Title	Adult generativity for the socialization of children : exchanges between aged persons and children in Japanese local communities
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Abstract	In an ageing society with fewer children, negotiating the socialization of adolescents is rather challenging. At the same time, the socialization function of families during the transition from adolescence to adulthood and greater independence has weakened. Given these circumstances, socialization in local communities has been a pressing issue, particularly when one expects support from the elderly. One potential link between the two generations is suggested by Erikson's life span ego-development task (1950), wherein generativity refers to an adult's concern with establishing and guiding the next generation. However, this theory is not applicable in the case of communication between the elderly and children in Japan, because, as Suzuki (2008) has pointed out, Erikson's life span stages are not supposed to be fixed according to age but are flexible and depend on the environment. The aim of the present study is, therefore, to explore (1) how we can identify the exchanges between the elderly and children in local communities, (2) how an aged person's generativity contributes to the socialization of children in the local community, and (3) how it has been accepted by the people in that community. First, a cluster analysis of 133 articles on exchanges between aged persons and children reveal three clusters of inter-generational exchanges: inter-generational exchanges by NPOs or volunteer groups (Cluster 1), inter-generational exchanges by the government (Cluster 2), and inter-generational exchanges by groups of aged persons (Cluster 3). Most importantly, Cluster 3 is applicable to my subject—generativity and the socialization of children. It was suggested that an aged person's generativity contributes to the socialization of children in the local community through exchanges. Second, I focused on exchanges by senior volunteers in order to consider generativity and child socialization in local communities. Qualitative interviews with senior volunteers in two local communities—Terakoya activities in City A and School Support Volunteers in City B—reveal three types of constructive styles of generativity in the inter-generational exchanges in local communities. First, senior volunteers consider themselves the transmitters of socially contributory activities. Second, they see themselves as being involved in raising their grandchildren. Third, certain senior volunteers tended to describe their motivation as emerging from individual concerns such as healthcare, companionship, and resources. It is noteworthy that almost all volunteers broaden their interest in their grandchildren to include all the children in the local community through various activities. Third, I examined the social background that enables the elderly people in two communities to identify how they perceive the inter-generational exchanges. It is

	revealed that the trust relationship among schools, the local government, and volunteers in local communities is constructed through activities. Hence, the challenge for local communities is to support and arrange for social backgrounds, taking into consideration the various types of motivation for getting involved in volunteer work and making use of senior volunteer's generativity to ensure that the right person is in the right place for the socialization of children.
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Adult Generativity for the Socialization of Children: Exchanges between Aged Persons and Children in Japanese Local Communities

Yoh Murayama

Abstract

In an ageing society with fewer children, negotiating the socialization of adolescents is rather challenging. At the same time, the socialization function of families during the transition from adolescence to adulthood and greater independence has weakened. Given these circumstances, socialization in local communities has been a pressing issue, particularly when one expects support from the elderly.

One potential link between the two generations is suggested by Erikson's life span ego-development task (1950), wherein generativity refers to an adult's concern with establishing and guiding the next generation.[1] However, this theory is not applicable in the case of communication between the elderly and children in Japan, because, as Suzuki (2008) has pointed out, Erikson's life span stages are not supposed to be fixed according to age but are flexible and depend on the environment.[2]

The aim of the present study is, therefore, to explore (1) how we can identify the exchanges between the elderly and children in local communities, (2) how an aged person's generativity contributes to the socialization of children in the local community, and (3) how it has been accepted by the people in that community.

First, a cluster analysis of 133 articles on exchanges between aged persons and children reveal three clusters of inter-generational exchanges: inter-generational exchanges by NPOs or volunteer groups (Cluster 1), inter-generational exchanges by the government (Cluster 2), and inter-generational exchanges by groups of aged persons (Cluster 3). Most importantly, Cluster 3 is applicable to my subject—generativity and the socialization of children. It was suggested that an aged person's generativity contributes to the socialization of children in the local community through exchanges.

Second, I focused on exchanges by senior volunteers in order to consider generativity and child socialization in local communities. Qualitative interviews with senior volunteers in two local communities—Terakoya activities in City A and School Support Volunteers in

City B—reveal three types of constructive styles of generativity in the inter-generational exchanges in local communities. First, senior volunteers consider themselves the transmitters of socially contributory activities. Second, they see themselves as being involved in raising their grandchildren. Third, certain senior volunteers tended to describe their motivation as emerging from individual concerns such as healthcare, companionship, and resources. It is noteworthy that almost all volunteers broaden their interest in their grandchildren to include all the children in the local community through various activities.

Third, I examined the social background that enables the elderly people in two communities to identify how they perceive the inter-generational exchanges. It is revealed that the trust relationship among schools, the local government, and volunteers in local communities is constructed through activities. Hence, the challenge for local communities is to support and arrange for social backgrounds, taking into consideration the various types of motivation for getting involved in volunteer work and making use of senior volunteer's generativity to ensure that the right person is in the right place for the socialization of children.

I. Introduction

In an ageing society with fewer children, negotiating the socialization of adolescents is rather challenging. At the same time, in the process of the transition from adolescence to adulthood and toward greater independence, the socialization function of families has weakened.[3] Given these circumstances, socialization in local communities has become a pressing issue, particularly when one expects support from the elderly (e.g., Implication of Period of Integrated Study).

One potential link between the two generations is suggested by Erikson's life span ego-development task, wherein generativity refers to an adult's concern with establishing and guiding the next generation. According to Erikson (1950), middle-aged adults who fail to develop generativity may experience a sense of stagnation. He argued that failure in generativity is often caused by self-preoccupation. Many adults are too self-preoccupied to care about others.

More recently, Kotre (1984) distinguished between four types of generativity: biological generativity (begetting, bearing, and nursing of children), parental generativity (caring for children), technical generativity (teaching skills), and cultural generativity (passing on meaning systems).[4] He also developed a theory of generativity in which he indicates two modes of generativity: agentic generativity and communal generativity. In agentic generativity, life interest is retained in the self. In contrast, in communal generativity, life interest is transferred to the generative objects (Kotre, 1984). Some experimental studies show that the generativity of adults influences the socialization of their children.[5]

However, these theories are not applicable in the case of communication between elderly people and children in Japan, because, as Suzuki (2008) has pointed out, Erikson's life

span stages are not necessarily fixed according to age but are flexible and depend on the environment. While many studies reveal that generative concern and generative behavior peak in middle-aged adults, it is also revealed that the developmental course of generativity is shaped by social and cultural forces.[6] In other words, it is important to consider generativity and socialization along with the local community. However, this has not yet been studied. In addition, the actual conditions of inter-generational exchanges in local communities have not been clearly reported.

The aim of the present study is, therefore, to explore (1) how we can identify the exchanges between elderly people and children in local communities, (2) how an aged person's generativity contributes to the socialization of children in the local community, and (3) how this has been accepted by the people within that community.

Since these case studies have a relatively small sample size, my objectives are not to generalize the results but to find some significant pattern of Generativity and Socialization in the Japanese local community.

II. Cluster Analysis:
Identification of Exchanges between Aged Persons and Children

I conducted a cluster analysis of 133 articles on exchanges between aged persons and children based on activities, central generations, organizations, places, and the frequency of exchanges.

First, I gathered articles on inter-generational exchanges from the 2008 online database of three journals (Asahi, Yomiuri, and Nikkei) and from other official reports. I made a coding sheet in which 24 items were divided into the following five subjects: (1) Places (School, Indoor, and Outdoor), (2) Frequency (Regular and Irregular), (3) Organizations (Administration, Elementary School, NPO Volunteer, and Local Association), (4) Central generation (Children, Adolescents, Adults, Aged Persons, and Complex), and (5) Activities (Social Support, Educational Support, Playing, Festival, Crime Prevention activity, Ecological Activity, Sport, Local Activity, Generativity Activity, and the Internet).

Second, I gave the articles a rating of zero or one (yes or no) with regard to the 24 items. For example, in the case of places, if certain activities were carried out at school, then I will give 1 point for school and 0 points for Indoor and Outdoor items. In this manner, I created a matrix for the cluster analysis.

Finally, I conducted the cluster analysis on the articles using Ward's method of cluster analysis with the help of the SPSS software. As a result, according to the distance measure and dendrogram, I obtained three clusters on inter-generational exchanges.

1. Three Clusters of Exchanges between Aged Persons and Children

The results of the cluster analysis reveal the following three clusters of inter-generational exchanges (Figure 1): inter-generational exchanges by NPOs and volunteer groups, in which young or middle generations are central to the provision of educational support for children in school and social support for the elderly people in need of nursing care or help with child rearing (Cluster 1); inter-generational exchanges by the governor, in which multi-generations are central to local activities such as community service or eco activities (Cluster 2); and inter-generational exchanges by groups of aged persons, in which the older generations in local communities are central to generative activities such as traditional festivals or cultural activities and playing with children (Cluster 3).

2. Conclusions Drawn from Cluster Analysis

As previously noted, I investigated how we can identify the exchanges between the aged persons and children in local communities. The cluster analysis reveals that this depends on their activities, central generation groups, and places. In fact, apparently, these clusters overlap as seen in Figure 2. Most importantly, Cluster 3 is applicable to my subject—generativity and children socialization. It was suggested that an aged person's generativity contributes to the socialization of children in the local community through exchanges. In other words, aged persons can achieve their generativity through various recent inter-generational exchanges in local communities. Next, I will focus on the exchanges by senior volunteers in view of the generativity and child socialization in local communities.

Figure.1 Dendrogram
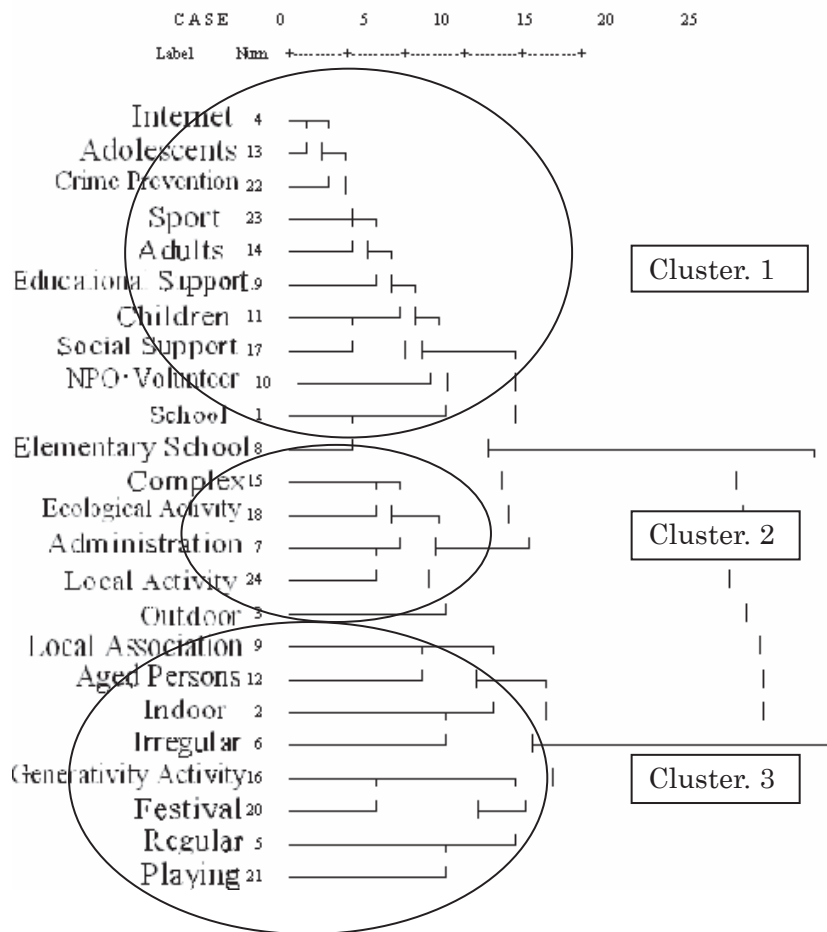
Figure. 2 Overlap among the three clusters
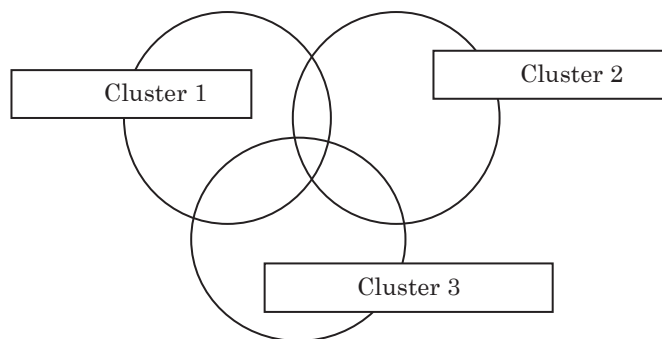
III. Participant Interview:
The Generativity of Aged Persons and Socialization of Children
in Japanese Local Communities

In this section, I shall discuss the results observed in the participant interviews of aged persons and the socialization of children in local communities. I conducted qualitative interviews with senior volunteers who are engaged in inter-generational exchanges of elderly people in the following two local communities—Terakoya activities in City A and School Support Volunteers in City B, in which senior volunteers have taken the initiative to conduct activities that have been comparatively successful.

I chose Cities A and B since they are representative rural areas in Japan, and the school support volunteers in City B and Terakoya in City A are representative successful cases of inter-generational exchanges between aged persons and children.

The duration of each interview was between one and two hours, and the interviews were recorded on an IC recorder. All the interviews were completed in 2008. The sample comprised about 17 senior volunteers. The demographics of 11 senior volunteers, who are shown in this section, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Demographics of the Informants

Senior Volunteer	gender	Age	City	activities
A	male	70's	City B	Security Support, Environmental Support,
B	female	50's	City A	Playing, Educational Support
C	female	70's	City B	Educational Support (Japanese flower arrangement)
D	female	70's	City A	Playing, Educational Support
E	female	70's	City A	Playing, Educational Support
F	female	60's	City B	Educational Support (Old Japanese play)
G	male	70's	City B	Environmental Suppor
H	female	60's	City A	Playing, Educational Support
I	female	70's	City B	Educational Support (Traditional local dishes)
J	female	70's	City A	Reading books
K	female	50's	City B	Educational support (Playing with children)

1. Terakoya Activities in City A

Terakoya in City A have been offered at public elementary schools since 2005. Their involvement was suggested by the superintendent of schools for the purpose of (1) Improving the health and well-being of the elderly and (2) for the cultivation of human nature for children (Picture 2).

The name "Terakoya," which literally means "temple schools," has been given to pri-

vate educational institutions that taught writing and reading to the children of Japanese commoners during the Edo Dynasty (1603~1868). The purpose of Terakoya was to provide these children with the fundamental knowledge necessary for their daily life activities (Picture1).

With regard to Terakoya in City A, various senior volunteer groups such as the Federation of Senior Citizens' Clubs and Women's Associations of Aged Persons have participated in Terakoya activities. They have inter-generational exchanges with pupils once or twice a week in the Terakoya rooms in which they conduct various kinds of activities such as playing games, reading books, and origami. City A conducts a workshop for senior volunteers one to three times a year. City A allocates fourteen thousand yen to each school. Currently, 43 of the 45 elementary schools adopt this system.

Picture1. Terakoya of Edo Period
written by Hanasato

Picture2. Terakoya in City A (2008)

2. School Support Volunteers in City B

City B School Support Volunteers is an official system, which was established in 1998 under the Kisarazu City Board of Education as a project to support child-raising in the family, school, and local community. It was one of the first school support volunteers programs in Japan. Anyone in City B can participate in this program by registering with the School Senior Volunteers' list. The requests of schools are staffed through the coordinator of Volunteer Services. School Support Volunteers can choose to work among (1) Educational Support, (2) Environmental Support, and (3) Security Support. Currently, 1788 concerned citi-

zens are registered as School Support Volunteers, and 6,291 activities have been successfully conducted. Commitments vary from one hour each month to two hours weekly, depending upon the volunteer's availability.

The Board of Education conducts a workshop for school support volunteers one to three times a year. City B allocates a ten thousand yen gift coupon to each school.

3. Motivation to Work

3.1. Interest in Social Contribution

On the one hand, certain senior volunteers tend to motivate inter-generational exchanges due to their interest in children or in making a social contribution. In fact, most of them have engaged in volunteer work or social care work since several years. This tendency is identified from the comments of volunteer B who is part of the school support volunteers, while volunteer A has been engaged in volunteer work since a long time, such as disaster and nursing home volunteer work. Furthermore, volunteer B perceives the school support volunteers as part of these volunteer activities. Terakoya's volunteer B is interested in child rearing, and she was involved in the after-school care of school children earlier. School support volunteer C, who teaches flower arrangement, expects to contribute to her community.

> A: Well, the children respond immediately. You know, they are so cute. So *I don't mind taking the trouble for them.* I have engaged in an activity like PTA (Parent-Teacher Association). I hope that they cultivate volunteer spirit and *deepen their understanding of volunteers.* When the Southern Hyogo Earthquake hit in 1995, I stayed there for 70 days.

> B: Grandchild of ○○ is in grade three of elementary school. Last fall, l taught him Japanese calligraphy, so he said, "Why don't you go to Terakoya activities?" (...) That is why I am participating in Terakoya activities. (...) *I was also involved in the after-school care of school children*.

> C: *After all, (I wish) the community is very bright.* In my community, where houses were built by baying subdivisions of certain companies, there are only old people. I was laughing with my husband saying that one of these days it would be an underpopulated area. There are few young people. So *I want all the more to treasure the children here*.

3.2 Interest in One's Own Grandchildren

On the other hand, certain senior volunteers tended to be motivated toward inter-generational exchanges because of an interest in their grandchildren. For example, Terakoya volunteers D and E and school support volunteer F cited the presence of her grandson as the reason for her participation in local activities. D resides near her son and his wife's home. She takes care of her grandchildren for a long time, while their parents go to work. D said that she often reads books and gives massages to her grandchildren. E lives together with her son and wife's family. She is also responsible for taking care of her grandchildren. E said that she enjoys cooking with her grandchildren. All the volunteers said that the motivation for their participation was concern for their grandchildren. School support volunteer F also lives with and takes care of her grandchildren. When her grandchild was in the first grade, her daughter recommended that she try volunteer work.

> D: *It was because my grandchild was so young that I decided to participate in (Terakoya). (…) When he (grandchild) had homework wherein he had to read, I would listen to his reading and say, "This is an excellent essay, world masterpiece." He would then ask me, "How do you know this?" I would then say, "I know this, because I have lived for a longtime"(…) (He would say,) "Grandma, give me a hand massage or shoulder massage." And I would massage him, press his legs and shoulders like this, for about 10 minutes. Then, he would soon fall asleep. He would say, "Wow, Grandma's hands are like magic."*

> E: *Now, I live with two grandchildren. At the start of Terakoya, I had not participated in the activities. So, when (my grandchild) was in the first grade, I joined as a volunteer. (…) At the time of the equinox, I taught them (grandchildren) how to make Ohagi (Sweet rice balls). Then, they looked happy and said that handmade sweets are delicious. When I asked them to help the next time we cooked, they readily agreed.*

> F: *When my grandchild was in the first grade, I was involved in volunteer work. However, there were many instances where I was unable to go. However, I have made Kendama (Japanese toy) and played with the children as a volunteer. In addition, I have participated in the cooking and the dressmaking activities. But now, my elder grandchild is in the first year of junior high school and the younger one is in the sixth grades. (…)when I came here, my daughter saw my talents and said that if I could do so much, why waste it; I have learned dressmaking and Japanese dressmaking in the country. After this, I became a full- time volunteer.*

3.3   Interest in Oneself

The inter-generational exchanges of some senior volunteers tended to be motivated by individual concerns such as healthcare, companionship, and resources. This type of motivation has been seen in retired men in particular. For example, school support volunteer G insists on his concern as a motivation for him to engage in school support volunteer activities. He is now 76 years old. When he was around 60 years old, he retired from carpentry and became an officer at an educational organization in the community. He is now also a member of a charcoal making club. Terakoya volunteer H said that volunteer work is important for maintaining her health.

> G: I quit working now. Nothing. I am free. This is why I do something using my body. If I do nothing, I will be at a loss. I intended to live at my leisure. But, if I do something, I will be occupied.

> H: First of all, it is for being active. Even if I feel that I have a headache today, I participate, and then I can recover. Well, I can be active if I do this.

4.   Meaning of Activities

4.1.   Generativity for Children in Local Communities

Almost all the senior volunteers showed generativity for the children in the local community as the meaning of activities. It is significant that most of the volunteers tended to describe themselves as transmitters of culture or the continuation of their predecessors. For example, school support volunteer I is engaged in school support volunteer activities to pass on the recipes of traditional dishes to the younger generations in the local community. School support volunteer C, who teaches flower arrangement, stressed the importance of passing on traditional Japanese culture to children. School support volunteer A spoke about how senior school support volunteers play a big role in the lives of the children and how much he respects them. Furthermore, he expects to transfer his volunteerism to children through inter-generational exchanges.

> I: <u>The reason is that my mother had made Hutomaki (Rolled Sushi).</u> (···) My mother had brought me Hutomaki in the period of the festival for our family (family a woman has married into). She had done this for 10 years. As she got older, she couldn't do it. So <u>I thought that I had to do it. That is my reason. And now, I do it</u>.

> C: We handed out questionnaires pertaining to the interest of young people in traditional

Japanese culture. When the teacher asked me to estimate how many students would be interested, I answered "10%"; however, I was proved wrong and only 1.5% of the students were actually interested. <u>Japan has a splendid culture and various other cultures, and in view of this, I requested the community center to support us in passing on the traditional culture to children, and we intended to do our best.</u> However, there were only a few positive reactions.

A: There is an elderly couple who watch over the children in the school zone for one hour everyday (...). The wife is seventyish and, of course, her husband too. She is three or four years older than I am. I am 68 years old. I suppose that her husband is much older. I think I need much more time to become like them. So, my hat off to them. (...) <u>I hope that they (children) cultivate their volunteerism and deepen their understanding of volunteer work even after they go to high school and university.</u>

In addition, it seems that certain senior volunteers, who consider their grandchildren as the object of generativity, broaden their generativity to other children in the local community through volunteer work. For example, Terakoya volunteers D and E, who had first become volunteers due to their grand children, suggest the expansion of their interests from their family to the children and schools in the local communities.

D: My Grandson said, "My Grandma is here, our teacher is here," as he joined his friends. Until now, because (he has) five brothers, he was unwilling to play outside. (...) But now, his friends approach him and they are friends since I joined Terakoya activities and I am called "Grandma Teacher".

E: I said (to my grandson), "Today I'll join Terakoya." Then, he went to school cheerfully. When I joined Terakoya, he cheered up by saying "My Grandma is here!" I think things are looking better.

4.2. Local Community Connection

Certain volunteers provide some meaning to the construction of the relationship among people in the local community. According to their accounts, it appears that they enjoy communicating with children in their local community. In particular, they can easily communicate with each other outside school by calling each other by nicknames such as Mother ○○, Father○○, which is the name used by the children. For instance, school support volunteer, F, who taught the children how to play with Kendama (Japanese toy), mentioned her inter-generational exchanges outside school. It seems that she feels extremely happy. School support volunteer J, who is involved in reading in the morning, related incidents of inter-generational exchanges when she would go for a walk with her dog. F and J are called

by their nicknames that have been created by the children during their volunteer activities.

> F: _When I went shopping, they called me "Kendama teacher" or "Grandma of ○○ (name of her grandchildren)" and said "hello" to me._ They approach me. I feel happy sometimes. (...) Because (I live) near the school, (children) say "hello" on their return from school. It is the same with the junior high school students. _I feel really good in this point._

> J: Since I walk the dog when school ends, _(children) say "Tale Mother." They consider that (they) need to tell a story (to me) as (I am) "Tale Mother."_ (Children) comment on whether that day's tale was interesting or boring, and then, (they) relate incidents of what happened with them that day, for example, I will play with friends or today I fell down in a certain class. _In these times, I feel happy_.

Furthermore, it appears that the relationship, which was constructed through inter-generational exchanges, is continuous in the local community after the pupils graduate from elementary school. For example, school support volunteer K, who is involved in playing activities during the lunch break, said that the intimate relationships among children have been constructed through the activities and this relationship continues even afterwards.

> K: When I meet (children) somewhere or other, they tell me something "Ah…Ah." When they had a quarrel, I spoke to them. When there were crying, I said "I am Mother of ○○ (Club's name)." And then, I encouraged them to shake hands. They grow up after the graduation. It is easy to talk to them. We are sometimes afraid of unfamiliar junior high school students. But, _I feel comfortable with children who participated in our activities and are now junior high school students. I feel very intimate_.

In addition, some volunteers stressed upon the meeting and connection with school teachers and other volunteers. For instance, school support volunteer K said that she enjoyed chatting with other volunteers after the day's work. on this occasion, it appears that they exchange information such as that pertaining to children, teachers, and the school.

> K: After the volunteer work, we hadn't done this before, coffee or green tea is prepared. And then, (we) get together and have a nice time chatting together like in a tea ceremony. I enjoy speaking about the children and my day's activities and so on.

5.   Social Background

5.1.   School Side and Local Government Side

In this section, I will examine the social background, which enables elderly people in two communities to identify how they perceive the inter-generational exchanges in local cities. I conducted qualitative interviews with school teachers and city officials who are involved in inter-generational exchanges in Terakoya in City A and School Support Volunteers in City B.

   Most of the people in local communities favored the exchanges between the children and elderly people. For example, L, a teacher of an elementary school in City B, said, "I have an impression that every year children—although they aren't the same ones—are looking forward to (these exchanges)." A vice-principal of an elementary school in City A, M, stressed the effect of the special talents of senior volunteers, which can support the school teachers. However, teachers pointed out some difficulty such as the arrangement of time and the relationship with volunteers.

> L: I suppose that the interaction with people living in the local community is important for a child's development and security. I think that it'll be very hard to realize this, but I hope that people will get more involved (...) Arrangements or arranging the time is hard work. But, we need to arrange for these activities as a continuity of doing this year what we did in the previous year, because schools have ever-changing aspects. (male, City B)

> M: There is a limit to how much a teacher can do, or there is a time limit. _Their special talents can reflect well on the children._ In contrast, can a teacher do this alone? When I think about developments of sensibility or behavior, I believe that a teacher can't do this alone. (male, City A)

Furthermore, the president of a self-government association in City A, N, expects socialization to serve as a tool for ensuring the security of children in their meetings with Terakoya volunteers.

> N: All senior volunteers are devoted to (activities) (...) I suppose that interactions with a Grandmother would be useful for the human developmental process. (male, City A)

City official, O, in City A expected the exchanges to have an effect on the mental development of children more than on their scholastic ability; however, he pointed out the absence of coordinators who could interact with the people in their local community and the lack of

senior volunteers. In fact, in all the successful cases of exchanges, there was always a coordinator among the senior volunteers. While city official P in city B hoped for the effects on the development of the norms for children, he indicated the importance of the motivation of the school side, because a lack of the motivation of teachers may be a barrier in the relationship with volunteers.

> O: At first, (we) recommended drill exercises, but studies are not the most important thing. For the meaning of social education, exchanges are essential. <u>Through exchanges, (we expect) to cultivate children's brilliant human nature.</u> (…) After all, well-organized volunteers have succeeded. We may take the example of ○○ (name of district), which is a women's association. (male, City A)

> P: Children are the center(of these activities), but, there are many differences among the teachers—teachers who consider how volunteers feel and teachers who produce the atmosphere of the annoyance. (male, City B)

5.2. Meeting and Workshop

In the two cities, meetings or workshops are held between school teachers and volunteers, where they discuss about the schedule of each volunteer, school event, problems to solve and various questions. It appears that these meetings and workshops could be good occasions to establish a relationship of trust between the teachers and volunteers. For instance, in the meeting of Terakoya volunteers in City A, they discussed about the lifestyle of the children and problems during the Terakoya activities. With regard to the problems, a senior volunteer indicated that some children did not use colored pencils but used a black pencil for the coloring task. After discussing this, the vice principal decided to arrange for some colored pencils for the children. In addition, in the workshop of City A, some senior volunteers discussed with the school principal about how to communicate with children. In the meeting of City B, safety measures for the children on the way to and back from the school were discussed. School volunteer K who has given a presentation in a workshop found the meaning of communication with the school side.

〈Meeting of Terakoya volunteer in City A.〉
 Senior volunteer: I hear that children who have good sleeping habits do well in school. In particular, this has been seen in the results of children who had slept well and did well in school. (male, City A)
 Vice principal: Well, now, in the school, (it is said that) going to bed early, getting up early, and taking breakfast is a rhythm. For example, going to bed at 9 o'clock was one rhythm when I was a child. Eventually, parents have nocturnal lives, and children too.(…) Many pupils are not very healthy. I think this an important issue in society. But,

it is not the children's fault. (female, City A)

〈Workshop in City A〉

Senior Volunteer: I have a problem. A girl in the second grade, who we have known since she was in the first grade, recently asked me, "Father, why do I have to study?" I was at a loss. (I answered her) "When I was a child, I didn't study at all, and now, I have studied with you with great regret." I couldn't answer her question. I am now wondering if it was right or not. How should I react to her? She is an able pupil. She is excellent in Japanese, reading, and math. I suppose that the worry of an able pupil must be like this. Please tell me. (female, City A)

K: I could speak about what I had wanted to say. If housewives assemble, this is meaningless. I could talk directly with the teachers and a principal in school and I could say what I had wanted to do, I feel refreshed. (…) It is meaningful changes for housewives to give a presentation to VIPs.

IV.   Conclusion

In section 3, I identified three types of constructive styles of motivation for the inter-generational exchange in local communities. First, certain senior volunteers consider themselves as the transmitters of socially contributory activities. Second, certain senior volunteers see themselves as being involved in raising their grandchildren and seek to strengthen their relationship with their grandchildren. Third, certain senior volunteers tended to describe their motivation as emerging from individual concerns such as healthcare, companionship, and resources.

However, it is noteworthy that almost all volunteers saw inter-generational exchanges as generative action. In particular, certain senior volunteers broaden their interest in their grandchildren to include all the local community children through various activities. From the perspective of the theory of generativity, at first many senior volunteers would be strongly motivated by their "agentic generativity" – one who could be coordinator to connect among peoples in local communities. But through intergenerational exchanges, their motivation changes gradually to "communal generativity" for the socialization of their own grandchildren, who could broaden the relationship from their grandchild to all children in local communities. These results also suggest that generative concern or activities relate to volunteerism or volunteer work. The similarities and distinctions between generativity and volunteerism are indicated. According to Snyder & Clary (2003), while the time orientation (future or present) and target (self side or other side) between the two domains are different, the actions and activities are quite similar.[7] For example, many volunteers show generative concern and offer services to the younger generations. It suggests that generativity and volunteerism overlap well.

In section 4, it is revealed that the trust relationship among schools, the local government, and volunteers in local communities is constructed in cities A and B. In other words, these results show that the construction of trust relationships among people can be the key to successful inter-generational exchanges. I would like to refer the theory of social capital to consider this result. Social capital is a sociological concept used in various domains such as economic, public health, and the social sciences. The core idea of social capital is that social networks are important assets that enable people to work together.[8]   Political scientist, Robert Putnam, used the concept of social capital to stress upon the difference of civic engagement, and he defined it as follows: "Social capital here refers to a feature of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, which can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions."[9]   As for children's development, American sociologist, James Coleman, defined social capital as "the norms, the social networks, and the relationships between adults and children that are of value for the child's "growth."[10]   Coleman pointed out that closed networks are important conditions in social capital. Besides, he indicated that networks with inter-generational social closure create social capital by developing trust relationships, which relate to the better academic achievement of students through dense network connections between the student's parents. This is why he said that the social capital exists in some isolated small town and rural areas where adults' social relations are restricted by geographic distance. From the points of the concept of social capital, it appears that two cases of local communities in the rural areas can be fruitful for the development of children and the construction of networks among residents through inter-generational exchanges. In particular, for senior volunteers, this will be a good occasion to connect in the local community and to achieve generativity. In addition, through meetings and workshops they are constructing a trust relationship, which is an essential factor of social capital.

Hence, the challenge for local communities is to arrange a social background after considering the various types of motivation for getting involved in volunteer work and making use of senior volunteers' generativity to ensure that the right person is in the right place for the socialization of children. Although these inter-generational exchanges are favorable for people in local communities, there are some difficulties to that may hinder the success of inter-generational exchanges in local communities. In particular, the absence of coordinators and lack of understanding of the school's side remain a problem area. To solve these problems, it will be important to consider inter-generational exchanges from a socio-psychological perspective.

As these case studies employ qualitative participant interviews and use a small sample size, further research is necessary to examine whether or not these tendencies can be generalized to the rest of Japan. In addition, I could not consider inter-generational exchanges in urban areas. It will be challenging to reexamine this concept by comparing inter-generational exchanges between rural areas and urban areas. Finally, it is essential to investigate how children consider seniors volunteers and what effects they have. Short-term

effects of inter-generational exchanges with aged persons on children have been investigated until now. For instance, Murayama (2009) investigated the effect of exchanges with aged persons on upper graders at an elementary school, wherein the children were given questionnaires.[11] The results clarified that the effect of the exchange with the aged person was determined by the physical proximity, the attribution of the aged person, and the gender of the child. At the same time, these exchanges influenced the development of emotional responses, interpersonal perceptions, and behaviors. Besides, Murayama (2007) conducted questionnaires to examine the images of old age held by children from the social representations theory by the method of text mining.[12] The results showed that a family environment with grandparents influences the images of old age held by children. Moreover, results suggested differences of representations of old age according to the environment with grandparents. However, long-term effects on children have not been investigated well. This is why we need to investigate this aspect for all generations.

Notes

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