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Cheryl Zlotnick *University of Haifa*

Marjolein Broese van Groenou *Vrije Universiteit*

Annamaria Orban *Budapest University of Technology and Economics*

Trudy Corrigan *Institute of Education*

Susana Coimbra *Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, University of Porto*

Zviad Kirtava *Tbilisi State Medical University and Partners for Health NGO*

Clare Holdsworth *Keele University*

Dolors Comas-d'Argemir *Universitat Rovira i Virgili*

OTHER WORKGROUP NO. 3 MEMBERS

Laura Aliprant *National and Kapodistrian University of Athens*

Carole Gadet *Founder of "Ensemble demain"; Intergénérationel Approaches in Education*

George Pavia *Ministry for Family Affairs and Social Solidarity*

Lessons Learned From 11 Countries on Programs Promoting Intergenerational Solidarity

Objective: *The goal of this project was to develop a systematic framework through which interventions promoting intergenerational solidarity in 11 countries could be assessed.*
Background: *Although intergenerational solidarity—the exchange of material, social, and emotional support and care between family generations—benefits both the country's economic well-being (macro-level) and the individual's physical, mental, and social well-being (micro-level), decreasing intergenerational solidarity is evident in many industrialized countries. Interventions promoting intergenerational solidarity are increasingly being developed, but few are described in the literature. Moreover, no unifying framework describing them exists.*
Method: *Representatives from 11 countries convened to identify interventions promoting intergenerational solidarity. After several meetings, a unifying framework was created. Representatives selected a convenience sample of programs and abstracted information based on the framework.*

Department of Nursing, Faculty of Health & Welfare Sciences, 199 Abba Khushi, Haifa, Mt Carmel, Israel (czlotnick@univ.haifa.ac.il).

Key Words: country comparisons, culture, intergenerational solidarity, interventions, well-being.

Results: *The outcome of social well-being was virtually ubiquitous in most programs. Countries appeared to take a broad view of intergenerational solidarity, focusing on interactions among generations, rather than interactions within families.*

Discussion and Implications: *The framework enabled the systematic abstraction and assessment of programs. Most programs had no standard method of evaluating their outcomes. Longitudinal evaluations would be optimal if we want to identify the best practices in intergenerational solidarity programs.*

Intergenerational solidarity—the exchange of material, social, and emotional support and care between generations—benefits industrialized countries' economic well-being (macro-level; Daatland & Lowenstein, 2005; Igel & Szydlik, 2011), and individuals' physical, mental, and social well-being (micro-level; Lindahl et al., 2015; Lussier et al., 2002). Accordingly, the impact of intergenerational solidarity extends beyond family relationships to population health, economic expenditures, and government responsiveness. The decreasing level of intergenerational solidarity among families living in many countries has resulted in agencies and government programs, rather than family members, providing childcare for children of working parents and assisting isolated older persons with a variety of needs (Igel & Szydlik, 2011; Lou & Dai, 2017; Sanchez & Hatton-Yeo, 2012). Some interventions have been created to promote intergenerational solidarity, but remarkably little information about them is available (Litwin, 2005). Moreover, a systematic method of cataloging and assessing the components of programs promoting intergenerational solidarity and assessing their overall effectiveness is lacking. This dearth of information was the impetus for the 4-year grant from the European Union's Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST Action#IS1311: principal investigator Fontaine, co–principal investigator Holdsworth) that enlisted Workgroup 3 (WG3) to (a) develop a unifying framework for programs designed to promote intergenerational solidarity, (b) abstract a convenience sample of these programs, and (c) assess commonalities and differences in the sample of programs from 11 countries.

Intergenerational Solidarity and Bioecological Theories

According to Bengston's model, there are six dimensions of intergenerational solidarity, including associational—interaction between generations; affectual—trust and warm sentiments; consensual—agreement on attitudes; functional—exchange of resources; normative—commitment to filial roles; and structural solidarity—family structure and geographical proximity (Bengston & Roberts, 1991). These dimensions describe the nature of intergenerational relationships, including contacts between generational cohorts in society (i.e., macrogen) or within the family (i.e., microgen; Bengston & Oyama, 2007). Microgen issues involve interactions between generations of family members; and thus, interventions promoting intergenerational family solidarity attempt to increase contact between (grand)parents and (grand)children (associational solidarity), the warmth and trust among family members (affectional solidarity), and the understanding of each family member's responsibilities to one another (consensual solidarity). Intergenerational family solidarity benefits family members; as recent evidence suggests, when youth have less contact with family members from older generations, they tend to have lower levels of self-esteem and well-being (Lindahl et al., 2015; Lussier et al., 2002).

Macrogen issues involve interactions between generational cohorts outside the family unit. As noted by Bengston and Oyama (2007), changes in behavioral norms between age cohorts have resulted in a mobile younger generation, necessitating a greater "proportion of federal funds [be] directed to the oldest age group." In this way, country governments are replacing younger generations as the primary providers of older adult care (structural, functional, and normative dimensions, respectively; Daatland & Lowenstein, 2005; Igel & Szydlik, 2011). Macrogen issues are exacerbated by ageism stereotypes that seep into public policy, contributing to the portrayal of younger and older generations in a negative way, where younger people are unruly and older people are infirm (Pain, 2005).

The macrogen and microgen perspectives fit Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory, which recognizes that interactions and behaviors of all generations create influences that permeate through all societal levels from the largest societal structures of countries to the basic

family unit. Bronfenbrenner's theory suggests that influences from the macro-level structures of a country's governmental policy (macrosystem) can penetrate and influence individuals in smaller structures, such as institutions and service agencies (exosystem). Individuals from the macrosystem and exosystem, in turn, have (and receive) indirect and direct influences on smaller groups such as parents' workplaces or children's schools (mesosystem), and these influences filter down to the smallest group of individuals—the family unit and individual (microsystem; Bronfenbrenner, 2001, 2005). The transmission across levels (i.e., macrosystem, exosystem, mesosystem, and microsystem) is fluid as each level influences and interacts with the others. This theory suggests that effective interventions implemented with individuals at any one level will eventually exert influences on individuals at all levels.

Using Theoretical Models to Build the Foundation for an Intervention Framework

The paradigm of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological interacting systems (i.e., the macro- to microsystems) complements the macrogen–microgen situations and six dimensions of Bengston's model of intergenerational solidarity. Both theories concur that generations and individuals within societal structures (e.g., country, nonprofit, neighborhood, or individual level) have the potential of influencing behaviors. Together they provide two major building blocks of this project's unifying framework for guiding the assessment of interventions, defined as an organized activity engaging at least two distinct generations and designed to nurture solidarity across these generations.

The ultimate, long-term outcome (or impact) of intergenerational solidarity interventions is to promote well-being (i.e., physical, mental, spiritual, social) for participants of two or more generations. This long-term outcome (well-being) would be attained through the short- to medium-term outcomes as defined by Bengston's six dimensions (i.e., associational, affectual, consensual, functional, normative, and structural solidarity; Bengston & Roberts, 1991). To attain the short- to medium-term outcomes, an intergenerational solidarity intervention requires inputs, target generations, activities, and interacting societal systems; and these are guided by Bronfenbrenner's ecological model.

The next important question is: What interventional approach(es) will achieve the desired outcomes? Four approaches—interventions executed in domains of education, health care, social work, and housing—dominate the literature on intergenerational solidarity programs. Often these approaches are connected to long-term outcomes of well-being. An education approach is defined as providing instruction on a non–health-related activity or topic. A health care approach signifies interventions that provide treatment, monitor health status, or offer health-related guidance. A social work approach pertains to interventions that promote relationships, improve day-to-day living, or assist individuals to obtain financial benefits. A housing approach indicates interventions designed to search or secure a stable residence.

Several examples note the connection between the approaches used in intergenerational solidarity programs and long-term outcomes. For instance, one intergenerational program targeting high-school teenagers and elderly adults in nursing homes used a series of educational and social-activity workshops, such as making fabric dolls and cooking food, to discuss preassigned topics including dating/marriage and immigration (de Souza, 2011). Findings suggested that the beneficial outcomes of this program were reciprocal. Teenagers reported the benefits of improved mental and social well-being (i.e., being less shy and calmer), and elderly participants reported being less depressed and more socially active (i.e., mental and social well-being). Elderly women also reported feeling more physically active and healthier (i.e., physical well-being) than before the intervention (de Souza, 2011). This program blended the three approaches of education, health care, and social work, which resulted in a positive impact on three modes of well-being: mental, physical, and social well-being.

The approaches of housing and social welfare were paired in the Saint-Apollinaire program, comprising a community center with adjoining apartments. Equal numbers of young families and elderly adults resided side by side, sharing assets. For example, the elderly adult volunteers provided babysitting for the younger residents, and younger residents assisted elderly adults with shopping (Robertson, 2013). Volunteerism

and exchanging services have great possibilities with numerous examples, such as training volunteers to make home visits and increase resilience among older persons who tended to be isolated and feel excluded. With respect to older volunteers, the only observed obstacles were preconceived ideas on the limitations of older adults (Robertson, 2013). The goal of these programs was to benefit both generations and contribute to the impact of physical, mental, and social well-being.

Of the four approaches, the educational approach designed to promote intergenerational solidarity was the most commonly reported, as demonstrated by two systematic reviews (Canedo-García et al., 2017; Lou & Dai, 2017). Both reviews found that educational programs focused primarily on health or educational (e.g., technology) topics. Although at least two generations participated in the programs, beneficiaries were generally the elderly participants. Locations of the interventions included schools, nursing homes, and other institutions. As is common among educational approaches, the targeted impact was to improve all four modes of well-being: social, spiritual, mental, and physical.

The reviews noted two issues of concern: first, the issue of programs having unidirectional impact (e.g., primarily benefitting the elderly recipients; Canedo-García et al., 2017; Lou & Dai, 2017) versus bidirectional impact (i.e., participants of both generations), and second, the importance of designing and incorporating cultural and national norms in the development of intergenerational solidarity interventions (Lou & Dai, 2017).

Culture and Intergenerational Programs

Culture represents the values, beliefs, and traditions on which the intervention is founded, initiated, implemented, and sustained. The ubiquitous issue of culture and the perspective of family versus country obligations influence the determination and promulgation of policies promoting intergenerational solidarity (Saraceno, 2016). The term "familialism" was used to describe the continuum in which at one end, the family takes full responsibility for the care of all its members, and at the opposite end, the society and government takes full responsibility for the care of all its citizens (Leitner, 2003). Saraceno (2016) described the options of familialism from the government perspective are "whether family responsibility … is only assumed without public policy support or … actively enforced by laws or supported by income transfers, time allocation and so forth" (p. 314). Levels of familialism by country vary dramatically for young children (e.g., childcare) and elderly (e.g., pensions); some countries offer more support for young children dependents, others offer more support for elderly dependents, and still others (although few) offer equal amounts of support for both groups (Saraceno & Keck, 2010).

Culture also influences family composition, formally by country policy or informally by social norms. Accordingly, these cultural influences are reflected in both the format and content of intergenerational solidarity programs and interventions (Lou & Dai, 2017). Thus, by definition, familialism is affected by the country's culture, wealth, norms, age distribution, and ethnic and minority populations; and so interventions also reflect country culture. Consequently, although some interventions may be useful in several countries, it cannot be assumed that an intergenerational intervention effective in one country will be effective (or even welcomed) in another country (Pain, 2005).

Methods

COST Action IS1311 "Intergenerational Family Solidarity Across Europe (INTERFASOL)" was funded under the aegis of the European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST; European Cooperation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research—COST, 2013), the grant (principal investigator: Anne Marie Fontaine; co–principal investigator: Clare Holdsworth). As part of the COST format, a maximum of two representatives from each member, cooperating, or near-neighbor state were invited to participate. Each representative joined one of four working groups, created to reflect the four COST INTERFASOL's goals. This project characterizes the work of Workgroup 3 (WG3), with representatives from eleven countries (i.e., France, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom), who were directed to describe interventions to nurture family solidarity between generations (Fontaine & Holdsworth, 2018).

Aware of the paucity of literature on evidence-based programs nurturing intergenerational solidarity, the WG3 representatives divided the project into three components: (a) the development of a unifying framework, (b) obtaining and abstracting a convenience sample of programs, and (c) the assessment of commonalities and differences in the sample of programs. Ten of the 11 COST WG3 representatives selected three programs each that promoted "solidarity between generations" and France abstracted a single nation-wide umbrella program from which multiple intergenerational programs emanated. Consequently, the sample ($n = 31$) represented all COST WG3 eleven countries.

Obtaining Consensus on the Framework to Examine Programs Promoting Intergenerational Solidarity

Although the major task of the WG3 was to describe existing programs on intergenerational solidarity, some representatives were doubtful that their countries had programs solely dedicated to intergenerational family solidarity. Moreover, the phrase included the word "family," prompting a discussion on what constituted "a family" (e.g., single parent, two single-sex parents, foster family, grandparent and child). After the discussion, the WG3 made two decisions: (a) to focus on intergenerational solidarity, deleting the word "family" and (b) to include any program with an intervention that purposefully was designed to nurture solidarity across at least two generations (because no gold standard existed on the criteria that constituted an intergenerational solidarity program).

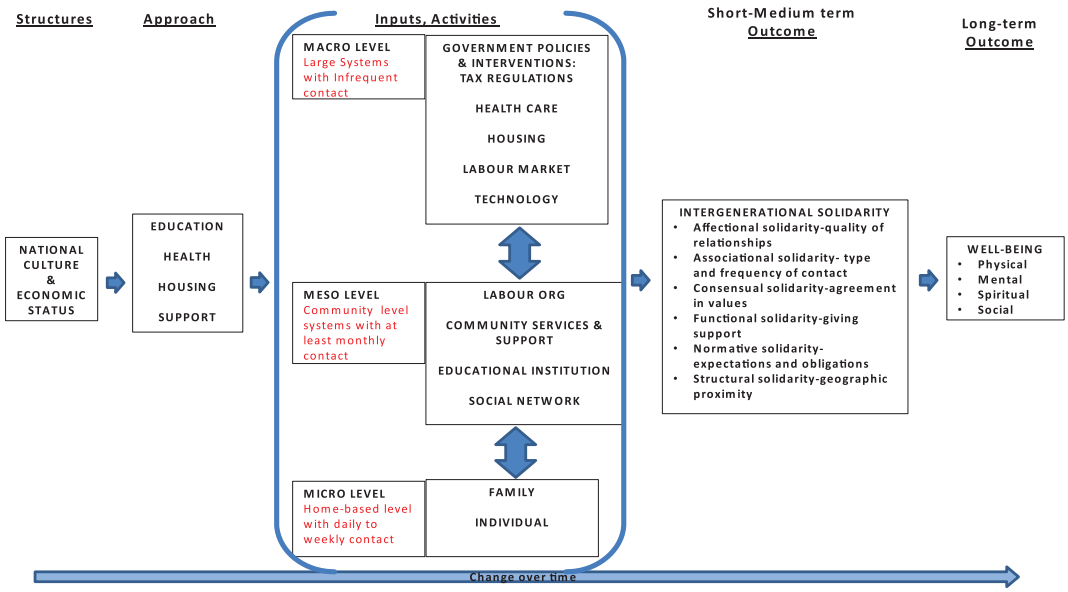
The next challenge was to create a unifying framework that would (a) incorporate existing literature, (b) guide data collection on the intergenerational solidarity programs, (c) provide basic descriptions of the intergenerational solidarity programs, and (d) enable a systematic assessment of all major program components of the intergenerational solidarity programs. The WG3 members varied by language, nationality, culture, and disciplinary field; and therefore, the framework needed to be user-friendly, clear, and free of jargon. The logic model template was adopted as the solution because this model's purpose is to organize and portray all major program components (i.e., structure and approach, inputs or activities, outcomes and impact; Goldman & Schmalz, 2006; MacPhee, 2009; McLaughlin & Jordan, 1999; see Figure 1). Through discussions on program components and informed by the literature, the WG3 determined the definition of each component.

- *Structure* included a description of the national culture, population, and generation subgroups and the program's funding source and the *approach* as signified by the program's method of intervention (i.e., through education, health, housing, or support).
- *Inputs and activities* used an adaptation of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological approach in which the intervention promoting intergenerational solidarity targeted the microsystem level indicated by either home-based or a one-on-one program; the mesosystem and exosystem were merged to represent small group or community-level programs; and the macrosystem focused on large governmental system-oriented programs (Bronfenbrenner, 2001, 2005).
- *Outcomes* were divided into two categories: short- to medium-term and long-term. Short- to medium-term outcomes were based on types of intergenerational solidarity effects as denoted by Bengston's model of intergenerational solidarity (Bengston & Roberts, 1991); long-term outcomes were categorized as promoting one or more of the four modes of well-being (i.e., physical, mental, spiritual, social).

Data Collection

The framework was conceived as a result of WG3 discussions, and identified the intergenerational solidarity program design and components that the WG3 members believed to be important and guided data collection (see online Appendix A). A two-page instrument containing the newly created framework was used to systematize the way WG3 members provided the cultural context and abstract programs in their countries. Section 1 of the instrument requested an approximately 250-word description of the country's culture and values regarding family with the instruction to "Try to give the reader an idea if values tend to be secular versus traditional families' values, or some combination." Section 2 was completed three times—once for each program.

Figure 1. Workgroup No. 3—Framework.



Results

The Programs

The descriptions of the programs ($n = 31$) from the 11 countries showed their diversity (see online Appendix B). Examples were a nationwide stand-alone program that emanated from the school system (i.e., France's Association Ensemble Demain), collaborations between organizations (e.g., Georgia's Virtual Grandchildren program at a nursing home), programs emanating from municipalities (e.g., Greece's Help at Home), nonprofit organizations targeting intergenerational solidarity (e.g., Hungary's National Association of Large Families), volunteer organizations (e.g., Ireland's Intergenerational Local History Programme Ballymun/Whitehall Area Partnership), interventions embedded in nonprofit organizations (e.g., Israel's nonprofit organization Milav that has various activities including some that promote intergenerational solidarity), and interventions spread through networks connecting several groups or organizations (e.g., United Kingdom's Camden Intergenerational Network).

Many programs targeted elderly persons by engaging a younger generation, such as children and teenagers. These programs generally had two techniques of promoting intergenerational solidarity. One was to select a task and encourage generations to work together toward a common goal (e.g., Malta's Artistic & Intergenerational Solidarity Program at Mellieha Nursing Home). Another technique was to consider the assets and needs of two (or more) generations and have the generations work together for reciprocal benefits (e.g., the Netherland's Seniorstudent, Portugal's Cosiness/Aconchego, or Spain's Comunitats d'Aprenentatge) or learn from one another (e.g., the United Kingdom's Camden Intergenerational Network).

Many programs paired educational and health approaches by engaging school or university students to work with elderly adults as a method to promote the physical and mental health of the elderly person. Such was the case with France (Association Ensemble Domain), Georgia (Virtual Grandchildren program at Nursing Home), Ireland (DCU Intergenerational Learning Programme), Malta (Active Ageing: Intergenerational Dialogue), and Portugal (Cosiness/Aconchego).

In a few situations, intergenerational solidarity programs were based at the workplace. Georgia (Collaborative Intergenerational Twinning), for example, paired younger and older physicians to assist the older physician to learn

new concepts and guidelines about contraception through web-based English-language resources of continuing education. The Netherlands has a national organization (Work and Informal care or Werkenmantelzorg.nl) where employers encouraged their employees to provide care to their elderly by offering a range of services including information and support, and even formal leave arrangements.

Several countries reported programs that specifically promoted *family* intergenerational solidarity. A program in Hungary offered social welfare and legal services targeting parents and their children in large families (National Association of Large Families or NOE in Hungarian). In Israel, one program (Arugot) targeted Orthodox Jewish parents and children who exhibited social or learning problems, and for these parent–child dyads, the program provided multidisciplinary treatment with the goals of promoting family cohesion and improving societal inclusion.

Other programs focused on preventing social isolation and loneliness, which was the goal of programs in Georgia (Information and Computer Technologies); Ireland (Intergenerational Local History Programme Ballymun/Whitehall Area Partnership); Israel (Milav); Malta (Artistic & Intergenerational Solidarity Program at Mellieha Nursing Home); the Netherlands (Urban village South Amsterdam); Portugal (Social Institution of Santa Cruz do Bispo); Spain (Viure i Conviure or translated, Living and Living Together); and the United Kingdom (Camden Intergenerational Network).

Descriptions of formal rigorous evaluation of the programs' short-, medium-, or long-term outcomes were rare. Some programs linked to universities were funded by research, and so evaluation was conducted as part of a study. Other programs used surveys for evaluation. Many programs indicated that the generations involved benefited, but there were no specifics reported. In general, descriptions of program fidelity and systematic evaluation were lacking.

Among the programs examined, about a tenth received financing primarily by private businesses, almost a quarter were financed primarily by philanthropy, and more than a quarter were financed primarily be the government (see Table 1). About a third had mixed funding sources. More than half were based in community sites or not-for-profit agencies, and the remainder were administered at government building or provided in family's homes.

Table 1. *Characteristics of Programs* (n = *31) from the 11 Countries*

Characteristics	% (*n*)
Primary source of funding	
Mostly government	29.0 (9)
Mostly philanthropy	25.8 (8)
Mostly business	12.9 (4)
Mixture	32.3 (10)
Site of administration	
Government building	29.0 (9)
Community site or not-for-profit agency	51.6 (16)
Family home	19.4 (6)
Type of intergenerational solidarity	
General	77.4 (24)
Family	22.6 (7)
Program Approach (may have >1)	
Education	64.5 (20)
Health	67.7 (21)
Housing	16.1 (5)
Finance/welfare	32.3 (3)
Targeted area of intergenerational solidarity (may have >1)	
Affectional	80.7 (25)
Associational	48.4 (15)
Consensual	51.6 (16)
Functional	74.2 (23)
Normative	35.5 (11)
Structural	25.8 (8)
Long-term goal to promote well-being	
Physical well-being, only	6.7 (2)
Mental well-being, only	6.7 (2)
Spiritual well-being, only	3.3 (1)
Social well-being, only	63.3 (19)
Combination includes social	23.3 (7)

More than three quarters of the programs focused on intergenerational solidarity rather than intergenerational *family* solidarity. Program approaches overlapped, two thirds provided interventions involving education or health, a third focused on finances or welfare, and less than a fifth dealt with housing.

All the intergenerational programs were instituted to promote solidarity among generations—whether it was to increase one or more of the following types of intergenerational solidarity dimensions (Bengston & Roberts, 1991): associational (i.e., interaction between generations), affectual (i.e., trust and

warm sentiments), consensual (i.e., agreement on attitudes), functional (i.e., exchange of resources), normative (i.e., commitment to filial roles), or structural solidarity (i.e., family structure and geographic proximity). Affectional solidarity was the target of four-fifths of the programs. Almost three quarters targeted functional solidarity. Associational and consensual solidarity was targeted by about half, and normative solidarity was the aim of a third. Structural solidarity was the aim of about a quarter of programs.

Social well-being was the most commonly sought long-term impact, as it was the sole goal or among the combined goals for more than 87% of programs. Less than 16% of programs identified the single ultimate impact of physical, mental, or spiritual well-being.

Cultural Issues: Family Transition, Tradition, and Country Government

Cultural descriptions provided by the different countries suggested that family as the smallest structural unit in society was important; however, the family was constantly undergoing change due to the tension between the modernization-urbanization and aging phenomena occurring at the country level and the impact these phenomena had on filial expectations at the family level. Country-level changes that progressively had strong influences included legalizing same-sex marriages (Ireland in 2015, Malta in 2017, Portugal in 2016), declining birth rate (Georgia, Hungary, Portugal, and Spain), smaller family size (Ireland and the United Kingdom), fragmented families (France and the United Kingdom), and increasing life expectancy (all countries).

National traditions influenced intergenerational solidarity as noted by Ireland, Hungary, and Malta, where family remains a priority. Mediterranean countries, including Greece, Spain, and Portugal, also noted the historical importance of strong family relations. In Israel, family is central, and fertility (such as in vitro fertilization) is supported both nationally and culturally, resulting in the highest birth rate among the studied countries.

Some issues unique to specific countries were influencing family, tradition and intergenerational solidarity. One example was Georgia, a country that lost one-third of the population between 1989 and 2017 through conflicts with Russia and emigration that resulted in severe depopulation in some regions and villages. Portugal was another example, as it is not only a country with one of the fastest aging societies in the world, but it also was suffering from the consequences of an economic crisis with high rates of unemployed youth. These two characteristics added to the burden of the sandwich generation (i.e., the working adults were "sandwiched" between the dependent generations of children and elderly adults).

The country's economic assets and resources influenced the manner and degree that the state eased the burden of the families caring for their youth and elderly persons. The Netherlands, for instance, is a high-income, densely populated country, where the geographic distance between families is small and intergenerational contact between two or even three generations is frequent. As a result, the country has adopted a defamilialization policy pattern, in which the welfare state provides generous support for its citizens (e.g., minimum pension, grants and loans for students). Although the policies differ, other countries with social welfare philosophies, such as France, Hungary, Malta, and Israel, also possess governmental programs or funding support promoting family care for youth and older adults. In Hungary, support includes childcare allowances, benefits, tax incentives, and state loans for first home. Malta provides reduced and flexible working hours and more family-friendly, work–life balance policies, while France has introduced intergenerational educational programs. Georgia and Portugal, where the welfare state is less developed and public family policy support is lower, rely on families' private resources and relatives' support for youth and elder care.

Discussion and Implications

By using a single unifying framework conceived by the existing literature, this project portrayed the vast variety and diversity of programs within and among countries, as well as the commonalties and differences in their approaches, designs, and funding sources. Not unexpectedly, programs in many countries promoted intergenerational solidarity by connecting two dependent generations (i.e., children and elderly) through schools and nursing homes, respectively—the very institutions populated by these two dependent generations. Most European and

industrialized countries have aging populations, and to ensure economic and social viability and stability, programs linking these generations and instilling filial obligation were needed. Recommendations included linking organizations used by the younger populations such as educational institutions and workplaces with those used by the older generations (Radu, 2014).

Many intergenerational programs in this convenience sample demonstrated the strong presence of the connection between schools and institutions, such as nursing homes; however, few had programs involving the workplace. Of those programs emanating from the workplace, only one provided support to workers or offered workers suggestions on how to cope and support older family members.

All programs require resources, leading to the question: With limited resources, how can neighborhoods, communities, and countries allocate resources equitably between the dependent populations (young and elderly)? In the sample of programs abstracted for this project, promoting intergenerational solidarity appeared to be more of a community-based than family-based concern. The decrease in filial obligations and *family* intergenerational solidarity in industrialized countries has been the impetus for creating community-based options; however, as the burden of caring for dependent populations increases, the question on how to ensure economic and social sustainability continues to be raised (Jarrott, 2010). Rather than implement programs where there are specific givers and receivers, Jarrott (2010) recommended using the result management model, which assesses assets, needs, and desired goals of the generations in a particular community and, based on the results, programs are implemented that match and integrate generational exchange.

Finding an answer to the question on funding was beyond the scope of this project; still, the concern about funding remains given that most programs in this sample had various types of funding. Only about a quarter were government funded. Intergenerational solidarity may be fostered by introducing governmental policies that facilitate societal interdependence so all generations interact and work with one another to encourage full society participation (Sanchez & Hatton-Yeo, 2012). This belief is outlined by the World Health Organization (2002) Framework on Active Ageing. In this sample of programs, intergenerational solidarity was mostly supported by blended funding and by nonprofit organizations or programs partnering with universities or school classrooms. A model of sustainability for intergenerational solidarity, such as the result management model recommended by Jarrott (2010), was not found in the sampled programs (Jarrott, 2010).

Another observation was that while the approaches of health and welfare were common, the housing approach was rare. The few programs that employed housing appeared to encourage an exchange of assets among housing residents to assist with achieving each other's needs. Due to the limited number of words available in the program abstracts, there was no way to determine whether housing in these programs was subsidized or whether there was funding to encourage and support the exchange of assets (e.g., babysitting for transportation). Additionally, because the project involved a convenience sample of programs, blended housing situations with an exchange of assets among its residents may be more prevalent than depicted in this study. Still, the programs in this study indicated the importance of engaging disciplines such as urban planners, architects, and community advocates as well as those in health care and welfare.

Lastly, rigorous evaluation indicating successful attainment of the impact comprising physical, mental, social, or spiritual well-being was lacking for the generations engaged in the program. Without evaluations to delineate the programs with the most promise, it is difficult to make recommendations. The two literature reviews showed evaluations had been made on educational programs (Canedo-García et al., 2017; Lou & Dai, 2017) and the need to consider the cultural impact. However, they lacked evaluation; and of the programs sampled, few assessed outcomes or the eventual impact. Moreover, no international intergenerational programs were found. Thus, it was unclear whether the programs that were successful in one country would flourish in another.

Although there is no assumption that one type of program fits all countries, countries may identify a program found in one country that might work well in their country. Focusing on social well-being was virtually ubiquitous in the vast majority of programs. Moreover, countries appeared to take a broad view of intergenerational solidarity, as many of the programs sought to encourage interaction among generations in

the community, not solely within the family unit. This result suggests the need for community, regional, or country-wide interventions, which would necessitate governmental funding.

Given that the project was implemented to study decreasing beliefs and values regarding intergenerational relationships, such as filial obligations, among European countries and Israel, particularly toward elderly persons (Lou & Dai, 2017; Sanchez & Hatton-Yeo, 2012), it was not surprising to note that the targeted short- to medium-term outcomes were affectional and functional intergenerational solidarity and that the most common approaches were educational and health. The most typical method to improve the mental and physical health among isolated elderly persons was to foster connections, which increased the quality of relationships (i.e., affectual solidarity) and the level of support (i.e., functional solidarity). Clearly, as shown in the Table 1, the dimensions of intergenerational solidarity overlapped. The finding that associational, consensual, and normative solidarity were less commonly found in the short- to medium-term outcomes may be because these dimensions required the foundation of affectual and functional solidarity (Bengston & Roberts, 1991).

The importance of intergenerational solidarity was highlighted not only by the literature but also by the European Union's funding of the COST Action that recognized that interventions promoting intergenerational solidarity, both within families and in the community, benefited the physical, mental, spiritual, and social well-being of all generations. However, future study is needed to examine which generations benefit (or do not) from certain types of programs and to identify the programs or interventions that succeed in obtaining the best outcomes for each dimension of intergenerational solidarity. Systematic evaluation of programs and exploration of impact longitudinally was virtually absent in the programs examined, and this is needed if we want to identify best practices in intergenerational solidarity programs.

The need for a unifying framework arose as none were found in the peer-reviewed literature. Frameworks indicate the parameters necessary to assess intergenerational programs. One reason that a framework was not found may be due to the lack of interventions in the peer-reviewed literature. Without sufficient examples, there is no need to devise a framework. Another reason may be the difficulty in designing a unifying framework that addresses the full breadth of approaches used to provide interventions and diverse areas of impact or outcomes anticipated. The goal of creating a unifying framework for intergenerational solidarity programs was among the goals of this project (and article).

A unifying framework was needed to advance policies, administration, practice and even the science of intergenerational programs. The newly developed unifying framework was synthesized by using information from the literature as well as the input from the WG3 representatives' 11 countries. It incorporated the assessment of Bengston's dimensions of solidarity as well as the four types of well-being (the long-term outcome expected from the interventions). The framework recognized that interventions might originate at different levels of influence (i.e., macrosystem, exosystem, mesosystem, microsystem) and that the intervention could use one or more of four approaches (i.e., education, health, housing, or support). Additionally, the framework included the possibility that cultural and country policy, which molded interventions to fit a specific culture and country, may need to be altered for implementation in another culture or country.

Limitations and Implications

This project was not without limitations. WG3 representatives selected programs with which they were familiar. There was no attempt to conduct random sampling or to represent all programs. Moreover, it is likely the disciplines of the WG3 representatives influenced their program selection and that the selection reflects their beliefs about intergenerational solidarity. We also did not have an empirical, quantitative, or qualitative standardized evaluation of each program (although a qualitative evaluation instrument does exist; Jarrott, 2019). Consequently, generalizability of these results must be made with caution.

However, this project highlighted the diversity of programs available in the 11 countries, as well as the dearth of input from important disciplines. Housing programs demonstrated the need to include architects and urban planners. Volunteer and nonprofit organizations needed assistance in communicating program availability

through advertisers and public policy spokespersons. Creative programs would benefit by the contributions of art disciplines, including theatre professionals, art therapists, artists, and musicians. Government officials were needed to assist organizations to integrate into their municipalities. Most importantly, programs needed to fit the cultural context of the country and population. With the changing structure of family, and differences between generations, countries may want to enlist advisory groups with community members of different generations and different professional disciplines to inform policies and efforts to advance the creation of optimal intergenerational solidarity programs.

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

Appendix A Program Descriptions Guided by Logic Model Components

Appendix B Instrument for Abstracting Program Information