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02

Generationen, Generationenbeziehungen, Generationenpolitik

2. Generations, intergenerational relationships, generational policy

Générations, relations intergénérationelles, politiques de générations

Generaciones, relaciones intergeneracionales, política generacional

Generazioni, relazioni intergenerazionali, politica generazionale

Pokolenia, relacje międzypokoleniowe, polityka relacji międzypokoleniowych

Gerações, relações intergeracionais, política geracional

Nemzedékek, nemzedékek közötti kapcsolatok, nemzedéki politika

Generații, Politici generaționale și relații intergeneraționale

Generationer, relationer mellan generationer, generationspolicy

Kartos, kartų santykiai, kartų politika

Kuşaklar, kuşaklararası ilişkiler, kuşak politikası

Generacije, medgeneracijski odnosi, medgeneracijska politika

Generacije, međugeneracijski odnosi, generacijska politika

Покоління (генерації), міжгенераційні відносини, політика міжгенераційних відносин

Поколения, межпоколенческие отношения, межпоколенческая политика

代，代际关系，代际政策

Ein mehrsprachiges Kompendium

A multilingual compendium

Un abrégé multilingue

Un compendio multilingüe

Un compendio multilingue

Wielojęzyczne kompendium

Um compêndio multilíngue

Többnyelvű kompendium

Un compendiu multilingvistic

Ett mångspråkigt kompendium

Daugiakalbis kompendiumas

Çok dilli bir Rehber

Kompendij v več jezikih

Višejezični kompendium

Багатомовний компендіум

Многоязыковой компендиум

多语言版本

GENERATIONES

02

"Generationes" is a free network of scholars from different countries and disciplines concerned with the analysis of intergenerational issues in theory, methodology, research and policy. It is financially supported by the Center of Excellence „Cultural Foundations of Social Integration", University of Konstanz.

„Generationes" ist ein freies Netzwerk von Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern, in unterschiedlichen Ländern und Disziplinen, die sich mit aktuellen Fragen der Generationenanalyse in Theorie, Methodologie, Empirie und Politik beschäftigen. Es wird vom Exzellenzcluster „Kulturelle Grundlagen von Integration" der Universität Konstanz gefördert.

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Introduction

As mentioned in the foreword we adopt one of the several possible perspectives on the analysis of 'generations' in this project. It is opportune to note at the onset the following: when people perceive themselves—or when others perceive them—as members of a generation, they acknowledge that generational membership is important for their social identity and thus for their actions. To what extent this is the case will depend on their particular situation, tasks, and social environment. This viewpoint can be particularly helpful in regard to life in "postmodern" societies, where the question of how people develop their personal and social identity is of particular importance.

This point of departure offers a conceptual frame of reference for generational analysis. It relates to Karl Mannheim's well-known heuristic tool of "Generational status—generation as actuality—generational unit" where the relevance of consciousness and identity is indicated albeit under different assumptions.

Such a perspective draws particular attention to relationships between members of different generations and the dynamics of these relationships, which requires a specific focus on socialization and generativity. We propose a specific terminology to this end. The experience of human temporality, the comprehension of generativity and finally the search for meaning is always relevant. These are both historical and current themes. The contradictory dynamic of the present and the uncertainty of the future reinforce the interest in current "problems of generations" (thus referring to Karl Mannheim, the founder of generational theory).

This perspective is different from one that perceives generations as social categories or "groups", comparable to social classes (historical definition of generations). However, the question to be considered is whether such "shared experience communities" can be observed in the first place. Another perspective focuses on family generations (genealogical definition of generations).

Our perspective allows for an exploration of commonalities between these two perceptions. However, since intergenerational relations need to be organized, structural and socio-demo-graphic conditions also need to be considered. Thus, political dimensions come into view, elucidated by the new concept of generational policy. This also offers the opportunity to further advance the concept of "intergenerational justice[1]".

In emphasizing that one of several possible perspectives is presented. It implies that it is possible to extend the horizon which ought to be further explored. We intend to look more closely at socio-cultural aspects as well as life-course orientations in future. Comments would be more than welcome.

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[1] Depending on context and academic discourse alternative translations of the German original term *'Generationengerechtigkeit'* are in use: 'intergenerational justice', 'intergenerational equity' or 'intergenerational fairness'.

02

Why such a multilingual compendium? It is a well-known fact that science is globalized, which is evident in almost every Bachelor degree. The primacy of English is obvious. However, the resulting uniformity is often deceptive as it hides the subtle differences found in different cultures and languages. Moreover, an increasing convergence of institutional and legal regulations at European level or increasingly similar social trends in various European countries masks the continuity of cultural differences. These differences are expressed in diverging understandings of (seemingly) the same intergenerational terminology or even in the usage of different terms.

In our opinion multilingualism supports a better understanding of phenomena and their theoretical exploration in the field of intergenerational research. Subtle differences provoke further contemplation. Particularly challenging are terms that cannot be easily translated like 'state/government' or 'policy'.

Comments on the English version

Translating and adapting the German original into English was a very special journey for me. Therefore, I would like to start with a few personal comments. Unlike the authors of the German, French, Italian and Spanish version of this compendium, I cannot claim that English is my mother tongue. When I began to get involved in this project—which coincided with the publication of the German original in autumn 2009—I was based at Oxford. Living bilingually in two countries (Germany, UK) has been 'the story of my life' for almost my entire academic career, beginning with a year of my undergraduate studies spent in Manchester in the early/mid 1990s, continuing with a doctoral degree in London (LSE) and later working as Senior Researcher at Oxford University.

While living abroad, I also developed a keen interest in cross-nationally and cross-culturally comparative research, which is evident in my research, publications, and lectures—a fact which also inspired my participation in the present multilingual compendium on intergenerational relations.

Two years ago I returned to my native Germany after six years in Oxford. The two phases of 'living abroad' and 'returning home' had fascinating implications for working on this compendium as I re-gained my former proficiency in German at the almost inevitable expense of losing part of my proficiency in English, which resulted in the need to consult an English native speaker later in the process with once again fascinating differences, and misunderstandings, of language and terminology use. Finding an appropriate native proof reader turned out to be a challenge since s/he had to be familiar with the intergenerational research literature too.

Getting the balance right between literal and 'liberal' translation was another aspect of the process I found challenging. Initially, I tried to stick closely to the German original only to find that the result did not 'sound right' in English. This 'Germanic English' version thus became an intermediate step, which had to be translated into proper English by allowing greater freedom in translating contents rather than wording.

Moreover, it turned out that in several instances there was no unequivocal translation: Sometimes a particular German phrase had several meanings in English, such as *'Generationengerechtigkeit'* which translates into 'intergenerational justice', 'intergenerational fairness' or 'intergenerational equity', depending on context and academic discourse, or vice versa an English term had more than one meaning in German, for example, 'intergenerational relations' which translates into *'Generationenbeziehungen'* when referring to concrete interpersonal relationships within the family and into *'Generationenverhältnisse'* when referring to abstract intergenerational relations at societal level, such as the intergenerational contract *('Generationenvertrag').*

Certain English terms did not translate well into German, for example 'policy' or 'care'. The German equivalent of the former—*'Politik'*—implies the meanings of both 'policy' and

'politics'. Some would argue that the meaning of *'Politik'* is much closer to 'politics' and therefore suggest using the English term 'policy' in German when referring to policies. In turn, the English word 'care' has several meanings in German—the act of care-giving *('Pflege')* as well as 'caring for someone' *('Sorge').*

When at last all of these issues were sorted out similar questions arose when comparing the English version with the French, Italian or Spanish one—and the process of mutual adaptation had to start all over again. Perhaps most challenging of all was the process of synchronization: changes in any language version had to be mirrored by equivalent changes in the other languages.

Andreas Hoff

Approaching generations

Timeliness of intergenerational relations

2.01   Buzzwords such as "intergenerational conflict", "intergenerational dialogue" and "intergenerational solidarity" or "the age burden" show how the general public is involved with an intergenerational discourse today. These are expressions of an *intergenerational rhetoric reflecting public discourse on how intergenerational relations ought to be lived and assessed.* A characteristic of intergenerational rhetoric is its antagonistic structure between idealization (solidarity) and threat (conflict) where intergenerational differences are often dramatized. Metaphors are important elements of this intergenerational rhetoric. Thereby, the following metaphors can be distinguished (according to J. Bilstein's "Metaphoric of the Term of Generation". In Liebau/Wulf: Generation. Weinheim 1996)—see Table 1:

Variants of intergenerational metaphors	Examples
Development	Creation of a "New Man"
Cyclicity and Process	Chain of generations, seasons of life
Law	Intergenerational contract
Melioration	Teacher as gardener, youth are our future
Foreignness and severance	War of the generations

2.02   According to L.L. Nash (1978. Concepts of existence. In: Daedalus 107, 1), the Greek word "genos" is based on the verb "genesthai", which means "to come into existence" and describes stepping over the ever-changing threshold to life. Through the birth of children, a new generation is formed, which is different from that of its parents. This is repeated with the emergence of each new generation. This is happening all over again, but the fact as such remains the same. In ancient Rome, the translation of the Greek term "generatio" means "genesis", "creation", and "procreation". Thereby, the creator creates something that is similar to himself/herself in form, though in case of humans the creation is different from its creator individually, and not as a species. Furthermore, J. Bilstein points out that the term is based on two fundamental ideas—genesis and creation as well as continuity and cyclicity, in other words, creation and membership—which are also reflected in its metaphorical use. These fundamental tensions refer to the potential of ambivalence and the experience of ambivalence in intergenerational relationships, which are manifested in the polarization of the intergenerational rhetoric - S. Weigel (2006. Genea-Logik) regards generation as a key concept in various academic disciplines at the intersection between evolution and tradition, also in the sense of differentiating between the sciences and the humanities. This continues to be reflected in current research methods where generations are "counted" and "narrated".

2.03   In order to understand the importance of the concept of 'generation' it is necessary to briefly consider its history and the diversity of its use. The belief that something "new" might evolve / be generated from something existing is at the heart of the word "genera-

tion". Crucial is that this "new" generation of something is distinct from the previously existing and at the same time shares common characteristics with the latter. The concept history can then—with some simplification—be separated into phases (Intersecting the concept with Anthropology, Biology, History, and Sociology is important.)

2.04 The three phases of the history of the concept

1. The first phase includes the ancient world and the dark ages and is characterized by ef-forts to understand the present based on the past and tradition respectively. Analogies are assumed between the temporal structure of individual life course and that of societal development, which are mediated through family and kinship. This early phase already acknowledges transmission of knowledge from generation to generation, thereby laying down the foundation for a pedagogical understanding of inter-generational relations.

2. A second phase begins with modern age. This phase is characterized by the predominant use of the concept of generation for signaling the departure into a new and open future. Generations are seen as a trigger of progress. The focus is on the arts and the sciences. The pre-emphasis of the concept goes hand-in-hand with a model of inter-generational relations focused on the teacher-student model of knowledge transfer. In contrast, the succession of generations within the family is taken for granted and is cultivated in the ideal of the bour-geois family. Similar as in the first phase most examples refer to men.

3. A third phase of the understanding of generations begins with the more recent past, in which the generational concept is used as a diagnostic tool for characterizing a period of time. This expresses a changed perspective on the relationship between past, present, and fu-ture. The future is seen as uncertain despite orientations rooted in past and tradition respect-ively, even if they are still effective. This inner contradiction is also evident in the analyses of "the postmodern" in contemporary societies. However, the loss of certainty has also contributed to a broadening of the horizon in understanding generations: the succession of generations in family and in society is set in relation to each other. This is most obvious in the field of social policy regarding questions of redistributive justice between the generations in the context of the welfare state (and its reform).

2.05 In post-modernity particular attention is given to gender differences with subsequent important implications for socio-political analyses. The role of women is recognized, and the relationship between the two genders is discussed. These discourses are significantly influenced through the omnipresence of the mass media and how we deal with them. This again has implications for close interdependence between generations and gender, as the example of "caring" shows.

Orientation in the current diversity of concepts

2.06   The current interest in intergenerational issues is reflected in a variety of publications—partly using new labels—which are competing for attention. In the following, we are trying to systematize these with respect to the concept's history, using titles of recent publications. (Since these publications are well known we refer readers to the complete bibliographical references on the Internet).

In sum, we identify at least the following categories of intergenerational topics and discourses

1. *Genealogical generations relate to kinship, ancestry and family roles.*

    Examples from the literature:
    Bengtson and Robertson (1985). Grandparenthood.
    Cherlin and Furstenberg Jr. (1986). The New American Grandparent.
    Rossi and Rossi (1990). Of human bonding: parent-child relationships across the life course.
    Szinovacz (1998). Handbook on Grandparenthood.

2. *Pedagogical generations refer to educational relationships and roles in schools, firms (e.g., mentoring) and in society and culture at large.*

    Examples from the literature:
    Ecarius (1998). Was will die jüngere mit der älteren Generation? Generationenbeziehungen in der Erziehungswissenschaft [What does the younger generation want to do with the older generation? Intergenerational relations in pedagogics].
    Liebau (1997). Generation. Versuch über eine pädagogisch-anthropologische Grundbedingung [Generation. Essay about a pedagogical-anthropological basic requirement].
    Mead (1972). Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap.
    Schelsky (1957). Die skeptische Generation. Eine Soziologie der deutschen Jugend [The sceptical generation. Sociology of the German youth].

3. *Socio-cultural historical generations refer to …*
    a) *wars, economic and political unrest and resulting collective identities.*

        Examples from the literature:
        Eisenberg (1982). The lost generation: Children in the holocaust.
        Elder Jr. (1974). Children of the Great Depression.
        Easterlin et al. (1990). Retirement prospects of the baby-boom generation.

b)   trend-setting cultural movements, styles, and work.

Examples from the literature:
Campbell (1999). This is the beat generation.
Coupland (1991). Generation X: Tales for an accelerated culture.
Jones (1986). Great expectations: America and the baby boom generation.

c)   welfare state regulations, benefits and obligations (e.g., financing of old-age-security)

Examples from the literature:
Arber and Attias-Donfut (2000). The myth of generational conflict: The family and state in ageing societies.
Daatland and Lowenstein (2005). Intergenerational solidarity and the family-welfare state balance.
Kohli (1999). Private and public transfers between generations: Linking the family and the state.
Willetts (2010). The Pinch. How the baby boomers took their children's future—and why they should give it back.

4. *Time-diagnostic generations include propositions on the current state of specific sub-groups emphasizing ideal-typical adolescent generations:*

Examples from the literature:
Böpple and Knüfer (1998).GenerationXTC: Technound Ekstase [Generation XTC: techno and ecstasy].
Epstein (1998). Youth culture: Identity in a postmodern world.
Illies (2000). Generation Golf.
Tapscott (2009). Grown up digital—How the next generation is changing your world.

Other expressions use the term in a metaphorical sense, for example as generations of pharmaceuticals, devices (cars, computers), and of techniques.

Conceptual Foundations

Point of departure

2.07 The term "generation" is often used as an interpretative *framework,* and it is therefore assumed that its meaning is known or can be concluded from the context. However, if the concept is to be used in research, it is necessary to describe what is meant and to anchor it theoretically. In an attempt to systematize the conceptual diversity by using compact definitions, we apply a modified version of the so-called "semiotic triangle". According to this, the "meaning" of a concept is the result of linking the particular term with the evidence in an interpretative manner (which is based on theoretical assumptions and practical aims). From this perspective, definitions can be interpreted as heuristic hypotheses. Concepts contain theoretically-based assumptions that something might occur. If this is the case working with the concept is justified. However, the concept may need to be changed, refined or supplemented.

2.08 Our point of departure is the *interrelationship between generational membership and identity ascription*, which can be looked at from etymology and the concept of the history of generations, as highlighted in the introduction. This draws attention to social relations between individuals and groups since they–from a sociological perspective–constitute identities. It furthermore can apply to the private and public spheres of life and can be conveyed in individual and collective lifestyles. The configuration of intergenerational relations in traditions and customs as well as their legal agreement indicates the necessity for continuously creating a new generational regime, i.e., the political dimensions of generations. The inner correlation between these elementary facts suggests referring to this as a conceptual pattern. We, therefore, propose three basic definitions: generations and intergenerational identity, intergenerational relations, and intergenerational regime and policy.

These could then become reference points for a gradual definition of other facts.

Generations and generational identity

Basic definition

2.09 *The 'generation concept' serves the purpose of analyzing the identity-relevant interplay of actions and social relations with the affiliation to specific demographic cohorts, kinship relations, organizational membership or the experience of historical events. The focus is on thinking, feeling, wanting and acting, on life forms and life courses of individual as well as collective actors.*

2.10 We speak of generational membership as ascription of social identity to avoid the trap of an essentialist definition and focus on actions that can be empirically observed instead. From time to time this happens in a transferred sense when referring to actions

of collective actors, i.e., social groups or 'joint experience communities' (of entire generations). Ideas of identity are also relevant in this respect.

2.11   In the sense of a self-reflexive ascription of generational identities, one could say–paraphrasing Johann Wolfgang Goethe in his autobiography "Poetry and Truth"–that everybody who was born ten years earlier or later would have become a completely different person in regard to his/her education and effect on the outside world. Birth cohort, age, duration of membership and historical events include sociological definitions of time.

Intergenerational difference

2.12   The notion that there is an identifiable generation necessarily implies its distinction from other generations. Intergenerational differences can thus be identified in terms of formative experiences as well as changes in life and societal history, and thus in terms of feeling, thinking, knowledge, and action. The background of intergenerational distinctions, however, is generated by the predominant common feature of joint membership of a society and its history. Intergenerational distinctions can be identified between individuals as well as between generations as 'joint experience communities'.

Belonging to more than one generation: Multigenerationality

2.13   In principle, each individual can belong to several generations at the same time. This may result in opportunities as well as burdens within social relationships. For instance, older siblings can assume parental tasks (care, upbringing) towards younger siblings. The genealogically younger generation can occasionally assume the teacher role towards the middle and the older generations based on their higher competence in using communication technology, while they continue to be dependent on the older generations in terms of their livelihood or in company hierarchies. Parents studying for a degree may at certain times assume the role of a student while at other times assuming the parental role towards their children.

2.14   In general, "multigenerationality" is thus characteristic for each individual. Thereby, genealogical, social and cultural influences are mixed. This can result in role conflicts and the experience of ambivalences.

Socialization in generational associations: Generative socialization

2.15   What is *distinctive* about personal and collective intergenerational relations? As a rule. They go hand in hand with learning processes that are associated with the joint fulfillment of tasks as well as efforts to maintain and to develop intergenerational relationships in genealogical succession. This assumption is illustrated as follows: When old and young, for example, grandparents and grandchildren, are doing something together it is often associated with learning. Reference to age or generational membership is however also relevant for many forms of learning. In so doing, a third factor can come into play, namely

the transfer, adoption, and development of material, social and cultural inheritance. These are specific processes of socialization.

2.16 *Generative socialization can be defined as the development of facets of social identity in the processes of learning between members of different generations and critical consideration of their shared economic, social and cultural inheritance.*

Generativity

2.17 Generativity is often used a synonym for generative behavior in demography. In Psychology, it is since Erikson understood as the willingness of the older generation to care for the younger ones. We propose a more comprehensive understanding in three steps:
– In a *first* generalization the notion of generativity can be linked to the idea that humans have the ability to contemplate the existence of subsequent generations in their thinking and actions. They are able to control their generative behavior to a high degree. Most are able to decide for or against parenthood.
– *Secondly*, humans have the capacity to consider the wellbeing of subsequent generations and act accordingly. This can be postulated as an obligation of and a responsibility for the individual and for social institutions alike.
– A *third* generalization, recently introduced to the debate, takes into consideration the experience or insight that the young can individually and collectively also develop an awareness for the wellbeing of the old.

2.18 Accordingly, we propose the following definition: generativity refers to the *human ability to be individually and collectively aware of the mutual dependency of generations and to consider this in their actions.* —This interpretation of generativity emphasizes potentials for the quest for meaning of the individual and communal-societal life.

Dimensions of intergenerational relations

Basic definition

2.19 *Social relations between members of two and more generations as well as within one and the same generation are characterized by an awareness of generational membership with its resulting commonalities and differences (intergenerational and intragenerational relations).*

2.20 These relations are made concrete in mutual and reflexive orientation, persuasion, exchange, and learning processes. The structure and dynamics of intergenerational relations are, amongst others, dependent on institutional tasks (securing livelihoods, caring, upbringing). At the same time, it is important to maintain and develop relationships as such.

2.21 Our definition is based on the description of social relations as (individual or collective) interactions that repeatedly relate to each other and are "framed" this way, thus

not being unique. In many cases, this frame is set from the outset by tasks that need to be undertaken together or through social roles in which we meet each other. Most interesting, however, are relationships between members of successive generations.

2.22   In differentiated theoretical and empirical analyses, it is queried whether a "social logic" for building intergenerational relations can be identified. To what extent do the general rules of exchange and reciprocity apply? Is this another characteristic of the distinctive features of intergenerational relationships?

2.23   Of particular interest in this context is the postponement of reciprocity or the realization of reciprocity by members of succeeding generations. How do these rules play out in data about transfers of different kinds between members of different generations? What is the relationship between private and public transfers? Three concepts, namely intergenerational conflict, intergenerational solidarity and intergenerational ambivalence provide a comprehensive orientation to approach these questions.

Intergenerational conflict

2.24   *The concept of intergenerational conflict is based on the belief that dynamic differences between the generations inevitably provoke conflicts.*

2.25   It is a common belief in the traditional and popular literature that conflicts between young and old are more or less inherent to the (social) nature of these relationships. How they play out is seen as a driver of system-immanent development of society. Power relations in family and kinship networks are seen as "natural" point of departure. More recently conflicts between young and old are discussed in relation to the distribution of societal resources and participation in welfare state institutions.

Intergenerational solidarity

2.26   *Intergenerational solidarity can be described as an expression of unconditional trustworthiness between members of the same or of different generations.*

2.27   The concept of intergenerational solidarity has become popular primarily through research on ageing and intergenerational relations in the United States, partly in reaction against the notion of an isolated nuclear family, a general decline of family and kinship and a one-sided perception of the need for old age support. Frequently, the model by Bengtson/ Roberts (Intergenerational solidarity in aging families. Journal of Marriage and Familiy, 1991: 856-870) is referred to, in which six dimensions are distinguished: (1) associational solidarity (frequency and patterns of interaction), (2) affectual solidarity (type, degree or reciprocity of positive sentiments), (3) consensual solidarity (degree of agreement on attitudes, values and beliefs), (4) functional solidarity (degree and amount of give and take of support/resources), (5) normative solidarity (strength of commitment to familial roles

and obligations) and (6) structural solidarity (opportunity structure for intergenerational relationships, such as family size or geographical proximity).

2.28   It has to be noted that this notion of solidarity refers to intergenerational relations within the family context only. Critics of the concept argue that to give and to receive or to be involved in joint activities can also be forced or done unwillingly. Moreover, there is a risk of normative idealization of intergenerational relations. Hence, it could be suggested to see the typology as a proposal for a *dimensioning* of intergenerational relations. A societal generalization would, however, be problematic. Generally speaking, the multidimensional concept of solidarity rests on the common belief that the importance of intergenerational relations is primarily defined through its contribution to conjoint social cohesion. Thus, crucial aspects of the inner dynamic of intergenerational relations are disregarded. Likewise, social conditions shaping them are underestimated. This becomes evident in the design, collection, and analysis of empirical data.

Intergenerational ambivalence

2.29   The concept of intergenerational ambivalence refers to the fact that micro-sociological and macro-sociological intergenerational relations can *at the same time* express conflicting and solidary attitudes and behaviors, such as love and hatred, independence and dependence, closeness and distance. It has its origins in the recognition of parallel togetherness and variation. Our definition proposal is:

2.30   *The concept of ambivalence in its general meaning refers to the experience of vacillating ("oscillating") between polar contradictions of feeling, thinking, wanting or social structures in the search for the meaning of social relationships, facts, and texts, which are important for facets of the self and agency.*

2.31   The concept of ambivalence has its origins in psychotherapy as well as in Simmel's concept of individuality and sociality. It has to be emphasized that the scientific notion of ambivalence (in contrast to the everyday concept) does not have a per se negative connotation–experience of and dealing with ambivalence can thus be seen as a challenge for maintaining relationships. This can be done in a socially creative and innovative manner. Also, personal influence, power or authority can be important. Accordingly, different ways of dealing with ambivalences can be distinguished, such as "solidarity", "emancipation", "withdrawal" and "enmeshment".

2.32   Already the etymology of the generational concept refers to the tension between continuity and innovation. Such tensions also are a result of the parallel intimacy and distance characteristic of many intergenerational relations.

2.33   *A general heuristic hypothesis for this perspective can be postulated as follows: intergenerational relations for structural reasons—namely their intimacy and irrevocabil-*

ity—imply a high potential for experiencing ambivalence. However, they "are" not always and in any case ambivalent.

Intergenerational relations and social structures

2.34 The ascription of intergenerational identities is embedded in demographic, social and cultural structures. They frame concrete relationships of intergenerational relations between individuals, groups, organizations and other social units. These *structural* units can be referred to as *intergenerational relations at the societal level ("Generationenverhältnisse").*

2.35 This description differs from those that refer to "relations" *("Beziehungen")* only with regard to micro-social interactions and to "societal relations" *("Verhältnisse")* as macro-social conditions. We need to consider that there can also be (abstract) relations between macro-social units, which are manifested in concrete interactions between their members. The generational concept is thus suitable to mediate between the contrasts of the micro and macro level. Indications for this can be found in Mannheim's conceptual pattern, namely "generational location—actual generation—generational unit".

2.36 From a demographic perspective, birth *cohorts* are the most important structural units. They are defined as *all people who were born in a given time period. In the context of organizations, cohorts are all people who became members of that organization within a given period.*

2.37 According to the generational definition suggested above, birth cohorts become generations if their members or others link that date of birth, that age or entry into an organization with biographical and historical experiences of any kind relevant to their identity and their actions.

2.38 The analysis of structural relations and the dynamics between members of different generations can also be discerned by *time*. On the one hand, there are generations living at the same time *(synchronic)*. There are, however, also those generations not sharing lives *(diachronic)*, as well as the interdependencies between synchronic and diachronic generational experiences.

2.39 Generations build a complex system of convoluted socio-temporal structures and relations. These can be observed in the multiple generational memberships of individuals and in intergenerational relations. They may culminate in the experience of ambivalence if the latter includes a phase of reflection on contrasting options. This is complemented with their embeddedness in past generation succession and their extension into the future. The analysis of the time dimensions of generations and intergenerational relations is still under-researched and thus a promising field of intergenerational theory building and research.

Elements of generational order and generational policy

2.40   In the light of the long-term dependency of human offspring on "the old" as well as older people's dependency on care-giving by "the young", arranging intergenerational relationships becomes a "*socio-cultural* task of human *nature*" that requires rules and regulations. These are expressions of the understanding of these tasks and negotiations about variations and influences. For example, the replacement of the concept of parental "authority" with the concept of parental "care" indicates a historical change in the generational order.

2.41   *The term "relational logic" refers to the established forms of arranging social relations, their institutional embeddedness in economic and political power relations and their justification through tradition, custom, and norms. Embedded in social structures, these rules refer to a "generational regime"*

Basic definition

2.42   *An intergenerational regime can be defined as the sum of existing rules for arranging intergenerational relations in a society and its subdivisions in tradition, custom, and law. This is expressed in law and as elements of a relational logic. Both are also expressions of existing power and authority structures.*

Generation and gender

2.43   Generation and gender are both analytically and empirically closely bound together. Both of these categories refer to biological facts that require social, political and cultural organization. Generativity is crucially determined by gender relations. A historical retrospective shows that the generational concept was mainly used in its male interpretation. This is expressed in legal regulations as well as in the asymmetrical assignment of (day-to-day) tasks. The dynamics of postulated and real change of gender roles over the past decades is thus closely related to the arrangement of intergenerational relations. The best example is the arrangement of "caring tasks".

Intergenerational justice/fairness/equity[2]

2.44   The notion of justice includes a social norm as well as an individual virtue. This is also the case for arranging intergenerational relations. In this sense notions of justice are relevant in micro-social (in everyday life education, for example) as well as in macro-social (e.g., in regard to the distribution of societal resources) contexts. Referring to Aristotle's propositions that show the way forward until the present day we can distinguish two different dimensions of justice.

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[2] The German term "Generationengerechtigkeit" translates into three different words in English: intergenerational justice, intergenerational fairness and intergenerational equity. Their use varies depending on the context of the discourse and emphasizes different aspects of the concept – intergenerational equity refers to economic qualities, intergenerational fairness to philosophical interpretations and intergenerational justice has a socio-legal connotation.

– The first one is *procedural justice*. It requires that rules in societal order are applied to all members fairly and in this sense equally, which applies also to intergenerational relations.
– The second dimension aims at contents.

2.45   Here, *exchange justice* postulates that one should aim for parity of the good in relation to performance of members. In the political science and economic literature, this is also referred to as *performance justice*. Furthermore, *distributive justice* refers to the position, the "value" or the merit of a person in relation to the state. *Needs-based justice* is another term for this.

2.46   More recently a pragmatic change can be observed in philosophical-ethical discourses. At the heart, it focuses on actions in social contexts, which result in the postulate of participation justice or inclusion justice.

2.47   Applied to arrangements of intergenerational relations this means: parents provide material and non- material benefits for their children that are not immediately, and often not at all, "repaid", if this is possible in the first place. Hence, there is more than merely exchange justice. Nevertheless, it is important to take into consideration the different needs of children and parents. Both forms of justice can be influenced by the idea that children pass on to their children what they received, often as material or non-material inheritance. At the same time, the demand may arise that benefits provided in and by families for societal well-being and their generation of human capital are recognized by society, for example, by the pension insurance.

2.48   Furthermore, concepts of justice are relevant to the relationship between generations living now and in the future, e.g., in relation to the use of natural resources, the extent of public debt and the appreciation of cultural inheritance. To address the multidimensional nature of intergenerational justice, we suggest a normative description of intergenerational policy that is oriented on general human rights postulates and at the same time points out the mutual interdependence of the generations and resulting responsibilities. The *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CRC) is an important document in this respect.

2.49   However, conceptions of justice also play a role in everyday life. There, they are amongst others combined with beliefs on fairness and equitableness. An important criterion is the relationship between equality and inequality, as it is expressed in the common dictum that justice demands treating the equal equally and the unequal unequally.

2.50   In conceptions of justice the understanding of the past (e.g., acquired assets), the present (current use and increase of assets) and the future (passing it on) are important. Accordingly, the question of intergenerational justice—in parallel to growing interest in intergenerational issues—enjoys great attention. Intergenerational justice is also an important concern of political initiatives. They often refer to philosophical and political treatises which almost exclusively treat generations as societal collectives (and often merely in the sense of age cohorts).

2.51 Furthermore, the question of separating *intra-temporal* and *inter-temporal intergenerational justice* is important. That means firstly the relationship between generations (or age groups) living at the same time and secondly the relationship between generations alive today and in the future. Here, it is debated how far into the future we need to think and whether or not today's living generations can discount their obligations towards a distant future. Also, much attention is paid to the nature of the relationship between today's generations and future generations whose existence directly or indirectly depends on generative decisions of the former. It is suggested to extend the perspective to include the succession of at least three generations (Laslett: "intergenerational tri-contract").

Intergenerational contract

2.52 Intergenerational contract is a metaphorical description of the "pay-as-you-go" system in public pension systems according to which the currently employed generation pays for the pension benefits of the retired generation through their pension insurance contributions. At this point, the welfare state concept of generations is applied. Facing demographic change the well-established "pay-as-you-go" system is put to the test, prompting discussions of the continued sustainability of intergenerational equity.

Human capacity ("Humanvermögen")

2.53 The generation of human capacity implies the transfer and generation of life competences, i.e., general skills to orientate oneself in the world and to interact with other individuals. The term *vital capacity* appears to be the most appropriate term denoting this. Another meaning refers to knowledge and skills that enable individuals to work, i.e., *working capacity* in a wider sense of the word. Both are preconditions for any economic, social and cultural interaction in society in the first place. The ambiguity of the (German) word *"Vermögen[3]"* in this definition is intentional. If we express our "capacity" to do something, this could refer to material means as well as skills and knowledge. Both forms of "capacity" are interdependent.

Intergenerational policy

2.54 The notion of intergenerational policy—in yet another meaning of the word—results from the recognition of the necessity of having some societal organization of intergenerational relations. Thereby, implicit and explicit intergenerational policies can be distinguished.

2.55 Given the current state of analysis regarding the socio-political practice we suggest the following *thesis:*
Intergenerational policy reflects current efforts on intergenerational justice, both by governmental and non-governmental institutions that distribute resources between the generations. Two *definitions* are suggested.

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[3] The English translation of both meanings would be either "capacity" or "capital".
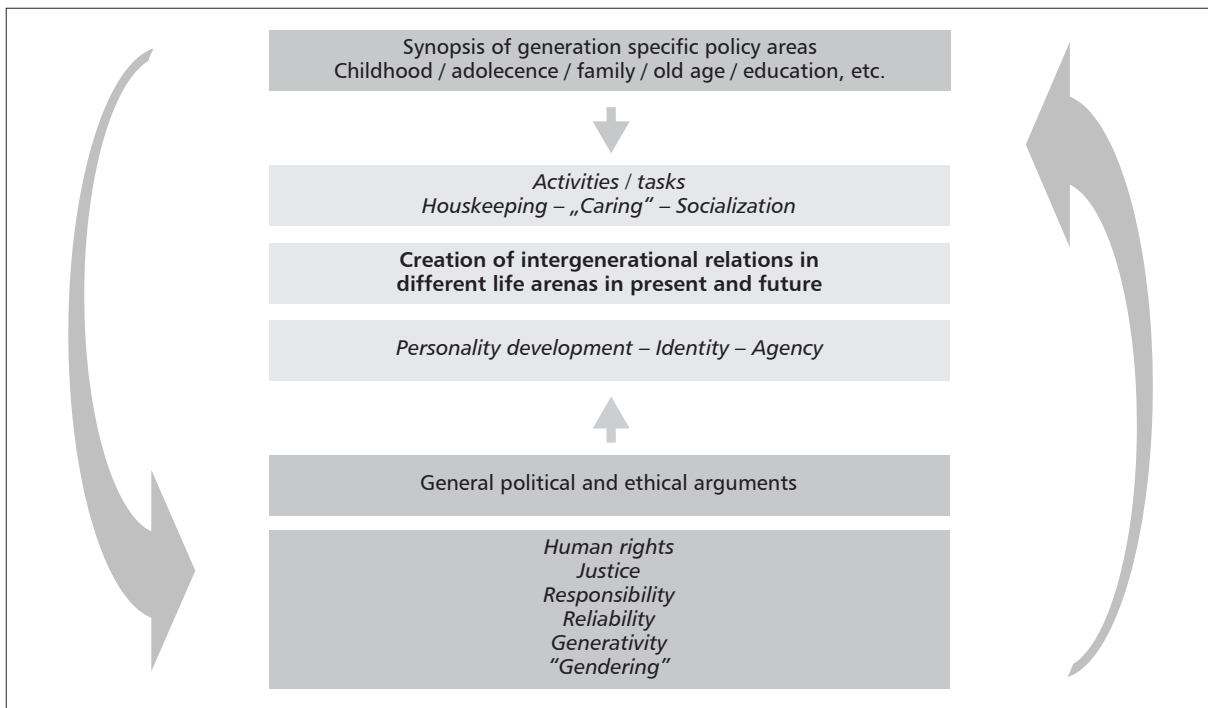
2.56   Descriptive intergenerational policy: *Intergenerational policy includes all efforts to institutionalize individual and collective relations between the generations in the private and public spheres. Furthermore, it needs to be clarified to what extent measures in other policy areas are intentionally or unintentionally relevant.*

2.57   Programmatic intergenerational policy: *The creation of intergenerational policy implies establishing societal conditions that allow the creation of private and public intergenerational relations in the present and future in a way that guarantees the development of a responsible and community-oriented personality on the one hand and of societal progress on the other.*

2.58   An increasingly important area of applied intergenerational policy involves projects under the overall heading of *intergenerational dialogue.* Members of two or more age groups representing different generations engage in joint activities and get involved in projects that are useful for the common good. At the same time, many participants are motivated by the opportunity to develop themselves further. According to the assumption that learning processes ("generative socialization") are a specific characteristic of intergenerational relations these activities can be seen as educational projects. These activities gain additional political importance since they often rely on civic engagement initiatives. If they receive state support, this is mostly of subsidiary nature.

Diagram of an integral intergenerational policy

2.59   The following diagram summarizes the understanding of intergenerational policy. Establishing societal conditions for liberal, open-minded creation of intergenerational relations is at the heart of this. These conditions are a basic prerequisite for the individual to develop and to become an independent and community-oriented personality. Several other socio-political arguments refer to this. They are a crucial precondition for individual self-fulfillment to develop an independent and community-oriented personality. They require continuous reflection in the light of factual and desired societal dynamics. As this refers to the development of the "whole person", a synopsis of all those governmental and non-governmental organizations that directly or indirectly influence the arrangement of intergenerational relations at the level of social structures and institutions is necessary. These are based on specific normative arguments that are internally connected to more general arguments (arrows). This understanding includes more than a mere "snapshot task". It involves intensive and active collaboration rather than mere coordination, keeping an eye on joint overarching goals. This requires social-creative handling of effective tensions, social inequalities, and interests. Thus, an accordingly conceptualized integral intergenerational policy gives important impulses for general societal policies.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        Synopsis of generation specific policy areas          │
│     Childhood / adolecence / family / old age / education,   │
│     etc.                                                      │
│                          ▼                                    │
│                   Activities / tasks                          │
│        Houskeeping – „Caring" – Socialization                 │
│                                                               │
│        Creation of intergenerational relations in            │
│        different life arenas in present and future           │
│                                                               │
│        Personality development – Identity – Agency            │
│                          ▲                                    │
│           General political and ethical arguments            │
│                                                               │
│                     Human rights                              │
│                      Justice                                  │
│                   Responsibility                              │
│                     Reliability                               │
│                    Generativity                               │
│                     "Gendering"                               │
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Outlook

2.60 "Generations are told and counted" (S. Weigel). The ubiquity of facts commonly referred to as generations and intergenerational relations requires interdisciplinary perspectives. It allows at the same time bridge building between theory, practice, and policy-making. This requires the use of different methods of research and knowledge transfer. To explain them in appropriate detail would require a separate "compendium". However, even this attempted draft demonstrates that "intergenerational issues" is a field that is academically fascinating and required in practice.