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“Changing Intergenerational Relations in the Ageing European Societies”

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University Center for International Studies
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Outline

1. Population ageing in Europe
2. Family structural change in Europe
3. Changing intergenerational relations
4. Implications for intergenerational family solidarity
5. Implications for intergenerational solidarity in the wider community
6. Examples of good practice in intergenerational community support in Europe
7. Conclusions: Strengthening families + civil society to maintain intergenerational solidarity in local communities





1. Population ageing in Europe





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What is population ageing?

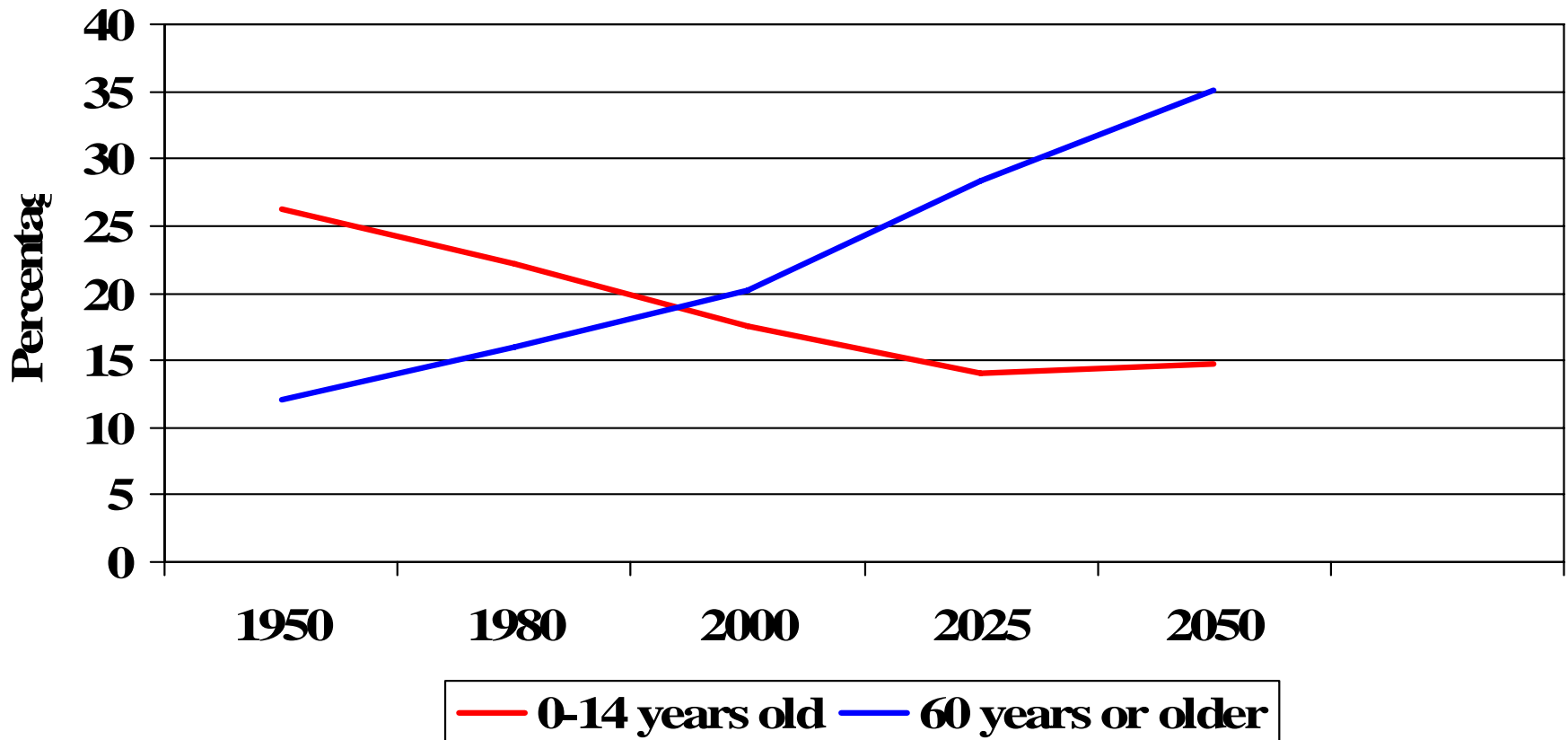
A population is regarded as being 'old' or 'mature' when old people outnumber the young ones living in a given country.





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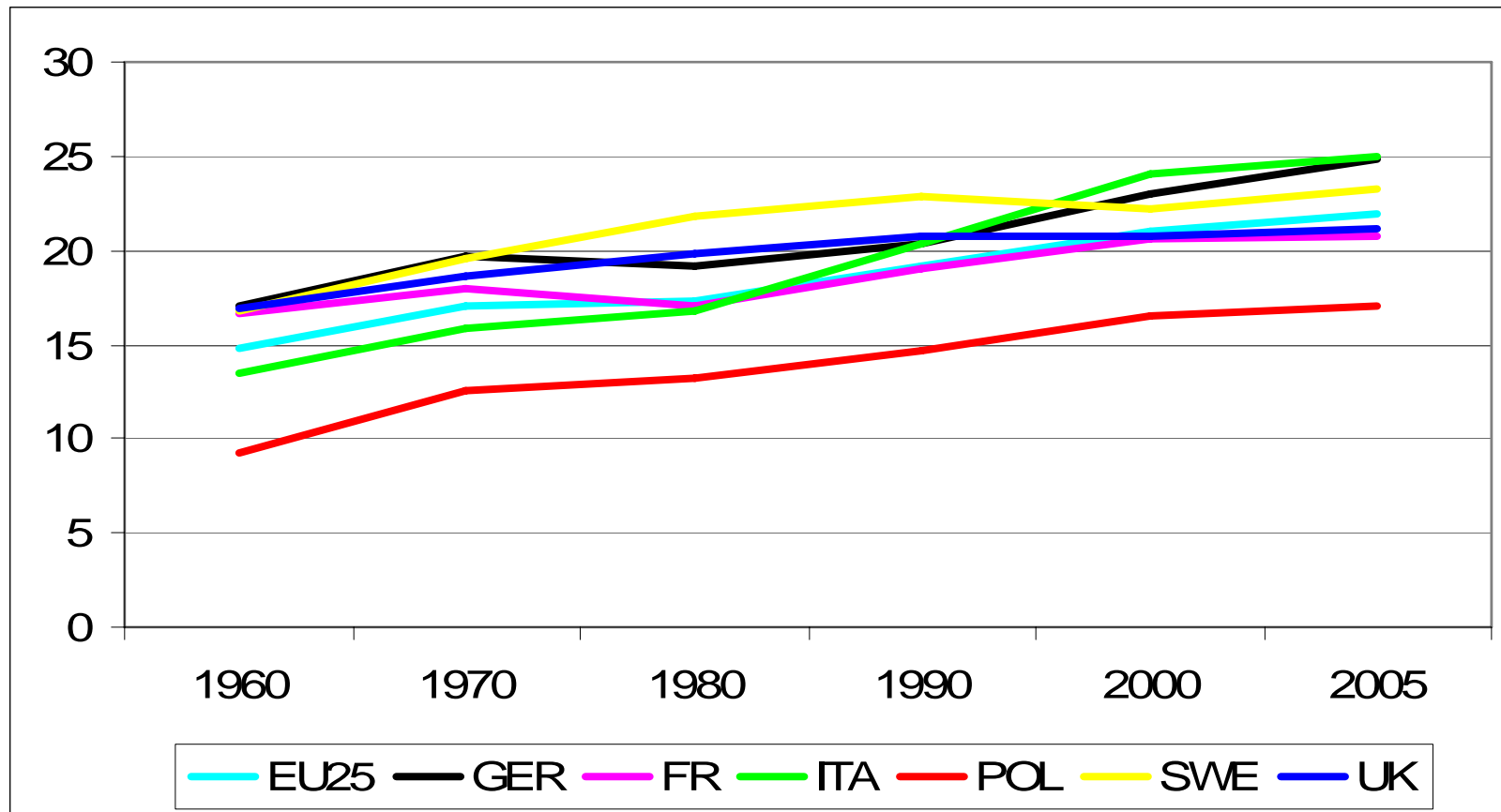
Maturing societies – Europe (1950-2050)





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Share of people aged 60+ (1960-2005) (Eurostat 2006)





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Drivers of demographic change

1. Mortality

- (rising) life expectancy → more older people ; people aged 80+ fastest growing age group

2. Fertility

- (declining) birth rates → fewer younger people

3. Migration patterns

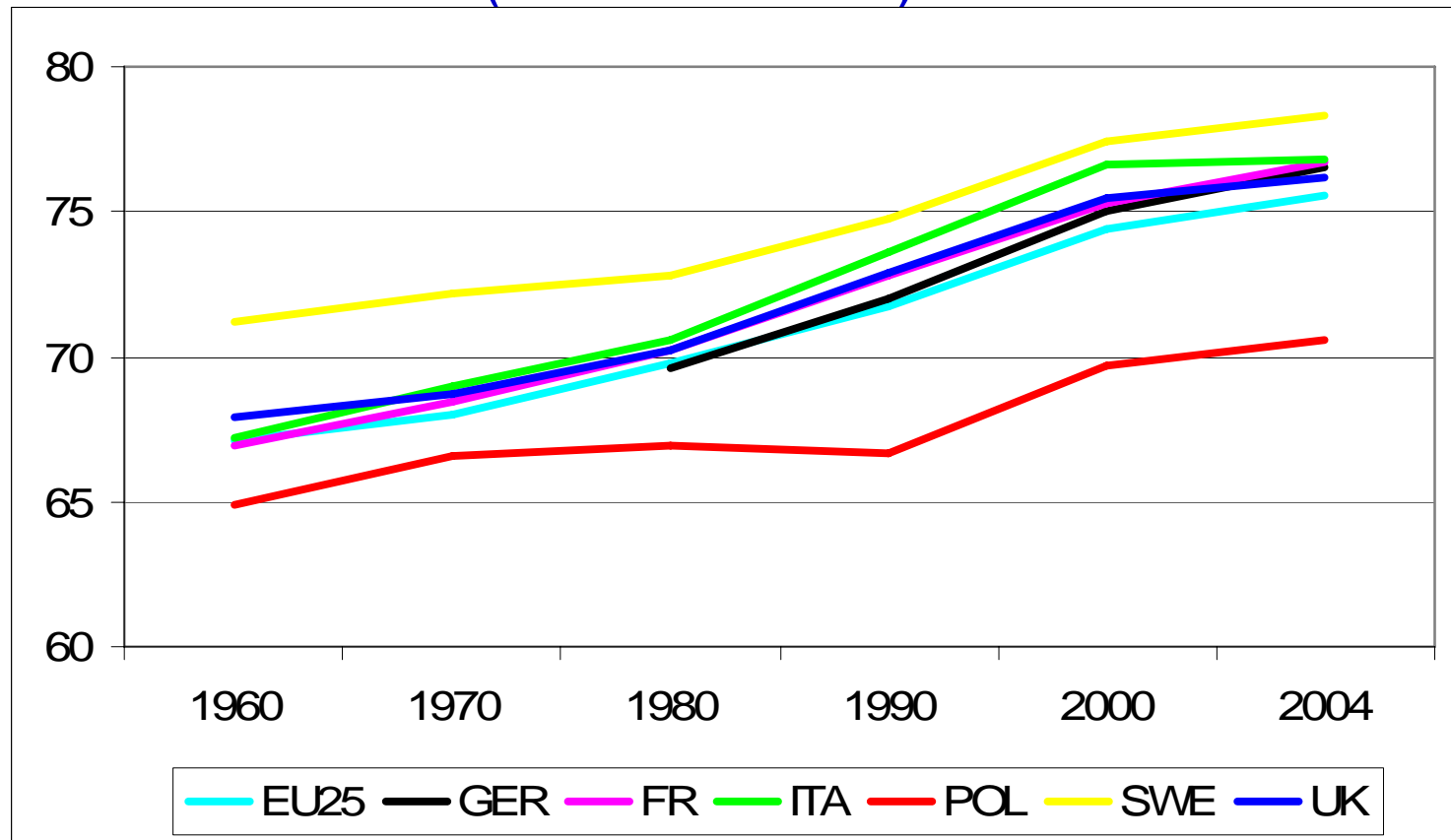
- emigration or immigration?
- age: young or old emigrants/immigrants?





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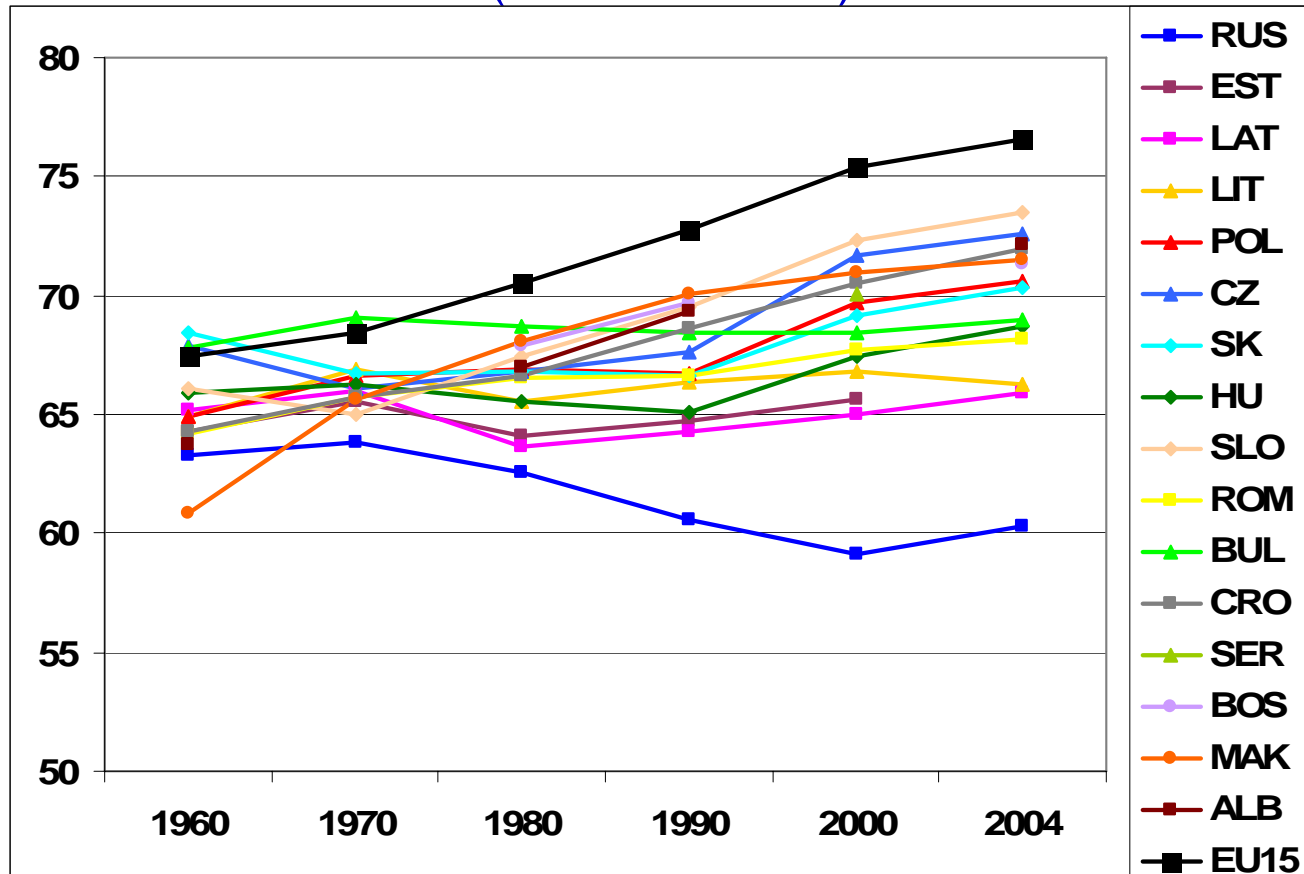
Male life expectancy at birth (1960-2004) (Eurostat 2006)





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Male life expectancy at birth (Eurostat 2006)

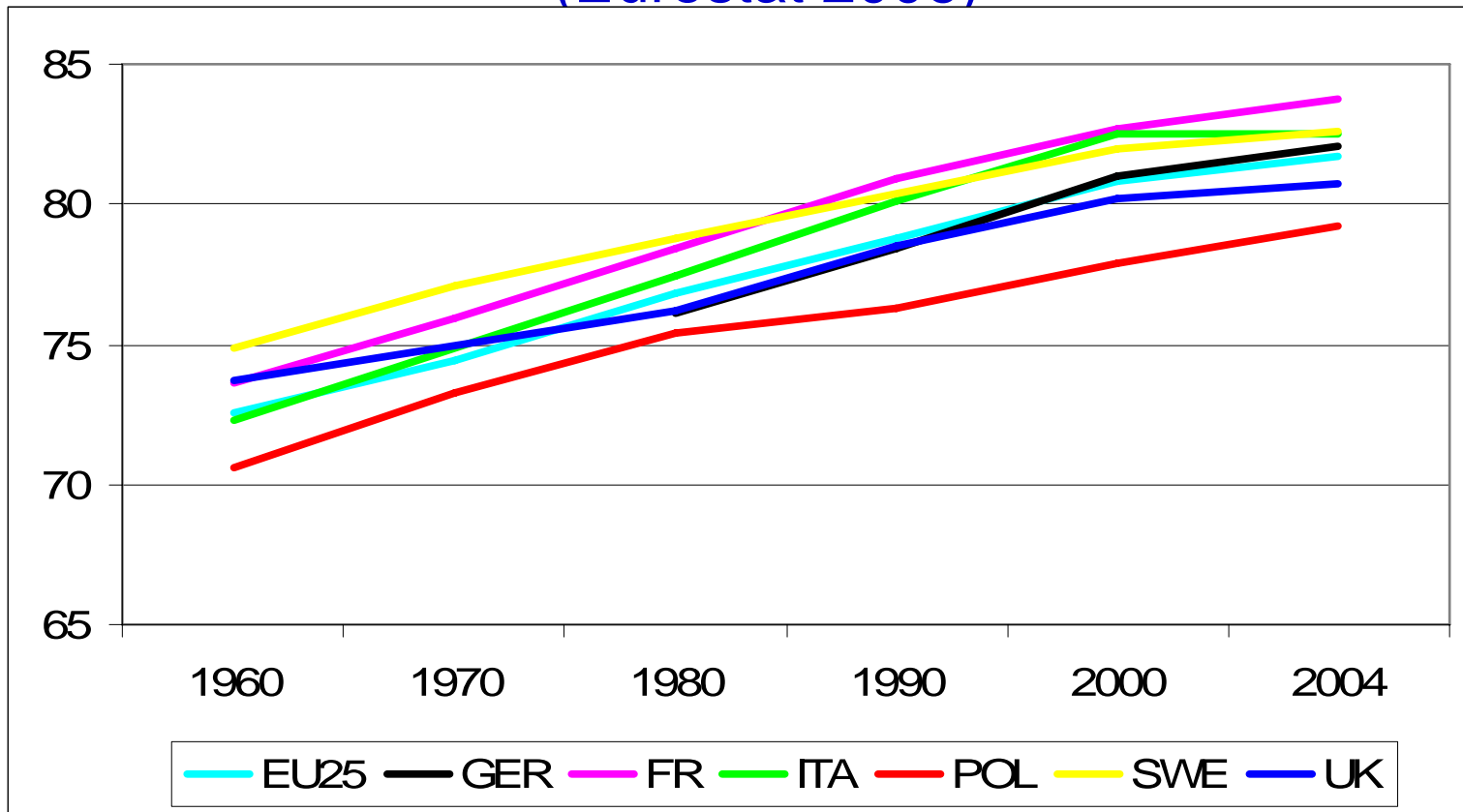




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Female life expectancy at birth (1960-2004)

(Eurostat 2006)

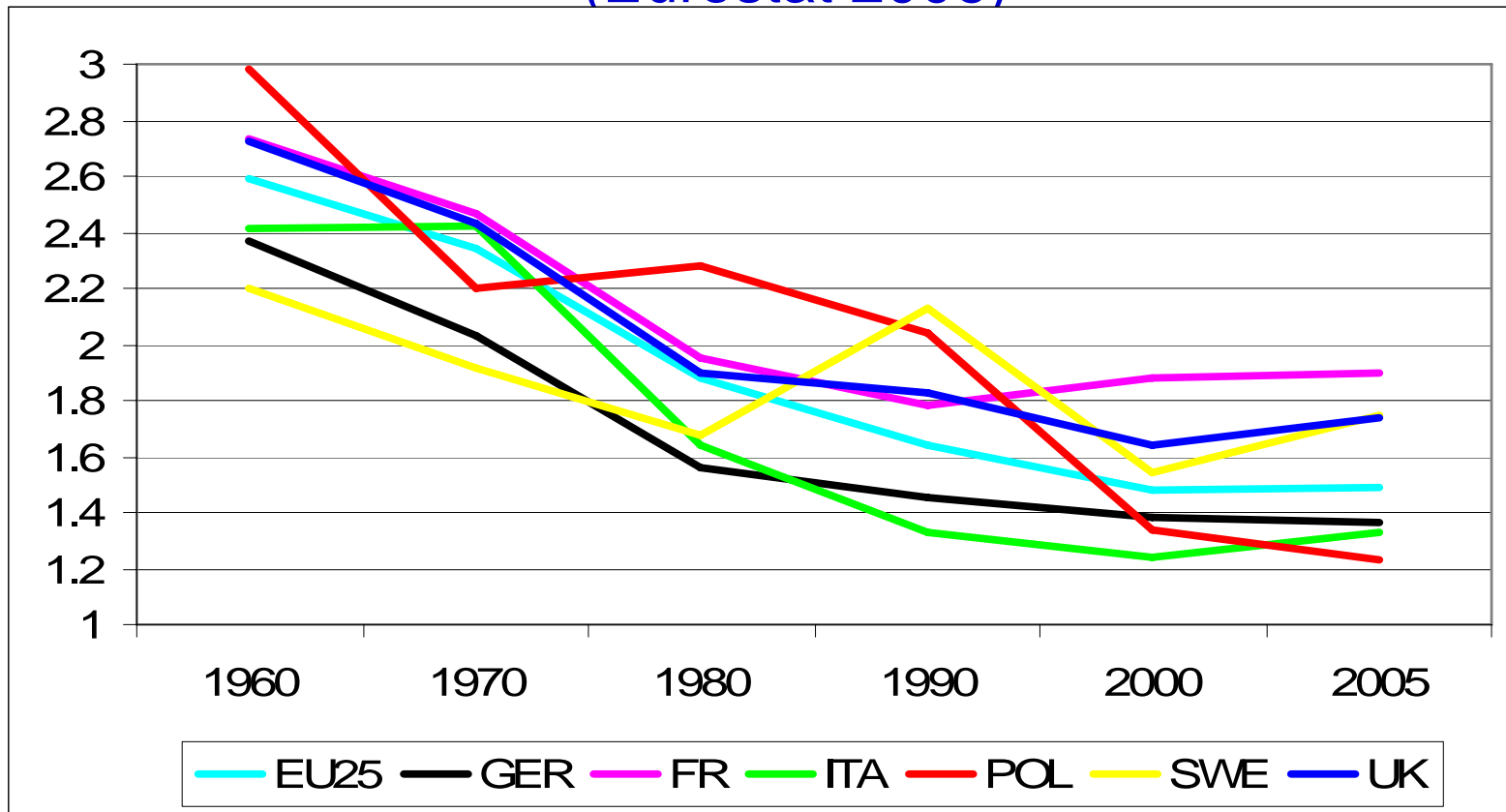




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Total fertility rates (1960-2004)

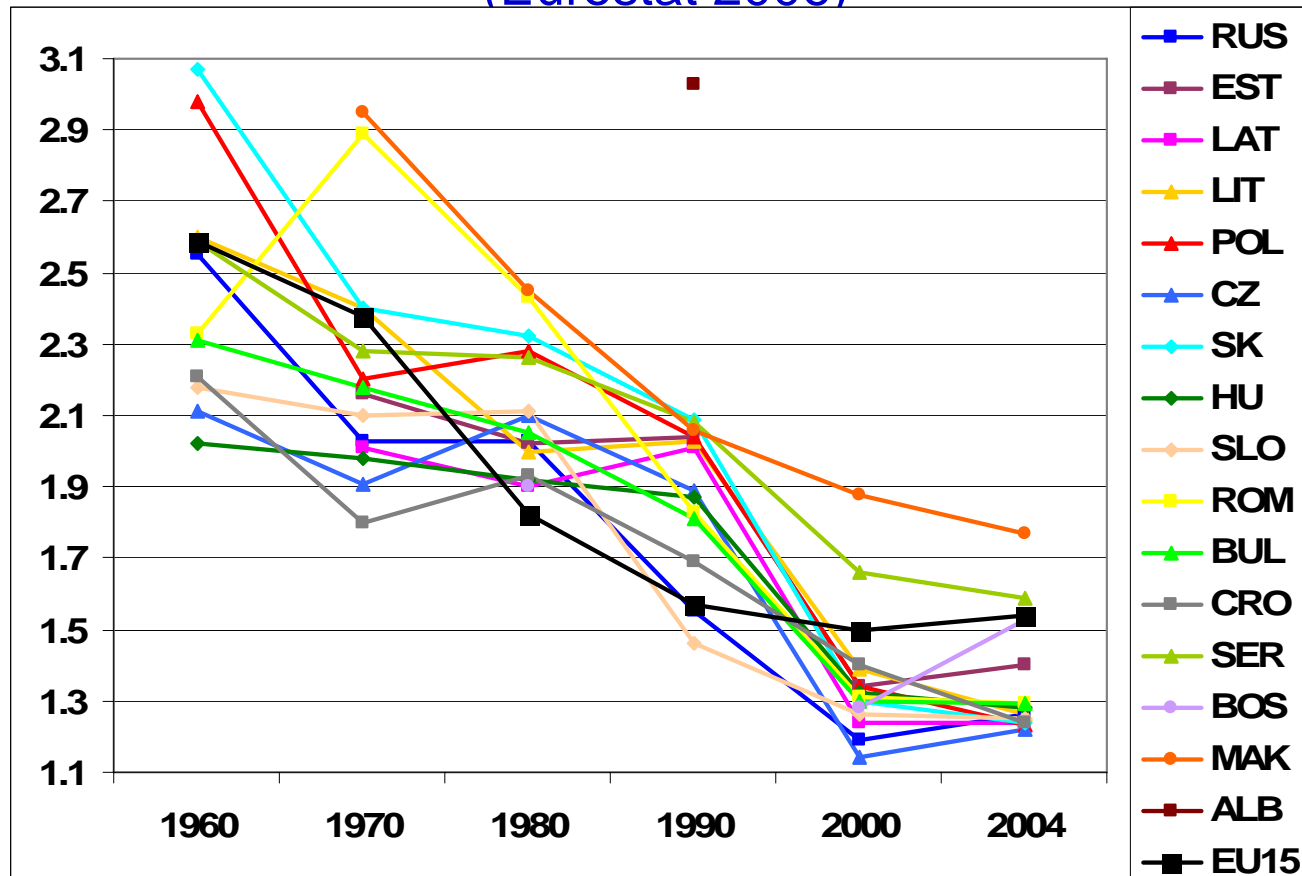
(Eurostat 2006)





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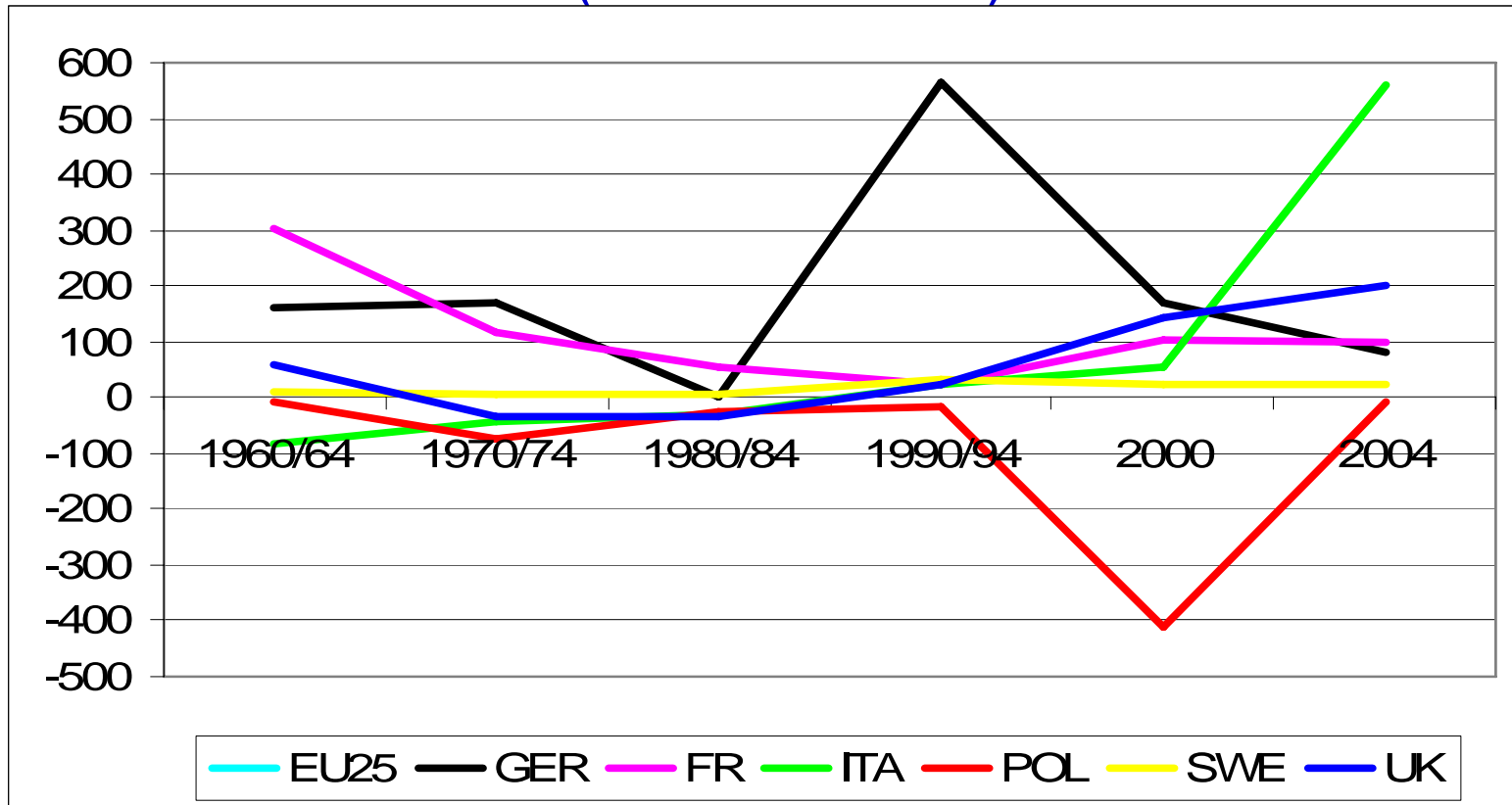
Total fertility rates (Eurostat 2006)





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Net migration (1960-2004) (thousands) (Eurostat 2006)





2.

Family structural change in Europe





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Changing family values + norms

- Family formation no longer attached to marriage
- Sex + births before/outside marriage increasingly acceptable + common
- Couple relationships more easily formed (cohabiting couples)
- Couple relationships more easily dissolved (divorce less stigmatised)
- ↑ divorces, children living with divorced parents
- ↑ single parents, cohabiting parents; step-families, patchwork families
- Long-distance relationships becoming more common (‘living-apart-together’)
- Gay + lesbian couples living with children





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Changing family structures

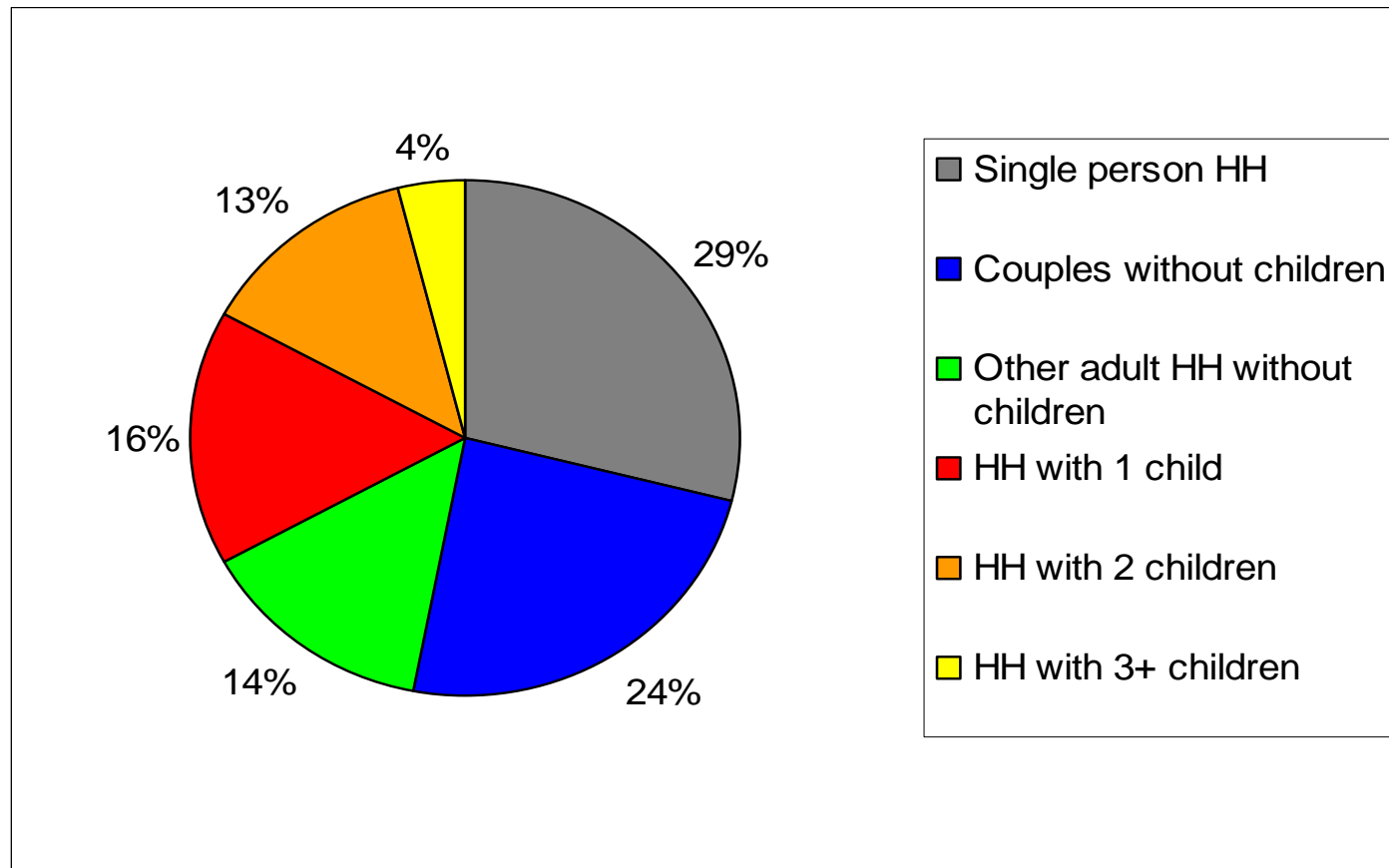
- Nearly one divorce for every two marriages in EU25
 - 2.2 million weddings & 1 million divorces in 2004
 - Highest marriage rates in Cyprus, Denmark, Malta
 - Lowest marriage rates in Slovenia, Belgium, Greece
 - Lowest divorce rates in Ireland, Italy, Greece
 - Highest divorce rates in Czech Republic, Lithuania, Estonia
- A third of all babies born outside marriage
 - Estonia 58%, Sweden 55%, Latvia, Denmark, France 45% each
 - Cyprus 3%, Greece 5%, Italy 15%
- 13% of all HH with children headed by single parents
 - UK 24%, Belgium 18%, Estonia 17%, Denmark, Germany 16%





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Household structure in EU (Eurostat 2006)

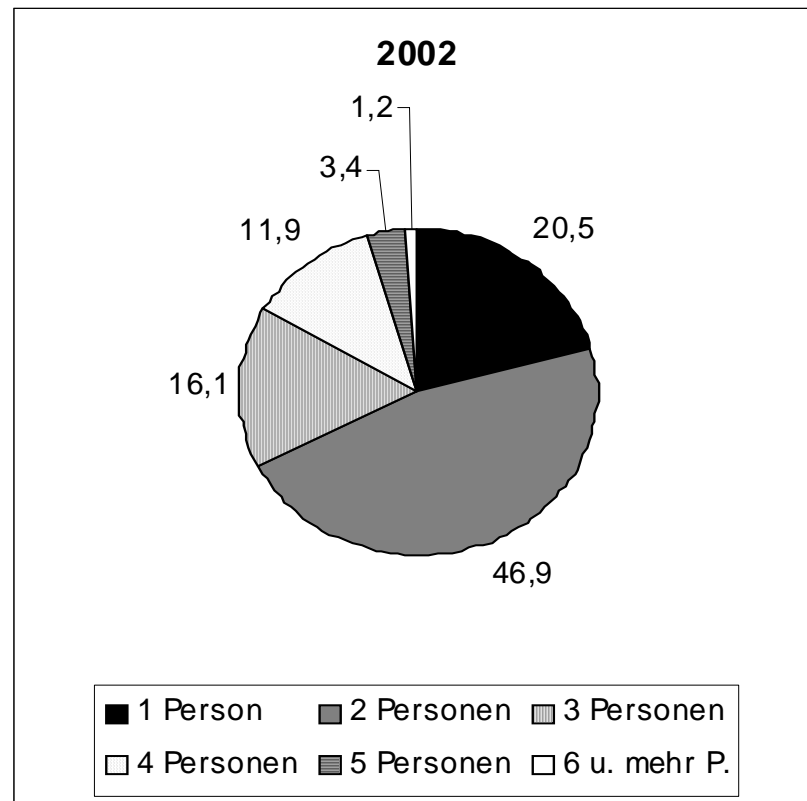
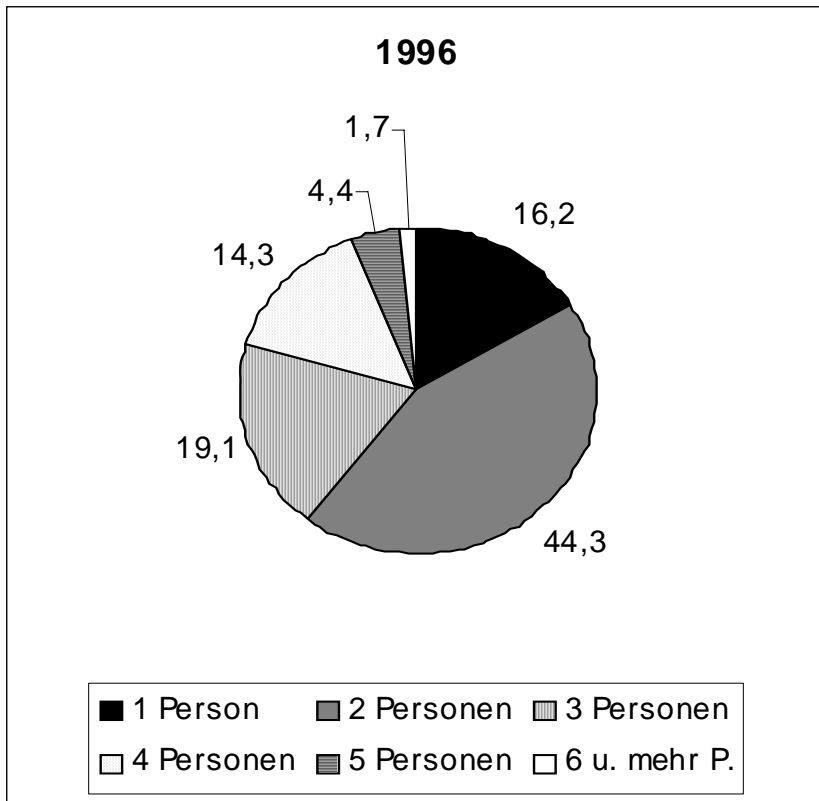




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HH structure 40-85 years Germany

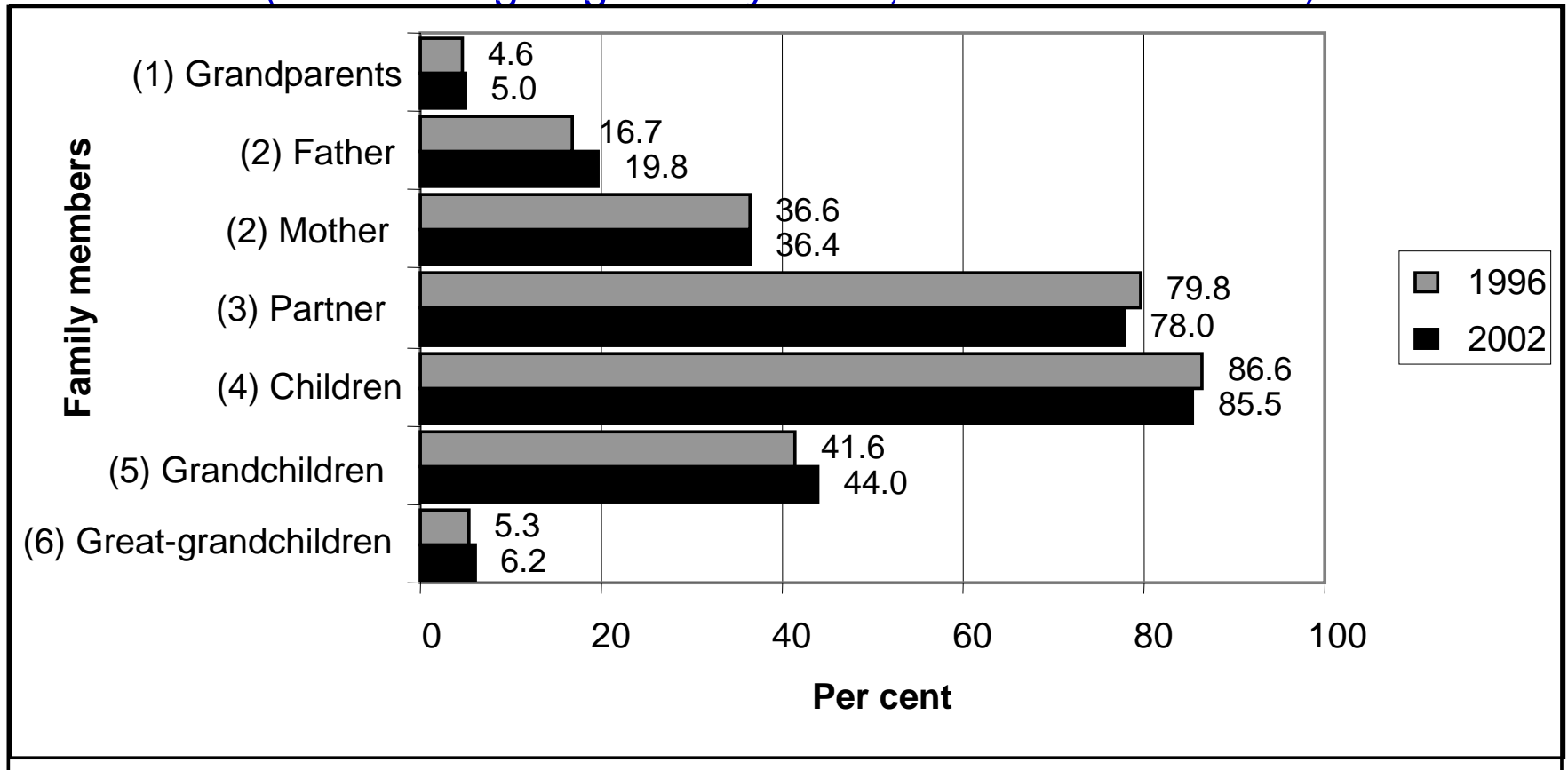
(Source: German Ageing Survey - Hoff 2006a, fig. 5, p. 258)





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Older people's family networks (40-85 years old) (German Ageing Survey 1996, 2002 – Hoff 2006a)





3.

Changing intergenerational relations in Europe

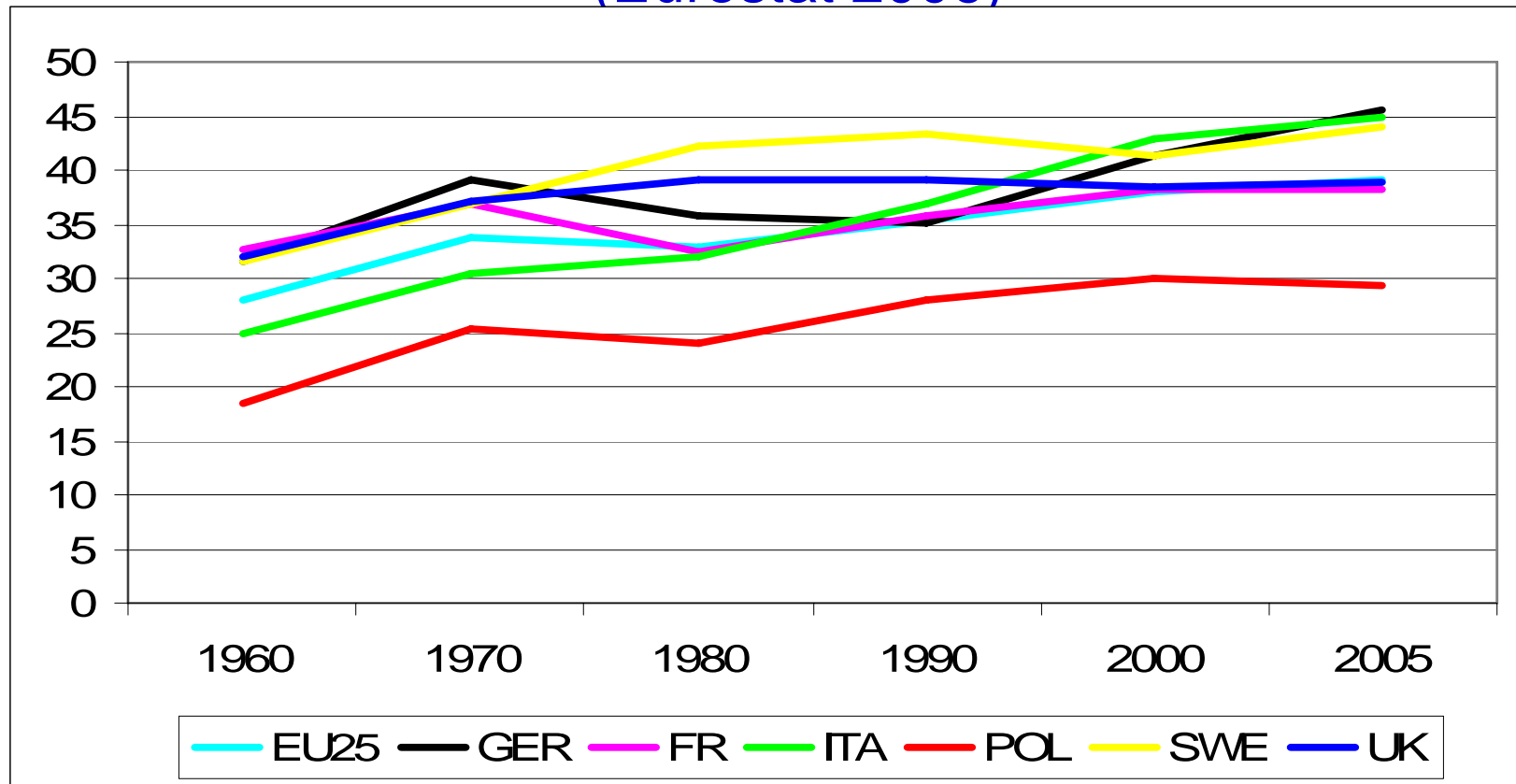




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Old-age dependency ratio (60+/20-59) (1960-2005)

(Eurostat 2006)





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Changing intergenerational family relations

- Rising life expectancy results in longer lasting relationships with children and grandchildren
 - Increasing 'healthy life expectancy' (HALE) changes nature of grandparent-grandchild relationship
 - other leisure activities
 - enables grandparents to see their grandchildren growing up
 - Falling fertility results in fewer family members per generation
 - 'beanpole family' (Bengtson, Rosenthal & Burton 1990)
 - Currently particularly in younger generations (fewer children, grandchildren)
 - Increasing numbers of (older) people without children
 - Childless elders care for their parents – but who cares for them?
 - Transnational emigration (CEE) + domestic migration of younger people
 - Growing numbers of older/younger people without local kinship support
-
- Transnational family relations





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Generation constellations in households

(Source: Hoff 2006a, tab. 5, p. 260)

	40-54		55-69		70-85		40-85	
	1996	2002	1996	2002	1996	2002	1996	2002
1 Generation	31.6	38.3	74.8	82.2	91.5	92.2	58.1	65.8
2 Generations	65.4	59.3	23.4	16.6	6.6	6.8	39.5	32.5
3 Generations	3.0	2.4	1.8	1.2	1.9	1.0	2.4	1.7



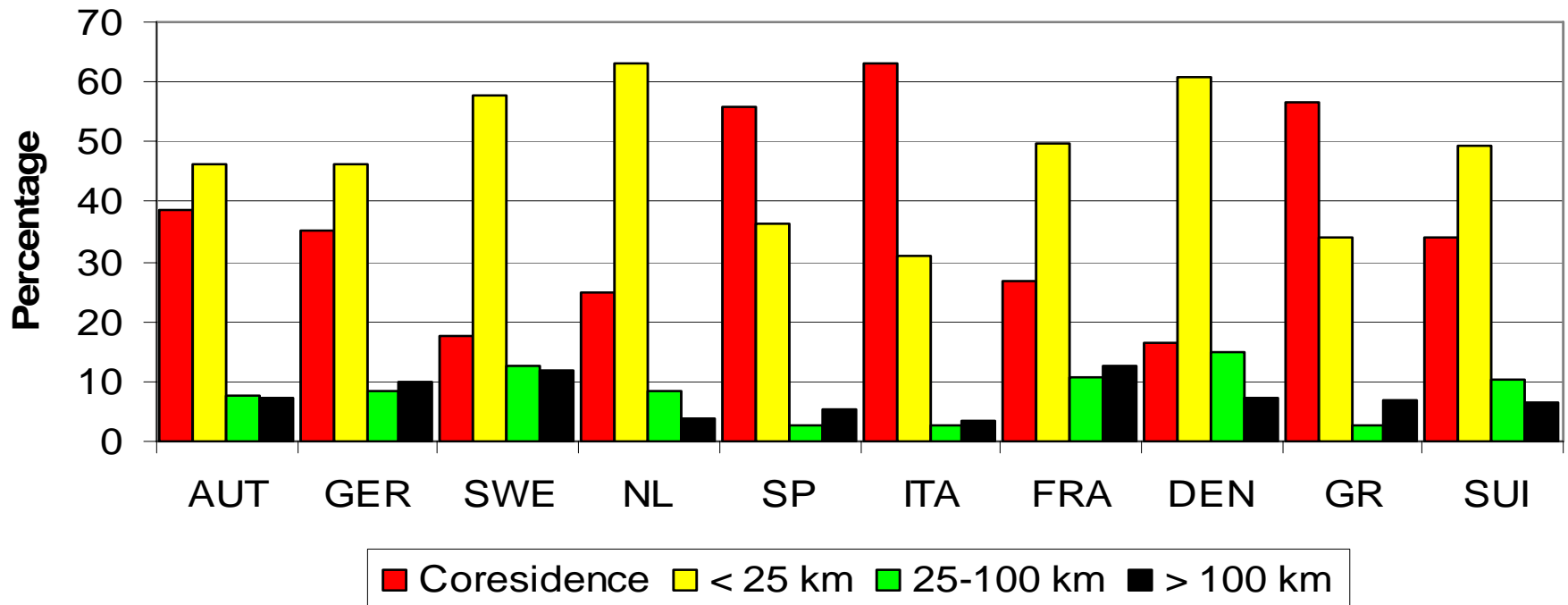


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Geographical proximity to adult children

(Hank 2005 – SHARE 2004)

Geographical proximity to nearest child





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Geographical proximity to adult children

(Source: Hoff 2006a, tab. 3, p. 253)

	40-54		55-69		70-85		40-85	
	1996	2002	1996	2002	1996	2002	1996	2002
Same flat	69.9	67.4	34.3	27.3	25.9	22.2	47.0	39.7
Neighb.	6.2	4.8	14.7	14.3	17.6	19.0	11.8	12.2
same town	8.9	9.4	24.4	23.8	23.9	28.8	18.1	20.1
< 2 hours	11.3	13.2	19.6	26.1	23.4	22.3	17.0	20.8
> 2 hours	3.7	5.2	7.1	8.6	9.1	7.7	6.1	7.2





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Contact frequency to adult children

(Source: Hoff 2006a, tab. 7, p. 267)

	40-54		55-69		70-85		40-85	
	1996	2002	1996	2002	1996	2002	1996	2002
Daily	74.3	72.8	50.6	41.8	47.7	42.2	59.5	52.4
Weekly	19.5	20.2	37.4	48.3	40.5	46.0	30.9	38.2
Less often	5.4	5.5	11.2	8.8	10.8	11.4	8.8	8.3
Never	0.7	1.5	0.8	1.2	1.1	0.4	0.8	1.1





4. Implications for intergenerational family solidarity



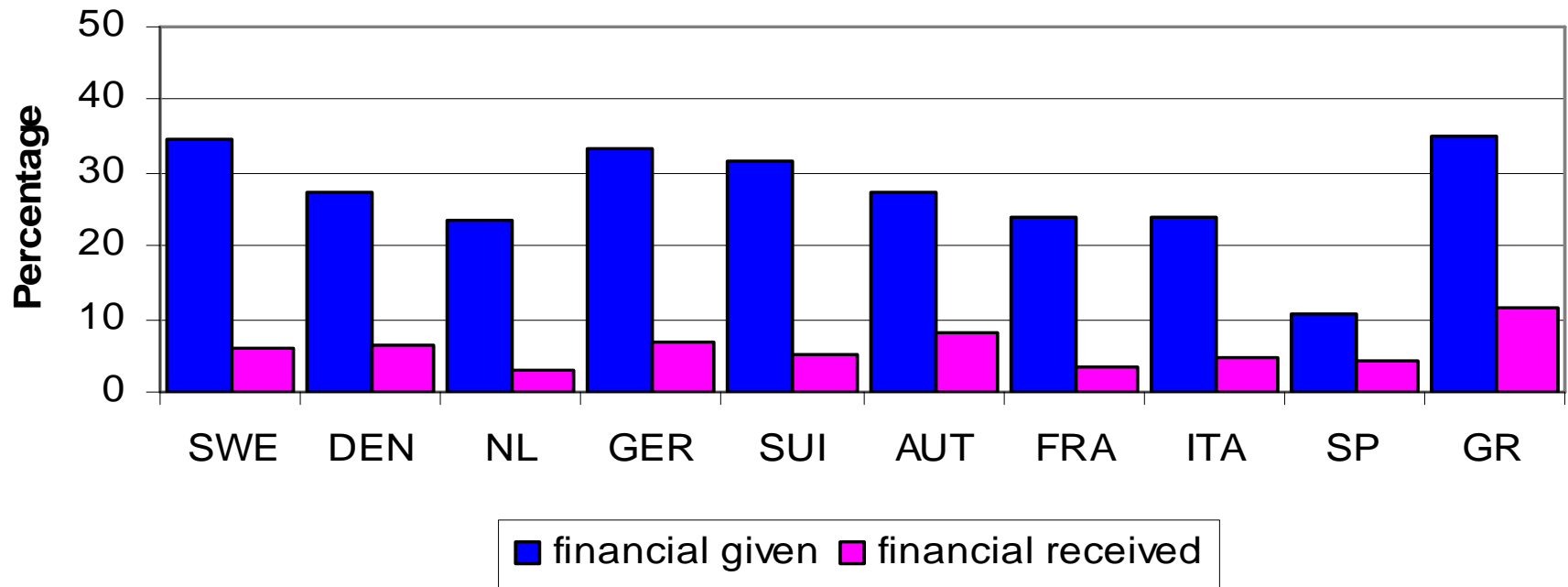


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Financial transfers in European families

(Attias-Donfut, Ogg & Wolff 2005 – SHARE 2004)

Financial transfers



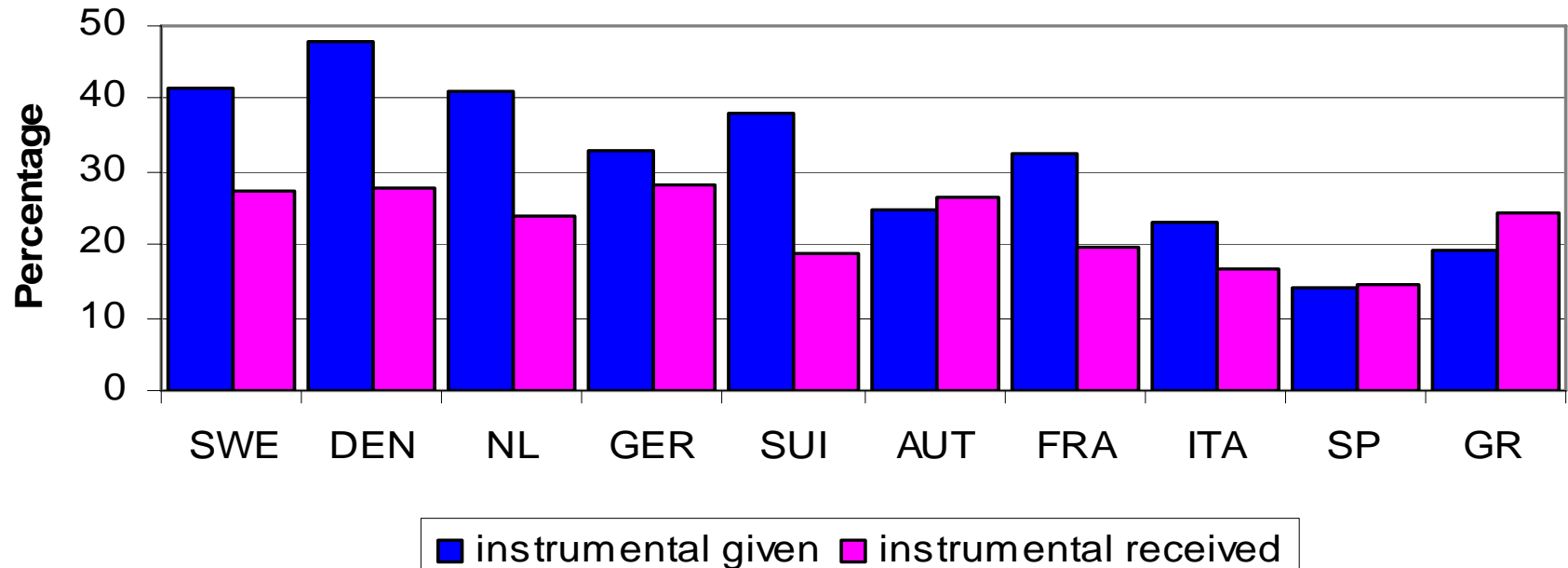


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Instrumental transfers in European families

(Attias-Donfut, Ogg & Wolff 2005 – SHARE 2004)

Instrumental transfers





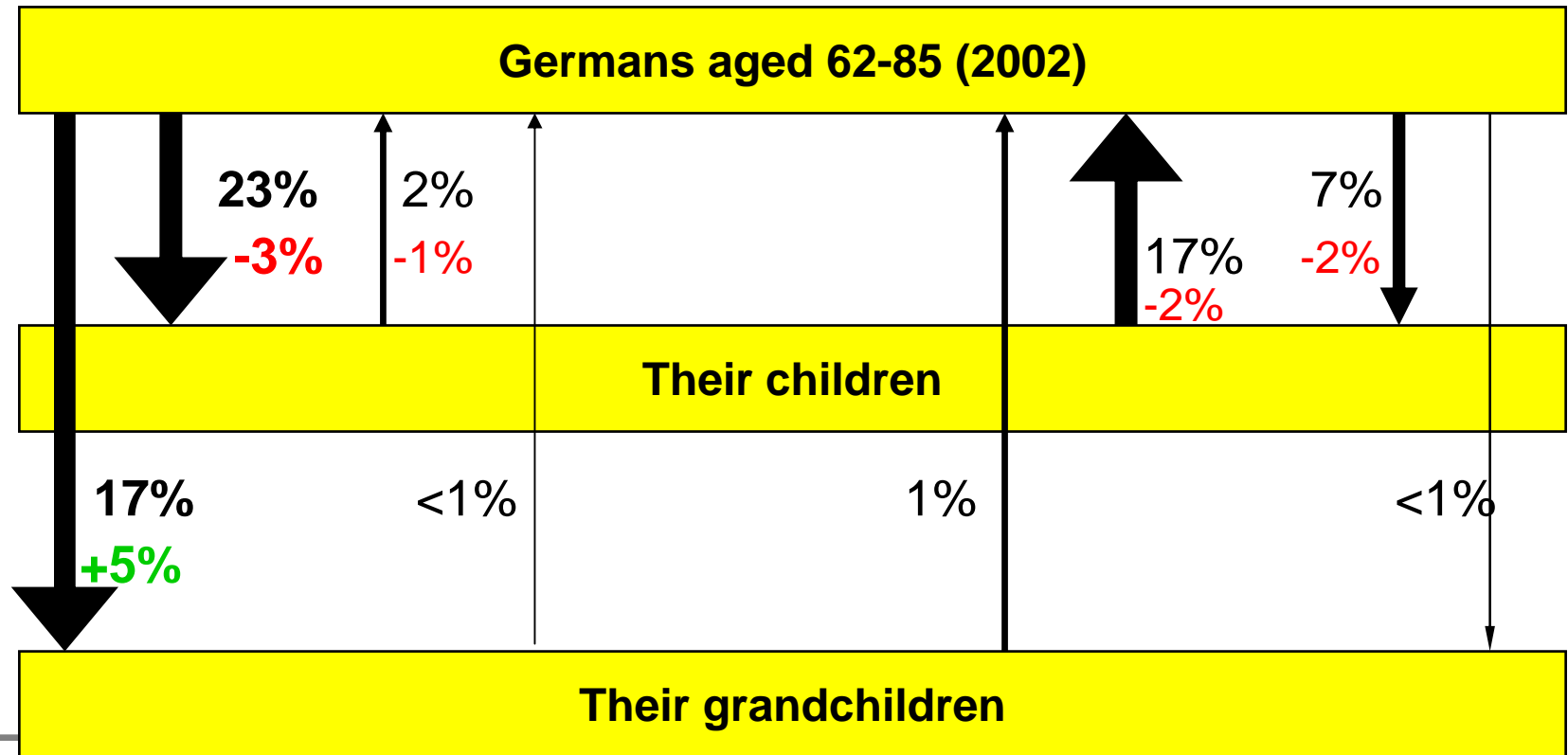
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Support patterns grandparent-parent-grandchild

(Source: Hoff 2007)

Financial support

Instrumental support



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Basis: People aged 70-85 with children (n=883) and grandchildren (n=776) respectively



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Intergenerational solidarity (Bengtson & Roberts 1991)

Construct	Definition	Empirical indicators
Associational solidarity	Patterns of interaction between family members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - contact frequency - types of common activities
Affectual solidarity	Degree of positive sentiment towards family members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - rated affection, closeness - rated <u>perceived</u> reciprocity
Consensual solidarity	Degree of agreement on values, attitudes, beliefs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - intrafamilial concordance measures of values etc.
Functional solidarity	Degree of support, exchange of resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - freq. support provis./receipt - ratings of reciprocity
Normative solidarity	Strength of commitment to familial roles + obligations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ratings of family importance - rated strength filialobligation
Structural solidarity	Opportunity structure for intergenerat. Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - geographical proximity - Number family members



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Empirical evidence – OASIS (Daatland & Lowenstein 2005)

Construct	Nor	Eng	Ger	Sp	Isr
Associational solidarity - contact frequency	91	93	75	94	97
Affectual solidarity - feel very close to child	69	80	51	70	85
Consensual solidarity					
Functional solidarity - received help from child	70	75	81	75	69
Normative solidarity - filial responsibility	76	74	68	83	83
Structural solidarity					





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Changing family solidarity?

- ↑ growing geographical distance
- ↑ rising number of childless people
 - ➔ increasing number of older people without local kin support
 - ➔ family can no longer provide regular instrumental support (help in household, personal care) to older people
 - ➔ grandparents can no longer provide regular childcare
 - Financial, cognitive, emotional support can nevertheless be provided
 - ➔ growing risk of social isolation of older people (women!)
 - ⇒ If not the family, who else?





5.

Implications for intergenerational solidarity in the wider community

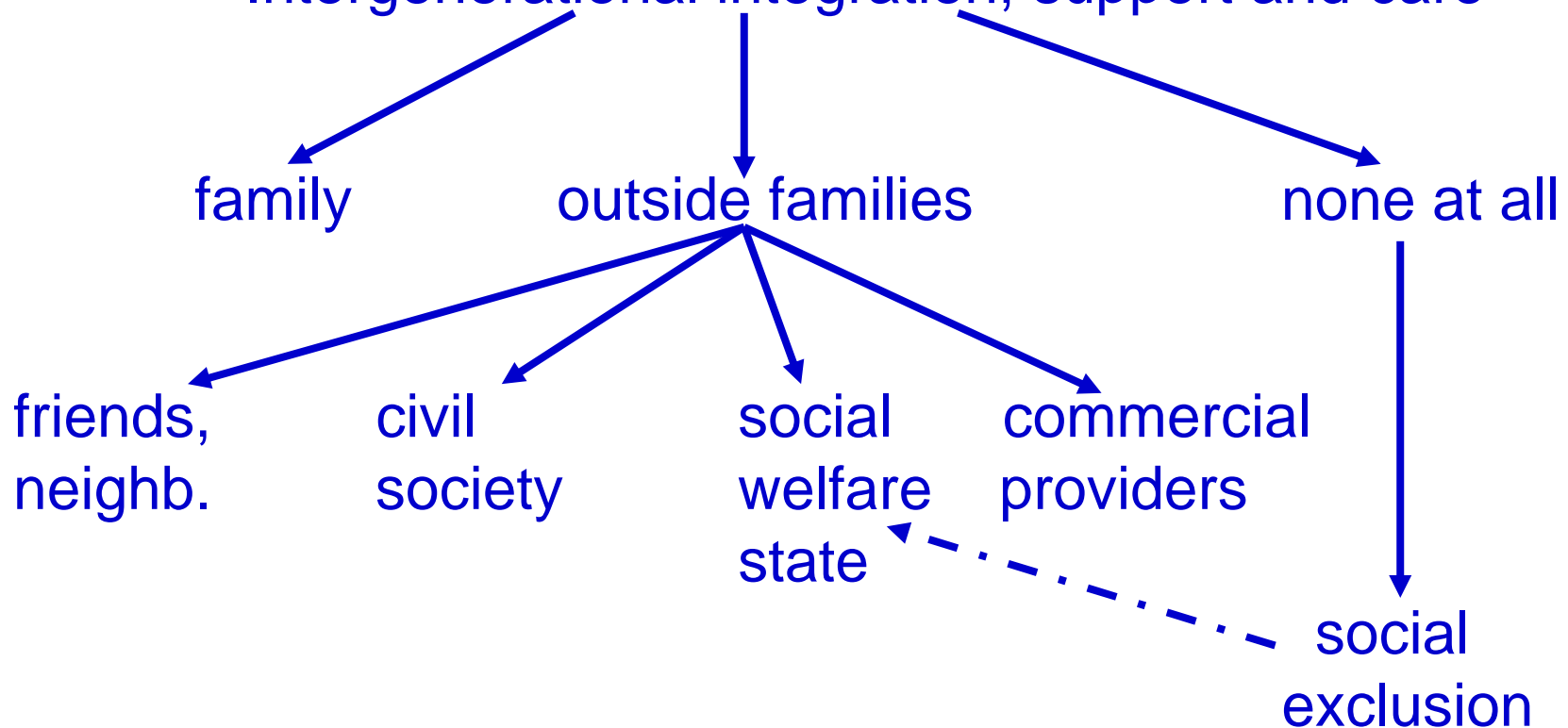




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Who provides intergenerational support?

Intergenerational integration, support and care





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OIA/HtA Study on “Social Inclusion Strategies for Older People in Europe”

- Commissioned by ‘Help the Aged’ – research carried out at Oxford Institute of Ageing in 2006 (more details see Hoff 2006b)
- **Objectives:**
 1. To evaluate social inclusion policies for older people in EU
 2. To identify examples of good practice for social inclusion of older people in Europe
- **Methods**
 - Review of policy + legal documents in 24 EU member states
 - Expert interviews in 24 EU member states (except UK)
 - Experts representing central government, civil society + indep. experts
 - Qualitative telephone interviews using topic-guide
 - Tape-recorded + transcribed
 - Duration 30-45 min





Intergenerational solidarity in local communities

- Lack of family ties identified as main risk factor for social exclusion!
- Main risk factors:
 - Lack of family ties (universal)
 - Low income (universal)
 - Living in rural area (universal)
 - Immigration background (universal)
 - Poor access to social services, social care (CEE, IRE)
 - Poor housing conditions (CEE)
 - Early exit from labour market (CEE, NL)
 - No internet access (CEE, FIN)





6.

Examples of good practice in intergenerational community support in Europe





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EU Social Policy

- original treaties of the European Community rested on assumption that economic growth would enhance the life chances of all citizens.
- During the 1980s belief in an automatic link between economic growth and individual welfare was shattered in the context of economic recession.
- Subsequently, much policy effort was concentrated on legally binding commitments.
- Until the mid 1990s, the social policy dimension of the European Union was seen as being best advanced by committing the member states to upgrade their standards in line with European-wide legislation (for example, the 'Social Charter')
- 'hard' policy measures were given priority to enforce compliance
- BUT: When a dozen or more countries are trying to synchronise elements of their national policies, political compromise becomes the only way forward ⇒ lowest common denominator solution





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‘Open Method of Co-ordination’

- EU Lisbon summit (March 2000)
 - Strategic goal for decade 2000-2010 for the European Union “...to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” (European Council 2000)
 - combating social exclusion became key priority
 - ‘overall strategy’ was required, among others, to fight social exclusion
 - European Commission proposed ‘Open Method of Co-ordination’ (OMC) as an instrument for implementing this social inclusion strategy in 2000
 - focus the attention on particularly innovative or advantageous solutions at national, regional or local level to provide others with examples of how to deal with a specific problem
 - model character for others could influence the direction of policy change **more effectively**
-





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Example 1: „Adopt a granny!“ (Austria)

- Developed to address the specific problems with residential care in rural areas in Austria
- Targeted at older Austrians who have no next of kin living locally in the rural areas of the mountainous Alp regions who are particularly affected by social exclusion and poverty
- Person in need of care lives together with a farmer's family on a farmstead
- The scheme is of mutual benefit to both parties. The elderly person receives family care and can continue to live in a rural area, whereas the farmer does no longer rely on his agricultural business as the main source of income.
- Various quality assurance measures are in place to make sure that there is appropriate accommodation available for housing an older person in need of care.





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Example 2: „Adopt a grandma!“ (Poland)

- a NGO from the poorer regions in the southeast of Poland established a project to adopt a grandmother.
- They matched two particularly vulnerable groups in Polish society – lone mothers and old people living in institutional care.
- The lone mothers who agreed taking part in this scheme are visiting these older people on a regular basis. The lone mothers would come with their children to visit these so-called grandmothers.
- They also have common activities, like meetings, they talk to each other, they are playing cards. Many of them developed new friendships.
- This informal socialising programme turned out to have practical beneficiary consequences as well: Some of the unemployed lone mothers found a new job in these care homes.





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Example 3: Daycare centres (Greece & Cyprus)

- Open Care Community Centres increasingly popular in Greece & Cyprus
- Day-care centres still relatively new services for older people provided by NGOs, sometimes also by municipalities
- often attracting people from an entire region who would live very isolated otherwise
- Families spread all over Cyprus – their children live in small houses, too small for accommodating their ageing parents
- Day-care centres often provide the only opportunity for these elderly to socialise. Social contacts and having joint meals are particularly important for Cypriots.
- Some day-care centres established links with local doctors or local health services. In Larnaca, for example, there is a nearby medical centre where they can have some medical treatment (e.g. blood testing), see a doctor or receive physiotherapy.





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Example 4: Intergenerational holidays (France)

- Intergenerational leisure programmes enable pensioners to spend their vacations with their families in a holiday resort.
- French retirement pension system has funds devoted to the construction of intergenerational vacation centres.
- Most of them are situated along the coastlines in southern or northern France, many of them in popular holiday resorts.
- These are large complexes that provide accommodation and facilities for old and young, literally for grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren. These facilities also include easy access for disabled people and sheltered housing with medical and care facilities.
- Generally speaking, people have to pay for using these facilities. But if they haven't got the resources they will receive assistance from the so-called complementary system.





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Example 5: Teenagers teaching ICT (Poland)

- Forum 50+, which is a voluntary organisation campaigning for the interests of older people, established some programmes where young people teach older people how to use computers.
- Forum 50+ also commissioned a contract for starting a programme of free training on computers and internet for older people.
- service was paid for by Forum 50+ and was thus free of charge for older people.
- Given the incredible success of these programmes they started to establish themselves in a new market for older clients
- Following this success, the company wants to extend this to the rest of Europe.





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Homeshare – an international success

- Bring 'Homesharer' s together homeowners ('householder') in need of help, many of them **older** people, AND people in need of inexpensive housing, many of them **young** people, mostly students ('homesharer')
- offers accommodation in exchange for agreed level of help
- Precondition for matching 'householders' and 'homesharers' is careful selection process over period of several months
- Idea originates in United States
- In most countries set up as means to help young people finding accommodation – except UK, US where driving force was finding support for older people
- In AUT, CZ, GER set up by universities – in UK, US by NGOs or individuals





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Homeshare International

- Detailed information to be found at Homeshare International website: <http://homeshare.org/default.aspx>
- Homeshare International founded in 1999 in London to serve as platform for homeshare programmes in 9 countries (AUS, AUT, CAN, CZ, FRA, GER, SP, UK, US)
- Most popular in US (240 projects), in Europe in Spain (17)
- Age structure / needs of 'householders' vary cross-national:
 - AUT, GER – in 60s who need some practical help
 - SP – mean age 75 who value help and companionship
 - UK – most aged 80+ who need care/support and lost independence
- Age structure / needs of 'homesharers' also vary:
 - UK – most employed aged 23+
 - Everywhere else in Europe young students aged 18+





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Homeshare projects worldwide

- Australia (3) – Melbourne, Sydney, Tasmania
- Austria (1) – Graz
- Canada (1) – Quebec
- Czech Republic (1) – Prague
- France (1) – Paris
- Germany (11) – Aachen, Frankfurt, Freiburg, Giessen, Karlsruhe, Cologne, Mainz, Marburg, Munich, Muenster, Stuttgart
- Spain (16) – Albacete, Alicante, Almeria, Barcelona, Bilbao, Cadiz, Granada, Gran Canaria, Leon, Madrid, Malaga, Murcia, Santiago de Compostela, San Sebastian, Sevilla, Valladolid
- UK (4) – London, Oxfordshire, West England, West Sussex
- US (240) in 38 states; most popular in New Jersey (31), New York (25), Illinois (22)





7.

Conclusions: Strengthening families + civil society to maintain intergenerational solidarity in local communities





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How to achieve sustainable intergenerational solidarity in local communities?

Support families in maintaining stable intergenerational relations!

1. Give younger people incentives to stay + to provide instrumental support, including
 - Provision of affordable all-day quality childcare
 - Investments in local economy
 - Encourage reconciliation of employment and care for younger + older family members, by giving example + encouraging locally based employers
2. Enable older people to continue supporting younger generations through financial transfers + (grand)childcare
 - Reasonable retirement pensions
 - Extension of working life → reconciliation employment + family care





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How to achieve sustainable intergenerational solidarity in local communities?

Enable civil society to offer intergenerational interaction + support outside family!

- Make facilities (community centres, public buildings) available where generations can meet
 - Provide financial help with costs of running such projects (staff, rent, bills, transport, etc.)
 - Help with publicising initiatives
 - Co-operation by local authorities
- ➔ Perhaps, we need to re-think the concept of intergenerational solidarity!
Community responsibility!





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Thank you very much for your attention!

