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FINLAND

A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN CHINESE AND FINNS: COMMUNICATION
ACCOMMODATION AND VALUES EXCHANGE IN GRANDPARENT-
GRANDCHILD COMMUNICATION

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>This study explores differences and similarities between grandparent-grandchild (GP-GC) communication in China and Finland. GP-GC communication and relationship has been understudied for decades since scholars in family communication domain have been focusing on relationships among other family members.</p> <p>The culture of the residents of China, the origin of Confucianism, is isolated from that of other East Asian nations. In view of dramatic socioeconomic development, examining how the traditional GP-GC relationship within the family has changed is valuable. On the other hand, Finland possesses a culture with contrasting traits. Characterized by individualism, Finns are prone to focus primarily on one's individual goals. However, Finns are said to have typically "Asian" communication styles, such as being modest, softspoken, and introverted, while using little body language. Comparing Chinese and Finnish GP-GC communication can yield not only knowledge of communication styles and situation-specific nuances in GP-GC relationships, but also contribute to generating practically reciprocal experiences.</p> <p>In the present study, three major topics were addressed: 1) employing a comparative approach in reference to quality of GP-GC communication; 2) application of accommodation strategies and their underlying motivations; and 3) values exchanged between grandparents and grandchildren in two selected contexts. Semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted, involving sixteen participants comprising four Chinese and four Finnish GP-GC dyads. Results revealed that GP-GC communication in Chinese and Finnish families possess more similarities than differences; and that GP-GC relationships are positive and satisfactory in general.</p>	
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INTRODUCTION

This study explores differences and similarities between two contexts – Finland and China – on the subject of communication between older grandparents and college-aged grandchildren. Compared to relationships between other family members, the grandparent-grandchild (GP-GC) relationship had for decades been generally regarded as having less importance in comparison to the parent-child relationship, and even relationships between siblings. However, GP-GC relationship has become increasingly important since industrialization and societal change has reshaped GP-GC communication patterns in many aspects. Specifically, due to the dramatic lengthening of lifespan and improvement in overall health, most people play roles as grandparents longer than before; thus grandparents have longer time to interact with their grandchildren (Bengtson, 2001). Moreover, increased employment of women has strengthened the GP-GC bond, because grandparents have increasing responsibilities to take care of young grandchildren (Fergusson et al., 2008). Many grandparents have been involved in the childcare of grandchildren; hence, GP-GC communication and relationships are worth studying.

GP-GC communication in Finland is understudied, at least in terms of studies available in English. Finland enjoys its own uniqueness and has many characteristics that distinguish it from other Western nations. Although Finns appear to generally have individualistic traits, they seem to share certain values in common with Asians, such as thinking in silence, disliking big talkers, avoiding arguments, and so forth. Thus, an exploration of the behaviors and their underlying motivations in GP-GC communication among Finns would likely yield significant findings, especially in the context of comparing these aspects to those

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of their Chinese counterparts. Similarly, scholars in the field of communication had until now rarely been attracted to the study of Chinese GP-GC communication. Great changes in family structures and improvements in socioeconomic environment have triggered associated transformations in Chinese GP-GC relationships and communication. In addition, the one-child policy affects GP-GC relationship in China, especially since for grandchildren who have had fewer siblings, their grandparents play more important roles in their lives. Therefore, GP-GC relationships in China merit study as well.

In this study, four Finnish and four Chinese GP-GC dyads were interviewed in-depth respectively. Grandchildren are college-aged, and grandparents are over 60. From interviews, we can have a better understanding of how culture and society have influenced GP-GC communication for these participants from Finland and China respectively.

Differences and similarities in willingness to accommodate, conflict types and coping methods in each group's GP-GC communication were found in this study. Communication accommodation theory was applied to explore differences and similarities in the specific behaviors and their underlying motivations in GP-GC communication in participants from two nations (Finland and China). Tendencies of over- and under-accommodation, strategies applied, quality and closeness of relationship were studied with the aim of gaining richer insights on GP-GC communication and generate practical suggestions for relationship solidary. Moreover, values and beliefs these two generations hold and exchanged are examined in general.

A small amount of research programs have focused on grandparents' perspectives, thus this study intends to examine the GP-GC relationship from both the perspectives of

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grandchildren and those of grandparents. Overall, this comparative study reviewed GP-GC communication, one of the most important sorts of intergenerational communication in the family context, and conducted in-depth interviews to explore differences and similarities in GP-GC communication in participants of two unique nations.

FAMILY COMMUNICATION

Introduction to Family Communication

The family is a significant element of human society and life. Having a good knowledge of the concept of “family” paves the way for a review of family communication and relationships thereof. How is “family” to be defined? With the world and relationships continually changing, definitions of family are variable and developing (Galvin, 2006). Rodgers and White (1993) suggest that the old perspective of families moving through deterministic, invariant stages invites a stagnant and less-productive understanding of family dynamics.

Along with the development of family and family studies, several scholars have offered definitions of “family”. White and Klein (2002) point out that a family is a social group distinct from other social groups. Accordingly, they noted four dimensions of families that makes them different from other social groups. Families last longer than most social groups. Families have intergenerational relationships unlike other social groups. Families contain two types of social relationships – affinal and con-sanguineal – whereas most social groups are only associated with affinity. Finally, families are part of a larger type of social organization, known as kinship. Moreover, Baxter and Braithwaite (2006) noted that a “family” is a social group of two or more persons, characterized by ongoing interdependence with long-term commitments that stem from blood, law, or affection.” (pp. 2-3)

From the beginning, family development studies have been interdisciplinary (Mattessich & Hill, 1987). In the 1960s, the establishment of the discipline of family

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communication emerged from the breadth of research on interpersonal and small group communication. During the early years, mass communication was heavily weighted; and thus it subsumed persuasion, compliance gaining, speaker credibility and related issues.

With regards to interpersonal communication, scholars put more emphasis on psychological models; therefore, the majority of work was focused on the individual rather than relationships. Family communication had been understudied because, to some extent, from 1900 to 1950, social attention focused on reform movements aimed at the excesses of unfettered capitalism and social Darwinism (White & Klein, 2002). At the end of World War II, thousands of soldiers who returned to family and civilian life created demands for housing and narrowed the gap between family members, which led scholars to put more emphasis on an interpersonal communication perspective.

According to Bruner (1990), people learn to how to communicate and interact with others in society by interacting with family members. In other words, we learn and gain communication knowledge to interact with people in society by practicing with our family members. Thus, communication between family members may be significant for children's development.

Moreover, communication assists us in establishing and maintaining family members' intimate relationships. Specifically, several research works on family communication aimed at investigating the different relational communication of family members. Quality of relationships and levels of satisfaction have been studied in communication between family members. For instance, marital relationships (Fincham, 2003; Gottman, 1994; Pasch & Bradbury, 1998) and parent-child relationships (Kim, Lee, & Lee, 2015; Ennett, Bauman,

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Foshee, Pemberton & Hicks, 2001) have been studied from different perspectives and examined by theories in psychology, communication and other fields. In addition, sibling (Martin, Anderson & Mottet, 1997; Fowler, 2009) and grandparent-grandchild communication (Fowler, 2015; Soliz, 2015) have been examined and revealed.

Taking various family forms into account, communication in divorced-parent and single-parent families (Ahrons & Rodgers, 1987), stepfamilies (Ihinger-Tallman & Pasley, 1987), lesbian and gay parent families (Burns, 2005) and adoptive families (Wegar, 1997) have also been studied over three decades. In addition to internal family dynamics research, scholars attend to research into external family communication frameworks, with respect to the media-family interface, the work-family interface, the religion-family interface, and the healthcare-family interface, as well as other factors in social life (Turner & West, 2006).

In conclusion, family communication is vital for creating a desirable family environment and facilitating individual development. Nevertheless, family conflicts often occur by misunderstanding and lack of mutual understanding among family members. Understanding family conflicts functions as a pathway to promoting satisfaction and closeness among family members.

Conflicts in Family Communication

Understanding the process of family communication provides a foundation for understanding family members and family relationships (Vangelisti, 2004). Family is constituted through interaction, which occurs in many specific social contexts (Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1993). Conflict is one of the most discussed subjects in the area of family communication, as conflict is ubiquitous within and inherent to such relationship (Simmel,

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1955). It is also a pragmatic topic of study, because family members frequently encounter difficulties and conflict when communicating with each other. Nevertheless, the occurrence of conflict is neither good nor bad; the method used to cope with conflict is the key to ensuring positive relationships between family members (Charny, 1980).

According to Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001), a conflict style is a patterned response to conflict in different situations. Conflict styles have classified under five categories: competing/dominating, collaborating/integrating, compromising, avoiding, and accommodating/obliging (Rahim, 1983). A competitive conflict style is characterized by a high level of self-concern and a relative lack of consideration of others. Individuals with a collaborative style tend to cooperate with others, consider both their own and others' interests, and seek to reach a mutually satisfactory outcome. The compromising style involves moderate concern for oneself and others, with the goal of finding a mid-point. The avoidance style entails low self-concern and low concern for others. Individuals with an accommodating style sacrifice their own interests to fulfill others' needs (Rahim, 1983).

Methods of coping with conflict definitely have differences in various cultural backgrounds. Most studies verify that people from low-context, short power distance, and individualistic cultures prefer a competitive and confrontational style while those from high-context, large power distance, and collective cultures tend to favor avoidance and accommodating styles (Zhang, 2004).

Literature written in English on Finnish family communication conflicts is lacking. In regards to Chinese family communication, harmony, the core of Confucianism, traditionally constrains Chinese people's behavior in daily life. Avoidance aims to protect

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the interpersonal relationship between two disputing parties and maintain harmony (Friedman, Chi, & Liu, 2006). The notion of harmony does impact family communication and conflict styles in Chinese families. As the popular Chinese saying goes, “If the family is in a harmonious environment, everything prospers”. Most Chinese children are taught to avoid disharmony and accommodate family members to maintain harmony in families. Interestingly, not all avoidance strategies are conducted for the benefit of mutual respect and harmony. Leung (1997) identified two motives of Chinese harmony, including disintegration avoidance (to strain and impair a relationship on purpose) and harmony enhancement (to willingly strengthen a relationship). Therefore, the notion of harmony might be related to Chinese daily life and family communication in both negative and positive ways.

In addition to harmony, saving face (Hu, 1944) is another important traditional Chinese precept, which also has significant implication on Chinese family communication, especially on intergenerational communication. Jia (1997) illustrated four characteristics of face, namely relational, moral, social, and hierarchical. Hierarchical face refers to the power distance between old and young. In other words, older people enjoy more power than younger people do, and younger people should conform to elders without question. Moreover, according to Confucianism, gentlemanhood is also deemed an important virtue, and this implies that maintaining harmony and doing one’s best to avoid conflict (Jia, 1997). Therefore, we can argue that family members in China may tend to have fewer direct conflicts than people in low-context nations.

Moreover, scholars have conducted several studies on how people cope with conflicts

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in intergenerational family communication. Lee and Liu (2001) examined indirect and direct coping strategies in the relationship between intergenerational family conflict and psychological distress in Asian Americans and European Americans, and they found that indirect coping mediated the effect of family conflict on distress for them. Nevertheless ways of coping with intergenerational conflicts requires a deeper and more nuanced study.

In summary, the significance and conception of family communication, were reviewed. Moreover, conflicts in family, in relation to conflicts types, cultural backgrounds, and ways of coping were also reviewed. The review of family communication in this chapter paves the way to understanding intergenerational communication, especially grandparent-grandchild communication within the context of the family.

INTERGENERATIONAL COMMUNICATION

Introduction to Intergenerational Communication

As *intergenerational communication* denotes communication between different generations, it is thus relevant to the study of grandparent-grandchild communication. To be specific, intergenerational communication refers to interactions between people from different age groups within or outside of a family context, such as those between parent and child; grandparent and grandchild; and the young and elderly. In contrast to *intragenerational* communication, which refers to interactions between peers from the same age group, such as same-age siblings and peers, *intergenerational* communication is more complicated, since individuals grow in different socioeconomic environments.

After providing a brief definition of intergenerational communication, the link between intergroup communication and intergenerational communication will be reviewed briefly, as this is expected to facilitate a deeper understanding of the interactions between different generations.

Intergenerational relationships can be considered as such when the age difference between those involved is salient (Williams & Nussbaum, 2000). Several intergroup theories have been applied to illustrate intergenerational communication (Harwood, Giles & Ryan, 1995). The fundamental aspect of intergroup theory is the notion that identity can be either personal or social (Williams & Nussbaum, 2000). In this vein, personal identity refers to individuals' self-definitions, and contains aspects of behavioral characteristics and personality attributes, whereas social identity is concerned with defining individuals in terms of a social category or in relation to group members (Turner, 1982). According to Tajfel

(1978, 1981), we have an inherent tendency to divide our world into groups and social categories, and consider the groups we choose to belong to as preferable to the groups belonging to other social categories. This tendency is evident in many aspects of social life, regarding nationality differences, gender differences, generational differences, and so forth (Williams & Nussbaum, 2000). Furthermore, to some extent, due to generational differences, which are embedded in differential age identity, stereotyping and social comparisons have been revealed.

Intergenerational communication within a family context is worthy of further examination. Communication between generations within a given family is more complicated and significant as most relationships among family members are intergenerational and are generally closer than intragenerational family relationships, such as between siblings. Parent-child communication has been examined extensively from various perspectives (Alessandri & Wozniak, 1987; Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2002). Nevertheless, grandparent-grandchild communication has been understudied for years.

After providing a brief introduction to intergenerational communication, I place greater emphasis on studies of age-related stereotypes in intergenerational communication, and studies of intergenerational communication within different cultural backgrounds.

Age Stereotypes in Intergenerational Communication

Stereotyping, to some extent, comes from human nature. Furthermore, the way we think about people, social groups, and behaviors leads us to make social-judgment errors (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). When we first meet someone, we know little about them and uncertainty may be high (Berger & Bradac, 1982). We may then instantly try to reduce

some of these uncertainties by labeling and categorizing them into certain social groups. For instance, in addition to observing visual cues, such as hair color, skin color, facial characteristics, and so forth, we might enquire about where they born, how old they are or other information in order to assist our characterization (Berger & Bradac, 1982). In this process, we get idea of how to behave and what to talk about, hence stereotyping might arise in our mind (Williams & Nussbaum, 2000).

There has been extensive research among scholars relating to age stereotyping, which has uncovered the emergence of negative stereotypes towards older people (Williams & Nussbaum, 2000). Palmore (1990) listed the following colloquialisms for elders: *coot*, *crone*, *old buzzard*, *old crock*, *old fogey*, *old maid*, *old-fangled*, and *old-fashioned*. In addition, Williams and Giles (1991) also noted that elderly are often negatively stereotyped as frail, vulnerable, feeble, abrasive and incompetent. In contrast to the above, some researchers have argued that social attitudes towards elderly people are often characterized by ambivalence; but sometimes they are also positive, such as the perception that elderly are sociable (Braithwaite, Lynd-Stevenson & Pigram, 1993; Kite & Johnson, 1988).

In terms of young people, they are also subject to discrimination based on chronological age. To be specific, images of laziness, irresponsibility and inexperience are associated with negative stereotypes of young people (Williams & Nussbaum, 2000). Berry and McArthur (1985) conducted an interesting study into the so-called baby-face phenomenon, which demonstrated that when people look young, they are considered to be honest, naive, submissive and weak. For elderly people, there has been more negative than positive stereotyping. Conversely, stereotyping of younger people is more positive than

negative (Hummert, 1990). To give an example of a particular case demonstrating this tendency towards age-related stereotyping, one could mention the fact that many scholars have examined certain generations such as “Generation X” in America (Tulgan, 2000), and “post-80s” in China (Sabet, 2011). As such, we can argue that different cultural backgrounds and differences in social environment have major implications on generational stereotyping.

Overall, age stereotyping has an influence on intergenerational communication, especially on grandparent-grandchild communication, because compared to the growth environments experienced by parents, those of grandparents are usually far different from those of contemporary societies. Limitations in the knowledge of one’s counterpart in communication are likely to hinder mutual understanding between grandparents and grandchildren. In this manner, stereotypes have emerged that may impact on the perception of emotional closeness related to GP-GC relationships – and satisfaction with same.

Cultural Perspectives on Intergenerational Communication

Despite the recent surge of research interest in intergenerational communication, there is little research that specifically examines intergenerational communication in the context of different cultures (Williams & Nussbaum, 2000). Reviewing intergenerational communication in different cultural contexts is beneficial to gaining a better understanding of the research questions posed in this paper.

In East Asian countries (e.g., The Philippines, South Korea and Japan) people have perceived family elderly to be as accommodating as same-age peers. Conversely, Westerners (e.g., Canada, U.S., and New Zealand) considered family elders as *more*

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accommodating than same-age peers (Giles, Noels, Williams, Ota, Lim, Ng, Ryan, & Somera, 2003). Furthermore, Williams et al. (1997) examined young people's perceptions of their conversations with older people by investigating individuals from nine different countries. They reported that young people they observed from the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Canada appeared to have more positive attitudes towards conversations with older people than young people from Korea, Japan, mainland of China, Hong Kong and the Philippines. Interestingly, this research found that there was more variability among the evaluations of the people in Eastern nations than among those of Western nations, and thus the label of collectivism attributed to all Eastern nations needs to be re-examined.

Appreciation of the philosophical roots of different cultures is fundamental to understanding why and how cultures are different, which is paramount to understanding intergenerational communication in an intercultural context. According to Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988), Eastern and Western cultures differ in some crucial ways. Hofstede (1980) claimed that Eastern culture has a more collectivist orientation, whereas Western culture has a relatively more individualist orientation. The characteristics of Eastern cultures are perceived as high context, whereas Western cultures are seen as low-context (Hall, 1976).

In terms of Western culture, the one of the foundational philosophical traditions is *liberalism*, which advocates individual rights and autonomy (Kim, 1994; Williams & Nussbaum, 2001a). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the notion of harmony is a core principle of family communication in Confucianism, which indicates that no matter whether they are grandparents or grandchildren, East Asians seek to avoid conflict and apply

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accommodating strategies to maintain family harmony. Moreover, in traditional Chinese culture, the elderly are more powerful than the young. For example, to show respect to the elderly, the young should arrange an “honor seat” for the elderly (usually the farthest seat from the main door of the room), when the family have dinner together.

In addition, filial piety has significant implications for intergenerational communication. In many cultures, family members should support and take care of other family members, especially of those of preceding generations, such as parents and grandparents. On the grounds of Confucianism teaching, filial piety regulates the relationship between parents and children (Yang, 1997). Traditionally, to conduct filial piety, family members belonging to younger generations should show respect to parents, honor the public prestige of parents, and live with or live close to the older generations (Chow, 2001). Chinese society has changed with the process of globalization and industrialization, which has an influence on family structure and the practices associated with filial piety (Chan & Lim, 2004). However, it would seem misguided to assume that Western culture does not have a tradition of filial piety, especially when one considers the possibility that the nature of intergenerational solidarity may be far different between Eastern and Western cultures (Williams & Nussbaum, 2001b).

In conclusion, reviewing cultural factors in intergenerational communication functions as a pathway to understanding differences and similarities of grandparent-grandchildren communication in contexts of Chinese and Finnish families.

GRANDPARENT-GRANDCHILD COMMUNICATION

Introduction of Grandparent-Grandchild Communication

Despite the surge in research relating to communication and aging (Nussbaum & Coupland, 2004), generational communication (Williams & Nussbaum, 2001), family communication (Vangelisti, 2004), grandparent-grandchild relationships and communication (hereafter referred to as GP-GC communication) has been understudied, and very few research programs have been conducted to examine GP-GC communication. The majority of the limited research works on GP-GC communication explored grandparents as babysitters and grandparents' roles in intergenerational solidarity (Szinovacz, 1998). Moreover, much of literature and related research have focused on young grandchildren, whereas research on communication between older grandparents and adult grandchildren is scarce (Giarrusso, Lilverstein & Bengston, 1996). Therefore, it is meaningful to examine the communication and relationship between older grandparents and young adult grandchildren (whom I have designated as those from 20 to 25 years of age).

For decades, grandparenting styles have been explained and classified by several scholars (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1985; Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Troll, 1983). But such descriptions themselves may require more critical analysis, as GP-GC relationships are regarded by some to be dynamic and responsive to changes in social and economic environments. Adopting such assumptions and frameworks, grandparents can be seen to play different roles in grandchildren's different growing stages, and grandchildren are viewed as those who may one day become grandparents. Hence, this study doesn't put emphasis on any supposedly typical GP-GC communication styles. Rather, it is assumed in the present

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study that GP-GC relationships and communication should be examined through frameworks that take into consideration various aspects, such as gender, age, culture, gender, and political and economic environment. In this section, I intend to describe in detail what these aspects ought to be.

With respect to gender differences, communication between grandmothers and grandchildren seems to be of greater quality than that between grandfathers and grandchildren. Based on the tenets of evolutionary theory, scholars reported that grandmothers have a relatively stronger biological connection and therefore greater care and concern towards their grandchildren (Smith, 1991). Another explanation one might offer would be that females are considered to be more family-oriented than males, which is supported by social theory (Eisenberg, 1988). In addition, grandmothers live longer than grandfathers, leading to more frequent interactions with their grandchildren (Szinovacz, 1998). Taking family lineage into account, maternal grandparents might show stronger relationship ties to their grandchildren than paternal grandparents (Somary & Stricker, 1998). However, Harwood (2000a) illustrated that both parental grandparents and maternal grandparents have equally close relationships with their grandchildren. Lin (2003) confirmed Harwood's findings. Looking at grandchildren in terms of a difference between genders, Lin (2003) found that Chinese grandsons have more satisfaction and emotional closeness with their grandparents than granddaughters do; and this may be due to the fact that females are not allowed to pass on their family names (surnames) to their children, and not considered as important as males within this patrilineal context. Whether grandsons in other cultural backgrounds enjoy more satisfactory communication with grandparents than

granddaughters does require further examination.

Some studies have supported the perception that adult grandchildren have relatively in-depth understanding of their grandparents and are more intimate with their grandparents than when they were young. In comparison, younger grandchildren interact with their grandparents in other ways. The relationships between grandparents and grandchildren can be improved when grandchildren enter into adulthood or college (Bengtson & Black, 1973; Crosnoe & Elder, 2002). Therefore, when examining GP-GC communication and relationships, we should take the age of grandchildren into consideration.

Culture and race play pivotal roles in GP-GC communication, since different races and cultures have unique traditions and beliefs regarding GP-GC relationships. Specifically, unlike many white grandparents, black grandparents are more likely to teach life skills, be involved in disciplining their grandchildren, and generally play a more important role in their grandchildren's lives (Hunter, 1998; Tomlin, 1998). Moreover, collectivism in East Asia and individualism in Western culture undoubtedly impact on GP-GC communication and this will be reviewed in the next section.

Along with age (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 2009), gender (Szinovacz, 1998), family structure (Creasey, 1993), and culture/race, there are some other factors influencing GP-GC communication, including physical distance (Mueller & Elder, 2003) and family interactions (mostly referring to the different functions of parents in GP-GC communication) (Mueller & Elder, 2003). Furthermore, Whitbeck, Hoyt and Huck (1993) concluded that non-optimal parent-child relationships negatively affected the parent-grandparent relationship and quality of GP-GC relationships. Moreover, advances in technology and media nowadays allow us

to utilize e-mail, messaging, video/voice call (e.g. WeChat, Skype, facetime) to keep touch with others despite long physical distance. For instance, Harwood (2000b) investigated U.S. college students and found that frequently utilizing such media indeed improved relationships with their grandparents.

In conclusion, GP-GC relationships and communication have been examined from various perspectives, such as gender, cultural background, age, technology, and so forth. Whether relationships between grandparents and grandchildren are worthy of further study will be illustrated in next section.

Significance of Grandparent-Grandchild Communication

According to Mares (1994), in modern society, GP-GC relationships are lasting longer than ever. Several studies have claimed that the quality of GP-GC relationships and communication has an influence on the life of the two generations (Tomlin, 1998).

According to Kemp (2007), a strong grandparent-grandchild bond is preferable in generating a sense of family continuity and stability, which is beneficial for both generations, whereas weakening ties between grandparents and grandchildren can interfere with grandparents' wellbeing and grandchildren's development (Kivnick, 1985). In one sense, the interaction between grandparents and grandchildren is crucial, since both parties are important in transmitting family history, evoking family identity and continuing family tradition (Downs, 1989; Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981).

First of all, positive grandparenting and GP-GC communication is beneficial for grandchildren's development. Cherlin and Furstenberg (2009) noted that grandparents play a vital supportive role in the lives of grandchildren, especially when the family structure

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changes. Furthermore, Block (2002) demonstrated that grandparents often support grandchildren both financially and emotionally. According to Brussoni and Boon (1998), close relationships between grandparents and grandchildren are important factors in the latter's development of values and beliefs. When grandchildren are around three or four years old, the involvement of grandparents is able to have a beneficial effect on grandchildren by reducing the often harsh parenting from mothers (Barnett, Scaramella, Neppl, Ontai, & Conger, 2010). Moreover, young adults between 18-23 years old who are close to their grandparents report lower levels of depression (Ruiz & Silverstein, 2007). What's more, Elder and Conger (2000) revealed that for young people, enjoying a close relationship with their grandparents was related to their academic competence, personal and social competence, self-confidence and maturity.

Unlike the notable implications on grandchildren, the effects of GP-GC communication on grandparents are relatively understudied. Grandparenting maintains and even promotes the psychological and mental health of older grandparents, since showing care and attention to their grandparents demonstrates their importance in family, which bonds the entire family and passes the family's beliefs to the younger generation (Robertson, 1995).

As mentioned above, an intimate and positive grandparent-grandchild relationship is beneficial for both sides; thus a high quality GP-GC relationship is significant to the life of both grandparent and grandchild.

Quality of Grandparent-Grandchild Communication

The factors influencing the quality of GP-GC relationships have been listed and illustrated by Kennedy (1992), which includes the following: 1) a high degree of closeness;

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2) a supportive rather than dominant “sandwich generation”; 3) grandparents having a fairly significant positive impact on grandchildren; 4) a strong sense of being known by grandparents or grandchildren.

Before adolescence, the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren largely depends on the sandwich generation, which is the parents (Brown, 2003). When grandchildren enter into adulthood and enjoy less connections with their parents, the GP-GC relationship gradually changed without the influence of the sandwich generation. This is because grandparents avoid interfering in their grandchildren’s lives and are reluctant to contact them (Kemp, 2005). Besides, some studies have reported that when grandchildren grow up to become adults, most of them have limited time for staying in contact and maintaining an intimate relationship with grandparents since they are pursuing careers and supporting their own families (Kemp, 2005). Undoubtedly, the frequency of contact between grandparents and grandchildren will show a decline after grandchildren enter into adolescence (Mill, 1999).

In addition, self-disclosure is another influential factor in relational satisfaction and quality (Altman & Taylor, 1987; Berg & Archer, 1983). According to Soliz (2005), on the one hand, positive self-disclosure in GP-GC communication is instrumental in bringing family members together, creating a satisfying family environment, and strengthening family solidarity. On the other hand, grandparents’ painful self-disclosure (PSD), such as conversation about illness, bereavement and complaints of old age interferes with the willingness of grandchildren to develop close relationships with their grandparents.

Numerous studies suggested that self-disclosure does have an impact on

intergenerational and GP-GC communication quality (Coupland, Coupland & Gile, 1991).

Self-disclosure might be different in various cultures and nationality backgrounds. For instance, individuals from Western countries tend to relatively disclose more than those from Eastern countries. Specifically, Chen (1995) suggested that Americans disclose more than the Chinese in both different conversational topics and to selected target persons.

Interestingly, Argentineans disclose more than Americans, and males in both countries engage in more self-disclosure than females (Horenstein & Downey, 2003). Therefore, taking different cultures and nationalities into consideration, GP-GC communication may be unique with respect to self-disclosure within different cultural backgrounds, which will be examined in the next section.

Grandparent-Grandchild Communication and Individualism-Collectivism

The conception of Individualism and Collectivism (IC) has been brought out and studies on IC have been conducted by several scholars for two decades (Hui & Triandis, 1986; Sinha & Verma, 1987). People living in individualistic societies focus more on themselves, and the ties between them are loose, while people who live in collectivistic societies tend to integrate into cohesive groups (Hofstede, 1991). In other words, compared to collectivistic cultures, individualistic cultures emphasize the self over the group and personal independence over social interdependence.

For years, IC has been conducted to examine GP-GC relationships in different cultures. Kim (1994) noted that in collectivistic cultures, people attach more importance to family responsibilities and connections than those in individualistic cultures. In China, generational and age differences bind people under specific social relationships rather than

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separate them into isolated age groups, while the converse is true in Western cultures (Hsu, 1963). Xuan and Rice (2000) demonstrated that the role of Vietnamese (collectivist) grandparents is distinctly different from that of Australian grandparents (individualist). In Eastern cultures, the elderly are deemed to enjoy life experiences and knowledge, linking the past and present generations, and pass on history and cultural traditions (Wong, 1979).

Earley (1993) reported that extended family is characterized by collectivistic culture. Undoubtedly, nuclear families increase with industrialization and urbanization, while there is still a greater number of extended families in China than nuclear families. For centuries, because of the Confucian virtue of filial piety, generational ties are prominent in China (Gao, 1996). Traditionally, to some extent Chinese grandparents share the responsibility of babysitting their grandchildren (Strom, Strom, Shen, Li, & Sun, 1996). Moreover, when grandchildren enter into adulthood and have the ability to support themselves, they need to provide material and emotional supports to their parents and grandparents as well (Ng, Loong, Liu, & Weatherall, 2000). For instance, 56% of grandparents provide childcare in China (Ko & Hank, 2013). Nearly 61% of Chinese grandparents are living with their adult children and/or grandchildren (He, Sengupta, Zhang, & Guo, 2007). In contrast, Hank and Buber (2009) pointed that in European countries in 2004, 58% of grandmothers and 49% of grandfathers took care of grandchildren under 15 years old. Hence, we can argue that in comparison with European grandparents, Chinese grandparents have more time to interact with their grandchildren.

With respect to Finnish GP-GC communication, Finnish culture is considered as unique among the various European cultures, and the relationships between Finnish

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grandparents and grandchildren are supposed to be different from those of other European nations. Although Finnish culture tends toward individualism, to some extent, Finns and Asians are alike in certain aspects, such as thinking in silence, and employing superb listening skills in conversation. According to Lewis (2005), “The dilemma of the Finns is that they have Western European values cloaked in an Asian communication style” (p.67). Furthermore, Lewis (2005) also argued that Finnish culture tends to have characteristics of high-context. In comparison, the ties between grandparents and grandchildren in Finnish culture are often not as strong as those in Chinese culture. The number of studies on GP-GC communication in Finland is low.

Based on the tenets of Chinese cultural principles, such as Confucianism and filial piety, younger generations should obey, respect, and emotionally and materially support the elderly in the family (cf. Chapter 3.2.3 of this article). Moreover, Chinese grandchildren are expected to conform to their parents and grandparents without question, thus traditional Chinese families are more conformity-oriented than conversation-oriented (Ho, 1986). While most studies focus on parent-child relationships, research on conformity and conversation orientations within Chinese GP-GC relationships is an understudied area.

However, Chinese GP-GC communication has changed gradually. Zhang (2007) examined Chinese family communication patterns and their effect on children’s conflict styles, and found that nowadays, Chinese family communication patterns are more conversation-oriented than conformity-oriented, which is indicative of changing family communication patterns in China. Chinese children prefer collaborating and accommodating conflict styles, whereas a competing style is their last choice. History,

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harmony, filial piety and other traditional elements of Chinese culture have significant implications for family patterns in China.

In addition, Chinese culture has developed and changed after joining the global community; and consequently, the GP-GC relationship needs to be re-examined to address the current situation. Interestingly, Strom et al. (1996) examined the relationships between three generations in a family from Taiwan, including grandparents, parents and grandchildren. They found that Chinese grandchildren negatively stereotyped their grandparents and avoided having conversations with them. Sharps, Price-Sharps, and Hanson (1998) illustrated the potential reasons for this situation as follows: according to cultural values, young people are obligated to support their elders, regardless of their feelings. In addition, several studies supported the idea that young people have more filial piety expectations for themselves than grandparents and parents do for them (Yue & Ng, 1999). Therefore, this article is aimed at illustrating the mutual expectations from the perspectives of both grandparents and grandchildren.

In conclusion, the quality of GP-GC relationships indeed influence the lives of grandparents and grandchildren across various cultural backgrounds, although people from different nations have relatively different ways of maintaining GP-GC relationships.

COMMUNICATION ACCOMMODATION THEORY

Introduction of Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), originally developed from Speech Accommodation Theory, was to understand how and why people change their behaviors and interactions when they communication with others (Giles, 1973; Giles & Powesland, 1975). It has been revised and developed over the past four decades and has been applied into different situations to examine a wide range of empirical research fields, such as family communication (Speer, Giles, & Denes, 2013), health communication (Watson, & Gallois, 1998), computer-mediated communication (Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, Gamon, & Dumais, 2011), intercultural communication (Dorjee, Giles, & Barker, 2011; Giles, Linz, Bonilla, & Gomez, 2012), and so forth.

Particularly, CAT has been applied to the intergenerational communication field to understand the link between intergenerational attitudes and communitive behaviors, which have predictive and explanatory power to illustrate intergenerational communication (Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988). In the context of GP-GC communication, a specific aspect of intergenerational communication, communicative performance and motivations of two particular generations are appropriately examined by CAT. In this section, the development of CAT will be reviewed, and CAT strategies and motivations of GP-GC communicative behaviors will be illustrated in next section.

Last year, Giles (2016) reviewed the social origins of CAT, and demonstrated six phases of CAT development and research applying CAT. The first fundamental phase (1969-) put emphasis on observing language shifts, including particular directions and rates

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when people have conversations with others (Gallois & Giles, 1998). After 1977, while entering into a so-called “intergroup phase”, ethnolinguistic identity theory (Giles & Johnson, 1981) was emerged as a result of communicative differentiations. Later on, research in intergroup contact subjects are inspired and developed, such as language contact between age different groups (Fox & Giles, 1993), gender misunderstanding in the workplace (Boggs & Giles, 1999) and so forth.

The third phase is termed the “subjectivist phase” (1982-). Later on, at the fourth stage (1986-), scholars examined intergeneration (Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988) and health communication (Farzadnia & Giles, 2015; McDonald, Gifford, & Walsh, 2011) with respect to over and underaccommodation (Harwood & Giles, 1996), which will be specifically reviewed in the next section. The “communicative breadth” phase (1988-) is the fifth phase that CAT broke the limited field of speech, language, and slangs – and finally moved into a different disclosure style and nonverbal communication (Giles, 2016).

From the review of CAT development, we found that communicative adjustment, referring to the process of synchronizing or adapting one’s verbal and nonverbal behavior in interaction, is the core of CAT. By analyzing CAT, there are two significant functions for communication: affective function (social distance) and cognitive function (regulation of comprehension) (Street, & Giles, 1982). Scholars have illustrated more affective function than cognitive function. In terms of affective function, Wang and Fussell (2010) noted that by acting more similarly to interlocutors, people could strength their personal and social identity intragroup, and gained interlocutors’ approval. For example, Tamburrini, Cinnirella, Jansen, and Bryden (2015) examined online behaviors of Twitter users and found

that they stimulate the performance and language of members from certain online communities to converge into their groups. Non-accommodation (including maintenance and divergence) is also a significant ingredient of affective motivations, which will be reviewed in detail in the next section. In contrast, researches of cognitive function, including lexicon, syntax, and speech rate are intended to increase communicative efficiency (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005).

Communication Accommodation Theory Strategies and Ageing

Accommodation strategies, also called attuning strategies (Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles & Coupland, 1988), play a prominent role in communicative adjustment, which includes approximation strategies, interpretability strategies (Harwood, Soliz, & Lin, 2006), discourse management strategies (Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988), and interpersonal control strategies (Harwood, Soliz, & Lin, 2006). Scholars brought up more specific strategies and examined them in situations of intergenerational communication with the elderly. In the next several paragraphs, I will explain every strategy and give examples to illustrate it in the contexts of ageing and GP-GC communication.

The concept of divergence, convergence, and maintenance also called approximation strategy (Coupland, Coupland, Gile & Henwood, 1988), has been applied to intergenerational communication, intergroup communication (Giles, Ota, & Foley, 2013), family communication (Giles, & Soliz, 2014), and others in the communication field. Convergence refers to adjusting one's communicative behaviors to be more similar to others. It has been examined by numerous scholars, including improving communicative efficiency, reducing interpersonal anxiety, and increasing mutual understanding (Gudykunst, 1995). For

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example, nowadays, many Chinese grandchildren speak dialects to their grandparents to adjust themselves in relation to their grandparents. In addition, adjusting one's accent to be similar to their grandparents manifests that grandchildren show convergence with their grandparents. Conversely, when convergence is excessively approached and applied, overaccommodation occurs. In the context of intergenerational communication in family, it mainly refers to young-to-old patronizing speech (Ryan, Hummert, & Boich, 1995) or so-called elderspeak and second babytalk. Specifically, young-to-old overaccommodation is featured as verbal and nonverbal (Hummert & Ryan, 1996). Verbal features include oversimplified, overly warm speech, and so forth. Nonverbal features refer to such things as an exaggerated smile, intonation, reduced eye contact, and so on.

Divergence refers to the adjusting of one's communicative behaviors to be more dissimilar to another's. For example, people of "Miao ethnic" in China tend to wear ethnic traditional clothes to be distinguished from people in other ethnic groups. Whereas, divergence can also facilitate communication (Street & Giles, 1982). For instance, to encourage patients to talk, therapists may decrease their own amount of talking (Matarazzo, Weins, Matarazzo, & Saslow, 1968). Maintenance means neither adjusting nor distinguishing from others, but rather sustaining one's original communicative behavior.

Disclosure management was divided into three subcategories: field, tenor, and mode. Field denotes the referential content of talk, or topic selections, in other words. For example, in interaction of grandparents and grandchildren, grandparents may tend to choose topics that their grandchildren are concerned with, such as modern movies. Grandparents need to listen and manage the disclosure to meet their grandchildren. In terms of tenor,

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grandchildren may avoid admitting that grandparents are much older than them and thereby hurt their feelings. The third subcategory, mode, refers to the procedural and textual dimensions or both, which structure talk (Coupland, Coupland, Gile, & Henwood, 1988). Self-disclosure is closely related to satisfaction and dissatisfaction (Altman & Taylor, 1987). Appropriate self-disclosure has positive implications in improving satisfaction in communication, whereas negative self-disclosure, such as painful self-disclosure (PSD) is detrimental to GP-GC relational solidarity. Coupland, Coupland and Grainger (1991) investigated PSD and found that older people tend to show more painful self-disclosure than younger people. As a result, to some extent, the young show sympathy, continuously nod and make overaccommodation, since it's rude to change the topic or interrupt the PSD of the elderly. On the other hand, when encountering PSD of the elderly, younger people feel uncomfortable and embarrassed. Hence, in this situation, underaccommodation towards younger people occurs. Therefore, PSD has detrimental implications for both parties in intergenerational communication.

Interpersonal control strategies, to some extent, refers to how individuals adapt communication with regard to power, and interruption in interaction can be a good example. Besides, the authoritarian stance older people may have towards young people is also considered as an application of interpersonal control strategies (Williams & Nussbaum, 2001). Conversely, dependency-based overaccommodation, a category of overaccommodation, can be considered to be an excessive use of control strategies when the young tell the elderly what they can do and what they cannot do.

In addition, interpretability strategies refer to decoding and understanding what others

said. For example, when grandchildren talk with grandparents about something modern, they need to place emphasis on certain keywords or modify vocabulary, or repeat certain words, which are characteristic of patronizing talk. In this situation, if grandparents know this exactly, overaccommodation occurs (Montepare, Steinberg, & Rosenberg, 1992). Overaccommodation achieved significant attention in the realm of intergenerational communication, and often led to negative stereotypes towards ageing (Caporael, 1981). Harwood (2000a) speculated that such overaccommodation can be harmful to the elderly, and their mental and physical well-being. To be specific, this patronizing talk may reduce the elderly's self-control, self-esteem, and even self-stereotyping (Langer & Rodin, 1976).

According to Giles (2008), all accommodation strategies may be applied beyond the behaviors needed for interaction (overaccommodation), or continuously apply one's original behavior or language in interaction (underaccommodation). Several works testify that overaccommodation and underaccommodation indeed happen in GP-GC communication. For instance, Coupland, Coupland, Giles and Henwood (1988) articulated four types of elderly-to-young underaccommodation, including intergroup underaccommodation, which may be triggered by infrequent intergenerational contact; self-protecting, self-handicapping and self-stereotyping (Turner, 1982).

Hence, to analyze the GP-GC communication and relationship, CAT is an appropriate theory to understand how grandparents and grandchildren interact verbally and nonverbally, along with their underlying motivations.

Related Theories and Unclear Aspects

CAT is closely linked to many theories, such as Social Identity Theory (SIT). CAT

and SIT are two distinctive ingredients of Intergroup Theory. The essence of SIT is gaining a sense of identity from one's memberships in social groups, such as those identified by ethnicity, language, gender, and age. These social identities become important aspects of one's sense of self (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Hecht, Jackson, and Pitts (2008) advocated the link between CAT and SIT by arguing that CAT explained how social identity is achieved.

Additionally, CAT has an impact on the Communication Predicament Model (CPM), which is often applied to examine ageing and family communication. CPM is utilized to explain how negative stereotypes lead to problematic speech (overaccommodation), which directly and indirectly influences the elderly's well-being. In interactions between grandparents and grandchildren, both parties may interact through a age-stereotyping lens, which leads to overaccommodation, patronizing speech, or underaccommodation.

Furthermore, there are several unsolved questions of CAT. One question may be stated thus: *Do people adjust unconsciously or consciously in interaction with others?* Chartrand and Baaren's experiment (2009) found that participants weren't aware of their adjustment behaviors, and other researchers also pointed that linguistic and paralinguistic adjustments can occur automatically (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002; Gumperz, 1982). On the other hand, there are several studies proving that people can gain knowledge of communication strategies consciously, which can strengthen relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, promote elderly well-being, and help them face aging successfully.

Conclusion

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Although there are several limitations of CAT, it is still an appropriate method to examine how grandparents and their grandchildren interact with each other. Moreover, it enhances our understanding of strategies adapted to accommodate the interlocutor and the motivations behind their communicative behaviors. CAT also functions as a chain that links communication to socio-psychological processes. One of CAT's strengths in communication is its flexible approach to generating and analyzing data, which is beneficial when utilizes the sort of qualitative methodology used in this article. Therefore, CAT is an appropriate theory to apply to examine GP-GC communication in China and Finland (Shepard, Giles, & Le Poire, 2001).

METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

Based on the tenets of Communication Accommodation Theory and the aforementioned literature, the following research questions are proposed to guide this article.

RQ1: What are differences and similarities of GP-GC communication in China and Finland?

Comparative studies of Chinese and Finnish GP-GC communication have almost never been performed. Apparently, this first research question intends to investigate the closeness of Chinese and Finnish GP-GC communication and the quality of their relationships. Besides, another important sub-question is related to satisfaction and dissatisfaction when they interact with their respective counterpart. Furthermore, GP-GC conflicts and arguments in interaction, and how they cope with such problems, are studied.

RQ2: What are differences and similarities between CAT strategies applied by Chinese and Finns in GP-GC communication?

In second research question, it is mainly to examine GP-GC interactions and motivations in detail. Application of communication accommodation strategies, including approximation (divergence, convergence and maintainance), interpretability, and disclosure management strategies in Chinese and Finnish GP-GC communication are examined. Moreover, the motivations behind their behaviors will also be examined. In addition, mutual stereotyping is also addressed in the chapter 'Discussion'.

RQ3: What are differences and similarities between the ways the grandparents and grandchildren in these cultures exchange their values and beliefs?

Thibaut and Kelly (1959) argue that relationships in family are guided by the exchange of resources, such as love, money, support, and so forth. The last research question is aimed at figuring out the idea of Chinese and Finns towards their values, tradition and beliefs. And I explore to what extent the two generations are willing to accommodate to the beliefs of their respective counterpart. Discovering Chinese/Finnish GP-GC value exchange is beneficial for promoting family solidarity and mutual understanding between both generations.

All in all, similarities and dissimilarities in Chinese and Finnish GP-GC communication are examined in this article to furtherly improve GP-GC mutual understanding and solidify GP-GC relationship.

Data Collection

Qualitative research. According to Burn (2000), qualitative methodology is utilized to analyze human interactions, and understand problematic interpersonal relationships. Several studies in intergenerational communication and intercultural communication have applied qualitative methodology, since qualitative methodology pursues more in-depth insights on research questions, and provides more comprehensive study in certain contexts (Creswell, 1998).

Qualitative interviewing is applied in this article to identify the ways in which GP-GC communication differs in divergent cultural backgrounds. Mulhall (2007) suggests that because people are linguistic creatures, language is the best way to understand each other in conversation. In this light, interviewing is an appropriate method to dig into the meaning of interviewees' words and behaviors (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

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Semi-structured interviews with open-ended and in-depth questions are applied in the present study, since it is more flexible than structured interviews and encourages interviewees to talk and actively disclose themselves. Actually, the initial analysis plan was made to improve data collection before data collection was complete (Greg, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). A list of interview questions and topics is prepared before interviews to keep the direction and topics under control. Two lists of questions are prepared for grandparents and grandchildren respectively, but the three research questions are solid. Questions centered on the following are asked: 1) how Finnish and Chinese GP-GC communication are different from, and similar to, each other in regards to conflicts/arguments, satisfaction, and emotional closeness; 2) accommodation strategies the members of each dyad applied in communication and their underlying motivations; and 3) how the members of each dyad exchanged their values and beliefs. Additionally, by adopting an inverted funnel format (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 2000), closed, easy questions are asked at the beginning to lower levels of nervousness in interviewees and open questions are asked to discuss topics in-depth when interviewees appear more comfortable.

Participants. Four Finnish grandparents and grandchildren dyads living in Finland and four Chinese grandparents and grandchildren dyads living in China were selected, thereby comprising a total sample of 16. The participants were selected according to the following admission criteria: 1) grandchildren who are college students (undergraduates/graduates/postgraduates) from 20 to 25 years of age; 2) grandmothers who are aged 60 and over; 3) each dyad is formed from a grandparent and grandchild belonging to the same family 4) Chinese participants are able to speak Mandarin, and Finnish participants

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are able to at least speak English at a basic level.

All participants were located via my social networks. There was no restriction based on paternal or maternal lineage, thus each grandchild could choose one grandparent to participate. All Chinese grandparents and two Finnish grandparents were of maternal lineage and the other two Finnish grandparents were of paternal lineage in relation to their respective grandchildren. The average age of grandparents was 77, and grandchildren's average age was 23.5 at the time of the interviews.

Next two tables show backgrounds of interviewees.

Table 1 Participants in China

GP-GC dyad	Grandparent/Grandchild	City(now living/studying)	Age	Education	Number of Grandchildren
D1	Grandfather	Baoding(Hebei province)	78	Primary school (“Gaoxiao”)	7
	Granddaughter	Tianjin	25	Master	
D2	Grandmother	Beijing	72	Middle school	8
	Granddaughter	Baoding	23	Master	
D3	Grandmother	Nanping(Fujian province)	78	Primary school (“Gaoxiao”)	6
	Granddaughter	Nanjing(Jiangsu province)	24	Master	
D4	Grandfather	Handan(Hebei)	80	College	2

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		province)			
	Grandson	Taiyuan(Shanxi province)	22	Bachelor	

Table 2 Participants in Finland

GP- GC dyad	Grandparent/Gran dchild	City(now living/studying)	Age	Education	Number of Grandchild ren
D1	Grandfather	Imatra	78	Instrument Technical School	9
	Granddaughter	Jyväskylä	22	Bachelor	
D2	Grandmother	Joensuu	84	Middle school	6
	Granddaughter	Jyväskylä	25	Bachelor	
D3	Grandmother	Kouvola	82	Middle school	5
	Granddaughter	Jyväskylä	20	Bachelor	
D4	Grandfather	Seinäjäki	81	None	7
	Grandson	Tampere	23	Bachelor	

Interview procedure. All content of interviews were recorded by ipad. Before interviews, participants signed the Interview Consent Form and were fully aware that their privacy would be safeguarded.

Grandparents and grandchildren were interviewed separately, which enabled them to express themselves without worries about their privacy and other family members' feelings.

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The average interview lasted 29 minutes for each interviewee. And for every dyad, the grandparent was interviewed first. Interviews were conducted in Chinese and English.

Chinese participants utilized their native language Mandarin, but it took me nearly a week to find enough Chinese grandparents to participate because most of them only speak dialects which I don't understand, especially in Southern China. Moreover, Finnish participants were instructed to speak English in order to make them understandable by the author, who possesses limited abilities in Finnish language.

All Chinese GP-GC dyads were interviewed by WeChat video/voice call, and Finnish grandparents and one Finnish grandchild were interviewed by Skype video call, or phone call. The remaining three Finnish grandchildren were interviewed in their apartments or in the cafeteria located at the university library.

Data Analysis

The thematic analysis method was applied to analyze data and discover grandparent-grandchild communication in Finland and China. Thematic analysis is a data analysis method to analyze data collected from interviews, and has been numerously applied in the field of communication (Owen, 1984). Moreover, Braun and Clarke (2006) proposed six specific guiding steps of conducting thematic analysis: 1) familiarizing yourself with the data; 2) generating initial codes; 3) searching for themes; 4) reviewing the themes; 5) defining and naming the themes; and 6) producing the report.

The interviews produced 29 pages of transcribed conversation. On the grounds of research questions, literature, and previous theories reviewed, some general themes and codes were generated. After re-reading and transcription, more specific and interesting codes and

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subthemes were added. Moreover, themes should be noted when three criteria appeared: recurrence, repetition, or forcefulness (Owen, 1984). As such, theme and code lists were modified continuously as new ones emerged during the process of analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) made it clear that thematic analysis is not a linear and rushed process; but rather, it is a process full of progressions alternating with regressions – and it is a time consuming process as well.

Specifically, there are three initial themes revealed in this study, including closeness and quality of GP-GC communication in China and Finland; applied accommodation strategies and underlying motivations in GP-GC communication for Chinese and Finns; and values exchange in GP-GC communication. Specifically, more sub-themes are brought out during and after transcribing of interviews, such as satisfaction, conflicts, favoritism, and so forth. The table below shows the themes and sub-themes for coding, which has been revised many times.

Table 3 Themes/subthemes for coding

<p>RQ1:</p> <p><i>What are differences and similarities of GP-GC communication in China and Finland?</i></p>	<p>3.1 Closeness and quality of GP-GC relationship and communication in Finland and China</p>
	<p>3.1.1 Conflicts</p>
	<p>3.1.2 Relational satisfaction</p> <p>3.1.3 Emotional closeness</p>
<p>RQ2:</p> <p><i>What are the differences and</i></p>	<p>3.2 Accommodation strategies applied in GP-GC communication for Finns and Chinese</p>

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<p><i>similarities, in terms of the applied CAT strategies, between Chinese and Finnish GP-GC communication?</i></p>	<p>3.2.1 Approximation strategies</p> <p>3.2.2 Interpretability strategies</p> <p>3.2.3 Disclosure management strategies</p> <p>3.2.3.1 Topic selection</p> <p>3.2.3.2 Self-disclosure</p> <p>3.3.4 Overaccommodation and underaccommodation</p>
<p>RQ3: <i>What are differences and similarities in the ways Chinese grandparents and their grandchildren exchange their values and beliefs in comparison with their respective Finnish counterparts?</i></p>	<p>3.3 Value exchange between GP-GC</p> <p>3.3.1 Values, tradition and beliefs in Finland and Chinese</p> <p>3.3.2 Willingness to exchange values and beliefs in GP-GC communication</p>

Because the interviews are anonymous, interviewees are labeled by several capitalized letters and numbers (see Table 4). The labeling rules are following:

- 1) C and F stand for China and Finland; and they occur as the first letter of a code
- 2) P and C stand for Grandparent and Grandchild; and they occur as the second letter of the code
- 3) 1-4 represent the number assigned to each dyad; and this occurs in the third, or last, position of the code.

Table 4 Interviewees' labels

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CP1	CC1
CP2	CC2
CP3	CC3
CP4	CC4
FP1	FC1
FP2	FC2
FP3	FC3
FP4	FC4

Trying to be more specific, several examples are demonstrated below to show how I code those themes and decode them into results.

In terms of Chinese grandparents, three grandmothers and one grandfather each participated in interviews from an area different from the others, including regions of southwestern, southeastern, and central regions of China. All Chinese grandchildren were living in cities far away from their grandparents in order to pursue their studies. Most of the grandchildren felt that they should visit and call their grandparents more frequently. In answering “Why don’t you keep in touch with your grandparent frequently?” CC1 replied as follows:

CC1: I have many cousins. *My grandfather has 2 “sun zi” (son of his son) and “sun nv” (his son’s daughter), and 7 grandchildren in total. I think other cousins contact him often and maybe he doesn’t need me... maybe I just, just don’t want to admit that I should call him more often, and comfort myself that I am a good granddaughter.*

Then I asked the follow question to same participants: “Do you think he/she divided

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his/her love since he/she has many grandchildren, and how do you feel?”

CC1: I get used to it... it's ok. He sometimes has been showing his favoritism to his *sun zi*, and take care of them more. I think I was jealous when I was little. But...It's ok now. This is also the reason I don't think I have too many responsibilities in taking care of him.

Interestingly, in response to the question of whether she contacts her grandmother often or not, CC2, who has 8 maternal siblings, answered as follows:

CC2: I come to see her nearly once a month when I study my Master degree in Baoding, because she usually lives in Beijing now with my oldest aunt, oldest cousin and my nephews, and it only takes me one hour by CRH. Although I meet her often, I still think she has many grandchildren, which reduced my sense of responsibility and carefulness.

As mentioned above, themes should be noted when repetition occurs. The number of siblings grandchildren have often make GP-GC communication more complicated. Later on, “jealous siblings”, “favoritism” were deemed as codes for inducting relationship quality between grandparents and grandchildren.

RESULTS

In this chapter, three research questions are dealt with in detail by analyzing three themes and ten sub-themes. Aiming to conduct a comparative study of Chinese and Finnish GP-GC communication, interviews are observed and analyzed to demonstrate differences and similarities between Finnish and Chinese GP-GC communication in each section.

Quality of GP-GC Communication and Relationship

In this section, three dimensions, including tendencies of conflicts, relational satisfaction and emotional closeness, are themes occurring in relation to the first research question, which aims to compare the quality of GP-GC communication among the respondents of the two nations selected for this study.

Conflicts. As mentioned above, Chinese people typically value harmony in family. Unsurprisingly, all Chinese grandparents asserted that there were no conflicts or arguments in their interactions with their grandchildren. Interestingly, however, subtexts were discovered and revealed from their word choices, sentence-revising and tones in interviews. In response to the question of “Is there any argument or conflict between you two? Even small deeds count.” Chinese grandparents and grandchildren gave different answers.

CP1: *No, no, XXX(CC1's name) is obedient to me, never argues with me. There is no conflict between us.*

CP2: *No, no, never, there is no conflict between us ...She is obedient, never lets me down. With harmony in family, everything is prosperous...While she didn't obey me sometimes when she was little and I had to constrain and teach her [laugh], it was not conflict, I just need to constrain and teach her.*

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Chinese grandparents constantly implied, or otherwise expressed, their assumption that young grandchildren are supposed to obey and conform to them without questions.

According to the views of Chinese grandparents, their grandchildren's unwillingness to conform isn't regarded as conflicts; and this opinion may largely be associated with a stereotype of young grandchildren that they can't (easily) control themselves and easily go in wrong directions.

Conversely, all Chinese grandchildren indicated that conflicts indeed exist in their interactions with their grandparents. Three of them attributed problematic conflicts to the grandparent's favoritism towards other grandchildren and the different ways the latter are treated.

CC1: While, there is not much conflict between us...It's just...He showed his favoritism to his *sun zi* when I was still there, I feel embarrassed, but I never argued with him. Usually, I just smiled and acted normally because I didn't want to embarrass him and let him lose face.

CC3: We don't live together every day. I have very limited time to see her. So there is no conflict between us now...But when I was little, she showed favoritism to my younger brother cousin and went to Xiamen, another city to look after him when he was born. And she also went to Shenzhen to babysit another younger brother of mine. But now, everything is fine, she is not that unfair now.

CC4: My grandpa had always been showing his favoritism to XX (his cousin, whose father is grandpa's son; while CC4's mother is grandpa's son), but now the situation changed, you know when I was little living in Beigang (the neighborhood name), he often yelled at me without any reason. Now, things are getting better, because my cousin doesn't like sharing things with him and seldom talks to him. And...now he likes me more than when I was little.

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In terms of the reactions and responses when Chinese grandchildren face conflicts and arguments with their grandparents, most of them never argue. Instead they pretend to agree with their grandparents, and avoid talking and having any eye contact. In other words, Chinese grandchildren prefer avoidance when get involved in conflicts.

CC2: Conflicts...Basically we don't have conflicts. My grandma is nearly perfect. But...when she said something I didn't agree with, I would pretend to agree with her.

CC4: Mostly, I just avoid having contact with him and don't talk with him. But one time, when I was little, he yelled at me without any reason. I was nervous and angry at the same time and asked him why he always yelled at me. After that, I think he considered it and treated me better.

During the interviews, all Finnish grandparents asserted that there was no conflict in interactions with their grandchildren, which was similar to the opinions of Chinese grandparents.

FP1: *No, no*, I am very happy with her.

FP2: She is a very nice lady, and never argues with me.

Moreover, all Finnish grandchildren participants demonstrated that there was no conflict in interactions with their grandparents, and two of them speculated that the underlying reason is that they were not intimate enough.

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FC1: She is very kind, nice, and sweet. We never had conflicts before. I think she doesn't want to have any conflicts, especially with her grandchildren.

FC2: Arguments never happened between us. It might be because we are not close, so that doesn't happen.

Interestingly, in interviews, three of Finnish grandchildren revealed that they wouldn't argue with their grandparents, even though they had different opinions. Two of them described that if it was not a serious situation, they would pretend to agree with them, just like Chinese grandchildren did. While, if their grandparents' demonstrated something which they strongly disagreed with, they would become quiet and conduct certain gestures to convey their disagreements to grandparents.

FC1: If my grandfather said some opinions I didn't agree with, I didn't say it aloud. I would tell my father or mother my opinion after we left our grandparents' house. I think I'm too much younger than him... If it was not a big deal, I might agree with him. But if there were bigger things, and I had a strong opinion, I would shrug my shoulders. I knew he knew that I didn't agree with him... But I don't want to discuss about it.

FC3: If I wouldn't argue with her, and I had completely different opinions, I just let it be. Sometimes I tried to stay quiet, I think she might know that I didn't agree with her.

To figure out why Finnish grandchildren wouldn't argue with their grandparents, some motivations were revealed from interviews. FP1 described that she was too much younger than her grandfather and also she didn't want to embarrass each other, since they

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were not close enough. Moreover, FP3 demonstrated another reason, specifically that she doesn't want to hurt her grandmother's feelings.

FP3: The religion is the most difference between us. She belongs to church but I don't. I never argue with her about religion and even she didn't know that I hadn't belong to church. I just don't want to hurt her feelings.

Therefore, we can conclude that there are seldom conflicts and arguments happening in both Chinese and Finnish GP-GC interactions. Moreover, we can also argue that Chinese and Finnish grandchildren, show a tendency to avoid when coping with conflicts in interactions with their grandparents. To some extent, compared to Chinese grandchildren, Finnish grandchildren were more prone to express their disagreements to their grandparents.

Relational satisfaction. At some points in their interviews, all Chinese grandparents showed satisfaction with their relationships with their grandchildren and said compliments about their grandchildren. For instance, "XX is thoughtful and considerable", "XX comes to see me during holidays and festivals", "XX is obedient", and so forth.

CP1: ...Satisfied...She finished bachelor degree and now she is studying for a master degree. Her achievement gains me more "face", and she honors us.

CP2: Yes, she is really thoughtful. She calls me on festivals and visit me during her summer and winter vacations.

CP3: I am totally satisfied with her. I just expect her to look for a right man and get married.

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CP4: He calls me every festival and visits me during his summer and winter vacation. I'm satisfied with him, because he is busy with his study and it's totally unnecessary to visit me more frequently by airplane.

In terms of Chinese grandchildren participants, all of them demonstrated satisfaction in interviews. However, compared to their grandparents, the Chinese grandchildren were less satisfied with their GP-GC relationships. Two of four Chinese grandchildren mentioned that time is limited and they ought to contact their grandparents more frequently.

CP3: I'm kind of satisfied but I have little time to keep her company, even during my holidays. Our communication and interaction are not sufficient - I should call her more often.

With respect to Finnish grandparents participants, all of them pointed that they were satisfied with their grandchildren and their relationship with grandchildren as well. This result is nearly as same as the view of Chinese grandparents.

FP3: *Yes, yes*, I'm satisfied. She helped me to write my autobiography last year. She taught me how to use computer and how to write a book.

FP2: Yes, every time she visited me, she helped me to clean household and talked histories with me.

Moreover, all Finnish grandchildren participants expected more meetings and contacts with their grandparents, as did Chinese grandchildren, according to them.

FC1: I would love to be closer. But I'm satisfied because we don't have any arguments, but it

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would be nice to be closer, and more in contact.

FC2: I wish she lives closer so I can visit her more often. I can drink coffee with her. Now I have to travel to spend weekend with her, and the distance from here to her house takes me 4 hours.

FC3: Yes, yes, quite. But it was not much before I helped her to complete autobiography. We didn't see each other quite often and we didn't know much of each other before that.

In interviews, I also inquired how often they visit grandparents and call grandparents when they are out of town. One of results shows that grandchildren in both nations consider that they are contacting their grandparents infrequently. In response to the question "*What is the best GP-GC relationship in your mind?*" Chinese and Finnish grandchildren gave relatively similar answers, including showing mutual respect, showing interest into the other party's life, and sharing things together. FP1 described the best GP-GC relationship in her mind and considered it as ideology.

FP1: I think it is good to call your grandparents anytime you want and also they can call you anytime they want, so it can be *balanced* in both sides. Both side would be interested what other one is doing. I don't know how it become, maybe age-gap is so big that it is very complicated to have close relationships. But for me, I think that would be ideal, almost like the third parent.

By analyzing answers to the above question, we can conclude that, among the participants interviewed, the Chinese grandparents and grandchildren contact each other more frequent than Finnish dyads. To be specific, most of Chinese grandchildren participants reported contacting their grandparents every three months, and calling them once in a month.

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In comparison, three of four Finnish grandchildren indicated that they visited their grandparents a few times a year on average, and seldom talked on the phone.

In conclusion, both the Chinese and Finnish grandparents interviewed are relatively satisfied with GP-GC interaction. Moreover, the participating Chinese and Finnish grandchildren expressed that they ought to contact their grandparents more frequently.

Emotional closeness. Emotional closeness is instrumental to explore the quality of GP-GC relationships.

Three of the four Chinese grandparents explained that relationships with their grandchildren are intimate; and they attributed this to the fact that they used to take care of their grandchildren and understand them well, as a result. Interestingly, when I inquired how much they understood and knew their grandchildren, most of them could merely list their grandchildren's favorite foods and one or two personality traits. These statements implicitly demonstrated that there had been a lack of communication while their grandchildren grew older, and that the Chinese grandparents knew little about their grandchildren, let alone enjoy intimacy.

All Chinese grandchildren described that the bonds between them and their grandparents were not strong. Three Chinese grandchildren interviewed demonstrated that due to time limitations and geographical distance they couldn't visit grandparents frequently after they entered in high school or college. As a result, they reported being less emotionally and physically intimate with grandparents than they had been when they lived around their grandparents. CC2 described that her strong relationship with her grandmother changed when her grandmother moved to another city. She said:

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CC2: Before she moved to Beijing, she always took care of me because my mother had to work. We were really close when I was little before she moved. She told me stories, taught me games she played when she was little, cooked me my favorite food, and so on. Now I visit her only once a month, and seldom call her. Well...things changed and I can't feel any strong closeness between us.

Furthermore, two Chinese grandchildren described their underlying reasons as wide age-gap, different growing environment and some value differences.

CC1: I think the age-gap between us is too much wide; and some things I believe in, he would never accept.

In comparison, most of participating Finnish grandparents admitted that they were not emotionally very close to their grandchildren. FP2 described the below reasons.

FP2: Not much, she has many young friends and I am much older than her. If I have any serious problems, I will tell my daughter, not her.

When it comes to the participating Finnish grandchildren, after they grew up and entered college, the relationships with their grandparents tended towards one of a closer nature, which is conversely related to the results from the interviews with Chinese grandchildren. Three of the Finnish grandchildren indicated that their grandparents started telling life stories and took them more seriously after they entered into adulthood. Moreover, Finnish grandchildren learnt how to listen and showed interest in their grandparents' life stories after they grown up. As such, knowing more about each other is

beneficial to gain a closer relationship between grandparent and grandchild.

FC1: It has changed. Now he takes me more seriously. We talk more when we see each other. When I was little, I was playing with my own things. He is not kind of man who would like to play with me. My father used to play with me, but my grandpa is more *traditional*. He wasn't interested in what children played even though he loved us.

FC2: Nowadays, we are closer than before, Just because she shared things with me: history and her stories. When we share personal things, we feel closer. When I was a child, I didn't think about those things, because I didn't think that deeply. I was just thinking of playing and making cookies.

Parental influences on GP-GC communication could also be implicitly observed in this study. In interview of FC1, a factor was found to impede emotional closeness in the GP-GC relationship, which is the relationship between her parents and grandparents.

FC1: My mother isn't that close to my father's parents, so that may affects my closeness to my grandfather. They are nice to each other but there are might something I don't know.

To dig into differences in emotional closeness among GP-GC relationships in two nations, I asked other sub-questions about tendencies of disclosing one's personal life, which would be explained in detail in the next section.

In conclusion, the grandchildren and grandparents interviewed in this study did not share strongly close emotional bonds, regardless of their nationality. Moreover, the intimacy within Chinese dyads changed in directions conversely in relation to that of Finnish dyads as the grandchildren grew into adulthood. To be specific, Chinese grandchildren

described that intimacy decreased with their grandparents, due to limited time and long distance. Whereas, the Finnish grandchildren tended to have closer relationships with their grandparents, due to more frequent story-telling and sharing of their personal lives with each other.

Tendencies of Accommodation

The willingness of each party to be involved and accommodate reciprocally function as two significant elements in maintaining GP-GC relational quality. The second section of results presents the accommodating strategies applied by Chinese and Finnish grandparents/grandchildren respectively and explores the motivations behind their behaviors.

Approximation strategies. As mentioned above, approximation strategies, including convergence, divergence and maintenance strategies, are the core strategies of CAT. According to the interviews of both Chinese and Finnish participants in our study, convergence is the most frequently used strategy of accommodation within the interactions between the two generations.

Three of the Chinese grandchild-participants indicated that they spoke dialects to accommodate their grandparents since their grandparents were used to speaking dialects. One of the participants pointed that speaking dialects assisted her in showing intimacy to her grandmother and narrowing their emotional distance.

CC2: I speak dialect with her, although she speaks quite good Mandarin. You know, when we speak a dialect, it shows more connection between us and I feel emotional closer to her. Besides, we have been speaking a dialect in our interactions since I was little, so we speak a dialect with each other naturally.

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Finnish grandchildren participants also showed some tendencies of convergence to their grandparents in conversation. Two of them reported that they spoke as usual to their grandparents, although they didn't use slang, in case their grandparents wouldn't understand.

FC1: I don't use slang. I talk to him with common words, and say things in correct way, in case he doesn't understand.

FC2: She is very healthy. I speak normally. But I didn't use words I used with my friends, because she would not understand sometimes.

Moreover, all the Chinese and Finnish grandchildren described some behaviors they conducted to converge their grandparents in interactions.

For instance, two of four Chinese grandchildren were concerned with accommodating their walking speed so that it matched that of their grandparents. Interestingly, the underlying motivations are varied. CC1 considered her grandfather's tough personality and wanted to avoid hurting his self-esteem, while CC2 supported her grandmother with hands in order to prevent her grandmother from falling down.

CC1: My grandfather was really tough and resolute when he wasn't as old as now. His sense of self-esteem is really strong and I didn't want to hurt his feelings and make him lose face. Hence, I slowed down and walked at the same speed as him.

CC2: I used to support her in case she [would otherwise] fall down when we walked and went up/down stairs recent years. I'm not saying that she can't walk by herself, but, you know, it's just in case.

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As another example, two of the Chinese grandchildren described that when they watched TV with their grandparents, they usually watched programs their grandparents preferred. Three of the Finnish grandchildren also mentioned comparable situations, but the underlying motivations would be various. FC1 indicated that the TV programs they watched together were always under her grandfather's control without asking if there were any programs she wanted to watch. FC2 explained that she watched movies with her grandmother when he visited her, and the types of movies they watched were usually based on her grandmother's preferences. During the interview, she also pointed that her grandmother would ask her to decide which movies they were going to watch, while she still chose movies her grandmother liked, which is similar to the descriptions of the Chinese grandchildren.

FC2: I think we watched the types she liked more. She would like me to choose, but I always chose the one she liked.

In terms of their underlying motivations, grandchild participants gave different answers. CC4 and FC1 described that they didn't have enough courage to choose programs they liked because they were not close enough to their grandparents to express their desires. CC2, FC3 and FC2 indicated that they would like to make a good time for their grandparents.

FC1: We don't decide about TV programs, because it's my grandfather's home. But I think if I am closer to him, it might change. I would have more courage to ask, hey I want to watch this.

FC3: If there was some sports event going on, we usually watched it. I'm not interested in

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sports, but she really likes them. It is quite fun to watch with her. I am happy to make her a good time.

In interviews of grandparents, three Chinese grandmothers described that they would make food that grandchildren liked when their grandchildren visited them, and the Chinese grandfather reflected that his wife would make foods for his grandchild when they had meals together. Interestingly, in interviews, there was no Finnish grandparent who mentioned that they would made food for their grandchild.

Neither Finnish nor Chinese participants mentioned divergence and maintenance situations in interviews.

Overall, Chinese and Finnish grandchild participants converge with their grandparents more frequently than their grandparents do. In this vein, we can argue that grandchildren across these cultures have higher tendencies to accommodate their grandparents than their grandparents.

Interpretability strategies. As mentioned above, interpretability strategies, an instrument to measure effective communication, mainly focus on speaking behaviors in speech interaction, including slowing down or speeding up the rate of speech, vocabulary modification, repetition, and so forth.

Repeating questions and answers, slowing down speech rate, lengthening pauses and strengthening key words, three of four Chinese grandchild participants attempted to patronize their grandparents in conversations. Two of the Finnish grandchildren described that their grandparents were suffering from hearing problems, so they had to speak slowly and clearly in conversation with their grandparents. In terms of specific behaviors conducted, they

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seem to depend on grandparents' physical condition, such as state of hearing ability, speed of neural response, and personalities as well.

CC3 considered that her grandmother has hearing problems and she had to speak more audibly to her. CC2's grandmother is fond of new things, such as smart phones and laptops, but it requires more effort than younger people to learn how to use technological products, due to her presbyopia. FC3 was also concerned that when she taught her grandmother how to use the computer, she had to repeat and speak more loudly due to her grandmother's hearing degeneration.

CC2: She loves new technical things, such as smart phones and laptops. She is really in. But it took her huge efforts to figure out how to use an application, such as Wechat, due to bad eye sight. I taught her patiently, repeating and explaining many times to her and she still easily forgot. Especially when I explained memes and internet slang in Wechat, I had to use words she understood to explain those new words or sentences.

CP2: She is really patient when I explain some new words I didn't know... Sometimes if I still didn't understand, then she explained in different ways... She also taught me how to use Wechat, such as sending voice messages, inviting video chats, and so on. She is really filial to me.

FC3: When I talk with her, I speak slower because her hearing is not good, even sometimes I have to repeat things. I think it is necessary sometimes, especially when I helped her to write autobiography and use computer.

Interestingly, CC4 described that his grandfather would be upset if he deliberately spoke loudly or repeated sentences in interactions with his grandfather, even though his grandfather did suffer from a hearing problem.

CC4: My grandfather didn't want to admit he is old and needs to be patronizing. I know he is suffering from some hearing problems, but he still hated when I got closer to him when talking to him, or when I spoke more loudly to him. Sometimes on the phone, though I asked him two questions at the same time, he only answered one question. I wondered if he heard my entire sentences clearly.

All in all, both Chinese and Finnish grandchildren tend to use interpretability strategies to accommodate their grandparents, while it was seldom found in grandparents' interviews.

Discourse Management Strategies

Discourse management is another accommodation strategy applied frequently by both Chinese and Finnish grandparents and grandchildren. In this section, Chinese and Finnish grandchildren and grandparents' topic selection and self-disclosure will be observed and discussed. Interviewees perceived various underlying motivations, and all motivations will be illustrated from different behaviors.

Topic selection. Topic selection, to some extent, can be used to interpret the quality and closeness of GP-GC relationships. Studying differences and similarities in topic selections between Chinese and Finnish grandparent-grandchildren interactions functions as a tool to understand implications of cultural roots in the GP-GC communication of the participants from these two cultures.

All Chinese grandchild-participants asserted that after greetings, they would inquire about their grandparents' health conditions. Most of the Chinese grandchildren would choose safe topics, such as studying deeds, daily life, interesting things that happened in school, news and so forth. The Finnish grandchildren also chose safe topics, and they all

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mentioned topics of education, daily life and family members.

FC3: We talk about what has happening in our lives. She is also quite busy now. She is organizing a club for older women. She also go to church and raise money for poor students.

FC4: We usually meet in holidays and festivals, so I usually ask him about holidays and his health conditions recently.

In addition to topic choosing, two of the Finnish grandchildren described that they would inquire about history and life experiences from their grandparents, which Chinese grandchildren didn't mention.

FC2: We talked about her old lives. Finland had wars and she lived at that time. I asked her what was life looked like before and she told me interesting things about that. We discussed those things what we would not discuss when I was a child so that made us feel closer to each other now.

FC3: Last year, she wrote her autobiography. I helped her and learned a lot about her and feel closer to her. After that, we talked about her life stories more.

However, there are several topics the grandchildren from both cultures would commonly avoid. For example, all the Chinese grandchildren and three of the Finnish grandchildren avoid talking about romantic relationships in interactions with their grandparents. Whereas, a Finnish grandchild, FC3, expressed that she would consider telling her grandmother about her romantic relationship.

FC3: Yeah, I told her my personal relationship. She usually asked, so I told her.

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FC1: I hadn't tell him about my boyfriend, and he never asked. He still thinks I'm young. And I don't want him worried about me.

CC3: I never told her anything about my boyfriend. And I never intended to tell her. It feels embarrassing and I don't know how to say.

In addition to romantic relationships, two Finnish grandchildren and three Chinese grandchildren participants described that they wouldn't share their personal lives with their grandparents.

FC1: I like to talk to him. He is a very clever man and he likes to watch news and really knows things happening. We talk about those things together. But I don't talk about my friends and personal life to him. We talk about more chitchat things. I don't tell him anything about my worries with friends and relationships or something like those.

CC4: I seldom talked to him about my personal life. Well, there is something I can tell, and something I can't tell him. So I told him something he would like to know, such as my good side of studies, teachers and classmates. I never told him I skipped classes.

In interviews with the Chinese and Finnish grandparents, in reply to the question "What do you two usually talk about?" all grandparents described that they usually inquire about their grandchild's health and study conditions. CP2 indicated that she would talk about something interesting that happened to encourage her granddaughter to chat about something interesting with her.

CP2: When we met and had time to chat, I usually told her some interesting things that happened at home or around me. And she would tell me interesting things about her classmates, teachers

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and so on. I like to chat with young people. They are energetic and make me feel younger again.

In contrast, two of the four Chinese grandparents asked if there were any financial problems their grandchildren might be facing, which no Finnish grandparent mentioned in interviews.

CP4: He studies far away from home and has no one to rely on, except himself. I'm worried about him.

In conclusion, Chinese and Finnish grandchildren tend to choose safe topics in interaction with their grandparents, such as studying and daily life, and avoid topics such as romantic relationships and personal life. Moreover, we can argue that Finnish grandchildren are relatively more willing to share their personal lives with their grandparents. In terms of grandparents, we can argue that the interviewed grandparents across these two cultures were concerned about education and health conditions of their grandchildren. Moreover, the Chinese grandparents were more worried about their grandchild's financial conditions than Finnish grandparents were.

Self-disclosure. As aforementioned, willingness or unwillingness to share life experience, and positive or painful self-disclosure might create divergent results in GP-GC interactions.

In interviews, it is noticeable that two Chinese and two Finnish grandchildren solely told positive stories to their grandparents and avoided negative problems and worries. In terms of motivations behind, CC1 described that it was unnecessary to tell her grandfather

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problems she met in studies and small worries in her daily life, and didn't want her grandfather worried about her.

CC1: I never told my grandfather terrible things happened in my studies, because he could do nothing about it, except worries. And also something bad about romantic relationships. He is very old now and I don't want him worry about me.

FC2: No, no. If there is anything serious, she would know about that. But we don't discuss about it.

On the other hand, the other two Chinese grandchildren concerned that they would ask their grandparents for suggestions about marriage and job choosing, while motivations are totally different. CP4 was human resource department manager before he retired. In interview, CC4 demonstrated that he would like to ask his grandfather questions about workplace because his grandfather is experienced. Nevertheless, CC1 described that asking grandfather suggestions about significant life events shows her respects to him.

CC1: I asked him suggestions about job seeking after my graduation and told him my plan, I didn't want him worry about me. I asked his suggestions about these vital decisions in my life to show my respect and fulfill his sense of importance. You know, when people are getting old, they might belittle themselves and their feelings easily get hurt.

Moreover, the other two Finnish grandchildren described that they asked their grandparents suggestions about what to do after high school. Motivations behind are various. FC1 intended to tell her grandfather that she would go for higher education and

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reduce his worries. Whereas, FC3 described that her grandmother was experienced and had ability to instruct her.

FC3: Usually yes, because she is older. She is more experienced and has kind of life wisdom. So it's great to go for advice. For example, when I really don't know if I go study after high school or if I can go for a gap year. I really want to study physics but I'm worried about if I will get a job. She told me that I should do what I want to do and that's probably why I am here.

In interviews of grandparents, all Finnish grandparents and three of four Chinese grandparents considered that they told some of their life stories to their grandchildren. Only one Chinese grandparent indicated that she never told life stories and experiences to her granddaughter, since she concerned it as useless.

CP3: I never told her my life stories and experiences. Society is changing rapidly and it is useless to tell her my experience. But I told her mother a lot.

Furthermore, two of Finnish grandchildren reported that stories sharing strengthened closeness in their GP-GC relationships.

FP2: We became closer after she has shared things with me, such as history and her stories.

Three of four Chinese grandchildren illustrated that their grandparents usually chat with them positively and happily, and seldom described sorrows and unhappiness.

Nevertheless, CC1 described that her grandfather usually told her his worries about family

members and even cried sometimes. She described her feelings as below.

CC1: What I can do is comfort him, and tell him that we are all good now and in future as well, but that's all. It might be because he is getting old and easily sink into sadness.

In comparison, all Finnish grandparent participants seldom show their painful and negative stories to their grandchildren. And all of them told painful stories in positive way.

FC2: She never complain. She didn't want to say negative things.

Overall, all Chinese and Finnish grandchildren-grandchildren dyads tend to disclose themselves positively, and avoid sadness and problems. In terms of suggestions grandchildren ask from their grandparents, the same motivations of Chinese and Finns are reducing grandparents' worries and looking for good advises. In contrast of Finnish grandchildren' motivations, some Chinese grandchildren ask suggestions from their grandparents to show respect. Compared to Chinese grandparents, we can conclude that Finnish grandparents have more tendency to disclose themselves and revealed themselves in more positive way. Moreover, this positive self-disclosure strengthen GP-GC relationship.

Over- and Underaccommodation

Interviews revealed signs of over and under-accommodation tendencies on the part of both studied grandparents and grandchildren across both of these cultures.

Underaccommodation by Chinese grandparents was revealed in interviews of Chinese grandchildren. For instance, two Chinese grandchildren described that sometimes their

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grandparents didn't listen to them but rather concentrated on revealing their own opinions.

CC4: My grandfather was a manager; and as I said, he is really talkative and can comment on something constantly. He seldom gave me chance to express my views, especially when we watched TV news.

Underaccommodation was also conducted by the Chinese grandchildren sometimes. CC1 pointed that her grandfather was nagging and sometimes she didn't concentrate on listening, instead she kept nodding and thought about other things.

In comparison to Chinese dyads, there was one sort of under-accommodating behavior found in interaction between Finnish grandparents and grandchildren. This behavior was conducted by a Finnish grandchild.

FC4: My grandfather was not used to using television. One time, he told me his television was out of work, but I didn't believe him, because I thought he might don't know how to use it. After few months, when I visited him, I found his television really need to fix.

All Chinese and Finnish grandparents admitted that they could manage most things by themselves, but that sometimes they still need patronizing by others. Furthermore, all of them appreciated their grandchildren's patronizing and assistance. Hence, no over-accommodation has been found in interviews.

CP3: Of course I can handle and take care of myself and I also can take care of my husband. I don't need my granddaughter's help, because I can manage. But if she firmly asked for help, I was pleased.

Overall, little or no over-accommodation seems to have happened in Chinese and Finnish GP-GC communication in interviews, while underaccommodation has apparently happened in GP-GC communication in both groups.

Values and Beliefs Exchange

Deducing from interviews, intensive values exchange between grandparents and grandchildren seems to have happened only when they were emotionally close and communicated in depth. Otherwise, it easily may turn into conformity-oriented relationships, in which grandparents order and grandchildren obey.

All Chinese grandparents showed willingness to share “truth” or principles they hold to their grandchildren. Prominent among the commonly held values revealed by the Chinese grandparents is the importance of education. In addition, some of them mentioned patriotism and kindness. In terms of the Finnish grandparents, two of them talked about their values with their grandchildren. Here too, the common values they communicated included significance of education. Additionally, some of them also mentioned the importance of family, kindness and hard-working spirits. Hence, compared to Chinese grandparents, Finnish grandparents are less willing to talk about their values, and Finnish grandchildren indicated that they had some knowledge of grandparents’ values via observation.

FC3: She didn't tell me her values directly, but from observation, I could find that she was family-oriented person and nice to other people. I also haven't told her my values directly. She might know my values, such as education is very important to me and environment is important to me.

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In interviews, Chinese and Finnish grandchildren reflected that they seldom talked about values with their grandparents. The main underlying motivations included being afraid of offending and creating conflicts. Interestingly, three Chinese grandchildren described their grandparents as traditional and two Finnish grandchildren described themselves as liberal.

CC3: I never [brought up the topic of] homosexuality, because she is quite a traditional aged person. I don't think she will agree with my opinion.

FC1: I'm more liberal, when it comes to specific questions, such as women's right; homosexual right. Those are topics I avoid because he might have strong opinion, but I'm not sure.

Overall, neither the Chinese nor Finnish PG-GC groups reported exchanging their values frequently. Moreover, grandchildren have less tendency to share their values with their grandparents than their grandparents did. Comparing the two groups, the Chinese grandparents exhibited more tendencies to share their values with their grandchildren than the Finnish grandparents.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

In summary, this study attempts to explore 1) the quality of GP-GC communication in Chinese and Finnish families 2) differences and similarities of accommodation tendencies, strategies and motivations exhibited in interviews of Chinese and Finnish GP-GC interactions 3) values and beliefs held and exchanged by members of these two generations belonging to these two groups.

By listing differences and similarities between members of these Chinese and Finnish groups, the main findings of the first research question are the following.

Similarities: 1) With respect to conflicts in interactions, conflicts and arguments appeared rare in the GP-GC interactions of both groups. In addition, the grandchildren in both cultural groups preferred to avoid arguments when they held different opinions from their grandparents. 2) Both Chinese and Finns reported satisfaction with their GP-GC relationships. 3) Grandchildren from both groups expressed self-imposed obligations to make more frequent contact with their grandparents. 4) In general, the grandparents and grandchildren belonging to neither of these nationalities are strongly tied emotionally to each other.

Differences: 1) Compared to the Chinese grandchildren, the Finnish grandchildren appear to have greater tendencies to express their disagreements with their grandparents. 2) There appeared to be a converse relationship between the two groups in terms of the change in the level of intimacy as the Chinese and Finnish grandchildren grew into adulthood. To be specific, the Chinese grandchildren described that intimacy with their grandparents

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decreased, due to time limitations and long geographical distances. In contrast, the Finnish grandchildren demonstrated closer relationships with their grandparents; and this was related to more frequent story-telling and sharing of their personal lives. 3) The Chinese grandparents expressed that they felt more closeness in their GP-GC relationships than did Chinese grandchildren - whereas there were no significant differences between the Finnish grandparents and grandchildren.

By listing differences and similarities between the two groups, the findings of the second research question are below.

Similarities: 1) The grandchildren in both Finnish and Chinese groups exhibited greater tendencies to accommodate their grandparents than their grandparents did. 2) Both the Chinese and Finnish grandchildren tended to use interpretability strategies to accommodate their grandparents, while it was seldom found in grandparents' interviews. 3) The grandchildren and grandparents in both groups tended to choose safe topics in interactions, such as education, family members and daily life, and avoid topics related to romantic relationships and personal life. The grandparents in both Finnish and Chinese groups appeared concerned about education and the health states of their grandchildren. 4) All the Chinese and Finnish grandchildren-grandchildren dyads tended to disclose themselves positively, and avoided discussing problems and topics that they felt would induce sadness. 5) There was no over-accommodation found in the GP-GC interaction in either nationality group, while instances of under-accommodation occurred in GP-GC communication in both nations.

Differences: 1) The Finnish grandchildren were relatively more willing to share their

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personal lives with their grandparents than their Chinese counterparts; and the Chinese grandparents were more worried about their respective grandchild's financial situation than the Finnish grandparents. 2) Compared to the Chinese grandparents, the Finnish grandparents appeared to have greater tendencies to disclose themselves and reveal themselves in more positive way.

In terms of the last research question, neither the Chinese nor Finnish GP-GC groups reported exchanging their values frequently. In addition, the grandchildren exhibited lower tendencies to share their values with their grandparents than their grandparents with them. In comparing between the two groups, the Chinese grandparents appear to have greater tendencies to share their values with their grandchildren than Finnish grandparents.

Overall, we can argue that GP-GC communication in these Chinese and Finnish families possess more similarities than differences, and that relationships between grandparents and grandchildren appear positive and satisfactory in general.

Discussion of Factors Influencing GP-GC Communication Quality

As we can see from the last chapter, most of Chinese and Finnish grandchildren do not report feeling strong bonds with their grandparents, but they say they are satisfied with this situation because at least they do not have conflicts.

With respect to the fact that arguments in both Chinese and Finnish GP-GC groups were reportedly very seldom, cultural backgrounds appear to have significant influence in reducing the likelihood of conflicts both indirect and face-to-face. In accordance with observations discussed in the relevant literature, the Finns in this study appeared to have a tendency to avoid conflicts and arguments in interactions and to possess a reactive mindset,

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which often tended towards introversion (cf. Lewis, 2005). Similarly, the Chinese participants tended to avoid disharmony in relationships. Therefore, across the two nationality groups, the members of these two family generations appeared to seldom argue with each other. However, China, having a Power Distance Index of 80, is classified as a culture having high power distance, and the elderly are perceived to be more highly respected than in Finland, where the Power Distance Index is 33. Finland is classified as a culture having low power distance. Hence, it is not surprising that Finnish grandchildren have greater tendencies to show disagreements with their grandparents than Chinese grandchildren. From analyzing interviews, I found that nearly all the Chinese grandchildren pointed out that they didn't want to cause the loss of their grandparents' face, while no Finns mentioned any views pertaining to face, honor, or humiliation. Therefore, hierarchical face (Jia, 1997) indeed appeared to have influence on the observed Chinese GP-GC communication. Having grown up in a culture that values saving face, Chinese grandchildren appear to exercise more cautions than Finnish grandchildren when interacting with their grandparents.

Moreover, most of the grandparents and grandchildren in the two groups expressed satisfaction with the GP-GC relationship, and one of reasons might be that they see each other face to face during festivals, such as Spring Festivals, Mid-autumn Festivals in China, Thanksgiving, and Christmas in Finland. The enjoyable atmosphere of festivals may heighten their satisfaction in interactions. On average, in GP-GC communication among both Chinese and Finnish groups, the grandparents appeared more satisfied with the relationships than their grandchildren. The Chinese and Finnish grandchildren revealed that

they would like to see their grandparents more frequently. This fact supports observations made by Yue and N's (1999) that indicated that sometimes grandparents' expectations for their relationship with their grandchildren appear lower than those of the latter for their relationships with the former.

The Chinese grandparents perceived more closeness in their GP-GC relationships than do grandchildren, which verified Harwood's (2001) study. With respect to grandchildren, a sense of intergenerational closeness would probably be strengthened by living with their grandparents. Grandchildren who lived with their grandparents are probably more intimate with their grandparents. This may be one of the reasons that many Chinese grandchildren feel close to their grandparents when they are young and live with their grandparents. Living farther from their grandparents after they enter into college, the Chinese grandchildren said they feel a weaker bond with their grandparents than when they were younger. The Chinese grandparents also disliked long distances. However, they didn't blame their grandchildren but external circumstances; and this lends support to Harwood and Lin's (2000) findings. In addition, sharing one's personal life and experiences seems to foster intergenerational relationships; and this is supported by the fact that the GP-GC relationships were described by Finnish dyads as being more intimate than did their Chinese counterparts after the grandchildren entered into adulthood.

Discussion of Accommodation and Motivations in GP-GC Communication

In this section, subthemes (tendencies of accommodation; approximation; interpretability; discourse management strategies application and underlying motivations) gave us a good deal information on relationships between older grandparents and young adult

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grandchildren in the two nationality groups. It should be noticed that this study examines relationships between older grandparents and college-aged grandchildren. One might justifiably expect that the likely results of a set of similar interviews having as participants younger grandparents and grandchildren under 18 study might have major differences from this study.

As mentioned above, in both groups of participants, the college-aged grandchildren displayed greater tendencies to employ accommodating behavior towards their grandparents than vice versa. Nevertheless, the situation may have been different if the grandchildren were in their younger years.

Several grandparents said that they are too old to follow technological trends, such as smart phones, Facebook, and Weibo. Many of them also indicated that they are much older than their grandchildren and find it hard to establish friendships with their grandchildren. In a similar vein, in both nationality groups, the grandchildren said that try to avoid topics that their grandparents might not be able to understand or don't agree with. In this way, some stereotypes were formed to accommodate other party in GP-GC communication; and this seems to somewhat corroborate Segrin and Flora's findings (p.201). According to some Chinese grandchildren, their grandparents are outdated and not able to effectively use high-tech products, such as smartphones and applications. The Finnish grandchildren interviewed appeared to perceive themselves as being more liberal than their grandparents. Hence they avoid some topics about which their grandparents were thought to have different opinions, such as homosexual rights and women's rights.

When exploring the subtheme pertaining to story-telling and self-disclosure, we found

that the Finnish grandparents were said to disclose themselves to their grandchildren more than the Chinese grandparents reportedly were. With respect to their underlying motivations, the Chinese grandparents might have been afraid to lose face by disclosing their personal information, since they are much older than their grandchildren. Moreover, as mentioned above, Chinese culture possess far power distance trait. Hence, apparently to maintain their dignity and power, Chinese grandparents aren't generally willing to disclose themselves. For example, most Chinese grandparents control the television remote control when they watch television with their grandchildren.

Discussion of Values and Beliefs Exchange in GP-GC Communication

Unsurprisingly, none of the Chinese nor Finnish grandparents and grandchildren reported exchanging their values frequently. It turned out that the Chinese grandparents told or taught their grandchildren Chinese traditional virtues, such as being honest, kind, patriotic, and hard-working. Compared to their Finnish grandparents, the Chinese grandparents tended to teach their grandchildren lessons in the course of their conversations and considered those values as absolute non-negotiable truths. Thus, in this situation, the Chinese GP-GC relationships are relatively similar to teacher-student relationships, and the inculcation of values teaching takes the place of exchanging them through dialogic interaction on equal footing. In some contexts, the Chinese grandchildren reported pretending to give agreeing responses to their grandparents about values their grandparents talked about when they viewed grandparents to be nagging. Some of the Chinese grandchildren explained that they don't want to hurt their grandparents' feelings or make them lose face.

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With respect to the GP-GC values exchange among the Finnish participants, both parties reported that they seldom talk about values and beliefs, even religions. Whereas, most of them perceived values by observing the other's behaviors, and avoided crossing the imaginary line where the other would perhaps feel they have to express contrary opinions or other forms of disagreement. As one of findings in this research, the Finnish grandparents preferred story-telling and experience-sharing after their grandchildren entered young adulthood. The Finnish grandchildren appeared to have a better understanding of their grandparents than the Chinese grandchildren did. Overall, unlike the Chinese grandparents who communicated their values directly, Finnish parents conveyed their values to their grandchildren by story-telling and sharing experiences.

LIMITATIONS

There are mainly five limitations in this study.

First, one of the criteria used to select participating Finnish grandparents was having ability to speak some English; and this was intended to compensate for my limited Finnish language skills. The idea of employing an interpreter was abandoned in the interests of keeping the data in its unaltered form. Considering it is not common in Finland that aged people can speak English, Finns who can speak English might have been influenced by other Western cultures. Thus future studies of this sort in the Finnish context would be better conducted in the Finnish language. Interviews of Chinese grandparents were conducted in Mandarin, as I expected that in areas near Beijing, most grandparents would only be able to speak dialects that I couldn't understand. Hence, studies of this sort in Chinese contexts may be more reliable if they examine grandparents who speak dialects.

Second, most of the Chinese grandparent participants were from urban areas, while grandparents from rural areas weren't included due to my limited skills in speaking the relevant dialects. Studying the American setting, King and Elder (1995) found that grandparents in rural farm families are closer to their grandchildren than grandparents from urban areas. Hence, relationships between educated grandchildren and grandparents in rural and urban places might also have differences in China; and this appears to be an important theme for possible future research. Third, 62% of study participants are female, largely due to the fact that my social network includes more females. In future studies, male participants should be included more proportionally and evenly between the compared nationality groups in order to better control for gender-related influences.

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Fourth, since this study didn't determine the choice of grandparents, grandchildren might have chosen those grandparents they were closest to. Therefore, the results of the current study may have a more positive tendency than there might have been otherwise.

Finally, as the current study didn't designate a grandparent from specific family lineage, it turned out that six of eight grandchildren chose matrilineal grandparents to participate.

Although numerous studies showed the tendency that maternal lineage grandparents are closer to grandchildren, it is still worth exploring and analyzing the reasons this is the case.

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APPENDIXES

Interview Questions for Grandparents

1. How often does your grandchild – that is, the one participating in this study – pay you a visit or call you?
2. Do you wish that she/he paid you visit more frequently?
3. How would you describe her/him?
4. How would you describe the relationship with her/him?
5. Do you think the relationship with her/him has changed?
 - 5a. [If so,] in what way?
6. What is the thing that makes the biggest impression on you during interactions with her/him?
7. How much do you know her/him?
8. Do you think you two are emotionally close to each other?
 - 8a. Please explain.
9. Are there any arguments or conflicts between you and her/him?
 - 9a. [If so,] how do you normally react?
 - 9b. [If not,] is there any chance you have different opinions?
 - 9c. How would you react when you have different opinions?
10. What do you usually do when she/he pays you visit?
11. What topic do you choose when you have conversations with her/him?
12. Are there any topics you normally avoid?
 - 12a. [If so,] why?
13. Do you tell her/him your life stories?

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- 13a. [If so,] can you recall any?
14. Do you tell her/him about your problems?
- 14a. [If so,] what sorts of problems?
- 14b. How about her/him – does he/she tell you about her/his problems?
15. Do you think they overly take care of you?
- 15a. [If so,] please explain.
16. What's your opinion about your grandchild's generation?
17. Does she/he have any influence on you?
- 17a. What are they, specifically?
18. What are your values, in general?
- 18a. How much do you know about her/his values?
19. Do you two talk about and share values?

Interview Questions for Grandchildren

1. How often you visit your grandparent – that is the one you chose as the other participant in this study – or call her/him?
2. Have you ever lived with her/him?
 - 2a. [If so,] why?
3. How would you describe her/him?
4. How would you describe the relationship with her/him?
5. Do you think the relationship with her/him has changed?
 - 5a. [If so,] please explain.
6. What is the thing makes the biggest impression on you in your interactions with her/him?
7. How much do you know her/him?
8. Do you think you two are emotionally close with each other?
9. Are there any arguments or conflicts between you and her/him?
 - 9a. [If so,] how would you react/ [If not,] is there any chance you have different opinions?
 - 9b. How would you react if you had differences of opinion?
10. What do you usually do when you visit him/her?
11. What topics do you choose when you have conversations with her/him?
12. Are there any topics you normally avoid? What are they?
 - 12a. [If so,] why?
13. How often does she/he tell you her/his life stories and experiences?
 - 13a. Are they positive or negative ones?

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14. Do you tell her/him about your problems?
 - 14a. [If so,] what sorts of problems?
 - 14b. How about her/him – does she/he tell you about her/his problems?
15. Are there any things you told her/him that she/he couldn't understand?
 - 15a. [If so,] what are they, specifically?
 - 15b. [If so,] what did you do when this happened?
16. If one day, you become a grandparent, would you have any expectations for your grandchildren?
17. Does she/he have any influence on you?
18. Have you ever asked him/her for any suggestions?
 - 18a. If so, what sorts of suggestions?
19. What do you think of aged people?

Interview Consent Form

Research project title: A Comparative Study between Chinese and Finns: Communication Accommodation in Grandmother and Grandchild Communication

Research investigator: Yang YU

Research Participants name:

The interview will take about a half hour, and you have the right to stop the interview at any time.

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of this research project. Please read the following information and then sign the signature to certify that you approve following information:

- the participation of interview is voluntarily, and there is no payment for participation
- the interview will be recorded and be transcribed
- access to the interview transcript will be limited to Yang YU and my supervisors
- the transcript of the interview will be analyzed by Yang YU as research investigator, and you will be sent the transcript, if you want to check and make edit of it.
- the whole recording will be destroyed after research finished
- the summary interview content, and direct quotations from the interview, will be reported in this research results, and it is anonymized
- any variation of the conditions above will only occur with your further explicit approval
- feel free to ask me any questions about this research in future

Participant signature:

Date:

Researcher signature: Yang YU

Date:

Contact Information

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