

Transgenerational Perspective on Peace and on Violence Prevention

Role of Older Persons and Grand-parents in the Culture and Development of Peace and Non-Violence

Dr Astrid Stuckelberger, Phd in Health Psychology and Gerontology, Master of Public Health Programme,
Department of Social and Community health of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Geneva, Switzerland
NGO representative to the United Nations in Geneva of
the Society for the Psychological Studies of Social Issues and of the International Association of Gerontology

Abstract

Never in the history of mankind have we witnessed a 'silent revolution' of such significance for all sectors of society: population ageing, a global phenomenon, is affecting every man, woman and child with direct bearing on the intergenerational and intragenerational equity and solidarity. Two key elements of this transformation: a new architecture of society and an increasing complexity of extended family patterns and relations. Consequently, fundamental issues are brought to the forefront: one of them is to address the role of the older generations and grand-parenthood in our society today, knowing violence within families and in schools call for urgent measures and interventions to guarantee the healthy development of children. Furthermore, in a global context of techno-/eco-lead policy agenda, empowering the family and older generations for the betterment of youth is at the center of stabilizing society, ensuring a humanized development and guaranteeing inner and outer peace and security for all generations. Data shows that the grandparents and the elders play an increasing role in all sectors of society such as providing care to their grand-children, heading households, parenting orphans and volunteering on a number of activities.

Traditionally, ancient cultures recognized the older generations as the source of knowledge and wisdom and referred to them as models for their own lives and future. The Elders were praised as "Transmitters of culture", as "Guardians of the secrets of life" or as "the Wise" to consult for preventing conflicts and preserving peace in the individual and in society. Today, their role is challenged and tends to be ignored with the mutation of the traditional family, with migration, with the mix of cultures and especially the predominance of an economy and technology value-based society.

In this context, an area, which has not been studied nor given much attention, is the implicit role and 'unseen impact' of the elderly on social issues, on belief systems and on behaviors of the younger generations, such as the psycho-social effect of the role model elders play for younger generations. For example:

- at the micro-level: the documented transmission to future generations of patterns of behavior such as violence, abuse, alcoholism, etc. has not been taken into consideration when addressing the violence of youth; other example: the absent or dysfunctional 'grand-parents' model in a family could have effects on the psychological development of children, similar to becoming 'grand-orphans' and thus lacking the possibility to integrate core values of life/death in their own life development, which could lead to disruptive behavior and more violence;

- at the macro-level: the way the collective memory of violence and peace is transmitted to the next generations is a powerful factor of psycho-social transformation : (i) Either by encouraging a spirit of forgiveness and of reconciliation within society (political) or/and within the family (socio-genealogical) and within the self (psychological), (ii) or on the contrary, by increasing the fear, the hatred and the will for revenge of one generation on to another, through daily attitudes, behaviors and words – e.g. through informal education of war and subconscious mechanisms.

This article aims at bringing insights and reflections - based on scientific findings and theories - on peace and violence processes from three different angles: a) *interpersonal*: between generations, b) *intrapersonal*: within the individual, and c) *transpersonal*: the transgenerational process of psycho-social patterns.

After reviewing the issue, the scientific argumentation gives good ground to think that: (a) in order to ensure peace and non-violence, social issues will have to be addressed in such a way as to avoid disruption or conflicts between generations and recognizing the role model responsibility of older generations and even ancestors, and (b) in order to ensure long term peace and non-violence, a culture of peace and conflict

management without violence should be constructed in human development and policy development, including a common vision for all generations, a reconciling process with the past and a sense of responsibility for future generations.

Psychologists have a new and growing role to play in supporting and sustaining internal and external peace and non-violence efforts of the elders and of younger generations, especially situations such as after mass trauma and fear, war, mass destruction and many other effects of world crises.

The 2nd United Nations World Assembly on Ageing held in Madrid in 2002, was an opportunity to address World Peace, the mission of United Nations, linked with intergenerational issues of a worldwide ageing population. It allowed to demonstrate the need to involve the older generation in all efforts of a non-violent and fearless society as (a) *Peace-keepers* – preventing violent conflicts (b) *Peace-promoters* at the inner/outer level - empowering future generations for peace, and (b) *Peace-makers* – using their life learned skills in resolution and management of conflicts. A plan of action for peace was developed and has been adapted here to constitute a proposition of a plan for non-violence in schools from a transgenerational perspective.

Keywords: peace, violence, non-violence, conflict, war, generations, youth, older persons, inter-generational, transgenerational, developmental psychology, psychology of ageing, coping, stress, wisdom, responsibility, modelling, transmission, social learning, policy violence prevention, psycho-social intervention in the population

I. The Backstage of Violence: Socio-Demographic Dynamics

Violence in youth and violence in schools has mostly been approached and studied from an individual or societal perspective. In this context, the family is considered merely as the development and interaction of two generations (parent-children).

The fact that today's population architecture has dramatically changed over the past century in terms of socio-demographic composition requires we look at the social coherence of this new situation. This article will break myths through demonstrating this fundamental transformation by facts and figures about the new architecture of society, the mutation of the extended family system and then synthesize and discuss different findings addressing inter-generational and transgenerational aspects about violence.

In order to understand the profound mutation our society is living in and the consequences of this new architecture of society for the younger generations, a general overview of three major areas of this change will be described: i) the structural changes of the population, ii) a more specific view on the ageing of the population iii) the transformation of the family and of the genealogical relations.

This article will address violence in schools from a new and innovative perspective, by taking a macro-view on the issue of violence and peace as well as a micro-view on the individual role and responsibility the older generation has in building a non-violent society. The argumentation has two objectives:

- first, to underline the importance of understanding the world in which the younger generations live and grow today through describing key elements of the new architecture of our society, but also to demonstrate the dynamics of today's four to five generations family and its consequences on intergenerational relations. the role of grand-parenthood and of older persons is too often not considered or underestimated when addressing the younger generations problems, or when building a sustainable family and social policy.
- The second objective is to see what role and interventions the elderly can play at the individual and collective level in their commitment to participate in individual, local and global peace and non-violence processes. This aspect has not yet been considered, and this article wishes to bring light to the specific interaction between ageing, generations and non-violence/peace with a discussion based on existing facts and a scientific perspective on psycho-social and behavioural dimensions of the population and the individual ageing process.

This innovative approach wishes to contribute to a set of efficient and sustainable solutions that could eradicate violence for future generations.

1. The New Architecture of our World

In 1999, the United Nations Population Fund launched their yearly report: "State of the World Population" on the theme "6 Billion: A Time for Choices" announcing an estimate of 6 billion people alive in the world and highlighting the critical decisions facing the international community as we enter the 21st century: "This slow demographic change calls for policy choices." This report underlines key figures, which should stand as the background evidence when considering any societal or policy issues (table 1).

1.1. Structural changes of the world population

The world is no longer looking the same way as our ancestors knew it: not only are our statistics more and more accurate in viewing a "State of the world", but we can today easily grasp a global picture of the World population and its key trends. The youth living today is living in a different world, a global world and this reality can be the cause or the consequence of some of the behaviors we observe, furthermore when one reflects on the genealogy of youth and their complex family history many have relations with different parts of the world; for example, one generation can be living in United States, the other one in Europe, while the older generation lives and remains in their homeland in South America, Africa or Asia. Many have in their ancestors and family history – whether it is conscious or not – some tales of wars and violence. Thus it is important to seize the 'picture' of the major changes at hand in the world at the moment: more people are living on the same territory, with less children, migrating to cities or different countries and living longer. When looking closer at the data provided by reliable international sources (UNFPA, 1999; UN Population

Division, 2000; US Census Bureau, 2001) and captured in the short fact sheet (table 1), the following facts can be underlined:

- The world's population has quadrupled in the last 100 years and has doubled in 40 years from 3 billion in 1960 to 6 billion in 1999; a billion was added in only the 12 last years.
- The worldwide tendency is towards *less children per couple, but more generations*: women have fewer children than ever before as access to family planning is giving women more choices, improving and allowing more control over the number and the spacing of childbirths. Although the population is still increasing by about 78 million people per year, the actual rate of growth has slowed down from 2.4 to 1.3 per cent in 30 years. The generally sustained decrease in total fertility rates in industrialized nations since at least 1900 has resulted in current levels below the population replacement rate of 2.1 live births per woman in most such nations. Looking at the youth/old generation ratio, there are more young people and older people alive than ever before: Even with the existing large numbers of young people, the elderly population 60+ has already exceeded in numbers the younger generation population (below age 15) and by 2050, for every child there will be two elderly persons.
- Population growth has slowed down, stopped or decreased in Europe, North America and Japan. Today, the population growth of those countries only increases as the result of immigration of the work force and naturalization of migrant families. *International migration and continual urbanization* creates policy challenges. Half of the world population today lives in cities, compared to a third in 1960. Worldwide, cities are growing by 60 million people each year and by 2030, it is predicted that over 60% of people, i.e. 5 billion, will live in urban areas or megacities. Thus, in all regions, international migration is moving close to the top of policy agendas, as the numbers of migrants increase: between 1965 and 1990, migration expanded from 75 million to 120 million. Migrant workers send more than \$70 billion home each year in remittances. More and more migrants are women. The consequences of population mobility on the development of younger generations, on the links between generations and the family architecture are underestimated: they modify transmission of culture and knowledge, transfer of financial assets and the systemic patterns and roles of each member of the family as will be demonstrate further in this article.

Why would it be relevant to demonstrate world facts and figures when addressing local or national issues? The point is that with migration, mixed marriages and intercultural lineages local issues are affected directly or indirectly by today's global issues and if solutions do not consider the global picture, local solutions might only have a short-term effect. Violence and peace are issues that concerns all sectors of societies, addressing only one while ignoring other core elements might well be like pouring water in a bucket full of holes....

In this context the theory defended in this article is that older generations has a crucial role for youth development, a transgenerational effect. For example, through the perpetuation of memories and the many forms of violence or non-violence throughout its descendants, or through its active or preventive role as grand-parent or great-grand-parent. A closer look at who are the older persons today is necessary to avoid the 'ageist attitudes' too often carried out in our society and break the myths about 'negative image of ageing' with scientific findings.

'One of the most important challenges the world faces in the 21st Century is responding to the economic, financial and social implications of the changing demographics in our ageing societies.' Denver Summit of the 8 (G8) in 1997

Table 1

Architecture of the world population

A brief fact sheet

In general

- Number of inhabitants...6 billion = 1st time ever : in 1960's = 3 billion - in 2000 = 6.1 billion - in 2050 = 9.3 billion
- Annual Rate Growth: 1.3% per year or 77 million people/ year . 6 developing countries account for half of this annual growth: India (21%), China (12%), Pakistan (5%), Nigeria (4%), Bangladesh (4%), and Indonesia (3%)
- Youth (15-24): today the biggest-ever generation of young people with a number of 1.05 billion young people
- Elderly (60+) : today the biggest-ever generation of older persons with an estimated number of 420 million at midyear 2000, 795'000 added each month during the year

Growing number of generations

- The number of the elderly will triple from 606 million now to 2 billion in 2050, the number of nonagenarians and centenarians is increasing worldwide, older generations are getting proportionally increasing. Those age groups are proportionally the fastest growing segment of the population
- 4 to 5 generations live together out of which 2 to 3 can be considered in the 'older persons generation' or at retirement age; Each generation living with certain cohort and historical specificities, new situations arise such as:
 - "digital homeless generations" – ie older generations that will never be technologically connected,
 - "generations of war" - ie youth generations having only lived a life of war, or
 - "generation wipe out" – ie one to two generations having in majority died due to wars or epidemics such as HIV/AIDS
- Continuing urbanization and international migration creates policy challenges: half of all people live in cities, compared to a third in 1960. Worldwide, cities are growing by 60 million persons per year. Today, there are 17 mega cities – with 10 million people or more. The distribution by generations is unbalanced between urban and rural areas, as younger generations tend to migrate to cities for seeking better job opportunities.

➔ Today, the number of children under the age of 15 is inferior to the number of elderly

➔ By 2050, the number of younger will be the half of the number of elderly people

➔ This millennium will host four to five generations living together, each with their cultural history and pace of development

Some key elements for generations living in either region:

More developed regions ■ Population: 1.2 billion

- Little change over the next 50 years
- Low fertility levels ■ Population decline: by mid-century, it is projected that 39 countries will have a smaller sized population than today: Japan and Germany (each 14% smaller), Italy and Hungary (each 25% smaller) and the Russian Federation, Georgia and Ukraine (each between 28% and 40% smaller)
- Living arrangements: tendency to one-generation household or living alone.

Less-developed regions:

- Population: rise from 4.9 billions in 2000 to 8.2 billion in 2050
- Declines in fertility; in the absence of such declines, the population of less-developed regions would reach 11.9 billion; fertility is projected to decline markedly in the future ■ Rapid growth of population is still expected among 48 countries classified as least developed: population expected to nearly triple from 2000 to 2050: passing from 658 million to 1.8 billion
- Rapid urbanization: by 2015, projections state there will be 26 megacities – 10 million and more – 22 of them in less-developed regions, 18 in Asia alone
- Living arrangements: tendency of the older generation to live with adult children.

Source: UNFPA (1999) ; UN Population Division (2000); Kinsella and Velkoff, US Census Bureau (2001)

1.2. The Ageing Phenomenon and its Consequences for Youth

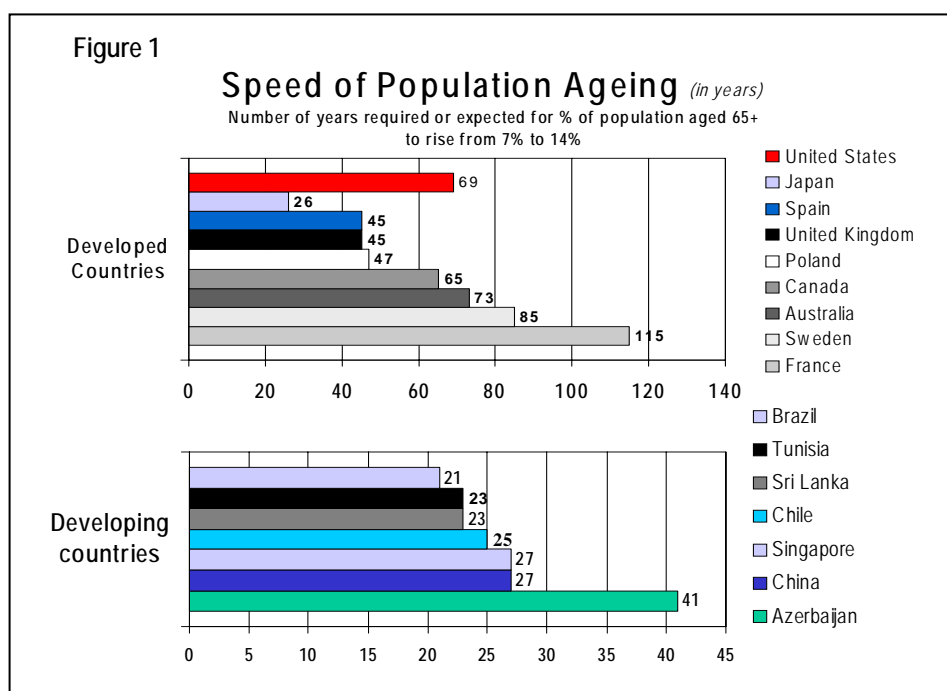
1.2.1. Population ageing and its consequences

Global population ageing is emerging as a phenomenon never yet witnessed in the history of humanity. The spectacular increase in human life expectancy associated with lowered fertility and improved health is generating growing numbers and higher proportions of an older population and extending the duration of life to exceptional ages. This mutation has been qualified as the 'Silent Revolution' or the "Age Quake" reflecting the lack of attention of the media and society on it. The effect of technology on globalization has given the idea of a society centred more on the values of what is 'new', 'young' and 'fast', while the far-reaching effects of the 'silent revolution' are not uttered but are already felt by every individual, family, neighbourhood and nation throughout the world.

To further draw the new architecture of the world, what portrait of the 'Ageing World' can one make today?

The most recent data from the Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations (2000) and to the US Census Bureau (Kinsella and Velkoff, November 2001), shows the following situation:

- *Dramatic increases in longevity:* which caused global life expectancy to climb 20 years since 1950, to 66 years in 1999. Life expectancy at birth exceeds 78 years in 28 countries. United States will age rapidly when the Baby Boomers (people born between 1946 and 1964) begin to reach age 65 after the year 2010 and in the year 2050 the population aged 65 and over is projected to be slightly above 20 percent (compared with about 13 percent today). In contrast, some African countries (e.g. Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) where the HIV/AIDS epidemic is particularly devastating, the average life expectancy at birth may be 25 years lower than it otherwise would have been in the absence of HIV/AIDS; however, the proportion of older persons is still growing as the 'survivors' can still have a relatively high life expectancy at 65 years old in those regions. Thus, low life expectancy at birth does not mean that the possibility of living to higher ages has eroded.
- *The numbers and proportions of older persons, potential(great-)grand-parents, has increased:* since 1950, the proportion of the world's population over 60 years old has changed from one in thirteen to one in ten. By the year 2050, one of five will be 60 years or older. Europe remains the 'oldest regions' in the world followed closely by North America. Country wise, Italy has the highest proportion of elderly people with 18.1% aged 65 or over. By 2020, the Japanese population will be the eldest in the world, with 31% over 60 years of age, followed by Italy, Greece and Switzerland. The global population aged 65 and over was estimated to be 420 million people as of midyear 2000, an increase of 9.5 million since midyear 1999. The net balance of the world's elderly population grew by more than 795,000 people each month during a year. Projections for the year 2010 suggest that the net monthly gain will be in the order of 847'000 people. China has the largest elderly population, numbering nearly 88 million in 2000 (Kinsella and Velkoff, 2001).
- *Some developing countries are ageing at a faster pace than developed countries (figure 1) .* By 2020, five of the ten countries with the largest populations of older persons will be in the developing world: China, India, Indonesia, Brazil and Pakistan. Although industrialized nations have higher percentages of elderly people than do most developing countries, 59% of the world's elderly now live in the developing countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Oceania. By 2020 also, the population of older persons from developing countries will rise by nearly 240% from the 1980 level. For example, it took only 23 years for countries such as Chile or Sri Lanka to raise its population of 65+ year old from 7% to 14% while it took 116 years (5 times more years) for the same growth. *Striking differences exist between regions:* for example, 1 in 5 Europeans being 60 years or older, as compared to 1 in 20 Africans. The older population still remains in rural areas but is increasingly more urban. This point is important, as it will affect the structure of migrant family ascendants.



- *The older population itself is ageing.* The oldest old are the fastest-growing component of many national populations. The world's growth rate for the 80+ population from 1999 to 2000 was 3.5 percent, while that of the world's elderly (65+) population as a whole was 2.3 percent compared with 1.3 percent for the total population (all ages included)). Currently, persons 80 years and older constitute 11% of the population aged 60 and above. In contrast, by 2050, 27% of the older population will be over 80 years old. Past population projections often have underestimated the improvement in mortality rates among the oldest old and actual numbers of tomorrow's oldest old could be much higher than presently anticipated.
- *The majority of older persons are women (55%);* among those who are 80 years or older, 65% are women. They make up the majority of the oldest old and the elderly widowed, and are most frequently the care-givers of the older persons in all parts of the world. Although there are more elderly women than elderly men in the vast majority of the world's countries, there are exceptions such as India, Iran, and Bangladesh. Today's generation of older women are less likely to be literate, but younger generations of women are increasing their level of education. In China in 1990, for example, only 11 percent of women aged 60 and over could read and write, compared with half of men aged 60 and over.

1.2.3. Improvement of the individual process of ageing and its consequences for youth

The 'longer life phenomenon' comes forward with major improvements in the ageing process of the individual. People all around the world are getting older, are in better health and remain active longer, thus play a longer lasting role in the family and can contribute longer to the social system.

The scientific findings of this last decade have revolutionized the negative model of the 'irreversible decline with age'. Although stereotypes and stigmatisation of age remains, many of prejudices and remaining myths and fictions on ageing are being challenged today by new studies. Table 2 reports concisely scientific facts countering some of the classical myths and fiction carried out in society.

Table 2

Fiction & Facts about Ageing

Fiction: the Stereotype <i>(the typical 'ageist attitude')</i>	Facts
<i>“To be old is to be sick, dependant and senile”</i>	<p>The majority of older persons age in good mental and physical health. Statistics show that the majority of retirees, even at 80 years old, are independent and live at home.</p> <p>In the developed world, the younger generations of retirees has benefited from the improvement of public health and social security measures, they age with better health, higher education, sound economic situation, pursuing social activities and contacts. .</p>
<i>“At old age, it is too late to do anything”</i>	<p>The newest findings show that good health can be maintained and that the process of physical and mental declining can be reversed through active measures. Interventions at higher ages can improve physical and mental health (i.e. several studies in persons aged 75 years and above showed that physical activity could strengthen the muscles and increase the bone mass or that mental activity could prevent from mental degenerative diseases).</p>
<i>“The secret of ageing is well in the genes”</i>	<p>Our ageing process can be modulated at each stage of our lives. Twin studies with adopted and non adopted subjects have shown that the influence of genes diminishes with age and other factors such as life experience and culture have a stronger effect.</p>
<i>“The elderly can’t learn anything”</i>	<p>At all ages, one can learn, develop and expand knowledge and skills. Concepts such as continuous education or Life Long Learning (LLL) are now well established; for example, Universities of 3rd Age and Seniorweb networks have flourished around the world.</p>
<i>“Older persons can’t direct their lives, are not productive and are a burden to society”</i>	<p>Today the generations of retirees are healthy, active and creative; most of them can and want to participate in society, they have a role and responsibility in the way they use their full civil citizenship, as well as in the way the transfer their assets and memories. For example, the American Association of Retired People counts today more than 30 millions members and stands as one of the strongest political lobby in the United States.</p>
<i>“No cash return” when investing in the elderly</i>	<p>The older persons do contribute to the economy of the nation and the family through informal work and volunteering, through financial transfers to younger generations but also as consumers. They diminish the costs of conflict and violence in younger generations by being models in maintaining a cohesion in the family such as prioritising human values, restoring healing memories and history and transmitting a sense of security in life.</p>

Adapted from Rowe and Kahn, 1998

Adjusting our images of ageing with the newest reality brought by scientific evidence can only contribute to the image we have of our own ageing, but more so to the comprehension of the untapped potential of an active ageing population to participate to societal issues. Breaking ‘ageist’ attitudes removes barriers between generations and gives a better understanding of the possible and necessary interactions with youth. Living longer has allowed more members of the family to be alive at the same time – we are now witnessing a multigenerational society which brings very new dynamics for the younger generations with more ‘older generations’ than ever in history.

2. A Multi-Generation Society: Family System in Mutation

2.1. Portrait of a Four to Five Generation Society

Considering the state of the world and the spectacular increase in longevity, the new architecture of society must be outlined with two key components:

- the extension of the inter-generational lineage and living descendants
- the restriction of intra-generational links as there are less siblings and children with fertility decline

In other words, the structure, the backbone, of our society has expanded from '2 or 3 generations' during this last century to '4 to 5 generations' living at the same time, while the number of children and potential brothers/sisters has decreased, which is affecting family dynamics and all dimensions of life.

The existence of up to 5 generations living at the same time is today a possible reality. At the population level, evidence shows that four-generation families are becoming increasingly common (e.g. Lehr, 1998, Soldo, 1996) and the ageing of the baby-boomers may produce a 'great-grand-parent boom' in many countries. This is not only the case in the developed world: population statistics show that the average growth rates of higher age groups are increasing in all regions of the world (figure 2). The developing world is potentially more inclined to find a 4 or 5 generations structure, as the average age of the mother at the birth of a first child is lower. This fact has implications when dealing with the youth of migrant's families: the architecture of their families can include live grandparents and great grandparents with a given role. Figure 2 clearly shows that, even the least developed regions, the most striking growth rate is among the ages of 80+ and 60-79: the parents, grand-parents and great-grand parents of today. No longer can an increasing population of older persons be narrowly defined as a single group. The age of grandparents can now range from 35 to 123 years old, and their grandchildren from newborns to retirees. Consequently, new legislations will be needed to address and solve conflicts between generations and intergenerational legal issues will be increasingly important.

The number of centenarians is increasing worldwide. In 1999, 145'000 centenarians were estimated to be alive, and 2.2 millions are expected in 2050, a 15-fold increase. According to researchers in Europe, the number of centenarians has doubled each decade since 1950 in industrialized countries, and developing countries seem to follow the same trend when data is available. The 1999 census in Viet-Nam counted about 4000 centenarians (Central Census Steering Committee, 1999). Using reliable statistics from ten Western European countries and Japan, Vaupel and Jeune (1995) estimated that some 8,800 centenarians lived in these countries as of 1990, and that the number of centenarians grew at an average annual rate of approximately 7 percent between the early 1950s and the late 1980s. They also estimate that, over the course of human history, the odds of living from birth to age 100 may have risen from 1 in 20 million to 1 in 50 for females in low-mortality nations such as Japan and Sweden.

Thus one finds more and more frequently *two generations at retirement age* and the duration of a 'life as a retiree' is increasing in all regions of the world (table 3). As an illustration, the official world record of longevity held by a French lady, Mrs. Jeanne Calment who lived up to age 123 years in relatively good health can even make us suspect the future potential of 6 living generations with 3 generations at retirement age (Allard et al., 1994); the latest 1999 census in Vietnam counted nearly 4'000 centenarians which highlights the tendency of considering them to be a 'visible' group even in developing countries (Central Census Steering Committee, 1999).

Figure 2

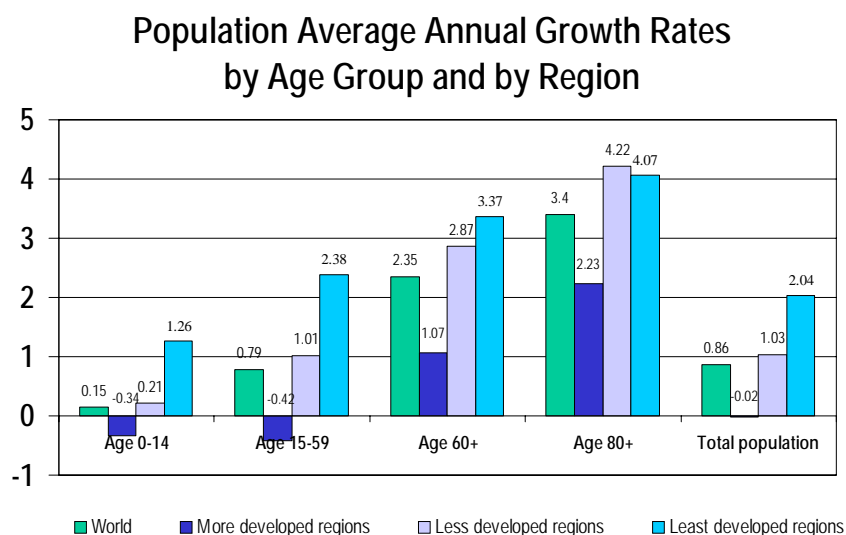


Figure 2: Average Annual Growth Rates

Source: UN Population Division, World Population Prospects: The 2000 Revision

Table 3

Effective Retirement Age and Duration of Retirement *Evolution 1950 - 1990*

Region	Effective retirement age		Expected duration of retirement	
	1950	1990	1950	1990
Japan	66.2	65.5	12.0	17.8
North America	65.9	62.6	13.1	18.1
Oceania	65.3	60.0	13.2	20.5
Nothern Europe	67.2	61.9	12.2	18.7
Southern Europe	69.0	60.1	10.5	19.9
Western Europe	65.7	59.3	12.8	20.7
Central/Eastern Europe	65.0	59.2	12.8	18.6
Average W/o Central and Eastern Europe	66.5	61.8	12.4	19.0
All countries	66.0	61.0	12.5	18.9

Source : Gillion, Turner, Bailey and Latulippe (2000). *Social Security Pensions, Development and reform*. International Labour Office, Geneva

The described changes in the structure of the world population, in the ageing of population and the four to five generations society can only convince us of the emergence of a new architecture of the world with important implications on the social and family system. Beside facts about the structure, some important mutations can also be observed in the dynamics of this multi-generational society: living longer brings also a higher risk of experiencing changes or cyclic events during a life course that can potentially affect children development: multiple employment or careers, multiple marriage-childbearing-divorce.

2.2. Complexity of Family Patterns

It is only through understanding how generations interact and evolve together, that one can grasp the elements necessary to any sustainable policy or action in society. The difficulty is to move from a static picture, the photographic cliché of society - as presented in the first part (statistics, census, etc.) - to a more lively view, a motion picture showing us the unfolding of society (cohort and longitudinal studies, qualitative approach). The picture enriched by a motion picture gives us a more accurate understanding of society and its dynamic; with this logic in mind, evidence-based policy would by definition acknowledge the need for dynamic policies.

An important component of this new architecture, shown in Table 4, is the transition of the traditional family structure towards heterogeneous forms of genealogies and 'generation arrangements', but also the shift from a homogeneous structure of generations within society to an increasing heterogeneity of generations.

Many factors influence this transition and give an idea of the many possible extended family systems a child can be living in today:

- *Older persons are more likely to be married or re-married than in the past and have children at late ages:* not only do individuals live longer, but they have more freedom than ever to be parents at any age for men and at higher ages for women (the record age of giving birth for women is of 67 years in Italy and becoming a father has reached record ages of as high as 104 years in Iran). Over the last two or three decades, the marital status of the elderly has changed: with an increased proportion of married older men and women, and, a decreased proportion of widowers. Some of the change is attributable to improved joint survival of husbands and wives (Myers, 1992) but also to different marital experiences of birth cohorts such as the result of war. In most countries few elderly have not married.
- *Increase in divorce and remarriage rates at all ages:* although currently rates of divorced elderly people tend to be low, the future cohorts of the elderly will have higher proportions of divorced/separated people. With the increase in divorce and marriages worldwide, it becomes increasingly common to find parents who during their life course become grand parents and then parents again, breaking with the stereotype of the traditional life course of a single generation's event. Due to extended longevity, there is a stronger potential to repeat the family cycle of "marriage-childbirth-divorce", the timing being limitless for men, this mix of timing brings confusion in the classic genealogies. A child nowadays can live the most complex situations with many half brothers and sister ranging from his age to the age of one of his parent, have a number of grand-parents and great-grand-parents (including the 'grandparents in law's), have a parent of the age of his school friends grand sister or grand-parents.
- *Importance of grandparents:* the importance of grandparents is not trivial and gaining importance. In some countries women and men are providing to their grandchildren care - from babysitting to being a custodial grandparent. Survey data for the United States from the mid 1990s indicate that 9% of all Americans with grandchildren under age 5 were providing extensive care giving (minimum 30 hours/week or 90 nights/year) (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001). In 1995 in the United States, 29% of preschool children whose parent(s) worked or were in school were cared for by a grand-parent (typically the grandmother) (Smith, 2000). Many grandparents find themselves becoming the sole providers of care for their grandchildren. One reason being the migration of the middle generation to urban areas to work, These "skip-generation" families are found in all regions of the world and may be quite prevalent. Another reason for the increase in number of children living in households headed only by grandparents can be attributed to trends in several factors (e.g. divorce, HIV/AIDS, drug abuse and child abuse). In 1997 in the United States, 3.9 million children, 5.5% of all children under age 18, lived in a household maintained by their grandparents (Casper and Bryson, 1998).
- *Effect of epidemics on generations:* today in some regions, *an entire generation is wiped out* by crises such as epidemics and wars. For example, children orphaned by HIV/AIDS is a matter of great concern: not only do the children depend on older relatives for their care, but when separated and not "brought back" to their elders or relatives, they could also be at risk of becoming street children or entering the social assistance system and head towards the 'poorest of the poor life course'. Other striking figures are those of the suicide rates in older age groups which are higher than in any younger age-group (WHO, 1999), this in itself could be considered as a mental health disorder epidemic that might affect future generations by its sole figure as a model.
- *Urbanization and migration as a 'generation splitting factor':* the tendency toward urbanization is increasing worldwide as mentioned above and leads to the separation of young people from their grandparents, who previously played a role in their traditional education and socialization. It also causes new financial flows between developed and developing countries if retirement is lived in a different country, or if working migrants return to their home country after retirement.

Finally, it appears clearly today *that traditional extended families are gradually disappearing*. Recent data confirm this tendency worldwide. For example, in the Middle East, as is the case in Egypt, 85% of all households are now nuclear families (UNFPA, 2001).

Table 4

**Mutation of the Genealogy and Family Pattern :
...from Old to New Genealogies ...**

Traditional Architecture	Current Architectural Tendency
Strong mortality at all the ages	Increase of life expectancy and decrease of fertility
2 to 3 generations	4 to 5 generations
0 to 1 generation at retirement age	2 to 3 generations retirement age
Predominance of	
intra - generational links	Inter-generational lineage increases
Many siblings	Few brothers / sisters
Numerous descent	Weak descent at each generation
Traditional family	Nuclear family or single parent
generations living together or near	Generations living apart or abroad
Homogeneous family:	Heterogeneous family –'Recomposition' of the family
One life cycle with unique events	Repetition of life cycles (divorce/mariage, jobs, etc.)
Transmission of values	
Traditional education and socialization	Peers + new informal education (ICT*, mass media)
Shared economic management	Independent economy between generations
Genealogy-dependent survival	State-dependant survival
Women at home - Man-centered career	Men and women work outside the home
Hierarchy of age - the Elder	Multiple hierarchy (economic, technological, etc.)
Unidirectional life course	Complexities of life course pattern
Unidirectional genealogies	multiplication of genealogies

Metamorphosis of solidarity – multiple generation society

The most striking mutation one can observe is that *the complexity of family ties and lineages is dramatically emerging* in all corners of the world not only with the steady decline of fertility, but with changing patterns of women's lives, with a society allowing more choices, more mobility but also witnessing a higher rate of divorce at all ages. New situations arise: for example, most of today's retirees did not get to know their grand-parents, they have many more brothers and sisters than the following generations; in contrast, most children of today get to know their four grand-parents and even their great-grand-parents, they have fewer siblings of the same father than any generation which ever lived. Many families today include half-brothers and half-sisters living in different places, which complicates the picture (i.e. in France - Toulemon, 2001).

The mutation of traditional family patterns and the links between generations is clearly provoking a reform of the classical genealogy (Table 4) but also of the way society and policy will have to deal with it without taking the place of the family. It is no longer possible to build a genealogical tree without being confronted to complex situations and, the social or legal framework for solving those situations is often not yet in place. For example, recently the court of justice in Geneva (Switzerland) has reported an alarming tendency of divorced parents who are giving their resignation as legal parents and they are requesting that the custody of their children be withdrawn from them. The motive is that their children have become 'uncontrollable' and are no longer obeying the family or social rules; they address the court by affirming that the state has to take care of our children, we no longer know what to do with them" (Tribune de Genève, March 2002). New programmes to empower parents to apply their rights as parents will be put in place. This is just but emerging 'symptoms' of a new society where the state will have to very carefully look into preserving the responsibility of its citizens toward their ascendants and descendants.

As one acknowledges the growing "complexities of the traditional genealogies", the challenge ahead lies more in the regulation and adjustment of the dynamics between generations than in solving the challenges of old age alone. The socio-economic interdependency of generations in building a sustainable society calls for a systematic approach with more generation-integrated or generation adjustment components. The non-adjustment of generations bears a definite risk: the future conflict and clash between generations.

II. The « Generation » dimension of Violence

3. Conflict and violence between or throughout generations? from the structural to the developmental perspective

Data about conflict or peaceful interaction between generations are rare and results are contradictory. The new architecture of the family genealogies, as described above, has given rise to debates on the potential conflicts and opportunities between generations (table 5). In this context, a fundamental issue when discussing the process of conflict and violence or peace is to first clarify the concept of generation and its definitions and then to highlight research areas where psycho-social research and theories contribute to our subject, either on the inter-generational aspect or the individual development aspect. The following section will provide reflections on findings supporting a potential structural violence between generations as well as the transpersonal and transgenerational dimension in transmitting violent or peaceful behaviors and values from generation to generation.

Conflict and violence are closely linked. From a psycho-social perspective, internal or external conflict is the source of violence, of acting out or of self-injury. Therefore the term 'conflict' will be used here in order to include a broader approach to violence. For the same reason, 'peace' - as a concept encompassing a broader concept than non-violence or conflict resolution - will be used to express the psycho-social dimension bestowing a state of balance for the individual and society.

3.1. Structural perspective: link and transmission from Generation to Generation

The concept of generation is similar to the methodological concept of cohort: in essence, humans born and raised at different time points have experienced different life events, which can have long-term consequences on them (figure 4). For example, major worldwide events occurring at a specific point and place in history have had profound impacts on that particular segments of a population or that a specific generation; for example when large numbers of males were killed at relatively young ages by various wars or conflicts, the survivors become a specific group. The same must be kept in mind when considering the evolution and ageing process of a given population affected by disasters and conflicts and touching generations at different stages of their development: for example, some generations of youth have only known war (e.g. the youth of Afghanistan has experienced 23 years of war), or some generations have lived an abrupt trauma that mark their life development (e.g. the holocaust or the Rwanda genocide). This aspect is fundamental when considering sustainable social and policy development of a population.

The definition of generations usually takes into account two main levels of definition:

- a. *Micro-level* - generation within the family context (time framework: genetic identity)
- b. *Macro-level* - generation within the larger context of society (time framework: socio-political identity)

The Micro-level: *The biological-family lineage generations:* based on the genetic identity the generation is defined by sequences of organisms deriving from a common ancestor, each sequence creates a generation. This is the classical concept underlying the construction of the genealogical tree.

Potential conflicts arising in the context of lineage can take many forms depending on which and how many generations are involved: inter-personal, economic conflicts, family issues such as grand-parent custody in the case of divorce, and transgenerational violence.

The Macro level: a generation is defined here in the social and cultural context as living a common period of time in the history of humankind. In other words, a generation is defined by its socio-cultural mark – this definition can be considered as belonging to a cultural-anthropological approach. Each generation composes a succession of different individuals in society bound to specific social, cultural, economic or political common experiences (methodologically, this division of time is similar to a cohort or a period). The time framework of a generation depends on the time influence of specific events or experiences. This definition is also considered as part of the cultural-anthropological approach.

Conflict and peace arise at both levels, within the family context, in this perspective, conflicts can perpetuate from one generation to another - but it can also arise at the macro-level, where an entire segment of the

population is affected by war or conflicts perpetuating a different collective behavior, which affects the following generation.

Reviews of the concepts of conflict or the peace process at the micro level or macro level inevitably overlap. War, genocide, natural disaster affect not only a generation at the macro-level but at the micro level as well. On the other hand, some micro level conflicts might not seem to affect the macro-level directly, although it is important to keep in mind that micro-level conflicts might affect the long-term lineage of future generations within the family.

When considering time dynamics, the importance of lineage in generations must be underlined: it lies in the fact that there exists a mechanism of transmission within society, which may account for variation within the larger society (Back, 1995). This transmission is not so much linked to genetic factors, but to psycho-social factors influencing over time the life course of the individual and the group. Studies on generations have proved that transmission of values occur within a family (i.e. Bengston et al., 1985); furthermore, from the psycho-analytical point of view, the transmission of psychological distresses and unsolved conflicts perpetuate from one generation to another (Kaës et al., 1993). Thus, one can postulate that peace and conflict does transmit from generation to generation - at the conscious and subconscious level - and that the role of elders a key to perpetuating a memory of peace versus war, conflict versus reconciliation, hatred versus forgiveness, etc.

Theories on transmission of models of behavior and values between generations have not yet been given much attention. Some researchers and anthropologists have studied this link in very different contexts. Put side-by-side in a synthetic analysis, those findings give us serious elements to say that the older generation has an impact on the younger generation. The idea of this chapter is precisely to bring some basic reflections from scientific findings and psychosocial theories on how generations at the micro and macro level live and interact with each other in a peaceful or conflicting way and how this affects younger and future generations.

In 1971, in her famous book "A Study of the Generations Gap" (1970, 1971), Margaret Mead describes the evolution of links between generations in a tri-dimensional perspective of the past, present and future models of interaction between children-parents and grand-parents. Her approach gives an interesting framework for understanding the possible developments of conflict or between generations :

- **The Post-figurative Model** (traditional context) : this is the traditional model where children are educated by their parents and are in contact with their grand-parents who both play the role models of different stages of life. This model predominates in cultures with little mobility and the sense of timeless continuity and identity. The authority stems from the tradition of the past and the ancestors.
- **The Co-figurative Model** (war, migration context): this model emerges with a disruptive event – war, revolution, migration, new technologies – where children live a completely different experience from that of their parents, grand-parents and other older members of their community. In this context, the younger generations can no longer learn from their grand-parents from whom they are often separated, and must create new closer models. In this model, children don't live or see their grand-parents and great-grand parents regularly, or, they see them rarely, then their parents do maintain a dominant role. Parents look for models among their peers, whilst their children look for new existing models of grand-parents in their surroundings.
- **The Pre-figurative Model** (today's generation gap context): younger generations are taking on new authority in the unfolding of their future and parents often learn from their children. Grand-parents no longer play the role of transmitters of traditions, there are no or few possible links and communication between generations as parents belong to a 'past' world and children to a radically 'new world' that is unknown to their elders. The new generation is facing its own modeling through the mass media and modern technology. Margaret Mead underlines: "We know that we are facing a youth that will never experience what we have experienced and that we will never experience what they have experienced" . Grand-parents and even parents do not play an important role in transmitting knowledge as the speed of change and the advancement of technology do not allow sufficient time to incorporate and learn the new in order to be able to face the modified conditions of the environment. In this situation, a generation gap is clearly at hand. The "technology versus tradition" clash of generations is a risk.

Gerard Mendel also studies the relations between adolescents with older generations in a psycho-analytical approach. This author links the crisis between generations to a Oedipal-type of crisis against the father figure due to the dominance of technology. The refusal of the inheritance and of the father figure creates a divide more than a conflict between generations and empowers youth as a political force in society (Mendel, 1963). Recently, Mendel stresses the crisis of authority of society, especially of the sacred authority. This author stresses in particular that the father figures can no longer help solve the archaic anxieties brought by society and globalization (Mendel, 2002). In a culture encouraging individualism, the problem is how to keep social cohesion and a sense of social responsibility to people. He suggests new ways to palliate the negative effects

of modernization and the advancement of technology in society by humanizing and completing the psycho-familial pattern as well as by developing a new psycho-familial personality, not so much based on kinship as on social bounds, but rather on taking in charge one's own life with one's own values.

The socio-psychoanalytical view of Gérard Mendel, as well as the anthropologist's view of Margaret Mead, certainly brings a very interesting perspective to the development of generations, which is in line with the mutation from the traditional family structure to the new architecture of the family, and consequently of generations. It seems quite evident that the individual can no longer be separated from the generation and from the global context we are living in. Nowadays, a mix of Margaret Mead's post-, co- and pre-figurative models of generations is with no doubt crucial to the decisions that will be taken for the betterment of the world and of the future generations. For example, it would be worth studying if violence and the lack of identity of youth is linked to their loss of identity in society and in particular with the older generations. In other words the loss of one's place in the genealogy could weaken the stability or the existence of a reference system. Violent behaviors could well express the search for a role and reference in the family and in society. Some burning issues stemming out of the rapid pace of modernization of our societies have already provoked in many ways the questioning of a common reference system between generations, which if not solved could degenerate and become matters of serious concern.

3.2. Conflicts and opportunities between generations

As just described, the dynamics between generations and the mutation of the family affects the way members in society live and the way they develop a culture of conflict: either towards potential violence or towards conflict management and peaceful resolution. We propose to take two examples of the most striking societal change and their consequences, mentioned by some authors as a source of potential inter-generational conflicts: 1. the economy-based conflicts and 2. the technology-based conflicts.

3.2.1. Economy-based conflicts between generations

According to the former Minister of Health of Germany and Professor of Gerontology Ursula Lehr, conflicts between generations will not so much be generated by demographic change but by economic constraints (1998). Today we can witness contrasting systems of economic solidarity throughout the world: the increasing multi-generational social structure requires important adjustments of the social and economic system to ensuring the equal distribution of social welfare between generations. For example, the lower the age at which retirement pension benefits can be received, the longer society needs to ensure financing the retirement duration (table 3). In the case of scarce retirement benefits or no pension system, the retiree will have to find other financial resources to live and survive (through his/her descendants, work or other means). As the duration of the phase of retirement is increasing worldwide, the social welfare system has started to question and pressure the population to increase the age of retirement or reduce the pension benefits.

In countries with strong social welfare systems, the government is slowly replacing the 'traditional family-based inter-generational economic system' with a tendency towards a more individual-based financing. In this relatively new approach, the welfare state is increasingly taking a key role in the management of micro-family economy (i.e. social security, health and disability insurance, homelessness, unemployment, divorce regulation, etc.). Consequently, new forms of collective solidarity are developing (ensured by the state) and other forms of family solidarity are vanishing, as they are not encouraged to keep it. Ties between generations no longer depend on an 'obligatory economic interdependence' and younger generations do not feel the urge of reciprocity as strongly as former generations. While inheritance is still the main form of legalized economic transfer that is universally admitted, today we assist to more and more legal conflicts between more than 2 generations underlining the lack of legal framework for a multi-generational legislation.

The form of economic exchange is also modified: as life expectancy has been rising, inheriting is an event occurring at higher ages. In developed countries, especially where social security guarantees a minimal wage to retirees, mutual exchange can take the form of kin-free and more social or global solidarity. According to a research conducted in Germany on transfers among living kin (Kohli, 1998), inheritance happens at a time of life when the recipient is no longer in real need of it (i.e. to establish a household or start a family). Kohli also stresses that money transfers are part of an ongoing process of family relationships with its different dimensions of solidarity, but also with all its complications and conflicts. Nevertheless, economical transfers (inheritances) are partly done before the death. Kohli describes the family as a component of the "new welfare mix" assuming, in the best cases, an important and complementary role the state cannot play on its own. Finally, transfers remain predominantly in the family and flow from the older to the younger members of the family, which is also the case in lower income families. What is given is directly proportional to what retirees receive in pensions. Poverty reduction programs would highly benefit from taking into account this dynamic

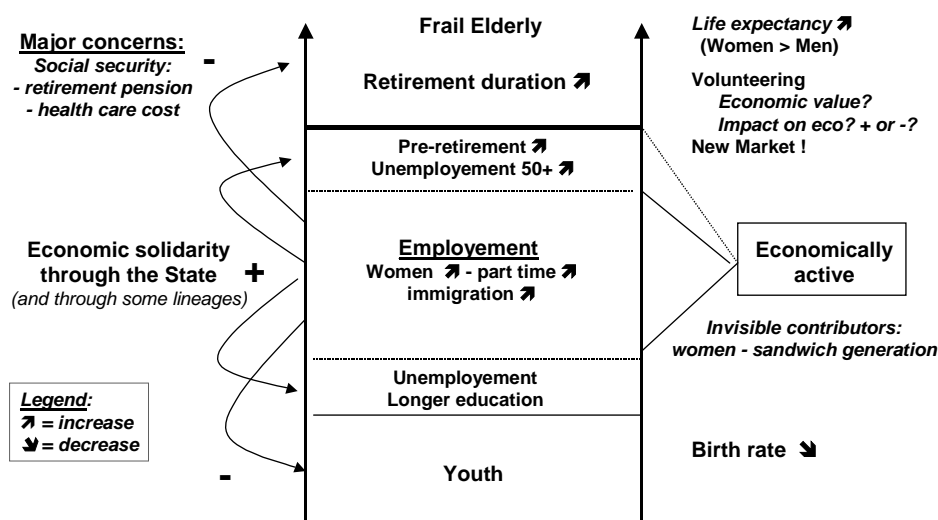
dimension between generations by supporting the long term flow and preservation of financial assets and transfers among members of a family.

On the other hand, increased life expectancy in the context of an intergenerational perspective requires that we view development not just from the angle of old people, but also from that of an extended youth period (longer period of education, marriage and family at higher ages) which is also costly to society – and from that of a reduced period of professional work – with pre-retirement schemes (Figure 3).

Today, new ‘symptoms’ of generation mis- or maladjustments are emerging through publicly expressed dissatisfaction and misunderstanding. For example, a frequent debate taking place in developed countries is that the old person constitutes a “pension burden” – this argument stems from the materialistic perspective and is not rationally justified as elders are not responsible for the declining birth rates of the new generations (and consequently the declining working force contributing to pension systems), in addition, they have put in 40 to 45 years of work while contributing to their retirement wages, had less choices, and a shorter education than today’s active population. Another recent criticism addresses the accountability of the older generation towards the younger generation, for example reproaching elders to leave debts and problems to the younger generations that they did not want or are not responsible for. The question of accountability could well be one of the future grounds for conflict and a divide between generations, especially in situations of war and the degradation of the environment. The state of the world the younger generations, as a global youth, will have to take care of this and might well become a justified reproach that the older generation should anticipate. It is important that future calculation of economists consider the time dynamics of an individual life course, as well as the cohort, generations and period effects on social and human development.

Figure 3

Economic Inter-dependency in a 4 to 5 Generations Society



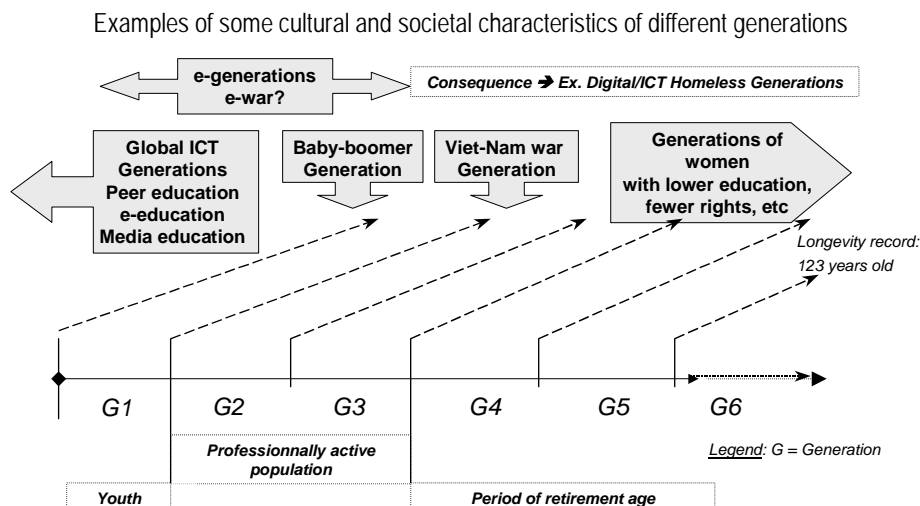
3.2.2. ICT Development-based conflicts

Conflicts can also emerge from the *rapid pace of technological changes and modernization* of our Society. The new (M)ICT society (Media Information and Communication Technology) is about to create a new generation of “homo technicum”. A German study underlined that both the young and the old felt that they were not understood by the other party (Lehr, 1998). Those findings confirm the existence of the model that Margaret Mead described as the pre-figurative model. It announces a possible cultural and technological clash between generations if care is not given to the development of a ‘peaceful’ social cohesion while sustaining a healthy economic development of a country (table 3, figures 4 and 5). New discussions about the right to development will need to address the issue of including and addressing all ages and generations. The speed of development of each generation is different and would require different policies of development or generation-adapted policies. Some writers and thinkers have predicted that future wars in the world will be between the “fast” and the “slow”, between the “ICT-rich” and “ICT-poor” (ICT = information and communication technology). This

remark is particularly relevant when taking the ageing population into consideration, as the decline in the speed performance during the ageing process is in complete contradiction with the required speed of development that is impinging on us. The same can be said about life experiences: what the elders of today have lived and experienced is very different to that of the younger generation: let us not forget that the older generation has lived remarkable changes with the invention of the television, radio, airplanes, phones, electronics, computers, and internet while the younger generation has lived with it since birth. Socialization has also changed, for the older generation the mapping of the world was local-national, traveling beyond the village or the country was exceptional. Today the mixing of cultures and the open window of the media/internet on the world is giving children a more 'global' view and the awareness of living in a 'global village' with a common future. Even in the arts, children films are internationally viewed, from Pokémon to Harry Potter and more, all children today have access to the same information, which was not the case of the elderly as children (figure 4). The generations of the children of today are living with a global and universal feeling of one planet, they see through the mass media what is happening on the other side of the planet, almost instantly, they are aware of their neighbor whether he/she is next door or at the far end of China, Australia, Patagonia or Iceland. In this perspective, one can wonder about how generations can communicate and what it is they can share together. One should also question the value system generations have in common, what is changing and what is continuous in time, what has to be sustained or even what should not be developed in future generations.

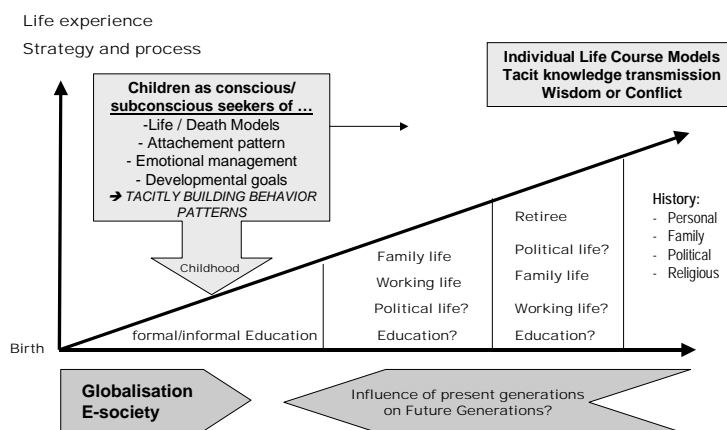
Figure 4

Dynamics of Generations Generation Divide : the Time Link



What every individual indisputably has in common is the life process itself, which ageing is a part of, and through life experiences each person will age and form his/her own life events and history, his/her own strategies of conflict resolution, his/her own sense of coherence in life. These 'personal treasures' gathered throughout time are transformed into memories and values with peaceful effects on the future generations, or with hatred perpetuated throughout their life and future generations (figure 5). Thus the personal dimension of the individual can have a tremendous effect on his/her descendants. Research has not yet measured the effect of the transmission of memories or the wishes of the elderly before death, the "philosophical testimony", on to the following generations. The powerful impact of the will and wish for hatred or peace of a dying elderly person on his/her descendants – at the conscious and subconscious level - can certainly have an impact on the behavior of the descendants, especially in cultures with strong traditions of respect toward their elders. Psycho-analytical theories have well demonstrated the strong impact of non-resolved family conflicts on the ill or abnormal behaviors of children and adults.

Figure 5 The Treasure of Time...of Life
Transmitting Memories and Values



Despite findings on conflicts between generations, some researchers have found different results and insist on good relations between generations today (e.g. Attias-Donfut et al. 2002, Roux et al., 1996). These contradictory results might confirm the theory of the cultural lag, formulated by Ogburn in 1922, with which one can make the assumption that the good social integration and the good contacts between the generations result from structural conditions in society that have existed earlier. The negative effects of the processes of industrialization and urbanization do not have immediate effects, but instead are felt after a couple of generations.

insert here
Figure 4: Generation gap – the time link

Table 5

Potential Conflicts & New Opportunities between Generations some examples...

Conflicts :

- **Technological clash:** information vs experience
- **ICT*:** mutual ghetto of generations
- **Historical culture:** local vs global (or mixed)
- **Socio-demographic:** complexity of family ties
- **Burning issues:**
 - Unequal distribution of social welfare and goods
 - Absence of Inter-generational rights
 - 'Development concept' to become generation-specific
 - Retirement age as a ghetto economy
 - Employment vs free voluntary work of the retirees
 - Health care rationing (i.e. age discrimination in access to high-tech care, transplants, etc.)
 - 'Juventocracy' or 'Gerontocracy': younger or older generations as leaders
 - Conflict of values? economy vs humanity

* ICT : term to describe the new 'Information and communication technology'

Opportunities :

- **Sustainability:** transmission of skills to be and to live
- **Younger generations as teachers of ICT**
- **Ageing as reference models of life/death** for youth
- **Retiree's role and responsibility for the future :**
 - As promoters of peace and violence prevention
 - Protectors of the environment
 - Defenders of universal values
 - Spiritual guides and leaders
 - Models of wisdom
- **Older generations as contributors to youth's future**
 - Volunteering - time and experience available
 - Sharing their life expertise - strategic and conflict management competencies
 - Adding life networks and experience
 - Transmitting values to the children of tomorrow
 - Enhancing global solidarity - new concept of service
 - Starting a new 'free' career – constraint-free

Finally, conflicts between generations can take place at different levels of society (economic, social and cultural) and take many forms (intra-individual, in the family, within society, or at the national and international level). What is important is to recognise that each generation is interdependent and that they must work together in order to improve the state of the world. It is in the hands of elders and younger generations to understand and grasp the opportunities to create a common vision and agenda for the future. If either the older or the younger generation would take on the agenda of society on their own, without considering the interdependency of all other generations, the risk of a generation conflict will increase. No generation could dispute that it is in our interest to build a viable and sustainable future for the world, thus anticipating conflict resolution and bringing or ensuring peace between generations is a prerequisite for any sound policy or plan of action.

III. Need for a Transgenerational theory on Conflict and Violence

4. Developmental psychology perspective: life course patterns of violence

Understanding the development of the individual within his/her life course cannot be separate from the concept of generation and cohort. The methodological 'trap' is that research and science provide us with a unidirectional and static view of either the 'photograph' at one point in time of individuals or populations (statistics through for example census, transversal studies), or a more dynamic picture of many 'photographs' at different points in time - those 'snapshots' representing the evolution of the same group of individuals (i.e. longitudinal studies) or with the same selection criteria (i.e. cohort studies). The difficulty lies within grasping the 'unfolding motion picture' of the many axes (the population studied, the sub-groups within a population, each age group, the broader image of generations all moving in time from childhood to old age and the evolution of the techno-political context), especially in a time of rapid changes and mutation.

Understanding human life in a holistic view would require that developmental psychology includes a 'life course dimension' when addressing children or adolescent issues. Furthermore, a systemic approach would also require that "linked lives" are taken into consideration, the lives of persons linked to those children and adolescents. The subject of this article is focusing on the role of older persons and grandparents in transmitting patterns of conflict and violence or peace to younger generations, therefore the life span development can bring explanations to some deeply engrained behaviors and patterns. Nourishing the subject will allow further reflection and innovative approaches and legitimate the inclusion of a life course perspective and the older persons in a plan of action for violence prevention.

In general, developmental psychology deals with the individual throughout his/her life, and studies the description, explanation and modification of the ontogenesis of interindividual age – related change of mind and behavior, from conception to death – and aims at identifying the range of conditions of individual plasticity or modifiability of development (Baltes and Smith, 1995). Numerous specialties have emerged that concentrate on either age-graded periods (infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, old age, centenarians) or on domains of functioning and processes (physical growth, cognitive development, memory development, personality development, social development, spiritual development, etc.). Interestingly enough, some authors have questioned the goal of development and what really develops throughout a life course (Miller, 1993). Many theories have surfaced, all giving a different perspective of the course of development. Theories range from giving focus to social behaviors and personality (Freud, Jung, Erikson as well as social learning theory, ethology) to thinking and cognitive structures (Piaget, Baltes as well as information processing theories, problem-solving, conflict-resolution), to perception (Gibson) or culturally constructed systems of knowledge (Vygotsky-contextualism).

In the area of ageing, developmental psychology is relatively new and gerontologists have further questioned what is the most important goal of ageing. While some authors came up with the concept of "Successful Ageing" which combines three elements: survival (longevity), health (lack of disability) and life satisfaction (happiness) (Palmore, 1979), others have recently given more attention to the subjective appraisal of life linked to psychological mechanisms and processes such as coping, resilience, beliefs or wisdom. Lately, discussions have also taken place as to include the process of 'dying well' or the quality of the end of life as a developmental task (eg Lawton, 2001). Findings have shown very positive aspects of ageing beyond expected ages: individuals feel they are 'survivors' and thus a certain 'elite' of society which empowers them with a sense of exception and privilege and a renewed sense of physical and psychological well-being (Perls, 1995). One could actually reverse the 'life time system' to a 'death time system' and argue that the perception of the proximity of death is proportional to one's will or sense of being at peace with oneself and the world. Although the topic of the psychology of inner peace is not yet recognized, linking it to the ageing process would be crucial. One of the aims of this article is to give some insights on to new ways in which psychology could further advance scientific investigation and progress in terms of more precise constructs concerning the development of peaceful versus distressful states of being.

This article does not claim to make a review of developmental psychology and ageing, but to highlight certain areas of research linked to the development of the individual which lead to clashes or to peaceful states and relationships with other generations. Two approaches will be discussed:

- 1) the stress-coping model, in particular the psycho-dynamic theory associated to inner distress leading either to aggressive behavior or to conflict resolution or problem solving strategies,
- 2) the concept of wisdom as it refers traditionally to old age and has always been associated to the attainment of a higher skill of problem-solving and peaceful being.

4.1. Stress and Coping: from inner distress to social expression

Peace and conflict can be considered as a result of intra- and interpersonal forms of stress and coping. Stress can arise either from the social context, either by internal unresolved conflicts. An individual with unresolved inner conflicts and who is not at peace with himself, or cannot cope with life, is more inclined to develop aggressive behavior (towards himself or others) or mental health disorders which will affect the family and society at large.

Although the terms 'stress' and 'coping' refer to different notions, they are related in the sense that coping is a positive response to stress. Coping refers to those things people avoid doing to prevent themselves from being harmed by stressful experiences which includes direct action taken to resolve problems as well as thoughts or actions intended to control the impact, either in the way the problem is perceived or in the emotional response to the stressor (Pearlin et al. 1990). Failure to cope with a situation can on the other side generate not only inner conflicts, but aggressive and externally expressed aggressive behaviors. Thus, considering the inner dimension of inner conflict or peace, stress and coping theories can grandly contribute to the understanding of the process at hand and give clues for the prevention, intervention and reconstruction of individual development.

As Leonard Pearlin (1993) himself acknowledges: "Stress researchers experience some confusion and despair about the concept of stress and its study, however it is acknowledged that it is not the core meaning of the concept that is confusing, for there is general agreement that stress refers to 'a response of the organism to a noxious or threatening condition', the doubt and disagreement arise with regard to where and how to identify this response." Another difficulty is the fact that different people experiencing similar life conditions are not necessarily affected in the same manner, which has led to focus on the concept of coping. Pearlin notes that stress results also form the individual's "reading" of the environment in situations related to fear of crime, fear of strangers, or simply fear of being lost in an unfamiliar section of town. As stress studies move outside the laboratory, these sorts of questions will become more readily apparent to researchers confronted with real world settings and will hopefully help tackle today's new situations.

The conceptual basis of stress has been used in three different ways essentially, depending on where one chooses to focus attention on in the process of stress: (a) the difficulties that people face, (b) the psychological distress that results from those difficulties and (c) the mediating relationship between these two (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). The stress - generated by stressors - refers to problems, hardships and other circumstances that have the potential to adversely affect people's well-being and inner peace. For example, an area that has been received attention is the 'extreme stressors' such as victimization in a variety of ways, involving the violation of social norms and moral standards. Interpersonal violence involves several sources of stress such as the experience of a violent situation, but is also involved in the aftermath of a violent trauma, and sets a number of secondary stressors in motion such as the post-traumatic stress syndrome (Pynoos, Sorenson and Steinberg, 1993). Another area of study has been covering the individual and collective stress resulting from diverse holocausts and genocides (Eitinger and Major, 1993). Some gerontologists have developed new concepts such as the one of "Aintegration" on the basis of the posttraumatic experiences of Holocaust survivors and expanded it as a personality concept (Lomranz, 2001). The concept of "Aintegration" calls for acceptance of inconsistencies, ambiguity and paradox, openness to contradictions, whilst maintaining mental health, development and creativity. All these require a paradigmatic change of thinking (e.g. from solving all conflicts to living peacefully with conflicts, expansion of openness, decline in manipulations, coercion, etc.). Lomranz underlines that elders who represent post-modern society and cultures have been robbed of their role as "transmitters of culture", which is partly a result of the absence of life-sustaining values in late adulthood. They nonetheless, transmit what they are used to be: either liberal or conservative, promoters of peace promoters or promoters of cruel power and wars. Many of these adult developmental processes become major in the wake of traumatic experiences such as wars, collective trauma or fear and its consequences.

In general, research on stress and ageing investigates how adults successfully negotiate – via effective coping strategies, defense mechanisms, problem-solving, optimism – life challenges, life events and crisis, and life/health threats that accompany growing old. Although there is no doubt that late life is a period where one is more at risk of being affected by losses in health, reduction of the social network and participation in major roles, those changes appear to have less impact on the elderly than on younger persons (Kasl, 1992). Very little is known on what is stressful to the elderly and their adaptive strategies facing conflict situations. Very little is known also on the impact of what an older person experience on the future generations, such as in the case of suicide or active euthanasia. Drawn from a true ethological observation in Kenya, sudden and unexpected death of the older generation would affect the younger generation stability of behavior: the 'natural' experiment done in the natural park Kenya showed the 'uncontrollable and hysterical' behaviour of young elephants as a

result of killing the old elephants for reason of restricted territory - which has led to a policy of killing the whole lineage of elephants rather than just one generation of elephants.

Some elements of response stem out of the psychodynamic theory of stress with researchers such as Diehl, Coyle and Labouvie-Vief (1996) who have advanced the work on coping in the elderly; in some recent studies they contrasted coping and defense strategies across age and gender groups. The findings show that older adults use a combination of coping and defense strategies indicating greater impulse control and the tendency to positively appraise conflict situations. Adolescents and younger adults use more outwardly aggressive and psychologically undifferentiated strategies, indicating lower levels of impulse control and self-awareness. Women use more internalizing defenses than men suggesting that men and women face different developmental tasks in the process to maturity in adulthood and thus to coping strategies. Those findings also question the differences between men and women in conflict resolution situations, knowing that their subjectivity and coping mechanisms do differ, and consequently do their life course also differ (Stuckelberger, 1997, 1998; Stuckelberger and Höpflinger, 1996). Women do not react in the same way when facing a threat such as subjective health appraisal: as women tend to adopt an active coping strategy and base their action on the belief they can be active agents of change while men tend to adopt a passive and escapist strategy based on the belief that things will resolve on their own with time; women carry out a type of 'self-intervention' and use multiple coping strategies as men do not operate in the same way or rely less on 'self-intervention' (Stuckelberger, 2000).

An interesting aspect linked to violence and peace is the work on *Society as a Stressor*: Several classical studies viewed society and culture as a reservoir of personal stress and maladjustment. Anthropologists in particular have been very sensitive to discrepancies between the real and the ideal, the differences between the principles and beliefs to which a society claims adherence and those that are reflected in the actions of members of society. To the extent that individuals internalize both the idealized values and the discrepant norms regulating actions, they would presumably be hosts to inner conflict detrimental to their well-being (Pearlin, 1993). Nevertheless, societies are both sources of stress and sources of patterns by which people avoid stress or recover from stress. Other examples of the evolution of communication, the media and entertainment is today also considered as a source of stress and of 'promotion of violence' to the point that the World Mental Health Association has created a working group in Finland 'Media for Mental Health' (http://www.wfmh.org/wmhd2002/sec1fvt_media.htm), Canada has put in place the Media Awareness Network (<http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/index.cfm>). Also to mention 6 prominent US medical groups (American Academy of Pediatrics, American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, American Psychological Association, American Medical Association, American Academy of Family Physicians and the American Psychiatric Association) warn of the developmental impact of entertainment violence on children (US Congressional Public Health Summit, 2000):

- Children will increase anti-social and aggressive behavior.
- Children may become less sensitive to violence and those who suffer from violence.
- Children may view the world as violent and mean, becoming more fearful of being a victim.
- Children will desire to see more violence in entertainment and real life.
- Children will view violence as an acceptable way to settle conflicts.

Margareth Mead's pre-figurative models correspond well to the media and entertainment as a source of education for the younger generations. Unfortunately, there is still little research on the stress creating violence from the media and entertainment.

From all generations living together, the older generation has been identified as the 'less violent': available evidence consistently indicates that older persons have the lowest rates of criminal acts and of getting arrested for all types of crimes. It is important to note that the most crimes for which older persons are arrested are for minor offences (Cutler, 1995). This gives a good basis for involving the elderly in creating models of society or peace initiatives. It is also important to note at a macro-level, the paradoxical observation one can make about some world or nation's leaders aged well beyond retirement age: while some of these leaders are models of peaceful leaders for future generations, others display models of leadership prone to violence. As UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan recently reminded Israeli and Palestinian leaders, both over 70 years old, that they have a special and urgent responsibility to chart a path back to negotiations leading to a peaceful settlement of the conflict, without which there will be no security for either people. "They have a responsibility to lead," he said. "History will judge them harshly, and their people will not absolve them, if they fail to do so." (UN Press Release, 6 March 2002), a statement that stresses older generation's responsibility for the younger and future generations.

The stress-coping theory analysis states that stress does not always have detrimental or maladaptive effects. More theoretical analysis and empirical research is needed in order to know under what conditions does stress have favorable versus unfavorable effects on the quality of decision-making and long term behavior. In other words, when is stress transformable into peace or positive societal change? And when does it transform into aggressiveness and violence? And what are the ingredients to build the best response and outcome? Wisdom theory might bring a solution to consider.

4.3. Wisdom: seeking the common good and common interest

Wisdom has been considered one of the highest forms of knowledge and personal functioning all throughout the history of mankind. Wisdom carries a very strong interpersonal and social aspect with regard to both its application and the consensual recognition of its existence. Wisdom is an antonym of war and violence and synonym of peace and serenity. Research and theory on the sources and conditions associated with the development of wisdom across the life span is one of the least developed fields of investigation. Wisdom has been identified through its assessment as 1) a personality characteristic (eg Erikson), 2) a post-formal thinking process (i.e. Piaget) or 3) an individual's problem-solving performance with regard to difficult problems involving the interpretation, conduct and management of life (eg Baltes, Smith and Staudinger, 1992). Erikson, in his epigenetic theory of personality development, identified the achievement of integrity and wisdom as the last and highest form of personality functioning (Baltes and Staudinger, 1993, Sternberg, 1990, Erikson, 1959: Erikson, Erikson and Kivnick, 1986; Jung, 1971). Achieving this last stage requires, on the one hand, successful mastery of the previous life tasks and, on the other hand, accelerative and supportive conditions associated with the social environment: it requires the full expression of mature identity, including the transcendence of personal interests, mastering one's own finitude, and attention to collective and universal issues. A few studies have appeared and reported that older age groups are characterized by higher levels of integrity than young and middle-aged subjects (eg Whitbourne et al., 1992). Baltes and Staudinger (1993), some of the pioneers in research on wisdom have developed a model outlining a set of factors and processes that need to 'cooperate' for wisdom to develop: the cognitive and emotional-motivational processes as well as certain experimental factors associated with the interpretation, conduct and management of life are important antecedents of wisdom. An exceptional coalition of several sources and experimental combinations of circumstances are required for wisdom to be generated. The study of wisdom will always be bound to be complex as it involves the need to understand the richness of a person's inner life and processes such as knowledge and procedural knowledge about life, value relativism, awareness and management of uncertainty, eclectic frame of reference and 'meta-coping' skills.

Balance theory of wisdom: Although most developmental approaches to wisdom are ontogenetic, other views have taken for example a phylogenetic or evolutionary approach, arguing that constructs such as wisdom must have been selected over time, at least in a cultural sense (Csikszentmihalyi and Rathunde, 1990). A further view of wisdom worth mentioning - as it refers to the direct and practical aspects of peace or violence - is *the balance theory of wisdom* (for a review see Sternberg, 1998; Sternberg and Lubart, 2001) which holds the core notion of 'tacit knowledge' as action-oriented knowledge acquired without direct help from others, that allows individuals to achieve goals they personally value (Sternberg, 1999). The interesting parameter used is tacit knowledge, a form of "knowing how" rather than of "knowing that" (Ryle, 1949). To help someone develop tacit knowledge, one must provide mediated learning experiences, rather than academic abilities and direct instruction or information as to what to do and when (Sternberg, 1999). From a developmental standpoint, this view suggests that *wisdom is not taught so much as indirectly acquired*. While practical intelligence seeks deliberately outcomes that are good for oneself, regardless of the interests of others, wisdom seeks good ends for oneself, but also good outcomes for others. In wisdom, one seeks a common good, realizing that this common good may be better for some than for others. As Sternberg and Lubart (2001) mention: "an evil genius may be academically intelligent, he may be practically intelligent, he cannot be wise". Problems requiring wisdom always involve at least some elements of intrapersonal, interpersonal and extrapersonal interests. In this view, wisdom is defined as the application of tacit knowledge toward the achievement of a common good through a balance among (a) intrapersonal, (b) interpersonal, and (c) extrapersonal interests in order to achieve a balance for adaptation to existing environments, the shaping of existing environments and the selection of new environments.

The ideal problems for measuring wisdom, in the light of balance theory, are complex conflict-resolution problems involving multiple competing interests and no clear resolution of how these interests can be reconciled.

Gerotranscendence: In the line of the concept of wisdom, a new interesting theory of "Gerotranscendence" was developed by Lars Thornstam (1989, 1992): in his theory, the author suggests that human ageing, encompasses a general potential towards gerotranscendence which is a shift in meta-perspective, from a materialistic and rational vision to a more universal and transcendent one, normally followed by an increase in life satisfaction. He cites Harald Ofstad (1972), a Norwegian philosopher, who views our society as looking down upon and holding in contempt those who are unproductive, ineffective, and dependent such as old people in society - the value patterns of Western society also lies in the old Hebrew tradition where old age and wisdom are held in high esteem, thus contradictory to the decreasing value given to the elderly today. The consequence is that the general population holds a value-dependent tendency to adopt a wretched perspective on elderly people, which is also found within gerontology.

Another area of research in this field concerns religious and spiritual behaviors. Research on the spiritual dimension of the human being such as beliefs, faith, religious practices or rituals and spiritual motivation are

giving more and more evidence of their impact on the successful coping in ageing and in death management (for a review see Pargament, 1997). This area can also contribute to the reflection on peace and violence; this topic will not be tackled here as it involves a more complex situation that also calls for the simultaneous analysis of the political implication of religion on human behavior.

“Carrying the bones of the ancestors”

Where is the common man today who offers protection to his family, people, and nation through promoting peace? Where is the common man who is committed and hardworking – who although he may be unemployed continues to work for the everyday essentials of living and for training the children, youth and young adults. Confusion has now set in among the common man. With today's cross-cultural, high technology, choice-filled and multi-society mode of attaining more than just enough to get along in life, the common man's image has been weakened. This has often pressured him to become corrupt, i.e. and make excuses to the point of becoming an artifact or a relic in his own world.”

Indigenous Leaders Statement, given at the Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders, August 2000.

It is difficult to measure the increase/decrease in the wisdom of the peoples of the world. However, the level of conflicts and wars has certainly escalated in the world. Sternberg and Lubart (2001) do press psychologists to take the measurement of wisdom and the formulation of theories and theory-based measures of wisdom much more seriously. The work at hand is often dwarfed by work on intelligence. The authors state: “Perhaps we even need to think about how we, as psychologists, might create experiences that would guide people to develop wisdom, much as we have been concerned in some quarters about developing intelligence. Perhaps if schools put into wisdom development even a small fraction of the effort they put into the development of an often inert knowledge base, some of the conflicts that have arisen so quickly would also quickly disappear.”

4.4. For a new approach: transgenerational developmental psychology

Adult developmental theory is needed to comprehend the ageing survivor as well as the total ageing population. Major adult developmental theories either idealize ageing process or emphasize the pathological aspect of ageing. Modern culture has robbed the elderly of their role as “transmitters of culture” – a very famous writer of Africa once said: “If an elder African dies, it is a whole Library that is burning” (Hampatê Ba). In the same way, aboriginal culture as many indigenous people wove a special respect to the elders and to the dead ancestors, which builds the backbone of the value system guiding all decisions. Indigenous population used to say “all decisions taken are to be made for the seven generations to come”.

Researches have shown that the behavior of parents affects the behavior of their children even far beyond the time of education, for example: smoking, alcoholism, suicide, sexual abuse, transgenerational violence. Many research areas have emphasized the importance of transmission between generations, some of the main areas linked to peace and conflict transmission are:

Social Learning Theories: Social learning theories are certainly the version of learning theory that most clearly influences current developmental thinking and research and is the most relevant in ‘inter-generational psychology’. Watson and Skinner have become key figures of social learning theories in psychology who, like other following behaviorists, had visions of a better society and humanity. If changing the environment can change behavior, there are exciting possibilities for human society. According to learning theory, personality - or the self - is a repertoire of behavior created by an organized set of contingencies. As one of the key figures of behaviorism, B.F. Skinner, wrote: “The behavior a young person acquires in the bosom of his family composes oneself; the behavior he acquires in other surroundings, say, the armed services composes another. The two selves may exist in the same skin without conflict until the contingencies conflict – as they may, for example, if his friends from the services visit him in his home. Several theories of personality are classified as social learning theories. Bandura (1977) disagreed with Skinner as he sees the child as an active, thinking being who contributes in many ways to his/her own development. The child is an originating agent, free to choose the models he/she will attend to and hence will have some say about what he/she will learn from elders. In Bandura's cognitive social learning theory observational learning requires the observer to actively attend to encode and retain the behaviors displayed by social models. Children are active information processors, who organize experience by making mental notes about their strengths and weaknesses and about the likely consequences of their behavior. For example, new findings are proving that not only do children follow implicitly throughout their life the pathological behavior of their parents but if those change positively their behavior, the children also changes his behavior. A study on the cessation of smoking has proved that the cessation of smoking of the parents was significantly linked to the children's pattern of taking up or quitting smoking (Farkas et al., 1999). Thus, not only do negative patterns have an impact, but positive

behavior also does, which gives ground to postulate that positive models of change of older generations do influence the behavior of younger generations – which enhances their responsibility in many ways.

Emotional transmission - patterns of attachment over generations: Bowlby, the pioneer of attachment psychology, believed that the attachment theory is not only a theory of child development, but is a lifelong phenomena (eg Bowlby, 1988). Some research shows that present thoughts about the past are assumed to influence the quality of adults' relationships of attachment with their children. There is evidence for the intergenerational transfer of individual differences in patterns of attachment in different continents (see Sperling and Berman, 1994 for an overview; Parkes, Stevenson-Hinde and Morris, 1991; Van Ijzendoorn 1995). These studies conclude that there is substantial intergenerational transmission of individual differences in attachment pattern. In about 75% of the families, the classification of the parents' mental representation of how they had attached themselves to their parents is in agreement with measures of the attachment relations they currently have with their infants. In about 25% of the families, parents classified as secure in their mental representations of the past were nevertheless diagnosed as having an insecure relationship with their infant, and vice versa. Although one can still question what is the cause and what is the effect, one can talk about intergenerational concordance or congruence instead of intergenerational transmission of the quality of attachment relations (Demetriou, Doise and van Lieshout, 1999).

Transgenerational model of violence of adult and elder abuse suggests that violent behavior – as perpetrator or victim - learned within the family is transmitted from one generation to the next. According to this view, abusers grow up in violent families only to reenact the parent-child cycle of violence once the dependency roles shift from child to parent (Wilber and McNeilly, 2001). Transgenerational violence is based on findings that perpetrators of domestic violence are more likely to have grown up in violent homes where they witnessed spousal abuse and/or were victims of child abuse themselves. In the same way, battered women, as well as their abusers, are more likely to batter their children. According to Quinn and Tomita (1997), the rate of transmission of abusive violence from one generation to the next is estimated to be about 30% compared to a 3% rate of abusive violence in the general population. The same pattern applies for alcoholism, suicide and other behavioral disorders leading to 'self-violence' or violence. Another form of violence derived from domestic violence that is only starting to raise interest is 'financial elder abuse' especially in the case of patients suffering from cognitive impairment or under mental health treatment.

Generativity theory: the motivational factor of social transmission

In the psychosocial theory of development over the life course, Erikson (1963, 1982) described a series of eight stages of crisis in personality growth, of which 'generativity' versus 'stagnation' was the seventh. Generativity represents the component of the individual's personality that develops to incorporate concern beyond the self to the needs, interests, and well-being of future generations. The unfavorable resolution represented by 'stagnation' involves a selfish interest in oneself to the exclusion of others who may follow. The psychosocial crisis stages Erikson defines are set in terms of pairs of bipolar opposites such as 'generativity' vs 'stagnation', the most favorable vs the least favorable resolution of the crisis. The ability to achieve a favorable resolution of a stage depends in part on the combination of biological, psychological and social forces that operate at a given time.

Creative endeavors in which the individual leaves something behind for the benefit of future generations may also be seen as forms of generativity. Not only in terms of commitment of parenting and providing for one's own children but in a larger sense it may be expressed in the involvement in helping future generations, for instance, through a career dedicated to teaching, to improving the environment, the political climate or social welfare and to achieve a peaceful society – these can also be expressions of generativity.

The concept of generativity has not been subjected to empirical testing. A series of longitudinal studies, however, have tried to measure this dimension. The findings of these investigations support the implicit hypothesis that generativity is positively associated with well-being and adaptation in a larger sense and that favorable development in the area of family life is associated with success at work for men (i.e. Vaillant, 1977, Vaillant and Milofsky, 1989). Furthermore, the development of a sense of generativity may be strongly related to other changes in personality and the self, such as a greater sense of self-assurance, and the ability to cope in a flexible way with life stresses. Constructs, such as role involvement and satisfaction, personality, identity and coping lead themselves more readily to empirical investigation than the more generic and perhaps elusive notion of generativity – the concept remains useful one for heuristic purposes and a stimulus for further inquiry regarding the notion of change and continuity throughout the life course (Whitbourne et al., 1992).

From the above section it appears clear that the prerequisite to maintaining peace and non-violence in society and in youth must address as much the relations between generations as the sound development of the individual throughout his/her life course.

On the other hand, putting together the findings one must also admit that each generations has an implicit impact through its behavior, through its pattern of attachment and by its problem-solving attitude on future generations. However, more investigations are needed in this context. It can be supposed that as violent

patterns of behavior perpetuate in generations to follow, peaceful patterns of behaviors will also perpetuate in generations to follow. Therefore, the decisive influence of one generation upon another in matters of inner/outer peace and conflict calls for moral responsibility of older generations with regard to younger generations. This is valid as much in the post-, co-, as in the pre-figurative model. Older persons do have a duty and responsibility towards younger generations: they set a reference, a model or 'anti-model' of coping with life and facing death. To become an 'Elder' in the sense of a wise and naturally authoritative figure within the family and society should be a term that is generalized implicitly by the elderly themselves as by society. Elders are essential to the cohesion of society. Not only are elders transmitters of tacit knowledge, of life experiences, of history, of life crisis management, they are also the 'roots of our society'. Thus, in order to find our 'true common values for peace and justice', it is of paramount importance to restore the role of the elder in society and build a cohesive common vision for the future.

5. Conclusion

Today the increase in violence in schools and in youth in general concerns the whole of society. Violence in youth is but an expression of a dysfunctional society, a symptom of an unbalance that older generations have a duty to analyze. In this context, while professionally active generations are important actors, the two to three generations of retired people do play an important role as agents of improving society as was demonstrated in this article.

Older people are key to violence prevention and to the promotion of a culture of peace: firstly, by the legacy they will leave to future generations collectively, but also personally with their implicit or explicit "moral testimony"; secondly, by the simple fact that, throughout their lives, they participated in and witnessed history at a personal level as well as at the levels of the family and society. In living the history of their own nation, the older generations have experienced the profound impact of war and violence on society and on their families. Canadian General Romeo Dallaire, who witnessed the genocide in Rwanda and lived a post-traumatic syndrome for years, delivers speeches today to call for a non-violent society where older generations have a duty to stop war and violence (see quotation in the box below). He reckons that the massacre of more than one million Tutsi by the Hutu people in three months was the consequence of the development of hate transmitted from generation to generation from the times when the Belgium occupant were giving more privileges to the Tutsi people (ref. Film, *the Just Man*, 2002). Restoring and healing collective memories is thus of paramount importance for societies. The way in which the collective memory of war, violence and the peace process is transmitted to the following generations is a powerful and indisputable factor of social transformation:

- (i) Either by encouraging a spirit of forgiveness and of reconciliation within society (political) or/and within the family (socio-genealogical) and within the self (psychological),
- (ii) or on the contrary, by increasing the hatred and the will of revenge of one generation on to another one, through daily attitudes, behaviors and words – e.g. through informal education of war, but also through the behavior patterns of violence as the norm.

Generations of Peace – Importance of the Elders of today

Lieutenant General Romeo Dallaire,

former commander of the United Nations Observer Mission in Uganda and Rwanda during the Genocide

"We cannot continue to believe that war is the ultimate dimension of discipline and of destruction of the world (...) the elders of the world cannot accept that the youth of the world is being sacrificed and trained to self destruction, be abused in war, being instruments of war, soldiers, that they are targets of a new era of conflict. The elders can coalesce and bring to an end the intolerable use and abuse of younger generations. Elders can build the power, the lobby, to bring it all to an end. Elders today have to keep up with our youth, to be credible to our youth." *Speech given at the World Congress on Gerontology in Vancouver (July, 2001)*

The beliefs - and false beliefs - portrayed from one generation to another can without any doubt be a source of individual or collective violence or a warranty of peace in the nation and in the world. One way to overcome discord, hatred and violence is through the commitment of ageing individuals to become conscientious role models and to represent key values of forgiveness, reconciliation and peace. The elders have the choice to conscientiously address their responsibility towards youth: (i) to leave the fruits of their work and achievement behind them: a world of peace or destruction for the next generations, (ii) to leave an image of the way to live and die that will influence their peers and descendants positively, (iii) to transmit through their attitudes and behaviours a 'mental imprint of living in peace with the self, the family and the nations.

In this context a transgenerational approach to violence in schools would bring a new light and new solutions to restore the identity of youth in society today. Some schools throughout the world have included older generations in giving courses, but have not yet included them as agents of conflict management or violence prevention. Older generations could also at the personal level achieve a better understanding and communication with disruptive behavior and violence in children where direct parents or peers interaction fail. In order to begin a process of including the transgenerational perspective, a first draft of an *"Intergenerational*

Plan of Action for Conflict and Violence Prevention in Schools” is proposed in which the older generations have a role to play. This plan is applicable in schools and takes into account the inner dimensions of peace as well as the outer dimension and expression of non-violence and peace, two aspects that alone can guarantee a long-term sustainable strategy. The mutual benefit of the inter-generational component will not only benefit youth, but also the elderly by restoring his role and possibility to serve society. The 2nd United Nations World Assembly on Ageing, which took place in Madrid in April 2002, offered an opportunity to address the issue of the Ageing Population and World Peace with a proposed plan of action at the macro-level to involve the elders in all efforts to (a) prevent conflict and violence, (b) promote peace at the inner and outer level, and (c) empower future generations for peace and teach them the skills to maintain a state of peace (Stuckelberger, 2002). Here the proposed plan aims at applying peace strategies at the micro-level with a specificity to school settings. Those ideas and reflections wish to be captured by those who most need it, nurtured by professionals and further refined and developed by youth, as the youth of today holds the seeds of wisdom of tomorrow’s world.

Quotations to insert in the pages and texts

“We will disarm the world only if we proceed to inner disarmament” Anonymous

“There is no way to peace, peace is the way” Mahatma Gandhi

Intergenerational Plan of Action for Conflict and Violence Prevention in Schools

1. Label schools or sections of schools with « Healthy » or « Peace Promoting Schools ».
2. Bring the older generations of retirees in schools and empower them in their role and responsibility as contributors of a non-violent and peaceful behaviors in life. For example, they can share how to use conflict resolution skills by telling true stories to learn from and concrete situations in the family and society.
3. Bring in schools older persons who can witness the horrors of violence and war (ie General Dallaires, former UN corps in Rwanda) from different cultures and religions – make them discuss true cases lived in schools.
4. Create Circles or Platforms of understanding and reconciliation with older and younger generations.
5. Build within the school curriculum a new education line through a range of possible courses with specific aims:
 - *in order to 'demystify violence'*: teach the logic of conflict and escalation of violence through examples or by no. 2, 3 and 4. A psychologist could join in giving more theoretical and scientific approaches to complement.
 - *in order to cope with situations when facing violence*: courses on human psychology, underlying the commonalities and differences in communication skills and conflict management at all ages but also in different settings and cultures
 - *in order to secure the mind and build tolerance with oneself and others*: teach courses that address the being and Humanity, courses on what is life (the life course and the ageing process), on cultural differences and belief systems in the world, on societal changes. Interreligious platforms could join in this group and teach objectively the different religious cultures
 - *in order to heal and give tools to self-healing of potential violence and aggression*: teach self-help and calming techniques of the mind; sport activities could also include more 'self-defense' courses and martial arts to canalise better violent energies.
 - *In order to raise awareness on the violence effect of certain media and entertainment*: create a media awareness network and a participative course where students could carry out auto-analysis of their own pattern of media and ICT responsiveness.
6. Find an innovative system of identifying potential victims and portrayer of aggression to prevent or intervene in time – i.e. creation of a Council of the Elders or Council of the Wise in the school to which children can report in full security their fears, anxieties and worries at the personal, family and friends level. Find a way to informally or formally nominate 'godmothers' and 'godfathers' for children with no inter-generational identity reference.
7. Get responsible lawyers and attorney to work for conciliation within the family when establishing the will and 'philosophical testimony' of older generations to prevent perpetuating conflicts/violence – make case models.
8. Give awards promoting peaceful and non-violence behaviors from ancestors' figures and models such as a 'Ghandi award' for youth.
9. Create a Mass Media Award of Violence Prevention in Schools, which would help develop the concept of 'healthy media' with a hit parade of the best/worst for violence prevention/promotion. Older generations could witness the formidable changes from their own childhood.
10. Make Psychology a part of the school curriculum especially courses which are potentially instruments for behavioural change of all generations

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A Plan of Action for Non-Violence and Peace

A Collective Vision, A Common Agenda

The idea of this conclusion is to raise a new action-oriented policy for a Peace agenda for the ageing in society that fits in the context of priority issues in the global society we live in. In order to guarantee peace, other areas will have to be addressed in such a way as to avoid disruption or conflicts between generations, and in order to guarantee long term peace, and a common vision for all generations will have to be addressed.

Priorities linked to World Peace– Building a common agenda and plan of action

In this context, the importance of the dynamics between generations emerges as a key component in sustaining social and human development. Thus the role of older generations within the global agenda will need to be addressed at many levels according to the state of the world.

- **Health:** Equality between generations in for example access to and distribution of medical, social and economic resources. Poverty alleviation programs during the entire life span as well, but also the setting up of long term and sustainable anti-poverty programs linking many generations. The HIV/AIDS epidemic is a good example for proving the need for building inter-generational dimensions in development, anti-poverty programs and policy-making. The AIDS epidemic at the end of 2000, showed alarming numbers (figure 8), the global estimates are of 36.1 million people with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2001). This epidemic is not only wiping out one or two entire generations, but it has created a whole generation of children without parents: today, 13.2 million children aged 14 and younger have been orphaned by AIDS in all parts of the world (figure 9).

Elements of a Plan of Action for Peace including older generations:

1. **Empowering the elders in their role and responsibility as contributors of peace:** Bring the elders of today and all of us tomorrow to play a key role in building and promoting a culture of peace within the family and the 'global village' they live in. From their own inner/outer peace-making process - through memories and actions, through reporting the 'history' linked to war/peace - the elders set models of how to engage or not in the peace process: either through building reconciliation or through perpetuating conflicts. The responsibility of elders in leaving behind a legacy of peace or war can empower their children, grandchildren and society as a whole. Thus, subtle and powerful models of behavior (life and death) influence future generations - an area that has very rarely been addressed or investigated. As an illustration, given the worldwide increase in longevity, policy on ageing should enable the elderly to bring their human expertise in improving the state of the world not only for tomorrow but also for the generations to come.
2. **Create a platform involving older and younger generations**, in order to build a coalition for promoting Peace and acting subsequently towards peace at different levels:
 - *at the individual level:* setting educative programs involving new aspects such as wisdom (see Sternberg above), inner peace, conflict resolution within, peaceful behavior.
 - *at the family level:* intra and inter-generational peace, by building cohesive family planning with more than 2 generations when possible, respecting the gender balance.
 - *at the societal level:* organizing groups for Peace, but also getting groups of elders involved in Politics for a Peaceful world and setting up parliamentarian groups of Youth and Elders – Create a Circle of Wise Elders at the local, national and why not at the UN? Involve elder religious and spiritual leaders or retired political leaders in addressing the issue and participating in the Peace Plan agenda.
 - *at the political level:* (i) identifying all elders ruling the world and getting them to be part of promoting peace as (ii) bringing the issue up within the peace process negotiation in a long term basis, (iii) constructing instruments to prevent conflicts, preserve and build a peaceful society.
3. **At the level of the mass media:** create awards for the best article that enhances inter-generational cohesion and peace initiatives by the elderly. Urge the media, through scientific arguments, to take responsibility for the psychological damage created by the negative and sometimes terrifying images and news they 'freely' launch with no ethical guidelines as to their impact on younger and older generations.
4. **Educate** our communities about the urgent need to provide tools and instruments to enhance the knowledge of wisdom as an education complementary to intellectual knowledge. Educating children and all generations to care for the common good of the planet such as peaceful resolution of conflicts at all levels or the protection of the **natural environment and all forms of life**, which is a component of peace.
5. **Set up an organization of Volunteers for Peace** which could provide interventions in different situations: preventing war, during war or post-war reconstruction.
6. **Women as active agents of peace, and especially older women** considering the high proportion of women in older ages, they should be involved in civil societies initiatives of peace as well as the planning of peace missions from the outset, and peacekeeping personnel should be trained in their responsibilities towards women and children. The prejudice and discriminating image of older women will have to be dispelled as they are the main portrayers of care in younger generations and in the very old generation.
7. **Integrate elders into UN peace operations** could include
 - each mission could have a plan for incorporating the issues of the elderly into all aspects of its work
 - all sectors of peacemaking and peace building should take the issue of the elderly into account
 - more retirees and women retirees, must be appointed as special representatives
8. **Psychology as an instrument for international intervention:** for psychologists to bring the very needed perspective of human development and psychological perspective to all UN priorities. More particularly, psychologists and policy psychologists will be asked to work more and more on issues related to psychological reconstruction of men, women, children and the elderly who have suffered major traumas collectively (wars, bombing, terrorist attacks, etc.) or individually (violence, rape, abuse, etc.). The new situation psychologists face today is collective trauma and generation's trauma, such as with children who have only lived war situations.
9. **Psychology of Peace** and inter-generational psychology are two areas that strongly need more research, theoretical and practical models. Psychologists can be involved at different levels: in the prevention of conflicts and wars, in the many forms of interventions during conflict and post-conflict situations, as well as in the individual peace-restoring and peace-building psychology. Psychology could greatly contribute in furthering reflection from its own theoretical or heuristic (?) models.
- **Macro Peace** At the level of society: ageing is inseparable from the notion of social participation and the responsibility of the elders towards the generations to come. The cultural and spiritual heritage that the older generations leave behind them is in a way the state of the world they have collectively co-created. The younger generations are living by the life example and through being educated in a spirit and a culture of war or of peace.