primary friends and confidant friends as well as primary relatives and confidant relatives. He found that the over- 45-year-olds in his study mostly had two or three primary friends and zero or one confidant friends.

The following excerpts give a picture of the resource persons of these women:

"I am so terribly independent that I try to manage on my own all the time". Her relation to the brother is distant, because he lives far away. Has some friends among her colleagues. The neighbours are nice. The closest friends live near Helsinki, the other still further. Has spoken about everything with her husband. He has nice sisters who have taken care of the children.

Not very many close friends, rather superficial acquaintances. Perhaps two friends. One really nice colleague. Discusses more with some neighbours than with others, but none are close friends. No quarrels etc.

old on Saturdays. During summers more contact with husband's relatives at the summer cottage. "I would perhaps tell a secret first to my sister."

About friends: "Now I have realized that they are worth gold" (the husband died a year ago). Has three good friends. "We moved about two years ago, but we have not yet made acquaintance with the neighbours, and I do not wish to get good friends among them anyway. I would like of course to have good friends among my colleagues, but I have to see to it that work does not become a place for therapy."

"A social worker has supported me. Friendship relations do not succeed; I can't manage them. The relations to my siblings are rather distant, we haven't visited each other during the last two years. My husband is my best support, my mother stays a bit on the side." The daughter has been married now for 6 months. Has one friend.

Both the interviews and the daughter's questionnaire contained data on support from various sources to the middle generation in four areas: emotional support, financial support, advice and time. The results are presented in Table 13 for the questionnaire sample and Figure 12 depicts the same data.

TABLE 13 . Support in life events to the middle generation from various sources.

Type of support	Not at all		Somewhat		Much		Very much		N	%
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%		
<u>From husband</u>										
Emotional	10	9,3	16	15,0	16	15,0	65	60,7	107	100
Financial	18	18,4	10	10,2	13	13,32	57	58,2	98	100
Advice	11	10,7	25	24,3	24	23,3	43	41,7	103	100
Time	8	7,8	23	22,3	20	19,4	52	50,5	103	100
<u>From mother</u>										
Emotional	11	12,5	37	42,0	27	30,7	13	14,8	88	100
Financial	40	44,4	40	44,4	7	7,8	3	3,3	90	100
Advice	24	26,7	50	55,6	11	12,2	5	5,6	90	100
Time	14	15,2	51	55,4	14	15,2	13	14,1	92	100
<u>From sibling</u>										
Emotional	16	15,4	42	40,4	24	23,1	22	21,2	105	100
Financial	81	79,4	12	11,8	4	3,9	5	4,9	102	100
Advice	26	26,0	48	48,0	16	16,0	10	10,0	100	100

Time	25	25,0	54	54,0	10	10,0	11	11,0	100	100
<u>From husband's relatives</u>										
Emotional	23	21,5	51	47,7	25	23,4	8	7,5	107	100
Financial	59	58,4	23	22,2	18	17,8	1	1,0	101	100
Advice	32	31,1	49	47,6	15	14,6	7	6,8	103	100
Time	28	28,0	49	49,0	19	19,0	4	4,0	100	100
<u>From other relatives</u>										
Emotional	31	30,1	42	40,8	20	19,4	10	9,7	103	100
Financial	75	76,5	16	16,3	7	7,1	0	0,0	98	100
Advice	32	31,7	48	47,5	17	16,8	4	4,0	101	100
Time	32	33,7	47	43,2	17	17,9	5	5,3	95	100
<u>From woman friend</u>										
Emotional	12	11,4	34	32,4	33	31,4	26	24,8	105	100
Financial	90	90,0	10	10,1	0	0,0	0	0,0	100	100
Advice	21	20,4	47	45,6	22	21,4	13	12,6	103	100
Time	23	22,5	36	35,3	28	27,5	15	14,7	102	100
<u>From neighbour</u>										
Emotional	40	37,7	41	38,7	15	14,2	10	9,4	106	100
Financial	97	97,0	2	2,0	1	1,0	0	0,0	100	100
Advice	44	41,5	46	43,4	10	9,4	6	5,7	106	100
Time	43	41,32	43	41,3	11	10,6	7	6,7	104	100
<u>From colleague</u>										
Emotional	19	18,3	38	36,5	25	24,0	22	21,2	104	100
Financial	91	93,8	5	5,2	1	1,0	0	0,0	97	100
Advice	22	22,4	49	50,0	16	16,3	11	11,2	98	100
Time	29	29,9	38	39,2	21	21,6	9	9,3	97	100
<u>From others</u>										
Emotional	6	37,5	0	0,0	1	6,3	9	56,3	16	100
Financial	14	70,0	1	5,0	1	5,0	4	20,0	20	100
Advice	5	37,5	2	14,3	0	0,0	7	50,0	14	100
Time	4	28,6	1	7,1	2	14,3	7	50,0	14	100

Siblings were reported to give mostly emotional support. Only about 15 % did not mention this type of support from siblings.

Advice was the next most common type of support from sisters or brothers, followed by time. Financial support was very rare; only about 8 % said they had received much or very much financial support from their siblings. About half of the respondents said they have a close relationship with at least one sibling, but only 5 % reported that they have a negative relationship with at least one sister or brother.

One woman said: "Well, yes, we used to talk. Now it has become more difficult as they live far away and one works on shift. But we write and phone sometimes."

Another woman reported that the brother is nice, but they are not especially close. The brother left home already during his early years but now lives in the same house as the parents. This woman says that her parents always favour her brother.

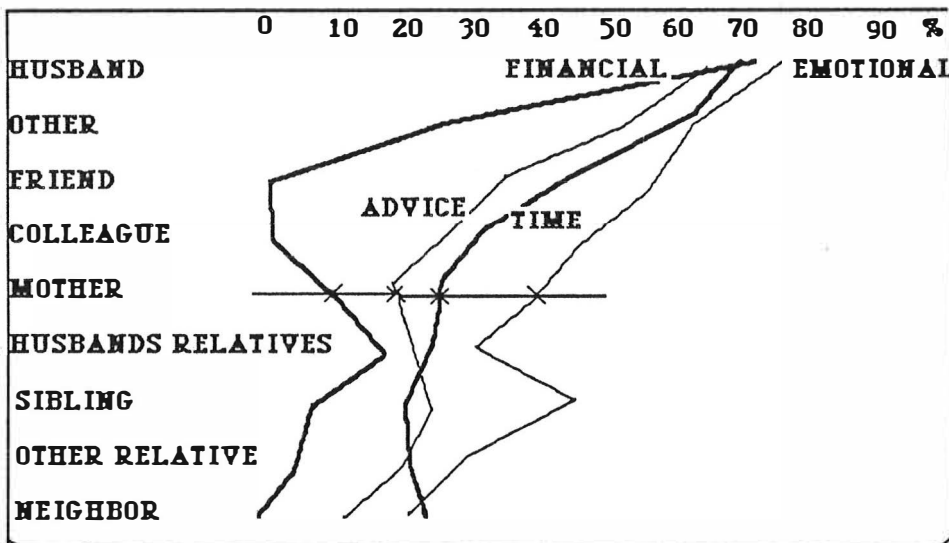


FIGURE 12. Help from different sources to the middle generation.

7.6. SUPPORT FROM DAUGHTER TO MOTHER

The next topic to be treated concerns the help given to the elderly mother. First, however, a description of the mother's age, health etc. will be given.

A description of the mother's life circumstances and health

The grandmother generation of the questionnaire sample had an average age of 66.6 years. 48 % of the grandmothers were between 60 and 69 years of age, 36 % were older and the rest younger. 13.6 % of the grandmothers still worked full time and one (0.8 %) part time, the rest were retired or housewives. When the social class was coded on the basis of the grandmother's own former job, 86 % belonged to the "lowest" class, unskilled workers, and 8 % to the next lowest class, skilled workers and lower employees. When the husband's job was coded, 3.3 % belonged to the class "leading position", 35 % to the class "self-employed, upper employees and foremen", 43.3 % to "skilled workers and lower employees" and 18.3 % to "unskilled workers". The composition of the sample has to be remembered in interpreting the results: the grandmother generation represents in many respects a typical working-class group.

Most of the grandmothers rated their health as "very good" (4.2%), "good" (12.5 %) or rather good (61.7 %), whereas only 21.7 % rated themselves as very ill. Table 14 shows the extent of different problems as mentioned by the grandmother herself.

TABLE 14. The frequency of different types of problems as reported by the grandmothers.

	Not at all		Some		Many		N	%
	f	%	f	%	f	%		
Mental problems	57	50.0	53	46.5	4	3.5	114	100
Financial problems	42	35.9	72	61.5	3	2.6	121	100
Major practical problems	92	80.0	22	19.1	1	0.9	115	100
Physical illness	29	25.2	71	61.7	15	13.0	115	100

This group of elderly women describe themselves as experiencing more of the other kinds of problems than the practical ones. The respondents even admit that they have mental problems. It may be interesting to note that rather a large proportion -about 65 %- say they have some or many financial problems, when on the other hand financial support between the generations seems to be very rare.

Table 15 gives a more detailed answer to how these elderly women manage on their own with different tasks.

TABLE 15 . The grandmothers' and her daughter's ratings of how well the grandmother manages with different tasks

G=grandmother		Fully on her own		Needs some help		Needs a lot of help		Need a lot of help		N
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
Cooking and food shopping	G	102	86.4	10	8.5	6	5.1	0	0.0	118
	D	95	85.6	10	9.0	6	5.4	0	0.0	111
Hygiene	G	110	90.9	9	7.4	2	1.7	0	0.0	121
	D	103	92.8	6	5.4	1	0.9	1	0.8	111
Light chores	G	113	93.4	7	5.8	0	0.0	1	0.8	121
	D	108	97.3	2	1.8	1	0.9	0	0.0	111
Heavy chores	G	45	42.1	39	36.4	14	13.1	9	8.4	107
	D	54	51.4	33	31.4	9	8.6	4	3.8	100
Office visits and bigger shopping	G	74	62.7	32	27.1	9	7.6	3	2.5	118
	D	72	66.1	24	22.0	7	6.4	6	5.5	109
Walks	G	110	91.7	6	5.0	2	1.7	2	1.7	120
	D	101	91.8	5	5.5	3	2.7	0	0.0	109
Cultural activities	G	91	79.1	16	13.9	7	6.1	1	0.9	115
	D	88	82.2	13	12.1	5	4.7	1	0.9	107
Doctor's visits	G	95	80.8	14	11.9	6	5.1	3	2.5	118
	D	87	79.8	14	12.8	7	6.4	1	0.9	109

Table 15 shows in greater detail where there is need for help. These women manage least well with heavy chores, like gardening or cleaning the whole flat. Only 42 % manage wholly on their own and 8.4 % need a lot of help. A second class where help is needed is

and 8.4 % need a lot of help. A second class where help is needed is larger shopping and administrative office visits. Light chores, on the other hand, is the class where most of these women manage on their own. When one remembers that their average age is about 65, the result is in line with Brody's (1978) observation that 75 rather than 65 is the age when dependency begins. Stueve (1982) has also pointed out that the elderly of today are not passive recipients of support. Rather, there is a continuous exchange going on between the generations.

Table 16 shows that the most uncommon form of help from the daughter is help with walks and hygiene (because the mother manages on her own). On the other hand, walks is also mentioned as the most frequent form of help. The reason may be that it is in some cases more a form of socializing than helping. About 4 % of the daughters help their mother daily with light chores and with her household tasks. In all, these mothers are still in such a good shape that they do not need much help.

The following excerpts from the interviews with the daughter gives a picture of her help to the mother:

"Mother may ask about things that she does not know: about administrative office visits, filling in forms and also in other matters she may call and ask for help.". "I do not impose money on her, but I try to take it into account when I buy presents, that they are proper presents, and if I ask for a favour, for instance with child minding, I try to make it up to her because I know I am able to do it and my mother only has her pension".

"Safety and care, because the elderly resemble children on an emotional level. A telephone call or a short visit shows that we remember her."

Does not have time to help and on the other hand the mother does not want help, either, because she can do everything herself.

TABLE 16 . The grandmother's report on how often her daughter helps her with various tasks

		Daily	2-3 times a week	Once a week	2-3 times a month	About once a month	A few times a year	About once a year	Less frequently
Household tasks	f	4	1	1	4	6	26	8	48
	%	4,1	1,0	1,0	4,1	6,1	26,5	8,2	49,0
Hygiene	f	1	7	10	0	3	5	1	56
	%	1,2	8,4	12,0	0,0	3,6	6,0	1,2	67,5
Light chores	f	3	0	4	5	4	7	3	55
	%	3,7	0,0	4,9	6,2	4,9	8,6	3,7	67,9
Heavy chores	f	1	2	1	3	6	25	9	41
	%	1,1	2,3	1,1	3,4	6,8	28,4	10,2	46,6
Office visits & shopping	f	2	2	3	5	6	13	5	53
	%	2,2	2,2	3,4	5,6	6,7	14,6	5,6	59,6
Walks	f	12	3	4	2	3	2	1	55
	%	14,6	3,7	4,9	2,4	3,7	2,4	1,2	67,1
Cultural activities	f	0	2	0	8	4	15	3	58
	%	0,0	2,2	0,0	8,9	4,4	16,7	3,3	64,4
Doctor's visits	f	0	0	0	0	5	187	9	60
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,4	19,6	9,8	65,2

About 48 % of the mothers were of the opinion that their daughter is very ready to make sacrifices for them, 44 % said they are quite ready and only 8.3 % said that they are not especially ready. The daughters, again, said in 34 % of the cases that they would be very willing to help their mother, 56 % would be quite

willing and 10 % not very willing. About one fourth of the daughters indicated that the mother did not need any help. 72 % said that helping had not been especially hard and only 2.6 % said that it had been hard.

The following excerpts show the daughters' reactions to helping the mother:

"It feels terribly natural. But sometimes I have thought that it has been extremely difficult at times, especially when there have been negative periods" (the mother's alcoholism)

"I would like to do it. I do not think I would be so busy in the future that I would not have time for her. She could live here with us."

It has been a natural thing to have her living here. It has always been a positive thing, but recently, during the last times, when I could not sleep for three nights because of her, I thought that I couldn't take it any more. I thought that I would be the first to go.

"Sometimes I have a feeling that I have supported her more emotionally than she has supported me."

Helping has partly been a responsibility, but she has liked doing it.

"I don't quite know, it partly depends on one's mood really. Sometimes I have a feeling that I should help her and if I then have not, I then get a bad conscience. But when you have your work and your own kids it feels quite heavy... I somehow just leave it."

What is the most important thing you can give your mother?

As an introduction to the interview, a question was posed to the daughter concerning the most important thing she could give her mother.

There were four types of answers:

1) 18 % of the daughters said either that the mother does not need help or that they themselves do not have time to help her.

These are examples of this type of answer:

"I do not have time to help her even if I know I ought to help her with gardening for example. We have this villa now, so we do not have the time".

"-She is so young that I can't really help her"

2) 29.5 % considered tangible assistance the most important thing, e.g. taking her places and helping her. Some examples:

- "That I take her somewhere, arrange some program for her"
- "Perhaps cleaning"

3) Another 29.5 % considered socializing the most important aspect, i.e. visiting, remembering her, calling her, spending vacations together. Here are some examples:

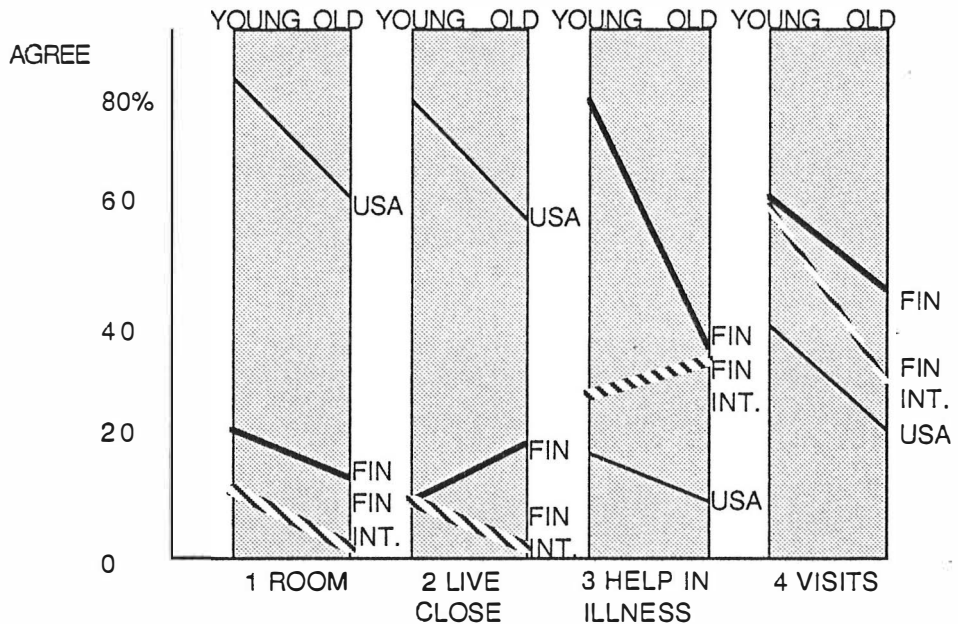
- "Conversing with her daily"
- "Company"

4) Finally, 23 % considered psychological closeness the most important thing they could give her, e.g. listening to her, comforting her, and bringing her joy. The following are examples of this type of answers:

- "That I could be close to her and that I always could tear myself loose from my own circles when she needs me"
- "That I am able to listen and to keep quiet about what I've heard, that I don't tell other people about it. She is rather old already and therefore I help her with some things".
- "The most important thing is that I listen to her, that I am a friend".

7.7. FILIAL RESPONSIBILITY NORMS OF MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

A special area of interest in this study was what has been termed "filial responsibility" or "filial obligations" (Sauer & Seelbach 1978, Hanson, Seelbach & Sauer 1983), i.e. attitudes towards the obligations of adult sons and daughters towards their elderly parents. A set of four or five questions have been used to measure this concept. To get an anchor point for the data in this study, the questions were adopted as such (despite the fact that severe criticism can be levelled against the concept of filial responsibility and that new developments in the area have taken place recently - e.g. Brody, Johnson & Fulcomer (1984) , Schmitt, Dalbert & Montada (1986). The results are presented in Figure 13 .



- 1 ROOM= Married couples should want a house with enough room for their parents to feel free to live with them
 2 LIVE CLOSE= Married children should live close to their parents
 3 HELP= Children should be willing to take care of their parents in whatever way when they are ill
 4 VISITS= If children live nearby after they are grown up, they should visit their parents at least once a week.

FIGURE 13 . Filial responsibility norms in mothers and daughters as compared with Hanson et al.'s (1983) data

Figure 13 shows several interesting things. First of all, it shows that the opinions of Finns as compared with those of Americans are almost diametrically opposite concerning filial obligations. The Finns do not agree that children should have a room for their parents or that married children should live near their parents, whereas the American in most cases do. The Finns, again, more often than the American consider it the duty of the children to help their parents in illness and to visit them once a week if they live close. (These data were furthermore corroborated in a group of 30 students of social policy in Finland). Secondly, there are some differences among the mothers and daughters in this study (i.e. the "old" and "young" in Figure 13). The daughters

consider it more often their duty to help the mother than the mothers considers it the duty of the children, at least in the questionnaires. Thirdly, there are some differences between the results obtained in the questionnaire sample and those obtained during interviews (where the same statements were posed to the respondents, but they had the possibility of explaining on which conditions they chose a certain alternative). In all cases, the percentage of agreement is higher on the questionnaire.

Cultural variations concerning filial obligations are very pronounced indeed, as a study by Weeks and Cuellar (1981) shows.

80 % of persons of Korean origin would turn to their family in difficulties, whereas the corresponding figure for non-minority populations is about 9 %. Against this background the differences between Finns and Americans are not so surprising.

It may be added that there is not a very strong correspondence between adhering to the norm concerning living close to the parents and the actual distance to them. 4.3 % of those living at a distance of less than 20 kilometers from their parents agreed fully or partly with this norm, whereas 0.9 % of those did who lived more than 200 kilometers from their parents.

A further analysis of the correspondence between answers of mothers and daughters showed that the highest agreement is for the statement "Adult children should live near their parents", where 49.1 % of the answers agree fully. The largest single category of agreement is for "Fully disagree". 42.5 % of the pairs are such where both partners disagree fully on this question. The correlation of the maternal and grandmaternal answers was .15. The second highest percentage of agreement was for the statement concerning "Married couples should have a house...", where 46 % of the pairs agree in their answers. Again, the largest single category of agreement is the answer "disagree fully", with 37.7 % of all pairs. The correlation between the maternal and grandmaternal answers was .15. The statement concerning visiting once a week if living close had the third highest percentage of agreement with 39 % of the answers on the diagonal. Here, however, the answers were more divided than for the other questions. 9.3 % of the pairs were such where both disagreed fully, 11.3 % both disagreed somewhat and 14.8 % both agreed fully. The correlations between the maternal and grandmaternal answers was .20. Finally, the question concerning help to parents during illness had 30 % of the pairs agreeing in their answers. The largest single category of agreement was for the answer "agree

fully", with 14.2 % . At the same time, however, 11.3 % were such where the grandmother disagreed fully and her daughter agreed fully. This can be seen in the correlation, .02 for mothers and daughters.

Correspondence between different informants and different methods

In the interview samples (N=69), data on filial responsibility was obtained from the same persons both during interviews and on questionnaires. Table 17 shows the correlations for the four statements.

TABLE 17 . Retest reliability and validity coefficients of the filial responsibility statements

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4	
1	.65			I											
2		.77													
3			.62												
4	MI&DI			.03											
<hr/>															
1	.34			II	.57				III						
2		.55				.80									
3			-.01				-.07								
4	DI&DQ			.49	DQ&MI			.46							
<hr/>															
1	.39			IV	.29			V	.37					VI	
2		.36				.47				.51					
3			.35				.43							.58	
4	MI&DQ			.16	MQ&MI			.54	DQ&MQ					.67	

1 ROOM= Married couples should want a house with enough room for their parents to feel free to live with them

2 LIVE CLOSE= Married children should live close to their parents

3 HELP= Children should be willing to take care of their parents in whatever way when they are ill

4 VISITS= If children live nearby after they are grown up, they should visit their parents at least once a week.

DI= Daughter's interview DQ=Daughter's questionnaire

MI= Maternal interview MQ= Maternal questionnaire

Table 17 shows that the retest reliabilities (II & V) range from -.01 to .55. They are higher for the mothers than the daughters and they are highest for the statement concerning the obligation to live close (2). The correlation for the statement concerning help in illness (3) is nonexistent.

The highest correlations are obtained for different persons but the same method, the average correlation (with z transformation) being .56 for (I), interviews with mothers and daughters and an almost as high correlation, .54 for questionnaires with different persons. The correlations between the daughter's questionnaire and the mother's interview (III) is almost as high as well, .52. The lowest correlation is for the daughter using different methods, .28.

In all, the reliability of the filial responsibility statements are rather low. The reason for this is probably that the respondents find it difficult to give a categorical answer to rather complex questions. This can be seen in an analysis below of explanations given to the answers in the interviews with the daughters (the alternatives are 0=Fully disagree, 1=Somewhat disagree, 2=Somewhat agree and 3= Fully agree):

1 ROOM= Married couples should want a house with enough room for their parents to feel free to live with them

0 "In practice it is impossible"

0 "Not under any circumstances"

0 "I think it is impossible nowadays, there are other ways as well"

1 "I guess there would be room if there were a need"

2 "Perhaps one should be able to arrange a room if such a situation would develop"

2 LIVE CLOSE= Married children should live close to their parents

0 "If one finds a job and a house in some other place one is always able to visit them".

0 "Nowadays one has to move if one finds a job"

"It is not a duty, the job decides, it is ideal, if one is close, an elderly person does not like to be a burden".

0 "Not in modern times, because one has to compete to get a job, of course it is always a good thing, if it is so, but it is not always possible".

3 HELP= Children should be willing to take care of their parents in

whatever way when they are ill

3 "In principle, support and arrangements and so on, if mother is unable to take care of it herself."

3 "Children should take care of their parents who have taken care of their children."

2 "I guess to a certain extent".

1 "The best possible care, but in my opinion not in one's own home."

0 "Is it not the health authorities nowadays that have the obligation to take care of the elderly, one has to be close if one is needed, but one cannot have the responsibility, one might be as far as in America and would not be able not come."

4 VISITS= If children live nearby after they are grown up, they should visit their parents at least once a week.

0 "One may preserve good relations without jumping there all the time, the telephone has been invented, you know!"

1 "Yes, if there is a need, if they are in a bad shape."

1 "I guess everyone visits voluntarily as well, if the relations are worth anything at all"

2 "If they wish it. It should not be made an obligation."

3 "If one lives close one should find the time to visit them."

The results here may be compared with those by Brody, Johnsen and Fulcomer (1984), who used hypothetical situations with an 83-year-old widow who needed help. They found that according to American norms, adult children should adjust their family schedules, but not their working schedules (and girls should adjust them more than boys), they should help with expenses but they should not share a household. As far as working schedules are concerned, the answers in this study very much resemble those of Johnson and Fulcomer, but it should be added, that this is not because of a obligation, but rather out of necessity: working schedules are beyond the control of the individual.

7.8. HELP FROM GRANDCHILDREN TO THE GRANDMOTHER

There are some data concerning the amount of help the grandchild gives his or her grandmother in the child interviews and essays (see Hurme 1987a & b). It turned out that this category is not frequently mentioned spontaneously in the essays neither is it frequent when asked about in the interviews with the child. Questions concerning the grandchild's participation in helping the grandmother was posed in the maternal questionnaire. The results are presented in Table 18 .

TABLE 18. Participation of grandchild in helping the grandmother

	Not at all		Somewhat		Much		Very much		N
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
Household	47	52.2	42	46.7	0	0.0	1	1.1	90
Hygiene	77	87.5	10	11.4	0	0.0	1	1.1	88
Light chores	65	72.2	24	26.7	1	1.1	0	0.0	90
Heavy chores	49	53.8	40	44.0	2	2.2	0	0.0	91
Office visits	80	89.9	8	9.0	0	0.0	1	1.1	89
Walks	64	73.6	22	25.3	1	1.1	0	0.0	87
Cultural activities	74	86.0	12	14.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	86
Doctor's visits	84	98.8	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	85

Table 18 shows, indeed, that only a few children help their grandmother much or very much with the tasks mentioned in the table. The most common forms of help concern helping with cooking and shopping for food as well as helping with heavy chores. About 45 % of the children help with these types of chores whereas the other half does not. In fact one might say that the results validate the questions, which were the same as for the adults. It would seem improbable that the children help their grandmothers with administrative office visits very often, for instance.

8. GRANDMOTHERHOOD AND THE GRANDMOTHER ROLE

Grandmotherhood (or grandparenthood) has hardly been studied at all in Finland, except for Suutama's (1986) recent work. There have been scattered works on the topic in American literature (e.g. Albrecht 1954; Neugarten & Weinstein 1964), but it is only during the very last years that studies in this area have become more common.

8.1. ASPECTS OF GRANDPARENTHOOD

Grandparenthood has many sides to it. An attempt is made in Figure to depict the various components of the concept. On the *attitudinal* level, grandparenthood is concerned with the norms which govern the rights and obligations of grandparents, on the *behavioural* level with the activities that grandparents do both with and for their grandchildren. The *affective* level is concerned with the satisfaction with the role and the *symbolic* level is concerned with the different meanings of grandparenthood to the grandparents. All these levels may of course also be studied from the viewpoint of the grandchild, or even from that of the middle generation.

These aspects of the role vary according to different factors. The single grandchild, the larger family system, cultural factors - such as the place of residence -, the individual features of the grandparent, especially their age and type of work, but also personality factors, and, finally, historical time.

All these factors influence what has been termed "styles of grandparenting". These groups will be treated below.

The grandparent role has been termed a 'roleless role' (Clavan 1978). By this, Clavan means that the role is not governed by rights and obligations to the same extent that the parent role is (c.f. Strom & Strom 1983). Despite this contention, several studies have focussed on the dimensions of the grandparent role.

When speaking of the grandparent role below, reference is made to those studies which have derived different types of grandparenthood, often by using factor analysis. Contrary to older studies (e.g. Neugarten & Weinstein 1964), where the thought was that each grandparent represented only one dimension, the idea here, is that the different dimensions represent the above aspects of grandparenthood - for instance the behavioural or affective

aspect - to a different extent, and that the individual grandparent stresses one or more of these dimension, perhaps in a different combination during different phases of grandparenthood and with different grandchildren. Thus it is more a question of dimensions than of types.

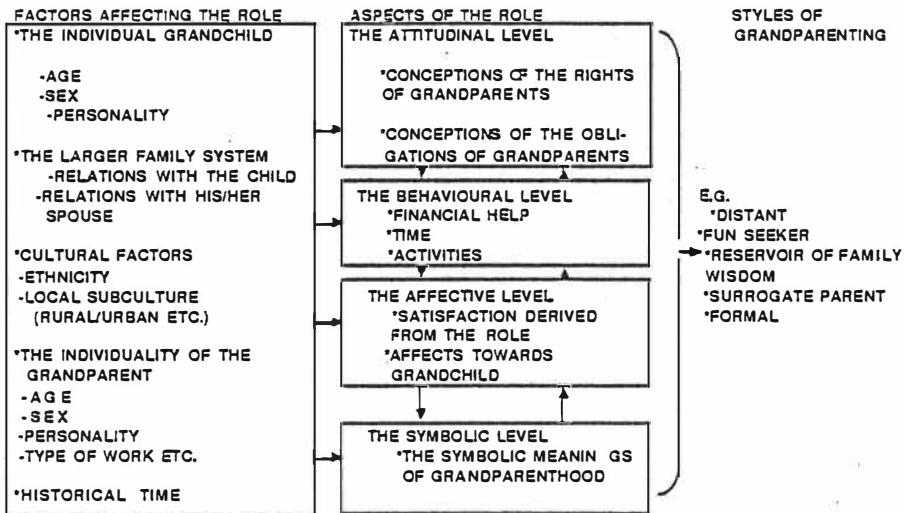


FIGURE 13. Factors affecting the "style" of grandparenting

At least the following features have been treated in connection with grandparenthood (or, rather, grandmotherhood, because there are very few studies on grandfatherhood):

- 1) Emotional satisfaction
- 2) Biological renewal and continuity
- 3) Being a resource person
- 4) The grandchild as a substitute for the grandparent
- 5) Acting as a model
- 6) Detached grandparenthood

1) Emotional satisfaction

Emotional satisfaction is the one dimension which is perhaps

most frequently mentioned in connection with grandparenthood, although slightly different names for the concept are used in different studies.

The dimension was mentioned already in Neugarten's and Weinstein's (1964) seminal study and Robertson (1977) called it 'individualized grandparenthood'. This term was based on Robertson's classification of grandparenthood on the one hand on the basis of its social features, and on the other on its individual features. According to Robertson, when forces inside the individual are central, not external, normative, grandmotherhood is individualized. Kivnick (1982a,b), again, terms one of the meanings of grandmotherhood 'centrality'. By this she refers to the importance of grandmotherhood to the individual. It is generally assumed (e.g. Benedek 1970) that the emotional side of the grandparent role is accentuated as the grandparents no longer have the same type of responsibilities towards their grandchildren as they had towards their own children.

Kahana and Kahana (1971) have made the observation, that descriptions made by grandparents concerning their role lack spontaneity. They say that grandparents describe what the grandchildren *do* and what they do together with them, but more seldom what they *mean* to each other. One possible reason for this is that not even a semistructured interview situation is safe enough to elicit the innermost feelings of the grandparents.

There is some evidence from earlier studies that the emotional side is only important *per se*, but that it has some bearing on the general well-being of the grandmother. Markides and Krause (1985) found in a three-generational study with Mexicans that a positive affect from the grandchildren predicted psychological well-being in the grandmother.

The dimension "emotional satisfaction" got a very special form in the study of Neugarten and Weinstein (1964). They found that about 30 % of American grandparents could be classified as 'fun seekers', i.e. the grandparents saw themselves rather as the grandchild's playmates. However, in McCready's (1985) study this type was uncommon and it is probable that it emerges mostly in studies concerning very young grandchildren.

2) Biological renewal and continuity

A second feature which is often mentioned in studies of grandparenthood is the wish to survive through the offspring (e.g. Benedek 1970). This dimension represents the formal aspect of

grandparenthood. About 30 % of the grandparents in Neugarten's and Weinstein's (1964) study were of this type. This dimension becomes central especially in persons who have to wait a long time before becoming grandparents or in those persons who never get grandchildren at all.

3) Being a resource person

Neugarten's and Weinstein's study (1964) contained the type "Surrogate parent". 14 % of the grandparents in their study were of this type and it was especially common among mothers whose daughters worked full time. Tinsley and Parke (1984) stress the fact that being a surrogate parent is especially important in times of crises and especially if a teenage daughter gets pregnant. Troll (1983) remarks, however, that grandparenthood is *not* a continuation of the parent role. The grandparents help, but only when asked. It is also only natural that grandparents who live together with their children help them more than grandparents who live apart from them (Wilson 1984). Albrecht again, in one of the first articles on grandparenthood (1954) says that there are *different* reasons for grandparents taking over responsibility for bringing up the grandchild. It may happen either because the grandparents derive personal satisfaction from it or because they want to feel that they have power. The reason may also simply be that they want something to do. These are all bad reasons for bringing up the grandchild, according to Albrecht.

Bengtson (1985) says that one of the symbolic features of grandparenthood is to act as an arbitrator and the second is "to be there". It would seem that at least the first meaning is not only symbolic, but that it also represents precisely the dimension in question, i.e. being a resource person. It may be added that when it comes to the authority of the grandmother vis-a-vis the grandchild, there is and has been none. This was found in Upfegraff's (1968) study on retrospective reminiscences concerning one's own grandmother in three generations of women.

Haavio-Mannila (1983), in a Finnish study, even stresses the surrogate parent function of the grandparents. She says: "the role of the grandparents in giving care to children is limited mostly to temporary baby-sitting". In her survey, 76 % of the grandmothers and 61 % of the grandfathers reported having done this. 14 % of the grandmothers and 5 % of the grandfathers had taken care of the grandchildren in their own home and only 2 % of the

grandmothers had regularly taken care of the child in their home. Some grandmothers (6 %) and grandfathers (4%) had taken care of the child for longer periods.

4) The grandchild as a substitute for the grandparent

This dimension closely resembles dimension 2) above, but represents a somewhat more "socialized" continuity. Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) had a type, "Grandparents as a reservoir of family wisdom", which was represented by only one per cent of the grandparents. This dimension also comes close to what Bengtson (1985) has called the most important symbolic task of grandparents, i.e. the social construction of biography (clearly paraphrasing Berger & Luckman (1966)). This task consists of constructing the past of the grandchild and of giving it meaning. In this sense it is also a question of constructing continuity. This function of the grandparents has also been called "the family historian" (Tinsley & Parke 1984).

5) Acting as a model for the child

Being a role model is a dimension which did not emerge in early studies on grandparenthood. This is stressed, for instance, by Tinsley and Parke (1984). The dimension is concerned with the fact that grandparents want to teach the grandchildren how to live, wanting to give them advice and wisdom.

6) Detached grandparenthood

In Neugarten's and Weinstein's (1964) study, 19 % of the grandparents represented what they called "the Distant Figure". According to Robertson (1977) both individual and social forces towards grandparenthood are weak. Robertson says that they do not get satisfaction even from being a grandparent. In her study, grandmothers of this type were often widowed or unemployed.

8.2. FACTORS AFFECTING GRANDPARENTHOOD

One of the clearest findings of earlier studies on grandparenthood is that it is not a uniform phenomenon, but varies according to several factors. The most important of these will be treated below.

The age of the grandparents is a central factor modifying

grandparenthood, as Bengtson (1985) observes. Several authors (Troll 1983, Wood & Robertson 1976, Fischer 1983) have contended that the grandparent role is a middle age role. Troll (1983), for instance, warns against viewing grandparents as old people. She mentions that the modal age of becoming a grandparent in American society is 49-51 years for women and 51-53 years for men.

This dimension is , for instance, related to the question whether or not he or she becomes a grandparent 'on time'. Problems can be created especially when one's children do not have children. This situation is connected with a fear that the family will die out, but it can also be connected with a fear that if grandchildren are born, the grandparent will be so old and weak as not to enjoy the grandchildren anymore and follow their development.

The other extreme is the situation where the grandparents are still very young and involved in their career. They would perhaps want to help their children and they would especially like to enjoy their grandchildren while they are still small, but their own commitments prevent them from this.

Clear differences between grandparent types according to their age has indeed been found in earlier studies. Neugarten and Weinstein (1964) found that grandparents younger than 65 years were mostly Fun Seekers or of the Distant type. Cherlin and Furstenberg (1985) again found that older grandparents more often were of the Distant or the Passive type. Robertson's (1977) study again confirmed the fact that the Symbolic grandmother - to whom normativity, but not individual satisfaction was central - more often were young than old, and , probably, more often were involved in their career. Thomas (1986) found no differences in satisfaction with grandparenting in different age groups of grandparents, but the younger grandparents expressed greater responsibility for their grandchildren's discipline, for their grandchildren's care and for offering childrearing advice.

A factor related to age is the fact that some grandparents may still be in the reproductive age, as Benedek (1970) observes. In such cases the grandparent's own children often occupy a more central position than the grandchildren.

The grandmother and the grandfather role differ. According to Hagestad (1985) the difference resembles Parsons' and Bales' division of instrumental and emotional-expressive leaders so that grandfathers represent the former dimension, and grandmother

the latter. It should perhaps be added that according to Bengtson (1985) most studies show that sex differences among grandparents are smaller now than earlier - perhaps in the same way as sex differences in general have become smaller.

Clavan (1978) gives reasons for the fact that grandfathers have hardly been treated at all in studies. One reason is that middle-aged men have their working role and the grandfather role is not functionally central so it is not treated. As it is much more common in Finland for women to be employed, the same reason might explain the fact that not even grandmotherhood has been studied here. Grandfatherhood would in any case require more thorough study.

There may also be an interaction between the sex of the grandparents and the sex of the child, or even with the sex of the parent of the middle generation. Kahana and Kahana (1971) observe, for instance, that maternal grandmothers and paternal grandfathers showed especially warm feelings towards their grandchildren.

Social class modifies grandparenthood. Clavan especially (1978) has treated this subject. According to him it is particularly difficult to define grandparenthood in the middle class, as it is more 'ideological' than real in this class. By ideological he means that there is a position of grandparenthood in the family system, but it is not connected with any normative rights or obligations and thus grandparenthood is a roleless role. This leads to the fact that many grandparents experience a role handicap and they have to create a role.

Clavan's article strives towards showing that at least in the USA the grandparent role in the lower social classes is different. In these families especially the grandmother is important and she has a very central position in the family. Help is often given in the form of services. This result closely resembles some Polish ones (Kotlarska-Michalska 1984), according to which, elderly parents in the intelligentsia mostly helped their children financially, whereas grandparents in the working class mostly gave services.

Urbanization is a factor which might influence grandparenthood, as Kahana & Kahana (1971) have observed. The influence may be mediated on one hand through the fact that in the countryside, generations often live closer to each other, but on the other by the different norms in cities as compared with the countryside.

National differences also influence grandparenthood. There are rather few comparative studies, but on the basis of general

information concerning different cultures it is possible to draw conclusions also concerning grandparenthood. McCready's (1985) study is one of the few comparative works in this area. He found , for instance, that among different nationalities living in the USA, people of Scandinavian origin most often were of the formal-distant type (c.f. Neugarten & Weinstein 1964), whereas Polish grandmothers less often than the other groups (English, German, Irish or Italian) were Distant. The Scandinavian grandparents were also , after Polish and German grandfathers, most often of the Surrogate type.

Geographical distance between the grandparents and the grandchildren is also a central modifying factor. Fischer (1983) compared grandmothers who lived very close to their daughter with grandmothers who lived further away. She found that about half of the grandmothers in the latter group wanted more contacts with her grandchild whereas only 14 % of the close grandmothers did. 71 % of the geographically distant grandmothers said that their life had not changed when they became grandmothers, whereas 29 % of the geographically close gave this answer.

An institutional environment is a factor which has hardly been treated at all in connection with grandparenthood. It is only Kahana and Coe (1969) who have studied this phenomenon. They found that grandparents living at home have much more frequent contacts with their grandchildren than grandparents in an institution. 63 % of the grandparents living at home had met at least one grandchild during the preceding week, whereas none of the institutionalized grandparents had. 61 % of the institutionalized grandparents and 26 % of the grandparents living at home said that the visit lasted less than an hour . About half of the institutionalized grandparents and a quarter of those living at home said that their grandchildren do not have time for them.

The personality and individuality of the grandparent influences grandparenthood as well, as Benedek (1970, p. 201) observes. She says that "the emotional content of grandparenthood cannot remain the same for all times and for all persons".

8.3. GRANDPARENTHOOD IN THIS STUDY

8.3.1. Spontaneous reactions concerning the main function of the grandmother

In the interviews with 69 grandmothers, a question was asked concerning the main task of the grandmother. The answers varied considerably.

Some grandmothers mentioned *practical help* as their main task, i.e. 'the surrogate parent' type of activity (Neugarten & Weinstein 1964), e.g.

"I have knitted and sewn a lot for those kids, kept them with socks and mittens"

"To knit socks and such small things"

"To knit socks and mittens, to ask for news, give something, sometimes a little money"

About 20 % of the grandmothers in the interview represented this type.

Others stressed *conveying advice*, e.g.

"I have given good advice concerning life"

"To give advice and to say that that would be right. I like to guide (her) to help her mother and to teach her to carry our chores at home"

"All sorts of advice. I would like to speak of religion with her."

I subgroup consisted of those who explicitly say that they would like to convey *knowledge of the past*, e.g.

"One can tell about old traditions and habits"

About 25 % of the grandmothers in the interviews represented this and the former type.

Others again stressed *the emotional side* of their role, showing affection and tenderness to the grandchild, e.g.

"To be with the children, to give them love. To guide them properly."

"To be a kind, old granny"

"To be close, to have time to be with the grandchildren, and if the child wants to visit, to have time for conversations"

"One should not bring them up explicitly, but give them tenderness. Tenderness is important.

About 23 % of the grandmothers in the interview represented this type.

But there are several grandmothers who say that they do not know any tasks or functions and some say that there are no special tasks. This would refer to the feeling of a roleless role, or rather an ideological than a real role, as mentioned by Clavan (1978). He says that the grandparent role is ideological in the sense that there is a position in the kinship system, but there are no normative rights or obligations connected with it.

In all, one may note that the spontaneous answers of the grandmothers concerning their main task correspond quite well to the categories obtained in earlier studies with more formalized methods as well as with the factor analysis of statements concerning the grandmother role, presented in Section 8.2.3.

8.3.2. Reactions to statements concerning the grandmother role

Table 19 contains statements concerning the grandmother role and the grandmothers' reactions to these statements.

TABLE 19. Agreement with statement concerning grandmotherhood

		Fully disagree 1	Disagree somewhat 2	Agree somewhat 3	Fully agree 4	Mean
1. Part of being a grandmother consists of being able to brag about what my grandchildren have done	%	26,5	46,9	23,9	2,7	2,03
	f	30	53	27	3	
2. My life was fulfilled only when I became a grandmother	%	15,7	40,0	33,9	10,4	2,39
	f	18	46	39	12	

		Fully disagree	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Fully agree	Mean
		1	2	3	4	
3. My grandchildren require too much of my time	% f	94,8 109	2,6 3	1,7 2	0,9 1	1,09
4. My grandchildren are important especially because they continue the traditions of our family	% f	19,5 22	38,9 44	32,7 37	8,8 10	2,31
5. I have a feeling that my grandchildren belong to me and not only to their parents	% f	33,0 38	53,0 61	11,3 13	2,6 3	1,84
6. My daughter spoils her children much too much	% f	71,1 81	22,8 26	5,3 6	0,9 1	1,36
7. I rather meet my grandchildren tete-à-tete	f %	76,1 86	16,8 19	7,1 8	0,0 0	1,21
8. I consider it my duty to contribute to the upbringing of my grandchildren financially according to my possibilities	% f	62,3 71	32,5 37	2,6 3	2,6 3	1,46
9. My grandchildren are closer to me than my own children	% f	39,0 46	37,3 44	17,8 21	5,9 7	1,91

		Fully disagree	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Fully agree	Mean
		1	2	3	4	
10. My most important task as a grandparent is to convey knowledge about past times to my grandchildren	%	12,5	62,5	23,2	1,8	2,14
	f	14	70	26	2	
11. Becoming a grandparent implied growing closer to my own children	%	15,8	46,5	34,2	3,2	2,25
	f	18	53	39	4	
12. I am ready to give almost all my time to my grandchildren	%	28,2	42,7	24,5	4,5	2,06
	f	31	47	27	5	
13. I consider it the duty of my grandchildren to visit me once a week	%	80,2	15,3	2,7	1,8	1,26
	f	89	17	3	2	
14. I am too old fashioned to be useful to my grandchildren	%	60,2	27,4	10,6	1,8	1,54
	f	68	31	12	2	
15. I don't think I spoil my grandchildren too much	%	15,0	31,9	38,1	15,0	2,53
	f	17	36	43	17	
16. I have a feeling that my grandchildren meet me only out of duty	%	90,0	6,4	2,7	0,9	1,16
	f	99	7	3	1	
17. Being a grandparent is not the most important thing in my life	%	35,4	36,3	23,0	5,3	1,98
	f	40	41	26	6	

		Fully disagree 1	Disagree somewhat 2	Agree somewhat 3	Fully agree 4	Mean
18. I get the greatest satisfaction in life from my grandchildren	% f	13,9 16	44,3 51	29,6 34	12,2 14	2,40
19. I have a feeling that I don't have anything to teach my grandchildren	% f	70,8 80	25,7 29	1,8 2	1,8 2	1,35
20. I consider it my most important task to convey the traditions of our family to my grandchildren	% f	24,1 27	45,5 51	24,1 27	6,3 7	2,13
21. My grandchildren have caused me even big disappointments	% f	96,5 111	3,5 4	0,0 0	0,0 0	1,04
22. Most of all, my grandchildren mean company to me	% f	14,7 17	31,0 36	37,9 44	16,4 19	2,56
23. It is only natural that a 45-year-old working grandmother does not have time for her grandchildren	% f	19,4 21	39,8 43	25,0 27	15,7 17	2,37
24. In my opinion, grandparents should have the same rights as the parents to intervene in the upbringing of the grandchildren	% f	52,8 57	26,9 29	12,0 13	8,3 9	1,76
25. The task of the grandparents - of both sexes - is to be responsible for their family	% f	44,3 47	23,6 25	22,6 24	9,4 10	1,97

		Fully disagree 1	Disagree somewhat 2	Agree somewhat 3	Fully agree 4	Mean
26. If the grandmother is young and employed, she should leave her work when the grandchild is born to take care of him	%	81,7	12,8	2,8	2,8	1,27
	f	89	14	3	3	

Table 19 contains the frequencies and percentages of the different answers and, besides this, the means of the alternatives. The means give a picture of which statements the grandmothers agree most with. They agree that the grandchildren imply company for them, that they don't spoil the grandchildren, that the children continue the family traditions, and that their life was fulfilled only when they became grandmothers, whereas they don't agree with the statements that the grandchildren have caused big disappointments, that the grandchildren meet them out of duty, or that the grandchildren require too much of their time. (Kornhaber and Woodward (1985) observe that about 5 % of the grandparents were totally disconnected from their grandchildren). It may be noted that quite many fully agree with the statement that "It is only natural that a 45-year-old working grandmother does not have time for her grandchildren". This clearly shows that the picture of the grandmother role has changed from a grandmother who knits socks and mittens to a more active one.

8.3.3. Factors of the grandmother role

In order to find out the dimensionality of the statements concerning the grandmother role, the first 22 statements in Table 19 were factorized. (Later, activities with the grandchild have been

included in a factor analysis and clusters of grandmothers have been formed on the bases of factor scores. These results will be given later in a separate report, however). According to Kaiser's criterion, a five factor solution was chosen. It is presented in Table 20 .

TABLE 20 . Factors of the grandmother role

	I	II	III	IV	V
1. Part of being a grandmother consists of being able to brag about what my grandchildren have done	.41	.13	.35	.08	.18
2. My life was fulfilled only when I became a grandmother	.60	.14	.06	.41	.12
3. My grandchildren require too much of my time	.17	-.07	.74	.10	.08
4. My grandchildren are important especially because they continue the traditions of our family	.16	.66	-.07	.19	.11
5. I have a feeling that my grandchildren belong to me and not only to their parents	.20	.47	.03	.52	-.18
6. My daughter spoils her children much too much	-.07	.30	-.02	.01	-.01
7. I rather meet my grandchildren tete-à-tete	.07	.37	.13	-.03	-.23
8. I consider it my duty to contribute to the upbringing of my grandchildren financially according to my possibilities	.43	-.18	.05	-.24	-.10
9. My grandchildren are closer to me than my own children	.43	.16	-.06	-.18	-.03
10. My most important task as a grandparent is to convey knowledge about past times to my grandchildren	.23	.39	-.07	-.10	.02
11. Becoming a grandparent implied growing closer to my own children	-.04	.54	-.08	-.09	.16

	I	II	III	IV	V
12. I am ready to give almost all my time to my grandchildren	.62	.11	-.07	.14	-.06
13. I consider it the duty of my grandchildren to visit me once a week	.32	.14	.43	.12	-.01
14. I am too old fashioned to be useful to my grandchildren	-.06	.04	.14	-.02	.92
15. I don't think I spoil my grandchildren too much	.03	.14	.03	-.65	.14
16. I have a feeling that my grandchildren meet me only out of duty	-.06	-.02	.36	-.02	.09
17. Being a grandparent is not the most important thing in my life	-.14	.02	-.04	-.56	-.18
18. I get the greatest satisfaction in life from my grandchildren	.79	.03	.16	.03	.01
19. I have a feeling that I don't have anything to teach my grandchildren	-.31	.08	.07	.18	.17
20. I consider it my most important task to convey the traditions of our family to my grandchildren	.08	.79	.09	.08	-.03
21. My grandchildren have caused me even big disappointments	-.04	-.06	.64	-.06	-.12
22. Most of all, my grandchildren mean company to me	.33	.40	.31	-.11	.03
Eigenvalue	3.47	1.82	1.40	1.21	0.98
% of variance	39.1	20.5	15.7	13.6	11.1

Factor I has high loadings on the variables 'My life was fulfilled only when I became a grandmother', 'I am ready to give almost all my time to my grandchildren' and 'I get the greatest satisfaction in life from my grandchildren'. This factor might be termed 'emotional fulfillment' in vein with Neugarten and Weinstein (1964), but there is also a flavour of altruism in the behaviour 'I consider it to be my duty to contribute to the

upbringing of my grandchildren financially according to my possibilities'. This type of grandmother requires the grandchildren to visit her once a week and consider the children as company for her, but not only out of duty. She sees her grandchildren as even closer than her own children and likes to brag about them. The factor is therefore called *individualized grandmotherhood*.

Factor II has the highest loading on the variable 'I consider it my most important task to convey the traditions of our family to my grandchildren'. Other high loadings are on the variables 'My grandchildren are important especially because they continue the traditions of our family' and 'Becoming a grandparent implied growing closer to my own children' as well as 'I have a feeling that my grandchildren belong to me and not only to their parents'. The picture here is rather clear: it represents Neugarten's and Weinstein's category 'biological renewal/continuity', also termed formal grandparenthood. This category comes close to what Benedek (1970) terms 'a wish to survive through the grandchildren'. There is a clear understanding here of the family as spanning over several generations. This factor is in contrast with the individual orientation - both from the point of view of the grandmother and the grandchild in factor I and it rather represents the symbolic dimension of Robertson (1977). Her choice of word is, however, unfortunate, as the word 'symbolic' has other meanings in connection with studies on grandmotherhood (e.g. Bengtson 1985). This factor is, therefore, rather termed *family continuity oriented grandmotherhood*.

Factor III has a high loading on the variable 'My grandchildren require too much of my time' and the second highest loading is on 'My grandchildren have caused me even big disappointments'. The variables 'I consider it the duty of my grandchildren to visit me once a week', 'I have a feeling that my grandchildren meet me only out of duty', 'Part of being a grandmother consists of being able to brag with what my grandchildren have done' and 'Most of all, my grandchildren mean company to me' have loadings over .30. This factor somewhat resembles Neugarten's and Weinstein's (1964) dimension 'Remote' with the factor name 'Distant figure', but there is more to it, perhaps the type who gets no satisfaction, not even from her grandchildren (Robertson 1977). There is also an egoistic, and at the same time negative flavour present in this factor. It is termed *dissatisfied grandmotherhood*, implying a dissatisfaction both with the grandchild and with the role as a

grandmother.

Factor IV is rather unclear. The highest loading is on 'I don't think I spoil my grandchildren too much' (-.65), the person high on this factor thus thinking she spoils her grandchild too much. The second highest loading is on 'Being a grandparent is not the most important thing in my life', the person high on this factor considering it the most important thing. This is corroborated by 'My life was fulfilled only when I became a grandmother'. Another feature is that this type of grandmother thinks the grandchildren belong to her and not only to their parents. The common denominator of this factor is the personal significance of the role. This factor is therefore termed "*Grandmotherhood as personal satisfaction*".

Factor V consists of only one variable, 'I am too old fashioned to be useful to my grandchildren' with 12.4 % of the respondents agreeing somewhat or fully with this statement. This is corroborated by 'I have a feeling that I do not have anything to teach my grandchildren', however, with a rather low loading. This factor represents a low self-esteem vis-à-vis the grandchild and a fear of being oldfashioned. It is, however, not named here.

A two-factor solution of the same variables resulted in the two first factors being strengthened. These, again, very much resemble Robertson's (1977) dimensions of forces within the individual and social normative forces with the exception that the first dimension here is rather more interactionistic and reciprocal in nature.

In all, the factors largely cover the dimensions of grandmotherhood found in earlier studies, perhaps with the exception that the 'Remote grandparent' was even more negative than in former works. The dimension 'being a resource person' or 'surrogate parent' (Neugarten & Weinstein 1964) did not emerge from the data for the reason that variables concerning behaviour in the grandmother role were not included in the analysis. Rather, the statements above concerned the meaning of grandparenthood as well as feelings concerning it.

8.4. THE BEHAVIOURAL COMPONENT OF GRANDMOTHERHOOD: ACTIVITIES WITH THE GRANDCHILD

In the interviews, a question was posed to the grandmother concerning what the child does when he or she visits the grandmother. Many of the grandmothers say that the child is just

looking around, "inspecting the premises". Many answers refer to the fact that the child is reading, mainly magazines, or watching TV. Some say explicitly that they do not have any common activities. But there are exceptions, grandmothers who accompany their grandsons to ice hockey games, or to the swimming pool, for instance. A handful have made vacation trips together, even abroad. Some say that the child is very helpful, spontaneously, whereas others complain that the grandchildren do not help enough. There are also complaints about the visits being too short and of the children having too little time. In the interview sample, 65 % of the grandmothers say that the child reads, watches TV, goes to the fridge etc. Only 5.6 % says that the child helps when asked, 13 % that the child converses or socializes and 16.7 % mention some common activity.

The same answers can be looked upon from the child's point of view as well. Some of the children gave very elusive answers, like "Well, what do we do? Nothing special". Many of them say that they do not *do* anything, they just exist there or talk about something. In fact, 46 % of the interviewed children mention that they talk with their grandmother. A quarter of the children remember to mention that they help their grandmother, and both boys and girls seem to do it, but some only when asked. The girls sometimes knit, sew or bake together with their grandmother. Watching TV together is also quite popular. 20 % of the children mention this in the interview. 15 % say that they usually read magazines while visiting their grandmother and 19 % say that they do "nothing". 15 % mention that they normally go to the town and 9 % that they go for walks with their grandmother. Baking and cooking is mentioned by 18 % of the children. A typically Finnish institution, the summer cottage, seems to give many of the grandchildren and their grandmothers an opportunity to be together. Then there are single answers: needlework, going to the swimming pool, playing games or card, looking at photographs, etc.

Table 21 summarizes activities reported by the grandmother.

TABLE 21. Activities with the grandchild as reported by the grandmother.

	Yes		At least once a month	
	f	%	f	%
Giving presents	104	92.0	18	17.3
Child minding	44	44.0	7	15.2
Surprise visits	39	38.2	9	21.4
Telling about the past	91	84.3	6	6.5
Giving money	94	83.9	14	15.1
Teaching old skills	55	52.9	2	3.3
Help	79	73.1	2	2.5
Going on holidays	31	32.3	0	0.0
Going to church	40	38.8	3	6.8
Shopping together	71	65.1	5	7.0
Talking about religion	64	58.7	4	6.1

Finnish grandmothers seem to give many presents and money, to tell the grandchildren about past times, to help in emergencies and to go shopping with the grandchildren. While Wood and Robertson (1978) say that the behaviour of American grandparents in their role was mostly ritualistic in that "grandparents verbally attributed a great deal of significance to grandparenthood, the behaviour of most grandparents in their role was relatively limited" (p. 369), these Finnish grandmothers seemed to have rather much common activities with their grandchild.- It may be noted that Harris (1975) found that giving gifts is a very common activity with American grandparents: 93 % of those between 65 and 69 years give gifts. This percentage corresponds very well with that of this study, 92 %.

The following are excerpts from the interviews with the grandmothers concerning activities with the child:

"When he was smaller he drew, played with Lego and we sang together. Now we talk about school. He has become a big boy now."

"Looks at different things, if there is something tasty it of course interests him. We chat. Earlier he used to stay overnight, but not now as he is such a big boy and he has a computer"

"Liisa does not help me because I do not ask her. She has an old gentleman downtown whom she helps."

"First she looks at what magazines we've got, then what delicacies there are in the cupboard. If grandpa has some jobs to do, she helps, for instance with woodcutting.

"She goes first to the fridge to look for ice cream, reads old magazines and looks at the tele"

"Reads, and is always in a hurry when he comes with his mother and father".

What does it mean to be a grandmother?

Finally, excerpts from the interviews with the grandmothers will be presented concerning the importance of being a grandmother. Whereas above, the grandmother *role* was treated, here it is a question of the *individual meaning* of grandmotherhood to the respondents.

"It means much, at this moment it means that I do not have to be alone".

"The grandchildren are much nicer, you just have to like them ...you don't have to worry about them...much better than your own...in some way they like develop faster even".

"It don't feel anything special at all. I wonder whether I am an unusually cold person, I am not fond of my relatives...Of course it would feel horrible if they were taken away, but I do not have any special yearning for them."

"So much that... The grandchildren imply security".

"The grandchildren are dearer than my own children",

"It is a great richness in life that they exist. Life would be much poorer without them. Sometimes I think they are dearer than my own children: you may savour them and you do not have to be responsible for them in the same way as for your own children".

They are dearer, the grandchildren, I would not give away even one of them. One has more time for grandchildren, whereas one had so little

time for one's own. I feel it as a burden now that I did not have time for the children. You see only the good sides of the grandchildren."

"I do not know, I have often thought that perhaps I am slightly different as I grew up as an orphan."

"There is not a more wonderful thing than to be a grandmother!"

The general picture is that most grandmothers really appreciate being a grandmother. This is in contrast to the observation of Kahana and Kahana (1970), who say "Perhaps the most striking observation has been the lack of spontaneity in grandparent's accounts of their interaction with their grandchildren." "Even when grandchildren are mentioned as a source of joy, it is in the context of their accomplishment rather than due to actual interactions or transactions with the grandchildren. There is talk of what the grandparent does for his or her grandchildren or what they do for him, but hardly ever of what they do together or what they mean to one another." (p. 265). In this study, both the meaning of the grandchild and common activities were mentioned.

It is also very common to say that the grandchildren are closer than one's own children. This is often explained as a consequence of the fact that the grandmother does not have any responsibility for the grandchild. Benedek (1970) has stated this in the following way : "Grandparenthood is, however, parenthood one step removed. Relieved from the immediate stresses of motherhood and the responsibilities of fatherhood, grandparents appear to enjoy their grandchildren more than they enjoyed their own children" (p. 201).

9. AFFECTIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS

9.1. CHOOSING A CONCEPT FOR AFFECTIVE RELATIONS

When speaking of the affective relations between generations in the family, several terms are used, for instance 'attachment', 'love', 'intimacy', or 'solidarity'. On the most general level, these relations are all *social relations* or *social relationships*. These terms are so general, however, that they cover both very short term encounters and long-lasting relationships. *Bond* or *social bond* is the next general term. A bond would seem to refer to something rather permanent in contrast to more 'volatile' social encounters in shops, lifts, or trains. The term has been used also in family contexts (e.g. Peterson & Quadagno 1985).

The terms attachment, love and solidarity have one problem in common with reference to family relations: they emanate from specific contexts. Attachment is a term which has been used mostly in studies on infants and their mothers, both humans and other mammals (e.g. Bowlby 1969). Love again has mostly been used in studies on romantic or passionate love in couples (e.g. Berscheid & Walster 1978; Critelli, Myers & Loos 1986). Lerner & Ryff (1978) note that many writers (e.g. Ainsworth or Harlow -but not Bowlby) use the term love as a synonym for attachment. The authors say, however, : "If it is possible that children's love for their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and grandparents are all different, why categorize all of these various relationships under the one heading of attachment"? (p.33). One might of course continue by asking why love, then, has been used for them all.

Solidarity again has been used in studies on small groups in general. For instance Troll and Smith (1976) say that it is customary to distinguish between ties of sentiment and feelings of solidarity and that the former are between family members, the latter between groups. However, the concept of solidarity has also been applied to the family by, for instance, Tornstam (1983) and in his work it has much in common with the concept of attachment. Tornstam distinguishes among three types of solidarity as applied to intergenerational relations:

- 1) Affective solidarity, which refers to a subjective feeling of understanding, respect and closeness.
- 2) Value solidarity refers to cases where conflicts are connected

with differing values outside the family (e.g. religion).

3) Action solidarity refers to 'real action' between the generations (e.g. help, contacts, etc.).

Tornstam finds it necessary to develop a scale of affective solidarity. Here, he refers to old sociological studies on social distance. He also mentions Black's dimensions (understanding, trust, honesty, respect, attachment, the quality of the relationship as well as a general measure of how good the relationship is and a general feeling of closeness in the relationship).

One may ask whether solidarity as used by Tornstam is not a sociological counterpart of the term attachment which again is more frequently used by psychologists. To some extent it may be true that both solidarity and attachment in intergenerational contexts refer to such features of the relation as its affective and behavioural components. Thompson and Walker (1984), for instance, define attachment in an intergenerational context as "emotional dependence on a specific person, a preference for the person relative to others and a need for access or proximity to the person".

One of the latest contributions to the field, an article by Atkinson, Kivett and Campbell (1986) contains an interesting result, viz. that the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity - affiliation, affect and consensus - in fact are independent dimensions and that they should be treated as such. This also shows that solidarity is *not* identical with attachment.

Walker and Thompson (1984) use the concept intimacy instead of solidarity as a heading which covers several subconcepts, e.g. affection, altruism, enjoyment or satisfaction, a feeling that the relationship is important, openness or honesty, respect for the partner and acceptance of that person's ideas and criticism, solidarity and a sense of temporal commitment or a sense of the certainty of the relationship. Intimacy, then, would be another name for the affective component of intergenerational relations, and more specifically, its positive pole.

9.2. FEATURES OF ATTACHMENT

I have analyzed articles on attachment to find out which features figure commonly in them and which are mentioned only sporadically. At least eight features may be distinguished in the articles of Troll and Smith (1976), Weinraub, Brooks and Lewis (1977), Lerner & Ryff (1978), Cicciorelli (1983), Heard (1982) and

Thompson & Walker (1984). I shall present first those which are mentioned in several articles, and then the less common ones and discuss each of these in an intergenerational family context.

1. A tendency to proximity. This feature varies depending on whether the author has studied infants, children or adults. Hartup and Lempers (1973), for instance, operationalize this feature as "distance to the mother" in their studies on infants. Thompson and Walker (1984) again call it "a need for access or proximity" and Troll & Smith (1976) speak of contiguity which involves residential propinquity or body contact in adults. Lerner and Ryff (1978) again represent a more active view in stressing "proximity and/or contact seeking and/or contact maintaining behavior" as one feature of attachment. This feature is also mentioned by Weinraub, Brooks and Lewis (1977) albeit in a very critical tone. They say that the concept is a difficult one and that one may ask how literally this should be taken. They also note that proximity-seeking is heavily influenced by state, situation, and cultural variables. They observe as well that with increasing age, more distal forms of proximity seeking -such as looking and touching - become more common. They even propose that more internal forms might develop with increasing age, such as thinking of the other person or identifying with him or her. Heard (1982), again, defines proximity as "remaining accessible and able to provide if called upon to do so" (p.103).

Residential proximity is not necessarily a criterion of attachment in the family as other factors, such as education or employment, force people apart. Distances, however, may be overcome by different means: fast travel, telephone, letters, and audio and video cassettes. Therefore, all or some of these may be used as indicators of attachment in family members as Cicciorelli (1983) has done. It is also possible to ask people to what extent they would like to meet the attachment object.

2. Reactions to separation. Lerner and Ryff (1978) use a social learning theory language and say that if attachment is not reciprocated, this leads to an aversive state in the individual which is manifested in distress behaviour. Weinraub, Brooks and Lewis (1977) see the distress reactions in cases of brief separations as an indication of the "bond" character of the attachment concept. Troll and Smith (1976) , again, mention that in adults (in the case of moving, divorce, or death) the strength of affect in such a situation is a measure of the influence of separations, as are dreams related to them as well as forgetting. These reactions can be hypothesized

to be seen in intergenerational relations in the family as well.

3. Specificity. This refers to the fact that attachment develops to one or a few specific persons as Lerner and Ryff (1978) say. Thompson and Walker (1984) again include "a preference of the person relative to others" in their definition of attachment. In a family context this has to do with two things: first the fact that usually there is not one, but several attachment figures in a family and secondly that the strength and quality of the attachment may vary. In a family context this is therefore not a very good criterion of attachments.

4. The affective quality of the relationship. It is slightly surprising that so few authors mention the affective quality of the relationship. Of the ones analyzed here, only Weinraub, Brooks and Lewis (1977) and Cicciorelli (1983) uses this term. Cicciorelli says, for instance, that " attachment refers to an emotional or affective bond between two people: essentially it is being identified with, in love with, and having the desire to be with another person". Identification may then be measured by asking about common character traits or common hobbies, for instance. Thompson and Walker (1984) again speak of emotional dependence. These features apply to family attachments as well as to other relations.

5. An enduring relationship. This feature has been mentioned only by Weinraub et al. (1978) but even they are reluctant to use it as a criterion of attachment as relationships change with time. It would seem that when it comes to the family it is not only attachment, but also normative factors which determine contacts . Family relationships are also by definition enduring. Therefore, this is not a very good criterion of attachment in the family.

6. Reciprocity. This feature has been mentioned by Lerner and Ryff (1978) but it might perhaps be subsumed under the need for communication which Troll and Smith (1976) mention as a criterion of attachment. One might also ask if communication doesn't serve an end: it convinces the individual of the love/attachment of the partner. This feature would also seem to be related to the need for proximity because proximity is not an end in it self: is only a means of getting reinforcement and satisfaction from the partner and showing it in return. Also Kalish and Knutson (1976) stress reciprocity (without using the term). In their view, people get feedback from attachment objects which in turn influences their attachment behaviour. In the family, there are certain reciprocity norms which govern behaviour and it is

therefore not always easy to infer attachment from overt behaviour. Walker and Thompson (1983), for instance, have shown that helping does not necessarily imply intimacy. - A feature related to this facet of attachment is the degree of disclosure the individual is ready to show the partner. One may hypothesize that a high degree of disclosure and confiding is part of attachment. It is a way of showing the partner attachment and at the same time a way of getting feedback about the attachment of the partner.

7. Seeking of alternatives. Again, this feature is mentioned only by Lerner and Ryff (1978). They say that if attachment is not reciprocated, this "may lead the attached person to seek alternative attachment opportunities from among his/her broader social networks" (p. 19). This feature is interesting as the original view of attachment between the infant and his mother did not contain the possibility of alternatives if the initial attachment had failed. In family contexts, alternative attachment objects may arise, for instance, in a situation where one adult child does not fulfill the expectations of the parents and the attachment is transferred to another child. In this study one grandchild with distant relations to her grandmother (who lived in the same town) had "adopted" an old man whom she visited weekly, for instance. But in a normal family situation, attachment is not directed towards only one person, but several family members.

8. All-or-nonness. This feature, i.e. either attachment develops or it does not, is mentioned only by Weinraub et al. (1978) as commonly found in studies on infant attachment. This criterion of attachment seems out-of-place when it comes to attachment between adult family members.

9.3. FEATURES OF FAMILY BONDS

There are some features which have not been mentioned in articles treating adult attachment which are central when it comes to bonds between family members. One aspect which has been lacking is a functional view of it, that is, attachment between family members are functional for the survival of the species. There may or may not be a physiological basis for attachments between members of the same family - or even a genetic basis-, but they are not enough in explaining attachment behaviour. Norms have developed which support survival, e.g.- "Thou shalt love thy mother and father". Likewise, norms mostly oppose infanticide; if not, the newborn would be totally at the mercy of its parents (although at least in the mother some hormonally governed

protective behaviour may be seen).

Norms concerning family bonds concern not only attachment but several other areas connected with it, e.g. help to family members, residential proximity, affection and how it should be shown. A very important part of the norms concern the definition of the family. They determine who will be the beneficiaries of help, whom one should show affection to, who should share one's income, etc.

Physical contacts between the generations is an area where extremely little research has been done. The articles by Grusky, Bonacich and Peyrot (1984) and Barber & Thomas (1986) are exceptions. Barber and Thomas analyzed ten major parent-child studies. In seven of them, there was no conceptual reference to physical affection, but in two of these seven, an item was used pertaining to physical affection. In none of these studies, was a scale created for measuring physical affection. As the information is so scarce, it is difficult to hypothesize whether or not physical contacts between family members is a measure of attachment or not.

9.4. MEASURES OF ATTACHMENT IN THIS STUDY

Various aspects of attachment were measured in all three generations. In interviews with the children, questions concerning the relation to the grandmother were posed. In the content analysis of the child essays, the number of positive adjectives describing the grandmother was counted. The mother also furnished data concerning the importance of the grandmother to the child. In the maternal and grandmaternal interviews and questionnaires, the following aspects were measured:

- 1) Proximity now and when the child was born
- 2) Visits
- 3) Other forms of contact
- 4) Identification (similar personality traits, common hobbies)
- 5) Feelings
- 6) Confiding
- 7) Physical contact

Proximity and contacts have been treated earlier in this monograph. The analysis here will concentrate on feelings

9.5. AFFECTIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS IN THIS STUDY

9.5.1. Grandchild-grandmother attachment

First, grandchild-grandmother attachment will be analyzed. One indication of the fact that it is a close relation can be seen in that 63 % of the mothers and 55 % of the grandmothers living within a 15 kilometer radius of each other say that the main advantage of living close is that the children have close relations. Only 1.7 % of the mothers and 6.5 % of the grandmothers say that giving presents is the main advantage and 18 % of the mothers and 29 % of the grandmothers mention child care.

Both mothers and grandmothers say that the grandchild is either important or very important to the grandmother. This can be seen in Table 22

TABLE 22 . Importance of grandchild to grandmother

	According to mother		According to grandmother	
	f	%	f	%
Very important	32	26.7	43	37.7
Important	83	69.2	69	60.5
Not very close	5	4.2	2	1.8
	120	100%	114	100%

Table 22 shows that slightly more grandmothers say the grandchild is important . A rough estimate is that about a third of the grandchildren are very important to the grandmother and as Table 23 shows, about the same applies to the importance of the grandmother to the grandchild. An important observation concerns the fact that in about one third of the cases, the grandmother was more important formerly. This was also a pronounced result of the interviews. One might, however, suspect that the importance will increase again later. Matthews and Sprey (1985), for example, found that among 17-20-year-old grandchildren, 60 % described their current relationship with their maternal grandmother as close, very close or extremely close and in Robertson's (1976) study, 92 % of 18-26-year-old grandchildren said that they would lose much if there were no grandparents.

TABLE 23. Importance of the grandmother to the grandchild according to the mother

	f	%
Very close	47	38.9
Formerly more important	35	29.7
Normally important but not especially close	35	29.7
Not very important	1	0.8
	118	100

Only a minimally small group of the grandchildren are not important to the grandmother and vice versa.

When it comes to the answers of the children during the interviews or their descriptions of their grandmothers in the essays, it must be stressed that at this age (12-13 years) the answers are mostly indiscriminately positive. An analysis of the answers of those 69 children who both wrote an essay and were interviewed shows that about 22 % gave a very positive description of their grandmother in the essay and about 4.5 % in the interview itself. The interview answers were more often of the type "She is nice", "She is fine", etc. Children of this age do not disclose their innermost feelings during a half hour interview at school. The essays showed some real attachment, however. Even in very short essays, often written by boys, the importance of the grandmother was stressed. One boy, for instance, said that she is the only person who understands him and he hoped she would never die.

9.5.2. Mother-daughter attachment

The variance in the adult daughter-mother relations is much bigger than in the grandchild-grandmother relations. This is partly due to the fact that adults are able to verbalize their feelings, partly to the fact that his relationship is filled with controversy. It has also become almost fashionable to admit difficulties in this relationship (c.f. Barrett & Baruch 1983). This may perhaps be seen in the differences between interview and questionnaire answers in

this study. In the questionnaire, especially the daughters admit that their relations are not so close. Often, they are rather based on respect than love. Figure shows these results. In the questionnaire sample, 13,3 % of the daughters and 5.1 % of the mothers say they are rather distant, and 2.5 % of the daughters and none of the mothers say they are very distant. In the interview sample, 40.9 % of the daughters say they are rather distant and 10.6 % that they are very distant.

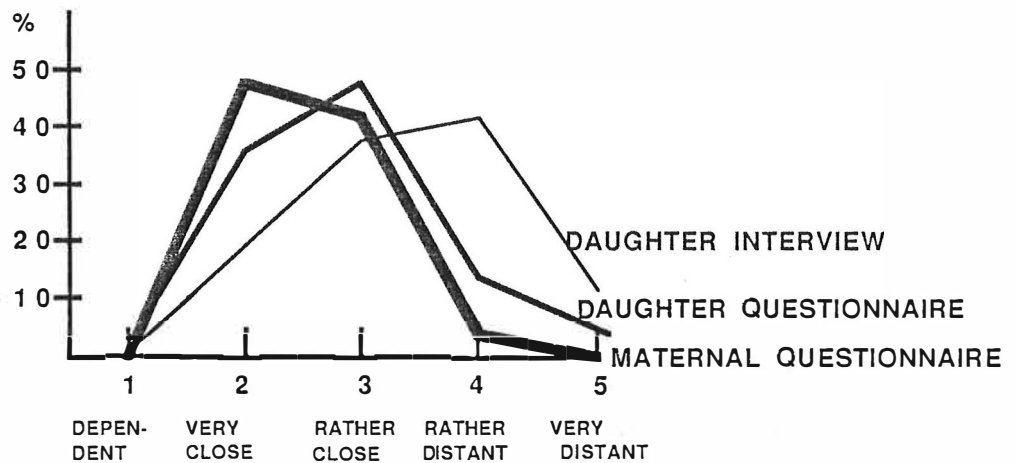


FIGURE 14 . Closeness of the mother-daughter relation in the different samples

Figure 14 also shows that mothers more often than daughters consider the relationship as a close one.

Mostly, the feelings are reciprocated. Table 24 shows the correspondence for mother-daughter pairs.

TABLE 24 . Correspondence of feelings in mother- daughter pairs
(N=117).

ACCORDING TO MOTHER

				Depen- dent close	Very close	Rather distant	Rather distant	Very	
A C C O R D I N G T O	D	Dependent	f	0	1	2	0	0	
			%	0.0	0.9	1.7	0.0	0.0	
	A	U	Very close	f	1	28	12	0	0
				%	0.9	23.9	10.3	0.0	0.0
	E	R	Close	f	0	20	32	2	0
				%	0.0	17.1	27.4	1.7	0.0
		Rather distant		f	1	7	5	3	0
				%	0.9	6.0	4.3	2.6	0.0
		Very distant		f	0	0	2	1	0
				%	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.9	0.0

About 50 % of the pairs are on the diagonal, i.e. the mothers and daughters have given exactly the same answers. In 6 % of the pairs (even in the questionnaire) the daughter says that the relationship is a distant one, but the mother considers it to be close and two daughters consider it to be very distant but the mother says it is close.

One part of attachment concerns the "cognitive" side of it, i.e. the wish to know the other and to let her know you, to disclose oneself (this might eventually lead to 'value solidarity' as mentioned by Tornstam 1983). This feature is also related to a tendency to psychological closeness, mentioned by Cicciorelli (1983) as a central feature of attachment in adults. Table 25 shows this feature in mothers and daughters.

TABLE 25. Can you confide secrets to your mother/daughter?

	Daughter interview		Daughter questionnaire		Mother questionnaire	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Yes	27	37.9	45	37.2	89	77.4
Something about which not able to speak	21	30.9	56	46.3	19	16.5
No	20	29.4	20	16.5	7	6.1
	68	100	121	100	115	100

About 38 % of the daughters are of the opinion that she can talk about everything with her mother. In the interviews, about 20 % and in the questionnaire about 16 % say they can not confide secrets to their mother. The discrepancy is big when compared with the mothers: 77 % of them say they can talk about everything with their daughters. During the interviews it turned out that mostly sex, religion and the husband were avoided themes. Haavio-Mannila (1983) found for women born 1935-1944 in Finland that 16 % chose the mother as her confidant, whereas the corresponding figure was slightly higher, 30 %, for those born 1946-54.

Another measure of attachment which was used in this study concerned the tendency to physical closeness as measured by embracing. Table 26 shows the results. To make them clearer, the same results are presented in Figure 15 .

On this measure, the discrepancy between interviews and the questionnaire is especially pronounced. During the interviews 40 % of the daughters admitted that they find embracing their mother difficult, whereas in the questionnaire sample only 5 % said so. In all, embracing between mothers and daughters is not common in Finland. Only about 15 % do it spontaneously and often even without a reason. The partners are, however, mostly quite content with the situation as Table 27 shows.

TABLE 26 . Embracing by mother and daughter

	Daughter interview		Daughter questionnaire		Mother questionnaire	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Difficult	24	40.7	6	5.0	1	0.9
It is not our custom	12	20.3	56	47.1	60	51.3
We do it only on special occasions	13	22.0	36	30.3	38	32.5
We do it often even without a special reason	10	16.9	21	17.6	18	15.4
	59	100	119	100	117	100

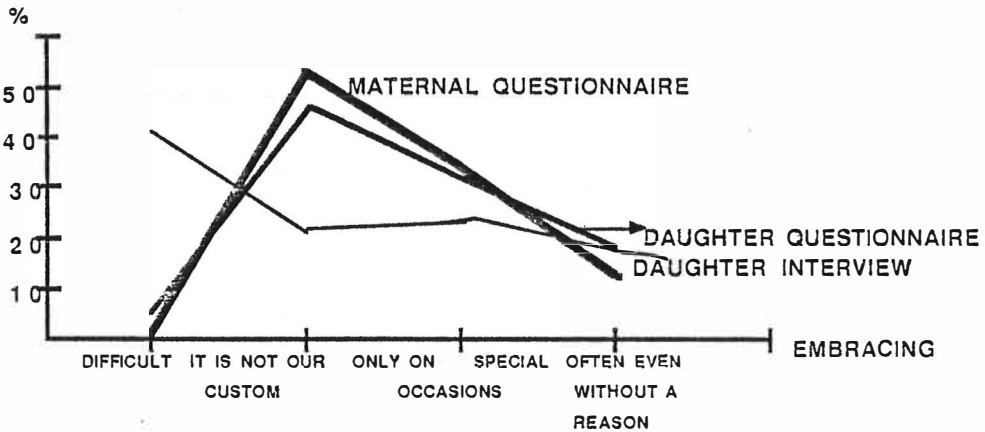


FIGURE 15 . Embracing by mother and daughter in the different samples

TABLE 27 . Attitude to embracing in mother-daughter pairs.

		I hope she would embrace me more		I am quite satisfied		I hope she would not embrace me so often	
		MOTHER					
D A U G H T E R	I hope she	f	1		5		0
	would embrace me more	%	0.9		4.7		0.0
	I am quite	f	3		96		1
	satisfied	%	2.8		90.6		0.9
	I hope she would	f	0		0		0
	not embrace me me so often	%	0.0		0.0		0.0

Table 27 shows that about 90 % of the pairs are such where both are contented with the amount of embracing.

The final indicator of attachment between the generations concerns the wish to meet. The results are shown in Table 28 .

TABLE 28 .Wish to meet as expressed the mother and the daughter

	According to mother		According to daughter	
	f	%	f	%
Much more than now	18	17.7	28	23.3
Somewhat more than now	36	31.3	28	23.3
As much as now	61	53.0	59	49.2
Somewhat less than now	0	0.0	5	4.2
Much less than now	0	0.0	0	0.0
	115	100	120	100

About half of the respondents would like to meet slightly more or more than now. This shows that the pairs are quite attached to each other. It may be added, however, that - (perhaps not surprisingly) - those living close are more often satisfied with the

amount of contacts.

In all, the results concerning attachment between adult daughters and their mothers show that in the majority of cases, the partners are rather attached to each other. This can be seen on several measures: it is expressed verbally as being close, it is shown in a wish to meet more, or in identifying with the partner. But there are also exceptions, here too.

It is important to note that the results presented here concern one point in time. The interviews showed, however, that in most cases there had been some clear development in the relationship. Often, it was worst during daughter's puberty and before she married, but got better when she had her first child. Many daughters said that that was when they first started to understand their mothers. This result is in line with Fischer's (1981) results and also with Barrett's and Baruch's (1983) study. The authors say that difficulties with the mother had often been overcome and the relationship has improved over the years. Magrab (1979), again, stresses the fact that the normal line of development in the mother-daughter relationship is one from symbiosis to individuation. This could be seen in this study in that the adult daughters rely more on their husbands than on their mothers, for instance.

One more point has to be made: it is not uncommon to express both positive *and* negative affect towards the same person (c.f. Troll & Bengtson 1982). Often, the general picture is one of a positive relation and the negative affect is restricted to some specific area or to some specific period in life.

9.6. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THREE GENERATIONS

The families in this study were divided into three groups on the basis of a sum of attachment variables between the adult generations: low attachment, medium attachment and high attachment. In these groups, variables pertaining to the child were analyzed. Table 29 presents the results for the importance of the child to the grandmother according to the daughter in these three groups.

TABLE 29 . The importance of the grandchild to the grandmother as a function of the attachment of the adult generations.

Importance of grandmother		Attachment			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
Very important	f	2	23	7	32
	%	6.3	71.9	21.9	
Normally important	f	10	68	5	83
	%	12.0	81.9	6.0	
Not very important	f	2	2	1	5
	%	40.0	40.0	20.0	120

The chi .value for the table is 11.26, $df=4$, which gives a significance of .02. The results show that attachment is a feature which spans over not only two, but three generations. The importance of the grandchild is highest in families, where the attachment between the adult generations is highest. The same trend was seen for the grandmother's own report of the importance of the grandchild to her. In the high attachment group, 69 % said the grandchild is very important as compared with 29 % in the low attachment and 35 % in the medium attachment group. The daughter's rating of the importance of the grandmother to the grandchild showed that in the high attachment group, 58 % said the grandmother was very important against 14 % in the low attachment and 41 % in the medium attachment group.

This same trend is also seen in Table 30 concerning grandchild visits to the grandmother.

The chi square for this table is 28.6 with $df=14$ (for the original table) which means that the result is significant at the .01 level. Table 30 shows that the higher the attachment between the adult generations, the more frequently the grandchild visits the grandmother. This result confirms the findings of earlier studies (e.g. Kivett 1985) that the middle generation has a central mediating position between the youngest and the oldest generations. This result is further confirmed by the fact that in the high attachment group, 92 % of the grandmothers know their

TABLE 30 . Grandchild visits to grandmother in families with high, medium and low attachment between the adult generations.

Grandchild visits grandmother	Attachment					
	Low		Medium		High	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
At least once a week	1	12.5	15	17.0	6	46.2
At least once a month	4	30.8	25	28.4	4	30.1
More seldom	8	61.6	45	51.1	3	23.1
	13	100	90	100	13	100

grandchild's favourite dish, whereas the corresponding figures are in the low group 43 % and in the medium group 70 %, and in the low attachment group, 29 % of the grandmothers do not participate in the grandchild's birthday, whereas the corresponding figures in the medium attachment group are 15 % and 8 % in the high attachment group. It is also more common not to know the grandchild's friends in the low attachment group. In this group, 43 % of the grandmothers said they do not know any of the grandchild's friends whereas the corresponding figure in the medium attachment group is 30 % and in the high attachment group 23 %. There is, however, absolutely no difference between when the grandchild stayed overnight with the grandmother last time between the attachment groups.

It may be added that there are no significant differences between the groups on variables from the child essays.

10. ATTACHMENT AND NEED AS DETERMINANTS OF HELP TO THE MOTHER

10.1. POINTS OF DEPARTURE

From a practical point of view, it is important to know which factors determine help to an elderly parent. Does the help depend on attachment or is it determined solely on the basis of need? Ciccirelli (1983) has presented a model of adult children's attachment and helping behaviour towards their elderly parents. As his study contains much the same variables as this study, a decision was made to test the model in this sample.

Ciccirelli's model concerns only help from the middle generation to the older one at one moment in time. The model might, however, be applied also to a longer time span. Ciccirelli starts his model with feelings of attachment and filial obligations in the middle generation. One might suppose that these, in turn, are a consequence of earlier behaviours of the older generations. Here, an attempt is made to build an intergenerational path model of attachment and helping.

Ciccirelli states that "attachment theory provides a clear temporal order of variables, with stronger feelings of attachment behaviors and in turn greater helping (protective) behaviors" (p. 817). This is not denied here, but it seems that what Ciccirelli terms attachment behaviours (consisting of proximity, visits and telephone contacts) is largely determined by other factors than attachment, at least in Finland. This can be seen, for instance, from the answers to the questions concerning filial responsibility (Section 7.7.). Only about 20 % of the Finns agree with the statement that adult children should live close to their parents when the corresponding figure in the USA is around 80 %. This is one of the reasons for rebuilding the model.

10.2. THE HYPOTHETICAL MODEL OF THIS STUDY

The model (Figure 16) assumes an initial attachment between the grandmother and her daughter, which is seen in her attachment to the daughter at the time when the grandchild is born. This in turn, at least partly, influences the distance between the mother and daughter *and* determines the amount of help to the daughter. This

daughter *and* determines the amount of help to the daughter. This again is reflected in the daughter's contentment with the help, which in turn influences the daughter's view of filial obligations (on the basis of equity theory). It may also be assumed that people would behave according to the norms they support and therefore someone high on the filial expectations scale would live closer to the mother. One might also assume that the distance now is determined partly by dependency (need for help) in the mother, and partly by the daughter's feelings of attachment to the mother. Finally, the daughter's helping behaviour might be assumed to be determined by several factors: filial obligations, feelings of attachment, distance, dependency in the mother as well as by contentment with help received.

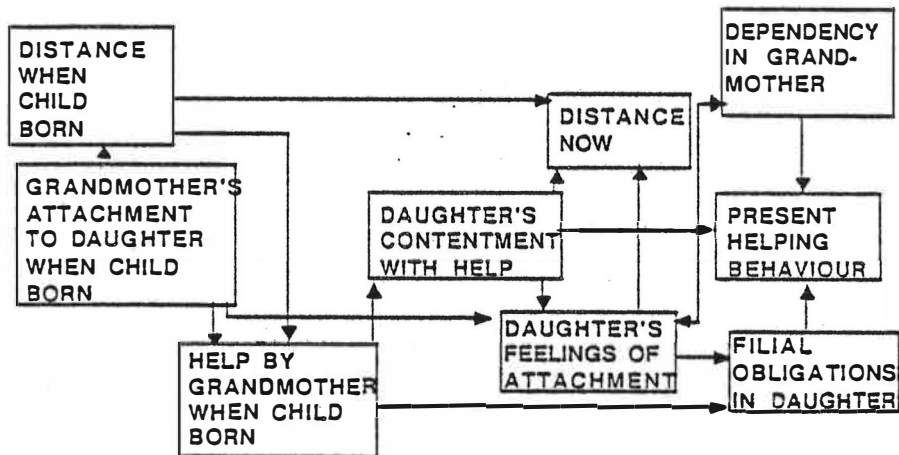


FIGURE 16. The hypothetical model

10.3. MEASURES OF THE VARIABLES IN THE MODEL

The variables of the model in Figure 16 were formed as follows. The numbers refer to variable numbers in Appendices 3 and 4.

1. *Grandmother attachment to daughter when the grandchild was born*

This measure is a sum of the following variables: 3023 'Reactions to daughter's first pregnancy' + 3024 (reversed)

(reversed) 'Closeness to daughter' + 3082 (reversed) 'Confiding' + 3083 'Embracing'.

2. *Distance when grandchild born*

This is measured by variable 1025 (reversed) 'Distance when grandchild born'

3. *Help by grandmother when grandchild born*

This is a sum of the following variables (reversed): 1020, 1021, 1022, 1032, 1033, 1034, all pertaining to help when the baby was born or with life events.

4. *Daughter's contentment with the help*

This is measured by variable 1023 'Contentment' (1 and 3=1, 2=2)

5. *Filial obligations*

This is a sum of the four statements presented in Table 17 : variables 1126+1127+1128+1129 and thus varies from 4 to 16.

6. *Distance now*

This is measured by the daughter variable 1006 'Distance' and varies from 0 to about 800.

7. *Dependency in the mother*

Dependency in the mother is a sum of the grandmother questions (reversed) 3042-3049, which all pertain to her need for help.

8. *Daughter's feelings of attachment*

This measure is a sum of the following variables: 1141 (reversed) 'My mother is like a strange adult to me'+ 1134 'Closeness' (reversed)+1135 'Same character traits' (which was supposed to measure identification) +1137 'Confiding' + 1138 'Embracing' +1140 (reversed) 'Tabu topics'

9. *Present helping behaviour*

This measure consists of a sum of the following variables (reversed): 3050-3057, from the grandmother questionnaire, all pertaining to the amount of help from the daughter.

10.4. THE REVISED MODEL

A path analysis using a recursive model was performed to test the model. The correlation matrix and the path coefficients are presented in Table 31 .

TABLE 31. The correlation matrix and path coefficients of the attachment model

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Granny's attachment to to daughter when baby born	1.00	-.09	.24	.16	.09	-.04	.09	.35	.14
2. Distance when child born		1.00	-.42	.10	-.07	.41	-.04	-.03	.03
3. Help by granny when child born and in life events			1.00	-.01	.15	-.25	-.17	.18	.04
4. Daughter's contentment with help				1.00	.05	-.19	.09	.27	.05
5. Filial obligations in daughter					1.00	.09	.14	.26	.10
6. Distance now						1.00	.08	.08	.16
7. Dependency in grandmother							1.00	.09	.29
8. Daughter's feelings of attachment								1.00	.11
9. Present helping behaviour									1.00

Correlations larger than .15 are significant at the .05 level

Path analysis

Bivariate correlation	1,3	2,3	1,8	4,8	7,9	2,6	8,5	4,6
Original correlation	.24	-.42	.35	.27	.29	.41	.26	-.19
Causal direct	.20	-.40	.31	.21	.29	.41	.26	-.23
Causal indirect	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total causal	.20	-.40	.31	.21	.29	.41	.26	-.23
Noncausal	.04	-.02	.04	.06	.0	.0	.0	.0

On the basis of the results in Table 31, the path model in Figure 16 has been compiled. It contains the path coefficients (standardized regression coefficients) as well as correlation

coefficients significant at least at the .05 level. First of all, it may be seen that the hypothesized model was supported only partly as many paths did not emerge at all. Secondly, the result corresponds to the hypothesized model in that the daughter's attachment indeed does not determine her help to her mother. This help depends solely on the mother's dependency, i.e. her need for help. It is not even dependent on distance. Thirdly, an interesting finding is that the daughter's feelings of attachment towards her mother seems to be determined on one hand by the daughter's satisfaction with the help she has received, and on the other hand by the mother's attachment to the daughter. Thus, when it comes to attachment, it is a reciprocal feature, whereas help is not - at least not in this sample. The results do not, therefore, support Ciccirelli's contention that attachment to the mother determines help to her. One might say that Finnish daughters help their mothers when they need help, independent of whether they are attached to them or not.

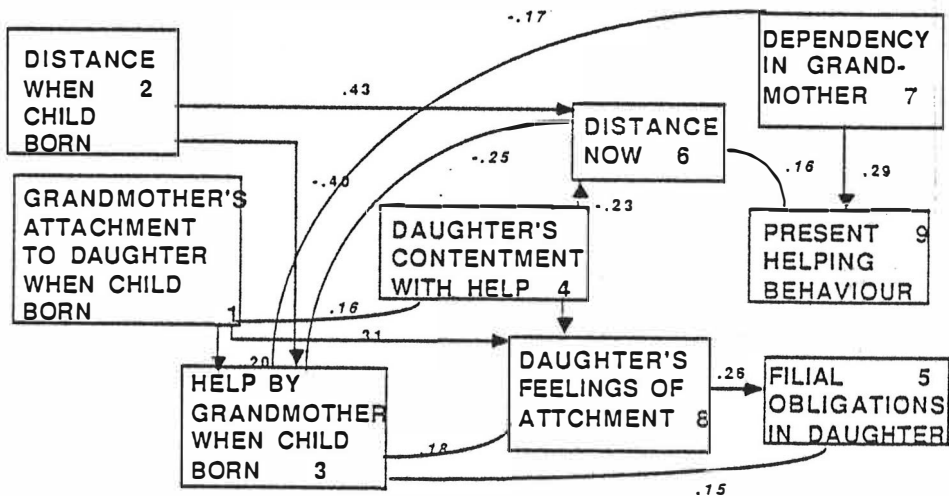


FIGURE 17 . Factors determining help to an elderly mother by her adult daughter: results of the path analysis.

11. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There is a danger of overromanticizing the relations between the generations in the family and to take some forlorn ideal as a model. One has to accept the fact that there are really deep conflicts between some parents and their adult children and that negative social phenomena, such as alcoholism and crime, exist among grandparents as well. Despite this, however, there are some good reasons to try to improve intergenerational relations in the family.

The extended family has one advantage over all other social networks: it is based on affection between its members - or at least affection has at some point in time existed between them. Any society should take advantage of this fact and use the family as a major form of social support.

Usually, positive relations between generations in the family is considered a norm, and clear departures from the norm are, again, taken as a sign of social disorganization. When parents do not care for their offspring, or the children do not take care of their elderly parents, society is in a state of bad decay and its future is threatened.

What then can be said concerning the relations between generations in the Finnish family today on the basis of this study?

Almost invariably, the adult daughter with a 12-year-old child has loosened the ties with her mother and is less dependent on her than on the husband. This situation corresponds to the views of most writers on the psychology of adulthood. The development has, therefore, been one from identification to separation and individuation, as Magrab (1979) has termed this phenomenon. In this study this was seen on a very concrete level in that the geographical distance was smaller between mother and daughter at the time when the daughter's first child was born than it was 12 years later. At that time, about 30 % lived less than 15 kilometers apart when the corresponding figure now is 18 %. In this sense one may speak of developing systems of affection.

The relationship with the mother is clearly an ambivalent one. It is quite common to say that there are both some topics about which the dyads do not talk and to identify with the mother. The daughters quite often also find it difficult to embrace the mother,

but this is not so much an index of conflict as of culturally determined customs. There were, however, some families where the relationship between the elderly mother and her adult daughter was so strained that communication between them was almost nonexistent.

The attachment between the adult generations is not an isolated phenomenon, but it influences the position of the grandchild as well. Where the adult generations' relations are warm and close, the grandchild is more important to the grandmother than in cases where the relations are more distant. In this sense there is a continuity from grandmother via her daughter to the grandchild.

The grandmother does not occupy a central position anymore in the life of a 12-year-old Finnish child. It is not that the relationship is a cold one; rather, the child seems to have so many other activities going on that the grandmother is not so important as before. This study supported earlier findings on the central mediating role of the parents: the child helped the grandmother, for instance, especially much in cases where he or she was prompted to do so by the parents. Mostly, however, help from a 12-year-old child to the grandmother is rather uncommon.

The study also brought forth something which might be termed *nuclear family egoism*. This could be seen in the low level of support to the middle generation from siblings and other relatives and also as a low level of particularly financial support to the mother (an financial support from the grandmother to the family). One explanation for this lack of financial support may of course be that the parties manage quite well on their own, but a more plausible interpretation is that the money earned by the nuclear family is used solely by that family.

The study did not support the contention that the oldest generation is left alone. Contacts between the generations was rather frequent (although some grandchildren visited the grandmother very seldom although living in the same town). It has to be remembered, however, that the most vulnerable cases probably do not participate in a study like this one.

The study also showed that Finnish daughters help their mothers independent of any emotional attachment to the mother. Help is determined solely by the mother's need for help. This result is in contrast to Ciccirelli's (1983) data from the USA. There are also clear difference in filial responsibility norms as compared with the USA. Both Finnish middleaged daughters and their mothers

(an even students of social policy) almost unanimously disagree with the statement that adult children should have a house with enough room in case one of their parents would like to move in with them and with the statement that adult children should live near their parents, whereas most American agree with these statements. On the other hand Finns agree with the statement that adult children should help their parents in every possible way if these fall ill and quite often with the statement that adult children should visit their parents weekly if they live nearby.

The results also partly supported the contention of earlier studies that the grandmother role is a roleless role. About a fifth of the grandmothers found it difficult to spontaneously define the main tasks of a grandmother. Besides this, the role definition varied a lot and several different dimensions of grandmotherhood emerged in the study, e.g. individualized grandmotherhood, where the main feature of grandmotherhood is that it gives individual satisfaction and the grandchild is individually important; family continuity oriented grandmotherhood, where the main task of a grandmother is considered to continue the family tradition, and dissatisfied grandmotherhood, where here not even grandmotherhood itself gives satisfaction in life (c.f. Robertson 1977). Troll's, Miller's and Atchley's (1979) observation that "the valued grandparent is an earned and acquired status, involving personal qualities and not automatically ascribed to the person in the position. It is like an extended parental role, and an active one" (p.114), was certainly supported in this study. Not all grandmothers were of the valued type and some even wanted to be detached from the daughter and her child.

12. DISCUSSION

12.1. THE GENERALIZABILITY OF THE RESULTS

How generalizable are the results of this study? Firstly, they concern daughters living in towns. There were some clear hints in the interviews with daughters originating from the countryside that norms there are different than in towns, especially concerning the affective relations between the generations. It would clearly be worth while to continue the study in the countryside as well.

Secondly, the study concentrates on middle-aged daughters. It is quite probable that there has been a shift in mother-daughter relations towards more egalitarianism. To test this assumption, the same type of study should be carried out in ten years or so from now with mothers of 12-year-olds.

Thirdly, the study concentrates on a phase where the children are already rather old. Data concerning the period when the first child was born was gathered only retrospectively. There is a very clear need to collect longitudinal data on the development of the relationships between the generations in the Finnish family.

Fourthly, the majority of the families in this study represent the working class. As earlier studies (e.g. Adams 1968, Bott 1957/68) have found a typical pattern of interaction in the working class, with rather much interaction between the generations, it is possible that a larger variation in the social class background (with a larger number of subjects) would bring out clearer types of relations between the generations. One subgroup worth studying in greater detail are those daughters who have risen socially, especially through education. The interviews with such daughters gave hints of an especially strained relationship with the mothers.

Fifthly, this study has concentrated only on the maternal grandmother. The study will, however, be continued as a comparative project with Polish researchers. In the data gathered so far, all four grandparents are involved.

Sixthly, the grandmother generation represents a difficult age group. Some of the grandmothers are "old old", over 75 years of age, whereas others are hardly over 50. It may well be that the results concerning support to the elderly mother, for instance,

would be rather different if her dependency were greater. The study will also give too good a picture of the relations between the adult generations as those daughters are missing from the study who might be labelled social misfits.

Seventhly, the data concerning children concentrate on only one age group, 12-year-olds. This age was chosen in order to get data from the children themselves. In the continuation of the study in cooperation with Polish researchers, the age range of the grandchildren will vary from 3 to 21 years. This new study will thus show whether or not the child's age in this study has been a restriction or not.

12.2. METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

As to its nature, this study has been an exploratory one. The reason for this is that it is the first of its kind in Finland. The exploratory nature is seen, for instance, in the large number of variables in the study and in its correlative design. Instead of testing specific hypotheses, descriptions of the relations between a large number of variables is given. This leads to multicollinearity in the data. Different indices of the same phenomenon are presented and an illusion of more significant relationships than exists in reality is created. This is further enhanced by the relatively large number of variables in relation to the number of subjects. Already by chance, significant relations are bound to be found. An exploratory study seldom tests hypotheses. Rather, it should generate them. This is also the case in this study. The single findings should be followed up in studies concentrating on testing the hypotheses created.

It is extremely difficult to give a description of the triads in the study. On this point, the results seem to follow a more general rule: the results are as weak as the weakest point in the chain. Here, the weakest point is the data from the child. They are *per se* interesting, but, at the same time, give rather superficial data. Their reliability seems to be low and their variance small. On the methodological level, both the essays and the interviews with the children work well and they give plenty of data. This data is, however, not very interesting and relevant for the description of the relations between the generations. It may well be that it is only later that the children are able to judge their relations with their grandparents.

The study is both qualitative and quantitative in its nature. These parts are, however, closely interwoven. The qualitative part came chronologically first and the questionnaires are built on it.

This has led to a clear advantage: there are almost no variables with empty classes as the classes were based upon the interviews. Despite this, there are clear differences between data obtained through interviews and questionnaire data. The trend is that the respondents are much more cautious in answering the questionnaires and they seem to give much more socially desirable answers. The reason for this is that it is possible to give an explanation for an answer in the interviews, but not on the questionnaire. In this sense one might perhaps consider the interview answers as more reliable than the ones from the questionnaire.

On the other hand the interview answers are coded by a strange person. This coding always implies an interpretation of the answers. Despite the limitations of the questionnaire method, the classification is made here by the person herself. Both methods clearly have their advantages and drawbacks and therefore their complementary use - as is the case in this study - would seem warranted.

12. 3. AREAS IN NEED OF FURTHER STUDY

There are some areas which have been touched upon in this study which are in need of further study. One such area is the physical contacts between family members and the relation between this contact to feelings of attachment. Such a study should be made longitudinally and it should preferably contain observational parts as well as interviews with the persons concerned. The area is also one suited for cross-cultural comparisons.

Attachment between the adult generations should also necessarily be studied longitudinally, especially changes in the relationship during life events.

Another area in urgent need of further study concerns filial obligations. The content of these obligations should be broadened and each norm should be presented in a slightly modified form containing different conditions for its fulfillment, e.g. "An adult child should take care of his parent if he falls ill, but if the child can't get work in the same community as the parent, he is exceptioned from the norm". Filial obligation data should be collected in large, representative samples. An especially interesting group would be adolescents. It would also be interesting to start a longitudinal study concerning envisaged help to the parents and later follow up these persons and compare the intended help with

help given.

Patterns of social support involving family members and other social network members should be studied both for the middle generation and the oldest generation in order to find out whether or not these are compensatory, i.e. if family support fails, the person in question seeks other forms of support and vice versa.

There might be a need to concentrate on the grandparents' role in child rearing in different environments, e.g. in cases where the generations live together or where the grandmother is the main day care giver to the grandchild.

It would also be interesting to study the image of geographically very distant grandparents in children of different age.

Another interesting, albeit difficult area of study should be what Rutter and Madge (1976) have termed "cycles of disadvantage", i.e. the transmission of socially negative phenomena from one generation to another in Finnish families and especially the grandparent generation's thoughts concerning the future of their grandchildren.

A longitudinal study in a well-controlled sample would also be needed to find out the systemic changes over time in intergenerational relations created by, for instance, life events.

This study has focussed only on grandmothers. In the comparative study with Poland, grandfathers will also be studied. There would, however, be a clear need to *concentrate* on grandfathers in one study.

Elderly persons in institutions should also urgently be studied, both in relation to their children and grandchildren. Visiting patterns would warrant a specialized study, for instance, in order to find out how stressful such encounters are for the elderly and what expectations they have concerning visits.

12.4. PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

What implications -if any- does this study have?

The implications may concern

- 1) social policy in general
- 2) work with families
- 3) education of children and youth.

1) Implications for social policy decisions

This study indicated that elderly people in Finland generally expect

society -and not the children - to take care of them. One may ask whether this is a "real" result, i.e. are the elderly content with this state of affairs or does it merely reflect the fact that they do not want to be a burden on their children.

There are two possibilities for social action in this situation: either to influence the middle generation and get them to accept the fact that they really should take care of their parents, or accept the expectations of the oldest generation and increase social services for the old. The danger with the second model is that it may lead to a situation where the ties between the generations are further loosened. A compromise would be that the responsibility lies with the adult children, but that the children get support from society, both financial support, e.g. in form of reduced taxes, and support in form of hospital care, institutions, or apartments specially designed to house the oldest generation.

The geographical distance between the generations seems to be a very central determinant of their relations. There are several ways in which such distances could be overcome. The fact that people over 65 get reductions on train, bus and air fares already make contacts easier. A further help could consist of reduced telephone rates for old people. Maternity benefits again might contain a reimbursement of travel costs for mother and /or daughter.

It would also be possible to arrange common vacations for grandparents and grandchildren, or even for all three generations of the family. The vacation patterns of generations in the family will be studied as a part of the comparative study with Poland mentioned above. The assumption is that in Finland the nuclear family egoism covers vacation patterns as well, although the difference is somewhat attenuated by the summer cottage tradition in Finland.

2) Work with families

A feature which might be termed "nuclear family egoism" could be seen in this study. It was not a target of systematic study, but could be seen as a lack of support from siblings and other relatives and as a lack of support to the elderly mother. This is a content area which would warrant systematic international comparison. In the continuation of this study the assumption is that this nuclear family egoism is much more common in Finland than in Poland. In

working with families, a greater enlarged family solidarity might well be stressed.

The mediating role of the middle generation parents should also be stressed in working with families. It seems that in some cases the parents in the middle generation are not aware of this role. They seem instead to expect that the children themselves keep contact with the grandparents.

Although not very frequent, there are cases where the adult daughter and/or her mother conveys the fact that the daughter is so busy that she does not have time for her mother even if they live in the same town. In this study, the majority of the elderly mothers were rather healthy. These busy daughters will probably run into trouble in the future when the mother falls ill and needs more care.

It might be possible to try to define features of the grandparent role in individual families and to reach a definition of the tasks of grandparents on the basis of such negotiations. The interviews showed that, mostly, the respondents had never really thought of the role or of their relations to the other generations.

In practice, such a program might work through a list of factors which should be modified, e.g.:

- increasing the number of visits
- increasing the length of visits
- increasing the number of meals together especially in cases where the generations live close
- increasing practical help to the oldest generation, e.g. cleaning the whole house
- increasing vacations together
- discussing the possibility of financial help to the oldest generation
- improving the quality of contacts by discussing common activities
- discussing the future of the relationship and the care of the ageing parent

A special area of interest would consist of working with pairs of representatives of the adult generations who disagree on major central topics. Family programs might concentrate on such topics and get the parties to discuss these points of disagreement (about which they have mostly not been aware).

3) Implications for the education of children and youth

As with the adult generations, it might be possible to increase the consciousness of the youngest generation concerning the intergenerational continuity and the grandparents' position in the family system. In some families, the parents seem to be aware of their central role as mediators - or at least unconsciously act as if they were aware of it. In families where this is not the case, formal education might fill this gap by stressing the grandchild's responsibilities towards their grandparents.

The importance of continuing visiting the grandparents should be stressed especially. A second factor concerns help to the grandparents: it is not common, but there are cases which show that such help is possible already at an early age.

One way of creating more positive attitudes towards the grandparents is to create a more positive one in children in general. This can be achieved at least on two levels: first of all on a cognitive level through ample and positive (or at least realistic) material in kindergartens and schools. Children should get acquainted with the elderly and emphathize with them so that this information in the end leads to a greater tolerance and a greater understanding of what their strong sides are and what they have to give to the younger generations -experience and wisdom. On the other hand it is important that the children have enough contacts with old people and do things together with them. It should be possible to integrate this type of scheme into both kindergarten and school curricula.

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APPENDIX 1. Variables in the maternal interview

GENERAL INFORMATION

		Column
601 Number of children	Frequency	5
602 Ordinal position of the child	1 Youngest	6
	2 In the middle	
	3 Only child	
	4 Oldest	
603 Born in Jyväskylä with surroundings	0 No	7
	1 yes, and lived here since	
	2 yes, but lived elsewhere in between	
604 Age of the interviewee	Years	8-9
605 Number of her siblings	Frequency	10
606 Number of siblings in Jyväskylä	Frequency	11

THE GRANDMOTHER

607 Grandmother's age	Years	12-13
608 Grandmother's temperament	1 passive (calm, quiet shy)	14
	2 neither passive nor active	
	3 active (energetic, lively etc.)	
609 Grandmother's character	1 shy	15
	2 neither shy nor assertive	
	3 assertive (strong will power etc.)	
610 Oldfashioned features in the grandmother	0 not mentioned	16
	1 yes (reliable, helpful etc.)	
611 Social features in the grandmother	0 mentioned	17
	1 yes (cheerful, optimistic, soft etc.)	
612 Number of positive adjectives	Frequency	18
613 Grandmother's health mentioned in description	0 no	19
	1 yes	

614 Tone of description	1 neutral	20
	3 positive	
615 Grandmother's job now	1 retired	21
	(also housewives)	
	2 on sickness pension	
	3 unemployed or took early retirement pension	
	4 full time worker	
	5 part time worker	
	6 housewife (not retired)	
616 Grandmother's former job	1 housewife/farmer's wife	22
	2 white collar worker	
	3 blue collar worker (e.g. shop, factory)	
	4 working, no specification	
617 Influence of grandparents on daughter living in Jyväskylä	1 no	23
	2 yes, moved/stayed because of them	
	3 grandparents/ grandmother moved because of daughter	
	4 no information	
618 Grandmother's health	1 senile	24
	2 very ill	
	3 some illness, quite good now	
	4 good	
	5 very good	

SUPPORT WHEN GRANDCHILD BORN

619 Advice	0 not mentioned	25
	1 yes	
620 Emotional support	0 not mentioned	26
	1 yes	
621 Child care	0 not mentioned	27
	1 occasionally, about once a month	

622 Financial support	2 regularly	
	0 not mentioned	28
	1 mentioned	
623 Attitude of daughter	1 did not get enough support, bitter	29
	2 quite satisfied	
	3 grandmother too involved	
624 Daughter starting work	2 when baby < 4 months	30
	3 4 mo-1 yr.	
	4 1-2 years	
	5 > 2 years	
	6 always at home	
625 Contact with granny at that time	1 about twice a year	31
	2 twice a week	
	3 weekly	
	4 3-4 times a week	
	5 daily	
626 Propinquity	1 in different places	32
	2 in Jyväskylä, but far	
	3 close, as neighbours	
	4 in same house	
627 Grandmother's work at that time	0 no (housewife or retired)	33
	1 working	
628 Grandmother's attitude during pregnancy towards grandchild	1 negative, indifferent	34
	2 normal	
	3 enthusiastic	
629 Was the child in question the first grandchild	0 no	35
	1 yes	

SUPPORT TO DAUGHTER IN LIFE EVENTS

630 Type of life events	0 none	36
	1 some small events	
	2 many or some serious event	
631 Help from grandmother in life events	0 did not ask, wanted to cope herself etc.	37
	1 would have liked more	
	2 satisfied, was able to talk together	

	3 grandmother was too involved	
	4 no life events	
632 Did grandmother approve of decisions	0 no	38
	1 yes	
	2 not mentioned	
633 Tone of description of life events	0 negative, bitter	39
	1 neutral	
	2 positive	
	3 not mentioned or no events	
SUPPORT FROM OTHERS		
634 Mentions wish to cope alone	0 no	40
	1 yes	
635 Negative relations with a sibling	0 no	41
	1 yes (at least with one)	
	2 only child	
636 Close relations with a sibling	0 no	42
	1 yes	
	2 only child or sibling dead	
637 Relations with neighbours	0 negative	43
	1 neutral	
	2 positive	
	3 not mentioned	
638 Close relations with colleagues	0 no	44
	1 neutral	
	2 positive	
	3 at home or not mentioned	
639 Relations with own relatives	0 negative	45
	1 neutral	
	2 positive	
	3 not mentioned	
640 Relationship with husband	0 negative	46
	1 neutral	
	2 positive	
	3 not mentioned	
641 Has a close friend	0 no	47
	1 yes	
642 Relationship to hub's relatives	0 negative	48

	1 neutral	
	2 positive	
	3 not mentioned	
643 Number of friends	Number	49
SUPPORT TO THE MOTHER		
644 The most important thing the daughter can give her mother	1 does not need help	50
	2 services	
	3 company	
	4 emotional closeness	
645 Feelings about helping mother	0 did not need help	51
	1 a natural, instinctive thing	
	2 pleasurable	
	3 something else	
646 Has helping been a burden?	0 does not need help	52
	1 no negative feelings	
	2 some discontent	
	3 a heavy burden	
647 What help mostly given	0 does not need help	51
	1 advice	
	2 presents	
	3 services	
648 Number of help categories	Number	54
649 Help to mother in life events	0 no life events	55
	1 has not asked, not close	
	2 has events, help not given	
	3 given some help	
	4 much help	
DID GRANDMOTHER ENCOUNTER		
650 Illness	0 no	56
	1 yes	
651 Husband's death	0 no	57
	1 yes	
652 Psychiatric problems (depression, alcoholism etc.)	0 no	58
	1 yes	
653 Problems with her children	0 no	59
	1 yes	
654 Divorce	0 no	60
	1 yes	

655 Death of relatives	0 not mentioned	61
	1 yes	

CHILD REARING

656 Similarities in child rearing	0 not mentioned	62
	1 yes	
657 Differences in child rearing	0 not mentioned	63
	1 yes	
658 How would granny raise her grandchildren	1 with more severity	65
	2 in the same way	
	3 with more indulgence	
659 Are there disagreements in child rearing between the mother and the grandmother	0 no	65
	1 some small	
	2 big	

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MOTHER AND THE GRANDMOTHER

660 Similarities between the mother and the daughter	0 not mentioned	66
	1 activity mentioned	
	2 character mentioned	
661 Differences between mother and daughter	0 not mentioned	67
	1 no opinion	
	2 mother has more negative traits	
	3 own traits are more negative	
	4 differences, but not in quality of traits	
662 Emotional closeness	0 no, distant	68
	1 not especially; a mother is a mother, one has to respect her etc.	
	2 close	
	3 very close or dependent	
	4 no opinion	
663 Can the daughter confide secrets to the mother?	0 no	69
	1 something about which she can or will not speak	
	2 yes	

664 Whose girl during childhood?	1 daddy's	70
	2 both parents, or neither or granny's	
	3 mummy's	
665 Is it easy to embrace the mother	0 no, difficult	71
	1 only on special occasions	
	2 sometimes	
	3 easy, often	
666 Irritating features in the mother	0 none	72
	1 something little, related to her	
	2 something bigger, connec- ted with the relationship	
	3 no opinion	
667 Are there tabu topics?	0 no	73
	1 something less important	
	2 something more important, concerned with the daughter	
	3 something more important, concerned with the mother	

GRANDMOTHER'S AND GRANDCHILD'S RELATIONSHIP

668 Advantages of having granny close	0 gives presents	74
	1	
	2 helps with babysitting	
	3 a place to go	
	4 enriches life, helps child to understand old people, learns traditions	
669 The importance of the grandchild	1 not very close	75
	2 neutral	
	3 important	
	4 very important	
670 The importance of the grand- mother to the grandchild	0 not very important.	76
	some conflict	
	1 more important earlier,	

someone else now
 2 important
 3 very important

TO WHAT EXTENT IS THE GRANDMOTHER ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF
 HERSELF?

671 Cooking	1 almost alone	05
	2 needs some help	
	3 needs quite a lot of help	
	4 needs much help	
672 Hygiene	-"-	06
673 Light chores		07
674 Heavy chores		08
675 Office visits and shopping		09
676 Walks		10
677 Leisure activities		11
678 Visits to doctor		12

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE DAUGHTER HELP WITH THESE?

679 Cooking	1 daily	13
	2 2-3 times weekly	
	3 once a week	
	4 2-3 times a month	
	5 about once a month	
	6 a few times a year	
	7 about once a year	
	8 more seldom	
680 Hygiene	-"-	14
681 Light chores		15
682 Heavy chores		16
683 Office visits and shopping		17
684 Walks		18
685 Leisure activities		19
686 Visits to doctor		20

CONTACTS BETWEEN GENERATIONS

687 Granmother visits mother	1 daily	21
	2 a few times a week	

	3 once a week	
	4 2-3 times a month	
	5 once a month	
	6 a few times a year	
	7 about once a year	
	8 less	
688	Mother visits grandmother	22
689	Grandmother visits grandchild	23
690	Grandchild visits grandmother	24
691	Grandmother phones daughter	25
692	Daughter phones grandmother	26
693	Grandmother phones grandmother	27
694	Grandmother phones grandchild	28

ACTIVITIES DURING REUNIONS

695	Conversing, socializing	1 never	29
		2 sometimes	
		3 quite often	
		4 very often	
696	Watching TV, reading, occasional conversation in same room	-"-	30
697	Some common activity, hobby		31
698	Common work		32
699	Grandmother works, daughter not		33
700	Daughter works, grandmother not		34
701	Being in the same household without interaction		35
702	Every family should have a vacant room in case some of their parents would like to move in	0 Disagrees fully	36
		1 disagree somewhat	
		2 2 agrees somewhat	
		3 fully agrees	
703	It is the duty of adult children to live near their parents	-"-	37
704	It is the duty of the children to give every possible help if their parents fall ill		38
705	If adult children live near their parents, their duty is to visit them at least once a week	-"-	39
706	My mother is like a strange adult to me	-"-	40

707 My mother still treats me like her small girl	41
708 My mother is like a good girlfriend to me	42
709 My relation to my mother is different than to anyone else	43
710 Generation	44
	1 child
	2 daughter
	3 grandmother

APPENDIX 2. Variables in the grandmaternal interview

GENERAL INFORMATION

830	Age	years	05-06
831	Satisfaction with present situation	0 not satisfied 1 quite satisfied 2 very satisfied	07
832	Married	0 yes, now 1 widowed 2 divorced	08
833	Hobbies	0 no special hobbies 1 hobbies at home 2 hobbies outside home	09
834	Friends	0 no, is alone 1 an average amount 2 many	10
835	Siblings	number	11
836	Siblings in Jyväskylä	number	12
837	Work	1 on work pension 2 on sickness pension 3 part time job 4 full time job 5 housewife now and before	13

SUPPORT TO DAUGHTER

838	Importance of mother when grand-child was born	1 gives advice 2 helps with child care 3 gives love, support, security 4 fun, suspense	14
839	Support in daughter's life events	0 no events 1 handled them herself, no need to help 2 some small practical help 3 financial help 4 psychological support	15

SUPPORT FROM DAUGHTER

840	Type of help	0 did not help 1 the daughter has no time	16
-----	--------------	--	----

	, has her own family	
	2 some help; help when needed	
	3 much help	
841 Cooking	0 gets help from daughter	17
	1 does it herself	
842 Hygiene	0 gets help	18
	1 alone	
843 Light chores	0 gets help	19
	1 alone	
844 Office visits	0 gets help	20
	1 alone	
845 Walks	0 gets help	21
	1 alone	
846 Hobbies	0 together with daughter	22
	1 alone	
847 Visits to doctor	0 gets help	23
	1 alone	
848 Practical problems	0 gets help	24
	1 alone	
849 Health status	2 very ill	25
	3 some sickness, quite good	
	4 good	
	5 very good	

CHILD REARING

850 Similarities in child rearing	0 not mentioned	26
	1 mentioned	
851 Differences in child rearing	0 not mentioned	27
	1 mentioned	
852 Granny would be	1 more restrictive	28
	2 the same	
	3 more indulgent	

THE MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATION

853 Similarities	0 no	29
	1 activities	
	2 character	
854 Differences	0 not mentioned	30
	1 cannot say	
	2 more negative features in	

	herself	
	3 more negative features in daughter	
855 Emotional closeness	0 distant	31
	1 not especially close	
	2 close	
	3 very close or dependent	
	4 no opinion	
856 Able to confide all to the daughter	0 no	32
	1 something about which cannot talk	
	2 yes, able to confide secrets	
857 Irritating features in the daughter	0 no	33
	1 some minor thing	
	2 some more serious thing, related to the relationship	
	3 no opinion	

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GRANDCHILD

858 Grandchild's visiting	0 hardly ever, rarely	34
	1 used to visit, now hobbies, friends	
	2 visits fairly often	
	3 visits often (many times a week)	
859 Activities during visits	1 reads, watches TV, looks goes to the fridge	35
	2 helps when asked	
	3 converses, socializes	
	4 some common activity	
869 Number of grandchildren	number	36-37
861 Opinion concerning the grandmother	0 no special role	38
	1 helps, cares, knits, buys	
	2 advice, tells about past	
	3 gives affection, security, love	
862 Importance of grandchild	1 a natural thing	39
	2 important	
	3 extremely important, everything	

RELATIONS TO SON IN LAW

863 Relations to son in law	1 distant	40
	2 some friction	
	3 usual	
	4 good, close	
	5 very close, like own son	
864 Generation	1 child	41
	2 mother	
	3 grandmother	

Variables 865-884 correspond to variables 3063-3075 and 4077-4083 and variables 885-915 correspond to variables 4036-4076 in Appendix 4.

Appendix 3 . The daughter's questionnaire.

INTERACTION BETWEEN THREE GENERATIONS

(Variable names are in italics)

Please circle the right alternative or write your answer on the lines following the question.

- 1001 Are you 1 Married
 2 Single
 3 Co-habiting
 4 Divorced
 5 Widowed

1002 Your age? _____

1003 The sex and age of your children? (*Number of children*)

1004 Your occupation? _____ (*Occupation of mother*)

1005 Your husband's occupation? _____ (*Occupation of husband*)

Would you please the name and address of your mother so that we can contact her for this study

1006 How many kilometers away would you say your mother lives approximately? (*Distance to grandmother*)

In case she lives in Jyväskylä or about 15 kilometers from the city center, how long has she lived here?

1007 _____

1008 If your mother lives in Jyväskylä, which is the reason for the two of you living close to each other?

- 1 We live in the same community by chance, and it is not because of my mother
- 2 We have moved here or stayed here because of my mother or my parents
- 3 My parents or my mother have moved here because of us

1009 How many siblings do you have? _____ (*Number of siblings*)

1010 How many of them live in the same community as your mother?
 _____ (*Number of siblings in same community as grandmother*)

- 1011 How old is your mother? _____ (*Age of grandmother*)
- 1012 Which of the following is applicable to you?
- 1 Only child
 - 2 The youngest child
 - 3 The oldest child
 - 4 Not the oldest and not the youngest
- 1013 Did your mother stay at home or work outside the home most of the time before you married?
- 1 At home
 - 2 Worked outside the home
- 1014 If she was employed, what did she do?

1015 What was your father's occupation?

-
- 1016 Is your mother now
- 1 On old age pension
 - 2 On sickness pension
 - 3 On the dole or on an early pension scheme
 - 4 Employed full time
 - 5 Employed part-time
 - 6 A housewife, but has not yet reached pension age
- 1017 What is the health of your mother at this moment?
- 1 Very good
 - 2 Good
 - 3 Rather good
 - 4 She is very ill
 - 5 She shows clear signs of senility

BIRTH OF THE FIRST CHILD

I would like you to think of the time when you expected your first child and especially of your relations with your mother at that time.

- 1018 How did your mother react when she heard that you are expecting?
- 1 Negatively
 - 2 "In a usual fashion", but without getting excited
 - 3 She was very excited

To what extent did you get the following kinds of support from your mother when you were pregnant and during your baby's first year?

- 1019 Affective support: for instance closeness and understanding
- 1 Very much
 - 2 Much
 - 3 Somewhat
 - 4 Not at all
- 1020 Financial support: e.g. money or a loan
- 1 Very much
 - 2 Much
 - 3 Somewhat
 - 4 Not at all
- 1021 Advice: e.g. how to bathe a child or how to feed it
- 1 Very much
 - 2 Much
 - 3 Somewhat
 - 4 Not at all
- 1022 Time: e.g. your mother took care of the baby or the other children
- 1 Very much
 - 2 Much
 - 3 Somewhat
 - 4 Not at all
- 1023 What is your opinion concerning support from your mother during that time? (*Satisfaction with support*)
- 1 I did not get enough, I would have expected more
 - 2 I am quite satisfied
 - 3 My mother interfered sometimes too much with my business
- 1024 Were you at home or did you start working after the birth of your first child?
- 1 I started working when the baby was less than 4 months
 - 2 I started working when the baby was 4-12 months
 - 3 I started working when the baby was 1-2 years old
 - 4 I started working when the baby was older than 2 years
 - 5 I have been a housewife most of the time
- 1025 How far apart did you and your mother live at that time?

- 1 In different communities or in the same community, but more than 15 kilometers apart
- 2 Less than 15 kilometers apart
- 3 As neighbours
- 4 In the same house

1026 During that time as your mother

- 0 A housewife
- 1 Retired
- 3 Working part-time
- 4 Working full time

1027 Which was your mothers attitude towards the baby right after it was born?

- 1 Negative or indifferent
- 2 Matter-of-fact, but not especially enthusiastic
- 3 Very enthusiastic

LIFE EVENTS

Life events are the more important events in a person's life. They are either negative or positive, like illnesses, deaths or a change of job etc. Everyone of us defines them slightly differently, however. Did you encounter any such events, which caused a turmoil in your everyday life? If you did, kindly write them down below and also indicate which year they happened.

1029 (*Number of life events*)

1030 How did your mother help you in these events?

- 0 I did not ask for help, I wanted to manage on my own
- 1 I would have liked to receive more help than I did
- 2 I am quite contented with the help I received
- 3 My mother interfered with them sometimes too much
- 4 I did not encounter any life events

To what extent did your mother in these bigger events give you the following kind or help?

1031 Emotional support: closeness, understanding etc.

- 1 Very much
- 2 Much
- 3 Somewhat

- 1038 What are your relations to your neighbours like?
 0 Quarrelsome with some neighbour(s)
 1 Not quarrelsome, but we do not greet either
 2 Ordinary, we say hello
 3 I have made friends with some neighbour(s)
- 1039 Has a colleague become a close friend?
 0 No
 1 Yes
 3 I do not work
- 1040 What is your relation like to the relatives on you parents' side?
 0 Negative
 1 Neutral, ordinary
 2 Warm or close
- 1041 And to your husband's relatives?
 0 Negative
 1 Neutral, ordinary
 2 Warm or close
- 1042 And your relations to your mother-in-law
 0 Negative, quarrelsome
 1 Polite, but not warm
 2 Warm and close
 3 My mother-in-law died before we married
- 1043 Do you have a close woman friend
 0 No
 1 Yes, _____ of them
- 1044 What would you say your relation to your husband is like?
 0 Negative, quarrelsome
 1 Not negative or positive, rather neutral
 2 Positive, warm

Could you please fill in the table below by writing in on each short line one of the following numbers to indicate how much support you have got in life events from the following persons: 0=not at all, 1=somewhat, 2=much, 3=very much. If you , for instance, got very much emotional support from a colleague when your child was ill, you indicate 3 in the column for emotional support for a colleague.

4 Not at all

1032 Financial support

1 Very much

2 Much

3 Somewhat

4 Not at all

1033 Advice

1 Very much

2 Much

3 Somewhat

4 Not at all

1034 Time: your mother took care of the children, for instance

1 Very much

2 Much

3 Somewhat

4 Not at all

1035 Did your mother in general accept the bigger decisions you made in your life?

1 Yes

2 No

Please note below which decisions she did not accept

SUPPORT FROM OTHERS

Next I would like to ask about your relations to other people:

1036 Do you have especially close relations to a sibling?

0 No

1 Yes

2 I am an only child

1037 Do you have very negative relations to a sibling?

0 No

1 Yes

2 I am an only child

	Emotional	Financial	Advice	Time
Sister or brother	<u>(1045)</u>	<u>(1046)</u>	<u>(1047)</u>	<u>(1048)</u>
Neighbour	<u>(1049)</u>	<u>(1050)</u>	<u>(1051)</u>	<u>(1052)</u>
Colleague	<u>(1053)</u>	<u>(1054)</u>	<u>(1055)</u>	<u>(1056)</u>
Other relative	<u>(1057)</u>	<u>(1058)</u>	<u>(1059)</u>	<u>(1060)</u>
Husband	<u>(1061)</u>	<u>(1062)</u>	<u>(1063)</u>	<u>(1064)</u>
Other woman friend	<u>(1065)</u>	<u>(1066)</u>	<u>(1067)</u>	<u>(1068)</u>
Husband's relatives	<u>(1069)</u>	<u>(1070)</u>	<u>(1071)</u>	<u>(1072)</u>
Other, who	<u>(1073)</u>	<u>(1074)</u>	<u>(1075)</u>	<u>(1076)</u>

1077 If close friends are defined as persons whom one may visit uninvited or with whom one likes to socialize, how many such friends or families do you have? _____ of them. (*Number of close friends*)

HELP TO YOUR MOTHER

1078 What do you consider the most important thing you can give your mother?

(*Number of items*)

1079 What is your opinion concerning help to your mother?

- 0 She did not need any help
- 1 It is a natural, instinctual thing
- 2 I liked to give her help

1080 Has helping your mother been a heavy task?

- 0 She did not need any help
- 1 Not especially heavy
- 2 Yes

1081 How ready are you and your family to make sacrifices for your mother?

- 1 Very willing
- 2 Rather willing
- 3 We are not especially willing

Next, I would like to ask you about everyday help or help which is given repeatedly. In what form and how much have you given your mother help with the following activities: (Please use the numbers indicated under the table and fill in every line)

	I	II	II
	How well does your mother manage on her own?	How often do you help her?	How does your child participate in helping?
Shopping and cooking	<u>(1082)</u>	<u>(1083)</u>	<u>(1084)</u>
Hygiene, bath, sauna	<u>(1085)</u>	<u>(1086)</u>	<u>(1087)</u>
Light chores, e.g. mending	<u>(1088)</u>	<u>(1089)</u>	<u>(1090)</u>
Heavy chores, e.g. gardening	<u>(1091)</u>	<u>(1092)</u>	<u>(1093)</u>
Office visits and more important acquisitions	<u>(1094)</u>	<u>(1095)</u>	<u>(1096)</u>
Walks	<u>(1097)</u>	<u>(1098)</u>	<u>(1099)</u>
Cultural activities, e.g. library, theatre	<u>(1100)</u>	<u>(1101)</u>	<u>(1102)</u>
Visits to a doctor	<u>(1103)</u>	<u>(1104)</u>	<u>(1105)</u>

Use the following numbers:

Column I: How does your mother manage on her own?

- 1= manages almost totally on her own
- 2= needs a little help
- 3= needs much help
- 4= needs very much help

Column II: How often do you help her?

- 1= daily
- 2= 2-3 times a week
- 3= once a week
- 4= 2-3 times a month
- 5= about once a month
- 6= a few times a year
- 7= about once a year
- 8= less frequently

Column III: Participation of your child

1= not at all

2= somewhat

3= much

4= very much

Next, such events which are not daily occurrences will be treated. I would like you to mention for each of the following type of support, how much of it you have given your mother. 0= not at all, 1= somewhat, 2= much, 3= very much.

Column I= Emotional support

Column II= Financial support

Column III= Advice

Column IV= Time

	I	II	III	IV
Physical illness	<u>(1106)</u>	<u>(1107)</u>	<u>(1108)</u>	<u>(1109)</u>
Mother's psychological problems (e.g. depression, anxiety, alcohol problems)	<u>(1110)</u>	<u>(1111)</u>	<u>(1112)</u>	<u>(1113)</u>
Financial troubles	<u>(1114)</u>	<u>(1115)</u>	<u>(1116)</u>	<u>(1117)</u>
Problems caused by family members (e.g. alcoholism in the family, imprisonment of a family member, serious illness)	<u>(1118)</u>	<u>(1119)</u>	<u>(1120)</u>	<u>(1121)</u>
Big practical problems, e.g. an inheritance, selling an apartment	<u>(1122)</u>	<u>(1123)</u>	<u>(1124)</u>	<u>(1125)</u>

Next, I would ask you to indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements (1= I fully disagree, 2= I somewhat disagree, 3= I somewhat agree, 4= I fully agree. Please circle the appropriate answer)

1126 Adult children should always have a spare room in case one of their

1 2 3 4

- parents would like to move in with them
- 1127 It is the duty of adult children to live close to their parents 1 2 3 4
- 1128 Adult children should be ready to help their parents in every way possible if they fall ill 1 2 3 4
- 1129 If adult children live near their parents, it is their duty to visit them at least once a week 1 2 3 4

CHILD REARING

Next, I would like you to think of the way your mother brought you up and the way you bring up your children. In what way are they identical and in what way do they differ?

- 1130 1 It is mostly identical
2 There are some clear differences
3 It is mostly different

- 1131 If your mother were to rear your child/children, would she be
- 1 Be stricter than you
2 Do it like you do
3 Be more indulgent than you

- 1132 Do you and your mother have conflicts concerning the upbringing of your child?
- 1 No
2 Some
3, Yes, severe conflicts

- 1133 If you have conflicts about upbringing, who usually stands her ground?
- 1 You reach a compromise
2 You keep your opinion
3 Your mother keeps hers

YOUR RELATIONS WITH YOUR MOTHER

Would you say that you and your mother are

- 1134 1 Dependent on each other
2 Very close
3 Rather close

4 Rather distant

5 Very distant

1135 Do you and your mother in your opinion have the same character traits?

1 No

2 Some

3 Very much the same ones

1136 Do you and your mother have the same hobbies

1 No

2 Some

3 Very much the same ones

1137 Is it easy for you to confide even the most secret things to your mother?

1 I can tell my mother everything

2 There are some areas I can't talk about.

Could you please indicate which

3 I can't confide secrets to my mother

1138 Is it natural and easy for you to embrace your mother?

1 It is difficult to embrace her

2 It is not our custom to embrace

3 We embrace only on birthdays and Mothers Day etc.

4 We embrace often, sometimes even without a reason

1139 What is your attitude to embracing?

1 I wish my mother would embrace me more often

2 I am quite contented

3 I wish my mother would not embrace me so often

1140 Do you and your mother have some topics you don't speak about because it causes friction?

1 No

2 Some minor topics

3 One or several bigger topics

Could you please mention which

Please indicate in the next table to what extent the following statements

suit you and your mother's relation (1= not at all, 2= not very well, 3= rather well, 4= very well)

1141	My mother is rather like a strange adult to me	1	2	3	4
1142	My mother still treats me like her small girl	1	2	3	4
1143	My mother is rather like a good girl friend to me	1	2	3	4

CONTACTS

Next, I would like to ask you how and how often you keep in contact with your mother (1= daily, 2= a few times a week, 3= once a week, 4=2-3 times a month, 5= once a month, 6= a few times a year, 7= once a year, 8= less frequently)

1144	Your mother visits you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1145	You visit your mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1146	Your child visits your mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1147	Your mother visits your child	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1148	You phone your mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1149	Your mother phones you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1150	Your child phones your mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1151	Your mother phones your child	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1152	Your mother writes to you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1153	You write to your mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1154	Your child writes to your mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1155	Your mother writes to your child	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1156	Would you wish to meet your mother								
	1 Much more frequently than now								
	2 Somewhat more frequently than now								
	3 As frequently as now								
	4 Somewhat less frequently than now								
	5 Much more frequently than now								
1157	When was the last time you met?								
	1 We live together								
	2 Today or yesterday								
	3 2-7 days ago								

- 4 8-30 days ago
- 5 31 days - one year ago
- 6 Not during the last year

1158 Do you have a telephone at home?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes

1159 Does your mother have a telephone at home?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes

To what extent do you do the following things when you meet (1= never, 2= sometimes, 3= rather often, 4= very often)

1160	Conversing, socializing	1	2	3	4
1161	Watching TV, reading, occasional talking in the same household	1	2	3	4
1162	Some common leisure activities in the same household	1	2	3	4
1163	Working together	1	2	3	4
1164	Your mother works, you don't	1	2	3	4
1165	You work, your mother doesn't	1	2	3	4
1166	Being together in the same household without interaction	1	2	3	4

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUR CHILD AND YOUR MOTHER

If your mother lives closer than 15 kilometers from your house, what advantages does this mean for your child? Choose the most important of the following alternatives:

- 0 No advantages
- 1 Granny gives him/her presents
- 2 Granny has helped with child minding
- 3 The child(ren) has had a close relationship
- 4 The child(ren) has learned what older persons think
- 5 MY mother lives more than 15 kilometers from our home

1168 How many grandchildren does your mother have?

1169 How important is/are your child(ren) to your grandmother?

- 1 He/she is very important
- 2 He/she is as important as her other grandchildren/ means

much to her

3 He/she is not very important to my mother

1170 And how important is your grandmother to your child

1 She is very close

2 When he/she was smaller, she was more important, now someone else is important to my child

3 She is normally important, but not especially close

4 She is not very important

Finally, I would like to pose some questions concerning the other grandparents

1171 Is your father alive

0 No

1 Yes

1172 If he is alive, how old is he? _____

1173 How far does he live? _____ kilometers

1174 If he is dead, how old was your child then? _____ years

1175 Is your mother-in law alive?

0 No

1 Yes

1176 If she is alive, how old is she? _____ years

1177 How far away does she live? _____

1178 If she is dead, how old was your child then? _____ years

1179 Is you father-in-law alive?

0 No

1 yes

1180 If he is alive, how old is he? _____ years

1181 How far awaydoes he live?

1182 If he is dead, how old was your child then? _____ years

Could you please rate how often your child sees his or her grandparents. Please use the numbers below. Circle the corresponding number for each grandparent

1= almost daily

2=at least once a week

3= at least once a month

4= several times a year

5= about once a year

6= less than once a year

7= hardly ever

8= deceased

1183	Maternal grandmother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1184	Paternal grandmother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1185	Maternal grandfather	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1186	Paternal grandfather	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Could you please also indicate when your child met his or her grandparent last. Use the following numbers:

1= they live in the same house

2= today or yesterday

3= 2-7 days ago

4= 8-30 days ago

5= 31 days -one year ago

6= they have not met during this year

7= deceased

1187	Maternal grandmother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1188	Paternal grandmother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1189	Maternal grandfather	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1190	Paternal grandfather	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How close would you consider your child's relation to each of his grandparents is. Please use the numbers below:

1= extremely close

2= very close

3= close

4= not especially close

5= deceased

1191	Maternal grandmother	1	2	3	4	5
1192	Paternal grandmother	1	2	3	4	5
1193	Maternal grandfather	1	2	3	4	5
1195	Paternal grandfather	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX 4 .The grandmaternal questionnaire.

Please circle the appropriate alternative or write your answer on the rows following the question.

- 3001 Are you now
- 1 On old age pension
 - 2 On sickness pension
 - 3 On unemployment benefit or early pension
 - 4 Employed full time
 - 5 Employed part time
 - 6 A housewife, but not yet retired

3002 If you work, what is your job? _____

Scored as follows:

- 1 *Leading position*
- 2 *Self-employed, higher employees and foremen*
- 3 *Skilled workers and lower employees*
- 4 *Unskilled workers*

3003 If you have retired, what was your main job ?

Scored as

- 1 *Leading position*
- 2 *Self-employed, higher employees and foremen*
- 3 *Skilled workers and lower employees*
- 4 *Unskilled workers*

3004 What is/was your husband's job?

Scored as

- 1 *Leading position*
- 2 *Self-employed, higher employees and foremen*
- 3 *Skilled workers and lower employees*
- 4 *Unskilled workers*

3005 If you live in Jyväskylä, which is the reason for you and your daughter living close to each other?

- 1 We live in the same community by chance, and it is not because of me
- 2 My daughter has moved here or stayed here because of me

(and my husband)

3 I have moved here or stayed here because of her

3006 How far from your daughter do you live? _____

3007 What is your health like now?

1 Very good

2 Good

3 Rather good

4 I am very ill

If you are ill, what do you suffer from _____

3008 How old are you? _____

3009 How many siblings do you have? _____

3010 How many of them live in the same community as you?

3011 How many children do you have? _____

3012 How many of them live in the same community as you?

3013 How many grandchildren do you have? _____

3014 How many of them live in the same community as you? _____

3015 How old were you when you got your first grandchild?

3016 How old was your husband at that time? _____

3017 Do you have many friends?

1 No, I am mostly alone

2 An average amount

3 Very many

3018 And what about hobbies?

1 My hobbies are mostly at home (needlework, reading etc.)

2 My hobbies are mostly outside home (clubs, travel etc.)

3 I do not have hobbies

Have you had any of the following

3019 Mental problems

0 Not at all

1 Somewhat

2 Much

3020 Financial problems

0 Not at all

1 Somewhat

2 Much

- 3021 Big practical problems (e.g. selling a house, problems with inheritance)
0 Not at all
1 Somewhat
2 Much

- 3022 Physical illness
0 Not at all
1 Somewhat
2 Much

The birth of your daughter's first child

I would like you to think of the time when your daughter got her first child, especially considering the relations between her and yourself .

- 3023 Which were your attitude when you first heard that your daughter was pregnant?
1 Negative
2 Normal, but not overly enthusiastic
3 Very enthusiastic

To what extent did you give the following kinds of support to your daughter during her pregnancy and the baby's first year?

- 3024 Emotional support: e.g. closeness or understanding
1 Very much
2 Much
3 Somewhat
4 Not at all
- 3025 Financial support: e.g. money or a loan
1 Very much
2 Much
3 Somewhat
4 Not at all
- 3026 Advice: e.g. concerning how children are bathed or fed
1 Very much
2 Much
3 Somewhat
4 Not at all
- 3027 Time: e.g. you took care of the baby or her other children
1 Very much
2 Much

- 3 Somewhat
- 4 Not at all
- 3029 Did you and your daughter at that time live
 - 001 At a distance of more than 15 kilometers
 - 002 At a distance of less than 15 kilometers
 - 003 As neighbours
 - 004 In the same house
- 3030 Which were you at that time
 - 1 A housewife
 - 2 I was retired
 - 3 I was employed part time
 - 4 I was employed full time
- 3031 What was your attitude like after the baby was born?
 - 1 I was not overly enthusiastic about it
 - 2 Normal, but not overly enthusiastic
 - 3 I was very enthusiastic
- 3032 How often did you meet your daughter at that time?
 - 1 A few times a year
 - 2 A few times a month
 - 3 Weekly
 - 4 3-4 times a week
 - 5 Daily
- 3033 To what extent did you take care of your grandchild?
 - 1 Not at all
 - 2 Occasionally, one to two times a month
 - 3 More frequently, but not full time
 - 4 Full time

Life events

Life events are the more important events in a person's life. They are either negative or positive, like illnesses, deaths or a change of job etc. Everyone of us defines them slightly differently, however. Did your daughter encounter any such events, which caused a turmoil in her everyday life? If she did, kindly write them down below and also indicate which year they happened.

3034 *Number of life events*

- 3035 To what extent have you helped your daughter in these life events?

- 0 She has not asked for help/ she has wanted to manage on her own
- 1 I have hardly helped her
- 2 I have helped her somewhat
- 3 I have helped her much
- 4 She has not had any big life events

To what extent have you given her the following kinds of help in these bigger events?

3036 Emotional support: closeness, understanding etc.

- 1 Very much
- 2 Much
- 3 Somewhat
- 4 Not at all
- 5 She did not have any big events

3037 Financial support

- 1 Very much
- 2 Much
- 3 Somewhat
- 4 Not at all
- 5 She did not have any big events

3038 Advice

- 1 Very much
- 2 Much
- 3 Somewhat
- 4 Not at all
- 5 She did not have any big events

3039 Time: you took care of the children, for instance

- 1 Very much
- 2 Much
- 3 Somewhat
- 4 Not at all
- 5 She did not have any big problems

3040 Did you in general accept the bigger decisions your daughter made in her life?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Please note below which decisions you did not accept _____

What would you consider as the most important thing you can give your daughter?

3041 Has helping your daughter been heavy?

- 0 She did not need any help
- 1 Not especially heavy
- 2 Yes

Managing on you own and help from your daughter

Next, I would kindly ask you to indicate how well you manage on your own with the following tasks:

3042 Cooking and shopping

- 1 Fully on my own
- 2 I need some help
- 3 I need much help
- 4 I need very much help

3043 Bathing, washing and sauna

- 1 Fully on my own
- 2 I need some help
- 3 I need much help
- 4 I need very much help

3044 Light chores (e.g. mending)

- 1 Fully on my own
- 2 I need some help
- 3 I need much help
- 4 I need very much help

3045 Heavy chores (e.g. gardening)

- 1 Fully on my own
- 2 I need some help
- 3 I need much help
- 4 I need very much help

3046 Office visits and bigger purchases

- 1 Fully on my own
- 2 I need some help
- 3 I need much help
- 4 I need very much help

3047 Walks

- 1 Fully on my own
- 2 I need some help
- 3 I need much help

4 I need very much help

3048 Cultural activities (e.g. visits to the library, theatre visits, church visits)

1 Fully on my own

2 I need some help

3 I need much help

4 I need very much help

3049 Doctor's visits

1 Fully on my own

2 I need some help

3 I need much help

4 I need very much help

Could you also, please, indicate how often your daughter helps you with the following

3050 Cooking and shopping

1 Daily

2 2-3 times a week

3 Once a week

4 2-3 times a week

5 About once a week

3051 Help with hygiene

1 Daily

2 2-3 times a week

3 Once a week

4 2-3 times a week

5 About once a week

3052 Help with light chores

1 Daily

2 2-3 times a week

3 Once a week

4 2-3 times a week

5 About once a week

3053 Help with heavy chores

1 Daily

2 2-3 times a week

3 Once a week

4 2-3 times a week

5 About once a week

3054 Help with office visits

- 1 Daily
- 2 2-3 times a week
- 3 Once a week
- 4 2-3 times a week
- 5 About once a week

3055 Help with walks

- 1 Daily
- 2 2-3 times a week
- 3 Once a week
- 4 2-3 times a week
- 5 About once a week

3056 Help with cultural activities

- 1 Daily
- 2 2-3 times a week
- 3 Once a week
- 4 2-3 times a week
- 5 About once a week

3057 Help with doctor's visits

- 1 Daily
- 2 2-3 times a week
- 3 Once a week
- 4 2-3 times a week
- 5 About once a week

3058 Do you think your daughter owes you something

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

3059 How ready is your daughter to make sacrifices for you?

- 1 Very ready
- 2 Quite ready
- 3 Not especially ready

3060 Who should primarily take care of elderly people in Finland?

1 The family (adult children)

2 Society

3061 Do you have a daughter-in-law?

0 No

1 Yes

3062 If you have one, what would you say your relation to her is like?

1 Very close

2 Close

3 Polite, but not close

4 Cold

Index of general satisfaction (LSI-A)

Next, below is a presentation of a number of statements concerning life. Some people agree concerning them, others again disagree. I would like to ask you to read them and answer each of them by marking a cross to indicate whether you agree or disagree with the statement or whether you are undecided.

	Disag- ree	Unde- cided	Agree
3063 As I grow older, things seem better than I thought they would	----	----	----
3064 I have got more of the breaks in life than most of the people I know	----	----	----
3065 This is the dreariest time in my life	----	----	----
3066 I am just as happy as when I was younger	----	----	----
3067 My life could be happier than it is now	----	----	----
3068 These are the best years of my life	----	----	----
3069 Most things I do are boring or monotonous	----	----	----
3070 I expect some interesting and pleasant things to happen to me in the future	----	----	----
3071 The things I do are as interesting to me as they ever were	----	----	----
3072 I feel old and somewhat tired	----	----	----
3073 I feel my age but it does not bother me	----	----	----
3074 As I look back on my life, I am fairly well	----	----	----

satisfied

3075 I would not change the past even if I could -----

(continues as variables 4077-4083)

Child rearing

Next, I would like you to think of the way your daughter brings up her child, and the way you brought up yours:

3076 Is you daughter's way of child rearing identical with yours?

- 1 It is mostly identical
- 2 There are some clear differences
- 3 It is mostly non-identical

3077 If you were allowed to rear your daughter's child, would you be

- 1 More severe than she is
- 2 As she is
- 3 More indulgent than she is

3078 Do you have conflicts with your daughter concerning child rearing?

- 1 No
- 2 Some minor things
- 3 Yes, severe ones

Your relation to your daughter

3079 Would you say you and your daughter are

- 1 Dependent on each other
- 2 Very close
- 3 Rather close
- 4 Rather distant
- 5 Very distant to each other

3080 Do you and your daughter have identical character traits?

- 1 No
- 2 Some
- 3 Very many identical traits

3081 Do you and your daughter have the same hobbies?

- 1 No
- 2 Some
- 3 Very many identical hobbies

3082 Is it easy for you to confide even the most secret things to your daughter?

- 1 I can tell her everything
- 2 There are some areas which I cannot speak of. Could you please indicate them below_____
- 3 I cannot confide secrets to my daughter

3083 Is it easy and natural to embrace your daughter?

- 1 It is difficult
- 2 It is not our custom
- 3 We embrace only on birthdays, Mother's Day, etc.
- 4 We embrace often, sometimes without a special reason

3084 What is your attitude to embracing?

- 1 I wish my daughter would embrace me more of ten
- 2 I am quite contented
- 3 I wish my daughter would not embrace me so often

3085 Do you and your daughter have some topics you do not discuss because it leads to frictions?

- 0 No
- 1 Some minor ones
- 2 One or several major ones.

If you have such topics, could you please indicate them below_____

Please indicate in the table below to what extent the following statements suit your and your daughter's relationship.

- 1=Does not suit at all
- 2=Suits rather badly
- 3=Suits rather well
- 4=Suits very well

3086	1 My Daughter is rather like a strange adult to me	1	2	3	4
3087	2 I still consider my daughter as my little girl	1	2	3	4
3088	3 My daughter is rather like a good girl friend	1	2	3	4

Contacts

Next, I would like to ask you how often and how you keep in contact with each other

- 3 2-7 days ago
- 4 8-30 days ago
- 5 31 days -one year ago
- 6 not during the last year

To what extent do you do the following things when you meet?

- 1=never
- 2=sometimes
- 3=rather frequently
- 4= very frequently

4005	Chatting, socializing	1	2	3	4
4006	Watching TV, reading, occasional talking in same room	1	2	3	4
4007	Some common hobbies in the same room	1	2	3	4
4008	Common work	1	2	3	4
4009	You work, your daughter does not	1	2	3	4
4010	Your daughter works, you don't	1	2	3	4
4011	Being together without interaction	1	2	3	4

Your and your grandchild's relationship

If you live within a radius of 15 kilometers from your daughter, what advantages does this have. Choose the most important among the following alternatives:

- 4012 0 No advantages
- 1 I have been able to give the children presents
 - 2 I have been able to help with child minding
 - 3 The child(ren) has had a close personal relationship
 - 4 The child(ren) has learned how old people think
 - 5 I live more than 15 kilometers from my daughter
- 4013 How much does your grandchild mean to you?
- 1 Very much
 - 2 As dear as other grandchildren
 - 3 Not very close to me
- 4014 When did your grandchild last stay overnight with you?
- 1 We live together
 - 2 Last night
 - 3 This week
 - 4 This month
 - 5 This year

- 6 Not during the last year
- 4015 Do you know your grandchild's freinds?
 1 Not at all
 2 Some
 3 Almost everyone
 4 All
- 4016 Do you know your grandchild's favourite dish?
 1 Yes
 2 No
- 4017 Do you usually participate in your grandchild's birthday?
 1 I give a prestant
 2 I go to the party
 3 I don't
- 4018 How do you spend Christmas?
 1 Mostly with my daughter's children
 2 Mostly with some other of my children
 3 Varying among my children
 4 Mostly in some other way (e.g. alone or abroad)

Next I would like to ask you how much your grandchild has met you at different ages

- 4019 When your grandchild was 0-2 years old, you met
 0 much less than you wished
 1 somewhat less than you wished
 2 About as much as you wished
 3 Somewhat more than you wished
 4 Much more than you wished
- 4020 When your grandchild was 3-4 years old, you met
 0 much less than you wished
 1 somewhat less than you wished
 2 About as much as you wished
 3 Somewhat more than you wished
 4 Much more than you wished
- 4021 When your grandchild was 5-6years old, you met
 0 much less than you wished
 1 somewhat less than you wished
 2 About as much as you wished
 3 Somewhat more than you wished
 4 Much more than you wished
- 4022 When your grandchild was 7-8 years old, you met
 0 much less than you wished
 1 somewhat less than you wished
 2 About as much as you wished

- 3 Somewhat more than you wished
 4 Much more than you wished
- 4023 When your grandchild was 9-10 years old, you met
 0 much less than you wished
 1 somewhat less than you wished
 2 About as much as you wished
 3 Somewhat more than you wished
 4 Much more than you wished
- 4024 When your grandchild was 11-13 years old, you met
 0 much less than you wished
 1 somewhat less than you wished
 2 About as much as you wished
 3 Somewhat more than you wished
 4 Much more than you wished

Please indicate in the next list whether you do the activities or not. Indicate also with a cross those activities which you do once a month or more frequently.

	No	yes	Once a month
4025 You give your grandchild presents	0	1	4036
4046 You are "babysitting"	0	1	4037
4027 You make a surprise visit	0	1	4038
4028 You tell your grandchild about past times	0	1	4039
4029 You give your grandchild money	0	1	4040
4030 You teach your grandchild old skills (e.g. sewing)	0	1	4041
4031 You help in an emergency (e.g. in illness)	0	1	4042
4032 You go on holidays with your grandchild	0	1	4043
4033 You visit the church with your grandchild	0	1	4044
4034 You go shopping with your grandchild	0	1	4045
4035 You talk about religion with your grandchild	0	1	4046

Statements

Finally, I would like you to answer the following statements by indicating a cross for the alternative which suits you best.

	Doesn't suit me at all	Suits me some- what	Suits me rather well	Suits me very well
<i>Scored as</i>	0	1	2	3
4047	Part of being a grandmother consists of being able to brag about what my grandchildren have done			
4048	My life was fulfilled only when I became a grandmother			
4049	My grandchildren require too much of my time			
4050	My grandchildren are important especially because they continue the traditions of our family			
4051	I have a feeling that my grandchildren belong to me and not only to their parents			
4052	My daughter spoils her children much too much			
4053	I rather meet my grandchildren tete-à-tete			
4054	I consider it my duty to contribute to the upbringing of my grandchildren financially according to my possibilities			
4055	My grandchildren are closer to me than my own children			
4056	My most important task as a grandparent is to convey knowledge about past times to my grandchildren			
4057	Becoming a grandparent implied growing closer to my own children			

- 4058 I am ready to give almost all
my time to my grandchildren
- 4059 I consider it the duty of my
grandchildren to visit me
once a week
- 4060 I am too oldfashioned to be
useful to my grandchildren
- 4061 I don't think I spoil my,
grandchildren too much
- 4062 I have a feeling that my grand-
children meet me only
out of duty
- 4063 Being a grandparent is not the
most important thing in my life
- 4064 I get the greatest satisfaction
in life from my grandchildren
- 4065 I have a feeling that I don't
have anything to teach to
my grandchildren
- 4066 I consider it my most impor-
tant task to convey the tradi-
tions of our family to my
grandchildren
- 4067 My grandchildren have caused
me even big disappointments
- 4068 Most of all, my grandchildren
mean company to me
- 4069 Adult children should be ready
to take care of their parents in
whatever way if they fall ill
- 4070 It is the duty of adult children
to live close to their parents
- 4071 It is only natural that a 45-year-
old working grandmother does
not have time for her grandchildren
- 4072 In my opinion grandparents
should have the same rights as
the parents to intervene in the
upbringing of the grandchildren
- 4073 Adult children should have a
spare room in case some of their
parents would like to move in

- with them
- 4074 If adult children live near their
parents, they should visit them at
least once a week
- 4075 The task of the grandparents- of
both sexes - is to be responsible
for their family
- 4076 If the grandmother is young and
employed, she should leave her
work when the grandchild is born
to take care of him
- 4077 Compared with people of my age,
I've made a lot of foolish
decisions in my life
- 4078 Compared to aother people my
age, I make a good appearance
- 4079 I have made plans for things I'll
be doing a month or a year from
now
- 4080 When I think back over my life, I
did most of the important things
I wanted
- 4081 Compared to other people, I get
down in the dumps too often
- 4082 I've got pretty much what I
expected out of life
- 4083 In spite of what people say, the
lot of the average man is getting
worse, not better