Intergenerational Relationships of the Institutionalized Elderly and their

Children: A Sociological Study in Punjab, India

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Abstract

The study reveals here attempts to offer some empirical evidences for understanding and explaining the intergenerational relations in detail. The sample consisted of 250 institutionalized elderly who were residing in different old age homes of punjab state. It was found that a large majority of sons/daughters-in-law/grandchildren never provided any financial help to their elderly parents, but majority of the daughters and sons in law provided frequently such type of help to their elderly parents. Further, this study also provides the evidences that married daughters in general provide more assistance in the form of financial and emotional care than

married sons as per the perceptions of the institionalized elderly.

Keywords: Institutionalized Elderly, Inter-generational Relations, Old Age Home:-

Population ageing is an obvious consequence of the process of demographic transition (Liebig and Rajan, 2005). The UN estimates that the proportion of the world's population age 65 or over will more than double, from 7.6 percent today to 16.2 per cent in 2050 (available at http://www.transgenerational.org /aging/demographics). India and China being the two most populous countries in Asia, with population more than one billion each, will thus have a significant proportion of elderly, in future. In 1901 the proportion of the aged 60 or over in India was about 5 per cent and by 2001 this share was found to have risen to about 7.5 per cent and further by to 8.2 per cent in 2011 and it is expected to increase to be more than 10.7 per cent by the year 2021 (Central Statistics Office, 2011). Thus, the trend reveals that this global phenomenon of rapid ageing population affects India also and it will become major social challenge in the future.

According to Indian Census figures, the proportion of elderly in Punjab has gone up from 8.7 per cent in 2001 to 9.1 per cent in 2006 and is expected to be 9.7 per cent in 2011, 12.6 per cent in 2021 and 14.6 per cent in 2026 respectively (Census, 2001). Thus, it can be said that the elderly population in Punjab is increasing at a faster rate that the elderly population in India The rising number of elderly population in India in general and in Punjab is particular is a matter of serious concern and social planning (Sandhu and Arora, 2003).

Inter-generational relations in Later Life

As a result of dramatic increase in life expectancy and subsequent growth in the population of older adults, more attention is now being given to the many relationships among the family members in later life. Researchers are interested in the dynamics of later life family relationships and have developed new terms, for example, "aging families," "later life marriage," "skipgeneration grandparents," and the "sandwich generation." In fact, an emerging sub-field within the field of Family science, known as "Family Gerontology" (Blieszner & Bedford, 1996) is becoming increasingly recognized. Inter-generational relationships are ways of viewing how members in different age groups are related to each other. This specialization area is specifically related to exploring and analyzing family relationships among older adults.

Families are in continuous process of change. According to Dandekar (1996) Society is undergoing rapid transformation under the impact of industrialization, urbanization, technical change, education and globalization. As a consequence, the traditional values and institutions are in the process of erosion and adaptation, resulting in the weakening of intergenerational ties that were the hallmark of the traditional family (Bhat and Dhruvarajan, 2009). Besides, there are various other forces that also affect the change process more forcefully. These include increasing entry of women into workforce, growing individualism, migration of younger to other cities and abroad, acute paucity of accommodation in urban areas, disintegrating joint family and acceptance of small family norms etc. In this way, the changes in value system and institutional set-up have had a negative impact on the relations between the old and young. Various conditions and circumstances of the elderly such as declining frequency of interaction, among the very old as health and mobility decreased and life course events may also influence the intracohort relations, either positively or negatively.

In western gerontology, a strong research tradition examines how familial relations are undergoing transition due to the socio-economic development. A large number of studies have been conducted to explore various issues related with elderly in the west. Since the present study mainly focuses on the inter-generational relations of the elderly. While analyzing the relations between *elderly and their sons, daughters and daughter-in-laws* studies highlight that based on attachment theory, a path model was constructed which included filial obligations, dependency, interpersonal conflicts, and negative feelings. Data were obtained from the adult children with living elderly mothers in Indiana city (USA). Cicirelli (1983) found that the high levels of both parental dependency and children's helping behaviours could lead to negative feelings on the part of adult children.

In United States, Mutran and Reitzes (1984) explore the intergenerational support and well-being on the basis of symbolic interaction and social exchange perspectives. Their causal model was tested for both, married and widowed; for the married there was no relationship between well-being and the exchange variables, further, the study show that who were widowed they found that the help they received from children reduced negative feelings and that giving help increased negative feelings. Exchange processes also influence the interaction of adult children and their elderly parents.

Suitor and Pillemer (1988) have been conducted a study in the Boston metropolitan area. Their study concluded surprisingly low level of conflict between the elderly and their adult children, when parents share their residence with their adult children. Further, it has been also analyzed that as reciprocity diminishes in the relationships, the son or daughter may come to perceive the exchange as unfair, which may in turn result in conflict.

Some Studies focuses on *Married Daughters and Son- in-laws* which shows that a disabled older person, living with their married daughters and son in laws is often a consequence of the elder's need for more extensive and has been identified as a powerful predictor of caregiver strain and family disruptions (Lang and Brody, 1983). Some united studies indicates the predominant role of married daughters in care giving and the negative consequences experienced as a result of this responsibility (Horowitz, 1985). Another study has been conducted by Kleban *et al.* (1989) in Philadelphia and the findings of their study show that almost half of the son in-laws felt that providing care by their wives to elderly in-laws it affect their marital relationships.

While exploring the relations between *Grandparents and Grandchildren* studies indicate that in United States, Welsh and Stewart (1995) noted a positive relationship between adult parents and their elderly parents positively affect children's well-being. However, if grandparents and adult parents experience some kind of emotional cut-off, the grandparent-grandchild interaction may also be limited. Ross *et al.* (2002) have adopted the qualitative approach to explore the dynamic relations between grandparents and grandchildren in U.K, particularly, when grandchildren are in their teen age years. Further, the findings suggest that the relationships between grandparent and grandchildren also influencing whether there are overlaps in relations with family and peers.

Ingstad (2004) found that a few years ago, the grandchildren were considered as a main source of emotional support for their grandparents in Botswana. But now days, as a result of structural and social changes over the years that clearly have an impact on the relationships between grandparents and grandchildren. Ruiz, S. et al. (2007) their study analyzed the relationships between grandparents and grandchildren in terms of three dimensions: Strength of emotional closeness, Frequency of contact and source of social support. This study also concluded that the African American grandparents continue to be a positive influence, even as the grandchildren grow older and enter adulthood. Another study by Goodman, C et al. (2008) who found in United States that conflict between grandmother and grandchild was related to poor health in skipped-generation families, whereas conflict between grandmother and parent was related to poor health in three-generation families.

Most of the studies on elderly have been conducted in the Western countries, because initially the problem of ageing had been recognized in the western countries. In India, research in the field of ageing started in the 60s. India has witnessed a rapidly growing interest in ageing in the last three decades. In the present scenario, the elderly who are getting institutional support and care have recently attracted the attention by the social scientists in India. In Maharashtra, 19 old Age Homes were studied by Dandekar (1996). He found that the main reason for the aged moving into old age home was the lack of proper care for them within the family set-up. In another study among the old age homes of Kerala, Sreevals and Nair (2001) concluded that about half of the institutionalized elderly had no children and the other half of the inmates joined old age homes due to family problems such as quarrel with sons and daughter-in-laws or other

relatives. Further the major findings of this study reveal that most of the inmates were females in the age group 60-75 years. Majority of the inmates were satisfied in the old age home.

Rani (2001) conducted the study of an institution in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh and concluded that majority of the inmates are above 70 years and from nuclear type of family. Her findings showed that most of the inmates came to stay in the old age home because there was nobody to take care of them or they could not offer to sustain themselves elsewhere. She examined that most of the inmates have no problems at all in the institution and there is a dire need for such institutions which honestly takes care of the aged poor, abandoned and the neglected. Majority of the inmates liked to continue to live in these institutions, till they die.

In a study of institutionalized elderly in Punjab, Sandhu and Arora (2003) concluded that inmates are fully satisfied of their stay in the old age homes in Amritsar District. The inmates are enjoying their institutional life. They did not feel bad about institutionalization, rather they expressed their opinion that more old age homes are needed and society should make arrangements for institutionalization of elderly. This study also reveals that the most commonly stated reason by the inmates for shifting to old age home was conflict relations with their sons and daughter-in-laws.

Das and Shah (2003) conducted a study on institutionalized elderly in Gujarat. Their studies indicated that one third elderly have stated that they choose such an arrangement due to familial conflict. It is also concluded that the demand for institutional living arrangements in the face of weakening traditional familial support has increased as grown-up children find it difficult to take care for their ageing parents.

Bansod and Paswan (2006) conducted a study in Amravati district of Maharashtra and concluded that most of the elderly in the old age home were from rural background, who did not have any land and who were illiterate, widowed and economically dependent. Elderly were satisfied with care provided at the old age home. Majority of elderly were emotionally upset and some of them even felt like committing suicide. The findings showed that many of the elderly left home due to neglect by their children and relatives, while the majority of them adopted old age home as there was no one to look after them. Almost half of the inmates felt that staying at old age home was far more peaceful than staying with families.

Mishra (2007) conducted a study in Orissa and revealed that majority of the inmates stated that lack of money and care in the family drove them to take shelter in the old age homes. Most of the inmates expressed satisfaction with the prevailing arrangement at old age home. Being in constant touch with friends, good friendship with the co-residents and engagement in activities within the old age homes were also contributing factors towards their satisfactory lives in the old age home. They are not in a mood to go back to their children or to look for any other alternatives. For many of inmates stated that the old age home became an ideal place for them to stay.

In a recent study by Help Age India (2007) a survey of 30 old age homes in Delhi and the National capital region conducted and revealed that family problems had prompted 70 percent of old age home inmates to seek the refuge of such homes, 10 percent of the inmates opted for these homes because their children lived abroad, 10 percent did so because they had only daughters and could not live with them and another 10 percent had never married and had no children to live with (available at http://www.indiatogether.org/ 2008/march/soc-oldage.htm).

In a study of institutionalized elderly in Jalandhar city, Isha (2009) studied that majority of the elderly having more close relations with their daughters as compared to their sons. Her study also reveals that although elderly have bad/conflicting relations with their sons but still they prefer to give their property to their own sons only rather than their daughters. Further, study also shows that most of the elderly were satisfied with the institutional facilities and services being provided to them in old age homes and also do not want go back in their families.

In Hyderabad, an empirical study has been conducted on institutionalized elderly by Bharti (2010). It is concluded that majority of the inmates stated that they do not have economic security, so have to financially depend on their children for their daily needs. The study further, shows the inmates were not getting any personal care back in their own families. Thus, this is the main reason to shift the old age home. It is also observed that there were some elderly who were willing to play an active role by engaging themselves in some work despite being old.

After reviewing the existing Indian studies it shows that most of the studies have been conducted in south India, but studies on institutionalized elderlies in the northern part of India are less. All those studies which has been conducted on old age homes mainly stressed on socio-economic

characteristics, reasons for shifting to old age homes, quality of life and satisfaction in old age institutions, but do not focus on inter-generational relationships in detail. So, The present study on the inter-generational relations of the elderly is an attempt to fill the gaps in the existing literature and it understand the problems of elderly and the process of institutionalization in detail. So,this present study examines the inter-generational supportive relations/helping behavior provided by sons/daughters-in-law/grandchildren/daughters/sons-in-law to their ageing parents before the institutionalization. In this study, intergenerational supportive relationships were measured in terms of four aspects i.e. interaction, financial, practical and emotional aspects

Objectives

The main objective of the present study was to examine the Inter-generational relations among the elderly, their sons, daughters-in-law, grandchildren, daughters and sons in-law before the institutionalization.

Methodology for the Study

The universe of the present study comprised of the institutionalized elderly in Punjab State. First of all an effort was made to compile a list of the existing old age homes in Punjab. The data were collected from elderly living in twenty-two old age homes in Punjab state. Fifty per cent of residents from each old age home (numbers 311) were interviewed by using systematic random sampling technique. Out of these 250 respondents had living children and remaining 61 either did not have children or were not married. So, the analysis pertains to 250 elderly respondents who had living children. Furthermore, data for the present study was collected with the help of an interview schedule. After collecting the information, the data were thus analyzed in the light of the objectives and interpreted with the help of an appropriate statistical technique.

Results

Table:- 1

Interaction	Sons				Daug	hters-ii	1-law		Grand	Grandchildren			
Pattern													
	N*	S*	QO*	T*	N*	S*	QO*	T*	N*	S*	QO*	T*	
Exchanging	16.4	29.6	54	100.00	19.6	32.8	47.6	100.00	7.6	34.8	57.6	100.00	
views on various	(41)	(74)	(135)	(250)	(49)	(82)	(119)	(250)	(19)	(87)	(144)	(250)	
issues													
Interaction during	14.4	26	59.6	100.00	17.6	31.2	51.2	100.00	6.4	27.6	66	100.00	
family activities	(36)	(65)	(149)	(250)	(44)	(78)	(128)	(250)	(16)	(69)	(165)	(250)	
Taking you to	15.2	19.6	65.2	100.00	18.8	22.4	58.8	100.00	7.2	29.2	63.6	100.00	
participate in	(38)	(49)	(163)	(250)	(47)	(56)	(147)	(250)	(18)	(73)	(159)	(250)	
family gathering													
Financial Aspect													
Money for	45.6	22.8	31.6	100.00	74	15.6	10.4	100.00	69.6	13.6	16.8	100.00	
personal	(114)	(57)	(79)	(250)	(185)	(39)	(26)	(250)	(174)	(34)	(42)	(250)	
expenditure													
Giving money in	38.4	25.2	36.4	100.00	66.8	19.2	14	100.00	72.8	11.6	19.2	100.00	
times of need	(96)	(63)	(91)	(250)	(167)	(48)	(35)	(250)	(182)	(29)	(48)	(250)	
Providing things	30.8	45.6	23.6	100.00	58.8	24.8	16.4	100.00	68.4	9.6	22	100.00	
for daily	(77)	(114)	(59)	(250)	(147)	(62)	(41)	(250)	(171)	(24)	(55)	(250)	
requirements													

Q O^* = Quite often, S^* = Sometimes, N^* =Never, T^* =Total

Data in the above table 1 shows that majority of the sons,daughters-in-law and grandchildren had quite often/frequently interaction with their elderly in many ways i.e exchanging views on various issues, interaction during family activities and taking them to partcipate in family gathering as per their perception of the elderly before being shifted to old age homes..

In order to see that whether the elderly were getting financial help by their sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. Table 1 clearly indicates that majority of the sons/daughters-in-law and grandchildren never provided financial help in terms of providing money for personal expenditure and giving money in times of need to the elderly. Further, it can also be observed that most of the sons i.e 45.6 percentage sometimes provided things for daily requirements to their elderly parents, while 58.8 per centage of daughters-in-law and 68.4 per centage of the grandchildren never provided such type of support to them. Thus, it may be due to the existing lack of financial support that elderly might have planned to shift to the old age homes.

Table: 2

Practical Aspect	Sons				Daugh	ughters-in-law			Grandchildren			
	N*	S*	QO*	T*	N*	S*	QO*	T*	N*	S*	QO*	T*
Accompany for	67.6	13.6	18.8	100.00	62.4	16.4	21.2	100.00	43.2	35.6	21.2	100.00
visiting relatives	(169)	(34)	(47)	(250)	(156)	(41)	(53)	(250)	(108)	(89)	(53)	(250)
Going together for	46	29.2	24.8	100.00	47.6	28.8	23.9	100.00	56.8	26.4	16.8	100.00
outing or other	(115)	(73)	(62)	(250)	(119)	(72)	(59)	(250)	(142)	(66)	(42)	(250)
places												
Look after during	19.2	15.6	65.2	100.00	24.8	22	53.2	100.00	11.2	24	64.8	100.00
sickness(visit to	(48)	(39)	(163)	(250)	(62)	(55)	(133)	(250)	(28)	(60)	(162)	(250)
doctors, buying												
medicines)												
Emotional aspect												
Feeling of	18.4	28.8	52.8	100.00	66.8	12	21.2	100.00	8.4	31.2	60.4	100.00
closeness	(46)	(72)	(132)	(250)	(167)	(30)	(53)	(250)	(21)	(78)	(151)	(250)
Giving	43.2	33.2	23.6	100.00	68.8	13.2	18	100.00	30.4	42.4	27.2	100.00
priorities/seek	(108)	(83)	(59)	(250)	(172)	(33)	(45)	(250)	(76)	(106)	(68)	(250)
your advice on all												
matters												
Encouragement on	18.4	25.6	56.8	100.00	54.4	25.2	20.4	100.00	8	34.8	57.2	100.00
life problems	(46)	(64)	(142)	(250)	(136)	(63)	(51)	(250)	(20)	(87)	(143)	(250)

Q O* = Quite often, S* = Sometimes, N*=Never, T*=Total

With regard to practical care, largest majority of the sons, daughters-in-law and granchildren never provided practical help to their elderly in terms of going together for outing or other places as per the perceptions of the instituionalized elderly. Further, it is also found that majority of the sons i.e 65.2 percentage,53.2 percentage of the daughters-in-law and 64.8 percentage of the grandchildren provided look after during sickness to the elderly before shifting to old age homes.

It is evident from the above table that most of the sons i.e 52.8 and grandchildren i.e 60.4 and 21.2 percentage of the daughters-in-law had shown feeling of closeness to the elderly before moving the old age homes. Further, it can also be observed that 43.2 percentage of the sons, 68.8 percentage of the daughters-in-law and 30.4 percentage of the grandchildren never given priorties or seeking the advice on all matters. Most of the sons i.e 56.8 percentage, 57.2 percentage of the grandchildren, while only 20.4 percentage of the daughters-in-law giving encouragement on life problems to the elderly.

Table:- 3

Interaction Pattern		I	Daughte	rs	Sons -i	n-law			
	N*	S*	QO*	T*	N*	S*	QO*	T*	
Face to face interaction/courtesy visits	20.16	46.09	33.74	100.00	21.40	43.62	32.09	100.00	
	(49)	(112)	(82)	(243)	(52)	(106)	(78)	(243)	
By making calls	11.11	36.21	52.67	100.00	22.22	29.22	48.56	100.00	
	(27)	(88)	(128)	(243)	(54)	(71)	(118)	(243)	
Financial Aspect									
Money for personal expenditure	16.05	39.51	44.44	100.00	20.16	46.91	32.92	100.00	
	(39)	(96)	(108)	(243)	(49)	(114)	(80)	(243)	
Giving money in times of need	11.93	41.98	46.09	100.00	16.87	44.86	38.27	100.00	
	(29)	(102)	(112)	(243)	(41)	(109)	(93)	(243)	
Providing things for daily requirements	17.70	28.81	53.50	100.00	65.43	13.17	21.40	100.00	
	(43)	(70)	(130)	(243)	(159)	(32)	(52)	(243)	

Q O* = Quite often, S* = Sometimes, N*=Never, T*=Total

It reveals from the above table 3 that majoirty of the daughters and sons-in-law had interaction by made phone calls rather than face to face interaction with thieir elderly parents and parents-in-law. Furthermore, table also shows that most of the daughters quite oftenly/frequently provided financial care to their elderly parents in terms of money for personal expenditure, giving money in times of need and providing things for daily requirements to them as per the perception of the elderly. On the other side, most of the sons-in-law sometimes provided money for personal expenditure and giving money in times of need to their elderly parents-in-law. Further, it can also be concluded that most of the sons-in-law never provided things for daily requirements to their elderly parents-in-law.

Table:-4

Practical care			Daughte	rs	Sons -i	n-law	n-law			
	N*	S*	QO*	T*	N*	S*	QO*	T*		
Accompany for visiting relatives	60.49	22.63	16.87	100.00	68.31	18.11	13.58	100.00		
	(147)	(55)	(41)	(243)	(166)	(44)	(33)	(243)		
Look after during sickness(visit to doctors,	62.96	13.17	23.87	100.00	67.90	11.93	20.16	100.00		
buying medicines)	(153)	(32)	(58)	(243)	(165)	(29)	(49)	(243)		
Taking you at their own residence	48.97	23.05	27.98	100.00	58.44	17.70	23.87	100.00		
	(119)	(56)	(68)	(243)	(142)	(43)	(58)	(243)		
Financial care				•						

Feeling of closeness	10.29	27.16	62.55	100.00	24.28	50.21	25.51	100.00
	(25)	(66)	(152)	(243)	(59)	(122)	(62)	(243)
Giving priorities/seek your advice on all	19.34	45.27	35.39	100.00	58.85	28.40	12.76	100.00
matters	(47)	(110)	(86)	(243)	(143)	(69)	(31)	(243)
Encouragement on life problems	17.28	32.09	50.62	100.00	20.58	47.74	31.69	100.00
	(42)	(78)	(123)	(243)	(50)	(116)	(77)	(243)

As per the peceptions of the elderly, majority of the daughters and sons-in-law never provided them accompany for visiting relatives, look after during sickness and taking them at their own residence. Table also depicts that most of the daughters had feeling of closeness with their elderly parents, but majority of them sometimes giving priorities, seeking advice on all matters to their aged parents. Further, it can also be concluded that half of the daughters giving encouragement on life problems to their aged parents. On the other hand, half of the sons-in-law had feeling of closeness with their elderly parents-in-law. Majority of them never giving priorities to their elderly parents-in-law and most of them sometimes, giving encouagement on life problems to their elderly parents-in-law.

Discussions

The global phenomenon of rapid ageing population affects India also and it will become major social challenges in the future. Improvement in medical care, better nourishment, declining fertility and mortality rates have all contributed to prolonging human life. Thus, in the absence or lack of traditional caregiver (Inter-generational relations) elderly did not meet their expectations and when situations becomes intolerable then finally, they have no other alternative but to seek shelter in Old Age Homes.

In this study, intergenerational supportive relationships were measured in terms of four aspects i.e. interaction, financial, practical and emotional aspects as per the perceptions of the institutionalized elderly. The study shows that before institutionalization, the majority of the sons/daughters-in-law and grandchildren had frequent/quite often interaction with the elderly in many ways and majority of the daughters and sons-in-law had face to face interaction with the elderly parents/ parents-in-law sometimes only. A large majority of them (sons/daughters-in-law/grandchildren) were never given any financial help but daughters and sons- in- law provided financial support to the elderly frequently.

They were either never or rarely supported by their sons/ and daughters-in-law in times of need but most of the grandchildren provided practical help to their grandparents in terms of accompanying them for visiting relatives or other places, looking after them during sickness/visit to doctors before the institutionalization. A largest majority of the daughters and sons-in-law never/rarely provided practical help to the elderly parents/parents-in-law as per the perception of the aged.

Similarly, in terms of emotional support, the result of the study indicates that the majority of the sons frequently/sometimes provided emotional care to their elderly parents, whereas only 44.4 percent daughters-in-law sometimes/never gave emotional care to their parents-in-law prior shifting to the old age institutions. Further, most of the grandchildren were emotionally attached with their grandparents. A largest majority of the daughters and sons-in-law were also providing emotional care to their aged parents/parents-in-law.

This study also provides the evidence that married daughters in general provide more assistance in the form of financial and emotional care than sons. Although, elderly received most of their needed help from the daughters but majority of them still prefers to give/pass on property to their married sons rather than their married daughters. Further, study reveals that largest majority of the elderly took the decision to shift to the old age home on their own in order to lead their rest of their life with comfortand ease. It may be due to the fact that they never or rarely got support from their families. They felt neglected and finally decided to shift to the old age homes. Elderly never take this decision happily but circumstances compel them to adopt the old age institutions.

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