Social Capital in Intergenerational Meetings in Compulsory Schools in Sweden

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Intergenerational learning as an entity of lifelong learning and the creation of social capital in meetings between older men (class granddads) and pupils within compulsory schools in Sweden is the focus of this paper. In a study of the class granddad project on behalf of the Association of Class Granddads and the Swedish National Agency for Education, 19 different schools in Greater Stockholm were studied. These men, who come to the school for the sake of the children, are to be considered as a human resource that is at the disposal of the school, the classes, and the teachers concerned. Questions were constructed to measure parts of social capital. One of these factors is security, which has been described as being where one feels secure in school, but also involves being provided with assistance by other persons in the organization. Norms and structures indicate whether there is peace and quiet in the classroom. Cooperation and solidarity and good communication between the various parties in the organization are also part of the social capital in a group or an organization. A total of 788 pupils have provided responses to the same questions. It is possible to construct indicators for social capital and thereby measure the extent to which there is social capital in the relationships between people in a school. The results show that the work of the class granddad, both together with the teacher and outside during the breaks, also influences, in a positive way, the social capital between the pupils and the teacher. The work of the teacher is very greatly influenced by the relationships between the pupils in the group.

KEYWORDS social capital, intergenerational learning, compulsory schooling

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THE CLASS GRANDDAD PROJECT

The project, “More men into the schools,” a voluntary support program for children attending compulsory school, was initiated as a pilot project in Nacka Local Authority in the autumn of 1996 as the result of the interest shown by a male senior citizen while assisting a handicrafts teacher in school on a voluntary basis. The aim of the project has been to promote the development of the children and enrich their lives. This project eventually led to the formation of the association “Class Granddads for Children.” It is not the goal of the project to strengthen the teaching resources or to operate in competition with other categories of school staff. Rather, these men, who come to the school for the sake of the children, are to be considered as a human resource that is at the disposal of the school, the classes, and the teachers concerned. The duties of these senior citizens are defined in consultation with the principal and the class teachers, on the basis of the needs of the pupils and the classes, on the requirements and planning of each individual teacher and, naturally, on the skills and wishes of each man. The activities are thus based on selection criteria, where there is a voluntary desire to participate as a class granddad on the part of the male senior citizens and a concurrent wish on the part of the principal and the teacher to have a class granddad in the school, which is an essential prerequisite for the activities of a class granddad being successful. The duties of the class granddad are not generally concerned with “supervising” pupils or in “maintaining order” in the school, but rather that they are there for the sake of the children, as an adult role model and mentor, to provide support in most activities.

It is largely unemployed men over 50 years of age and senior citizens who are recruited for the project. The Labour Exchange uses a selection procedure in order to ensure that the most appropriate men are found among those registered as unemployed, and those selected are then called to a meeting with the steering group for the granddad program. Subsequently, those who are interested in participating, apply to join the project. Senior citizens apply themselves directly to the steering group, and the project is based on voluntary participation and engagement. There are no particular requirements with regard to education—the men are deemed as being suitable as they are and on the basis of their experience. The requirements for prospective class granddads are as follows:

• He is fond of children
• He is able to see the needs of children
• He is able to relate to children in a positive way

The competence of the prospective granddads is assessed during their first three weeks in school, which is considered to be a mutual trial period.
After this period, the school concerned, the prospective class granddad, and the steering group hold a joint meeting to carry out the assessment. The prospective class granddads are provided with the opportunity to develop their competence through exchanging experiences at monthly sessions arranged for this purpose by the steering group. In addition, internal training has been arranged since the spring of 2001 and is still continuing. The steering group also act as mentors for these men.

Since this project has been running continuously for a long period of time (from between six months to two years), the study carried out on the project is considered to constitute a practical application of the concept of “intergenerational learning,” a type of lifelong learning (Boström, 2002). The project, as it has been initiated in Sweden, is based on the understanding that those senior citizens who wish to do so ought to be given the opportunity to work in schools in order to improve the quality of their lives through this engagement and the network in which they participate.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Although great interest has been shown in human capital over a long period of time in the industrial countries of the Western world, no such attention has been paid to the soft value to be found in society in the shape of social capital related to human capital and increased quality of life in working life. However, the importance of higher standards in working environments and greater quality of life has been proposed in a publication from the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation (OECD) in 2001. In addition, these “soft” values have, on the other hand, long been appreciated in Asia. Here it is considered impossible to measure such matters in financial terms. In “Education of the Rising Sun—An Introduction to Education in Japan,” Okamoto (1992, 2001) proposes that lifelong education ought to be of an important and spiritual nature in order for people who are working together to be able to experience greater spiritual and physical well-being in their daily lives ( kokoro).

Social capital itself is a concept that is used both in a microperspective, in relationships between people (Coleman, 1971, 1988, 1990), and in a macroperspective, where the social capital in particular countries is considered. In the latter case, it concerns such issues as democracy and, as a field of research, may be typified in the work of, among others, Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000) and Inglehart (1999). The definition of social capital formulated by Coleman (1988, p. 98) forms the basis of most other definitions of this concept. In the view of Coleman (1988) it is not a matter of one single concept, rather the concept of social capital is a compilation of various components. These have the following in common:
• They consist of some form of social structure.
• They facilitate certain aspects of social structures.
• They facilitate certain responses on the part of various actors within the structure.

Coleman also describes how three different forms of social capital may be observed. These three entities consist of the following:

1. The level of confidence and trust that is found in the actual social environment
2. Information channels that are found there and how information is passed between the actors
3. Shared norms and structures that are found when people are working toward the same goal, on the basis of common unselfish interests

Human capital represents knowledge, skills, and well-being, as personified in the individual. Therefore it has been considered to be important to invest in education to increase the economic prerequisites for society. The differences between human capital and social capital have been illustrated in a schematic manner by Schuller and Field (1998).

Conversion of Various Forms of Capital

In the view of Coleman (1971), various forms of capital may be converted to some other form. For example, human capital can be converted to social capital and vice versa. He also describes this conversion in his book *Resources for Social Change* and further develops this view. His research was based on White and African American people in the United States during the 1960s. This research shows that political power, financial well-being, higher levels of education, and opportunities were largely found among the White population. A situation in which a person did not have these opportunities was termed a “resource deficit” by Coleman.

Thereafter he drew attention to the collective movement that gave power to African Americans when they collaborated in opposition to racism, used their democratic rights to vote, and gained employment in the police force and in the administration. In the view of Coleman, greater employment opportunities in the United States, through increased demand for labor, in its turn resulted in the provision of financial capital for families. The financial capital acquired in this way, in his opinion, created the possibilities for social capital to be developed in families since it provided the opportunities for the children of such families to attend school and gain an education. Subsequently, this social capital may be converted to human capital as their children learn more and are able to find better work. In the longer term, this human capital can then be converted to further financial
capital as the children, when they become adults, are able to earn more, in turn increasing social capital in these social groups.

THE NET EFFECTS OF THE GRANDDAD PROJECT

The conversion of the various forms of capital form the basis of the model (see Figure 1) used to study the granddad project. Stockholm Local Authority supplied financial capital by providing the schools with the opportunity to employ a class granddad. Since, through their experience and knowledge, the class granddads provide the school with human capital, they make positive social capital possible at the school between pupils, teachers, and class granddads. In the long run, this implies that the school and society earn financial capital as well as there being an increase in human capital for individual pupils as there are also improvements in their learning environments.

This conversion of capital may be considered to be the background to this study since the financial capital that has been invested on behalf of society when a class granddad, with his human capital in the form of experience and knowledge, is employed by a school and thereby increases social capital at the school in the form of improved cooperation and increased security for the pupils (see Figure 2). Eventually, this social capital can provide financial gains in the sense that pupils feel more secure in

![FIGURE 1](attachment:figure1.png)

**FIGURE 1** Conversion of various forms of capital.

![FIGURE 2](attachment:figure2.png)

**FIGURE 2** Conversion of capital: class granddads in school.
school and consequently learn more. The teachers, in their turn, do not need to spend so much time sorting out problems of a social character, which also results in the children learning more. In addition, teachers have more opportunity to concentrate on their professional duties, which may result in fewer teachers becoming burned out and taking sick leave.

The conversion of capital is exemplified in Figure 2. It is possible for the financial capital that society invests in a class granddad to finally result in the accumulation of further financial capital because when the class granddad is in the school cooperating with pupils and the teacher, his presence may contribute to an increase in social capital in the school. For the pupils, feeling more secure and having an improved working environment is a more advantageous prerequisite for their learning more and the presence of the class granddad in itself reduces the frequency of conflicts and tendencies toward them. Furthermore, the teachers enjoy more favorable conditions for carrying out their work.

The author (Boström, 2002, 2003) has investigated the relationship between lifelong learning (Tuijnman & Boström, 2002), intergenerational learning (Boström, 2000), and social capital by analyzing the concept and through a study of a particular project concerned with intergenerational learning, “the class granddad project.” The theoretical background rests on both a lifelong perspective and a lifewide perspective of learning. The lifewide perspective includes both formal and informal learning. Indicators to measure social capital were constructed and Linear Structural Relations (LISREL) was used to analyze the results. In addition, a qualitative method was used to analyze the understanding and experiences of their work on the part of the “class granddads.”

Many of the granddads, during the conversations that were held in connection with the collection of the questionnaires during the study, explained that they were very happy in their work but were unhappy about their uncertain financial situation. Most of them were working as part of labor-market measures and were confronted by the fact that such financial contributions would be mandatorily terminated after two years, when the only alternative for them to continue working in the school would be for them to become employees there. The school budgets were very stretched and they did not have the finances available to employ a granddad on a full-time basis, although they could make some contribution if the funds to support labor market policies could continue to meet the balance. The Association of Class Granddads for Children is working to make it possible for some other form of employment to be used. The association also runs training courses, provides certification, and holds monthly meetings for member granddads to exchange experiences. Many attend these meetings since they are held during working hours.

The schools that were included in the study were very different. Therefore, the granddads entered very different environments when they began
their work. The results indicate that the work of the class granddads in itself was part of the social capital that was to be found between the class granddad and the pupils. The responses of the pupils indicate that both boys and girls felt they had equal opportunities in the school, that they felt secure in school, and that the class granddad assisted everyone. These results support the proposition that social capital increased for the pupils. The responses from the participating class granddads indicate that even though their work was very demanding they still experienced it as being very positive. They gained a social network together with the other adults at the school and very positive energy from the pupils, indicating that there was also an increase in social capital for the older people. The class granddads felt that they were needed in the schools as supports and as listeners and comforters. It was important for them to share their knowledge, experiences, and feelings to support the less strong but to also to stimulate the strong to go even further. Many of the granddads felt it was important to behave in a friendly but determined manner and to set very clear limits that were equal for all the children. Time, empathy, and patience are considered to be good qualities to have as a class granddad.

METHODOLOGY

Measuring Social Capital

Boström (2003) has found that it is possible to construct indicators for social capital and thereby measure the extent to which there is social capital in the relationships between people in a school. As has been described earlier, social capital consists of cooperation toward a common goal, common norms and structures, and good communication between participants, which, taken together, provide security in the classroom (school). The aim of this study is to attempt to measure social capital. It is not possible to measure social capital directly. Therefore, indicators have to be constructed for the various constituent parts of social capital. Through measuring these it can be established if there are possible components for the various representations of social capital that might be found in the school. One property of social capital is that it can only occur and be created through relationships between people. It is not a property of individual people. In this particular case, it implies the relationships between the pupils themselves, between the pupils and the granddad, and between the pupils and the teacher.

Research Design

Questions were constructed (Boström, 2003) to measure those parts of social capital that have been defined by Coleman (1988, 1990). One of these factors is security (through confidence and trust), which has been described
as being where one feels secure in school, but also involves being provided with assistance by other persons in the organization. Norms and structures indicate whether there is peace and quiet in the classroom. Cooperation and solidarity and good communication between the various parties in the organization are also part of the social capital in a group or an organization. Questions were prepared in order to establish in each school the connection between the place of work of the class granddad and the social capital between the pupils he met. The alternative workplaces were in the classroom, in the dining room at lunch time, on excursions, and during breaks. It was also possible to establish whether there were children in the class who were better able to concentrate and work if the class granddad was close to them. The questionnaire, consisting of indicators for the measurement of social capital, has been used with pupils who have come into contact with a class granddad. The questions can be seen, although not in order, in Table 1. A quantitative analysis was carried out with regard to the responses to this questionnaire and then tested in the Structural Equation Model with LISREL (see Table 1).

Sample
A total of 788 students (age 7–16) from 19 different schools in Greater Stockholm have provided responses to the same questions. Out of these, 17 schools have all had a class granddad attached either to a particular class or work unit as the base for their work in the school. In one school, 154 pupils had the class granddad in their classroom for between 1.5 to 3 hours per week. Many of them also had access to him during the breaks, on excursions, and when doing homework in the after-school center. In another school, 44 pupils also participated. None of these students had the granddad in their classroom but they had access to him in the schoolyard.

Results
A model is presented for how the participation of the class granddad in the activities influences social capital in the school (see Figure 3). The students meet with the class granddad either together with the teacher in the classroom, in the dining room, on excursions (GDC), or outside by himself during the breaks (GDB). Pupils (ST) whose classmates judge them to be better able to concentrate on their work when the class granddad was close by, may also be considered to influence the work of the granddads (SCGD) or the social capital between pupils and the class granddad (SCST) as well as the cooperation between pupils (SCST) and the social capital between the teacher and the pupils (SCTE).
### TABLE 1 The Seven Components That Emerged During the Factor Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rotated component matrix</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QE 10 Assists everybody</td>
<td>0.768</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.113</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 29 Satisfied with the</td>
<td>0.744</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>0.280</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opportunities for individual support and assistance from the class granddad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 18 Talk and comfort</td>
<td>0.737</td>
<td>0.097</td>
<td>0.159</td>
<td>0.162</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 11 Resolve conflicts</td>
<td>0.724</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.145</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
<td>0.210</td>
<td>0.171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 17 Assists pupils with work in various subjects</td>
<td>0.678</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.077</td>
<td>0.321</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>-0.204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 37 With the manner in which I can talk with the granddad should I have a problem</td>
<td>0.654</td>
<td>0.119</td>
<td>0.444</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>0.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 12 Reduce conflicts</td>
<td>0.653</td>
<td>0.139</td>
<td>-0.127</td>
<td>0.148</td>
<td>-0.013</td>
<td>0.315</td>
<td>0.192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 13 Sets limits</td>
<td>0.648</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>0.189</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 14 Assists the teacher in class</td>
<td>0.566</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>0.315</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>-0.391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 28 Satisfied with the peace and quiet when working in the classroom</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.673</td>
<td>0.129</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.206</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>0.261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 24 Satisfied with the solidarity between pupils in the class</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td>0.663</td>
<td>0.119</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.223</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
<td>-0.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 26 Satisfied with the solidarity in the class during the breaks</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>0.645</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>0.350</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>-0.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 27 Satisfied with the compliance with order and rules</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.621</td>
<td>0.359</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>-0.157</td>
<td>-0.056</td>
<td>0.141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 32 Satisfied with the opportunities for pupils to feel completely secure everywhere in the school</td>
<td>0.256</td>
<td>0.591</td>
<td>0.238</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>0.218</td>
<td>-0.178</td>
<td>-0.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 25 Satisfied with the solidarity between girls and boys</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>0.569</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td>-0.072</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td>0.181</td>
<td>-0.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 33 Satisfied that girls and boys have equal opportunities to show what they can do</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>0.439</td>
<td>0.361</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 36 With how I can talk to the teacher when I have a problem</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.171</td>
<td>0.796</td>
<td>-0.023</td>
<td>0.132</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 34 Satisfied with opportunities for discussion with the teacher</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td>0.781</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 30 Satisfied with the opportunities to get individual support and assistance from the teacher</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.274</td>
<td>0.648</td>
<td>0.052</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>-0.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 38 With how I am given information about what is happening in school</td>
<td>0.311</td>
<td>0.219</td>
<td>0.526</td>
<td>0.112</td>
<td>0.145</td>
<td>-0.274</td>
<td>0.104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
A factor analysis was carried out on the responses to the questions in the questionnaire. The questions concerned where—inside or outside—the school the class granddad was to be found during the working day, what he did during the day, and, finally, questions that indicate social capital. The various forms of social capital were security and having someone to listen when required, the possibility of having assistance, and for working in groups. The questions were used to indicate social capital between the pupils, between the pupils and the class granddad, and between the pupils and the teacher. By using what is known as the “Rotation Method” (Varimax), the relationships between the indicators that, when combined, constitute a component, may become more apparent. In this particular instance, there were seven strong components that emerged (see Table 1). These were subsequently used to create a Structural Equation Model in LISREL (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1999) in order to test the theoretical model (see Figure 3). The seven different components are shown in Table 1. The shaded areas together form a component. The questions in the questionnaire that indicate the various components are shown on the right of the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rotated component matrix</th>
<th>Component</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 6 Present in the classroom</td>
<td>0.274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 8 Present in the dining room</td>
<td>0.330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 9 Accompanies on excursions and study visits outside the school</td>
<td>0.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 31 Satisfied with the opportunities to get assistance from other pupils</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 35 With being able to talk to a school friend when I have a problem</td>
<td>0.088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 16 Support a “troubled” pupil</td>
<td>0.315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 15 Support “troubled” pupils</td>
<td>0.521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE 7 Present during the breaks</td>
<td>0.211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Component 1 consists of 9 indicators for social capital between the class granddad and the pupils.
Component 2 consists of 6 different indicators for social capital between the pupils themselves.
Component 3 consists of 4 different indicators for social capital between teacher and pupils.
Component 4 consists of 3 different indicators for the work of the class granddad together with the teacher.
Component 5 consists of 2 indicators for “friendship”.
Component 6 consists of 2 indicators for children who need the class granddad to be near them in order to be able to concentrate.
Component 7 is an indicator for the work of the class granddad during the breaks.
Component 1 consists of nine indicators for social capital between the class granddad and the pupils. It consists of the results from the following questions in the questionnaire:

1. Assists everyone
2. Satisfied with the opportunities for assistance and support from the class granddad
3. Talk and comfort
4. Resolves conflicts
5. Assists pupils with their work in various subjects
6. Extent to which pupils can talk with the class granddad if they have problems
7. Reduces conflicts
8. Sets limits
9. Assists teacher during class

All forms of social capital (in Coleman’s definition) are included in this component and they are indicated in the following manner:
• Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 6 indicate security (confidence and trust)
• Numbers 4, 7, and 8 indicate norms and structure
• Numbers 5 and 9 indicate cooperation (information passed between the actors)

Component 1 includes indicators of all the different forms of entities that make social capital together. Component 2 consists of six different indicators for social capital between the pupils themselves and consists of the results from the following questions in the questionnaire:

1. Satisfied with the solidarity between the pupils in the class
2. Satisfied with the solidarity between pupils during the breaks
3. Satisfied with the manner in which order and rules are respected
4. Satisfied with the opportunities for the pupils to feel completely secure in the school
5. Satisfied with the cooperation between girls and boys
6. Satisfied that girls and boys have equal opportunities to show what they can do

All forms of Coleman’s definition of social capital are also found in this component and are indicated in the following way:

• Number 4 indicates security (confidence and trust)
• Number 3 indicates norms and structure
• Numbers 1, 2, 5, and 6 indicate cooperation (information passed between the actors)

Component 3 consists of four different indicators for social capital between teacher and pupils and it consists of the following questions in the questionnaire:

1. Able to talk to the teacher if I have a problem
2. Satisfied with the opportunities to discuss things with the teacher
3. Satisfied with the opportunities for getting individual support and help from the teacher

Two forms of Coleman’s definition of social capital are found in this component and are indicated in the following way:

• Numbers 1 and 3 indicate security (confidence and trust)
• Numbers 2 and 4 indicate communication (information passed between the actors)

Component 4 consists of three different indicators for the work of the class granddad together with the teacher.
1. Is in the classroom
2. Is in the dining room
3. Comes along on excursions and study visits outside the school

Component 5 consists of two indicators for “friendship,” which also are two forms of social capital

1. Opportunities for getting help from a friend (confidence and trust)
2. Opportunities to talk with a friend if I have a problem (information passed between the actors)

Component 6 consists of two indicators for children who need the class granddad to be near them in order to be able to concentrate.

1. Supports a “troubled” pupil
2. Supports “troubled” pupils

Component 7 is an indicator for the work of the class granddad during the breaks. This component consists of indicators that refer to the class granddad alone (without the teacher) showing that he is an indicator of social capital himself that stands out from the other indicators as a very strong indicator. Those indicators that have been used (see the Appendix for technical details) are those that are not related to any other component and those relationships that are not significant have been excluded.

The model shown in Figure 3 was tested against the data that had been collected by using LISREL (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1999). The result of the relationships are shown in Figure 4, where the components are described. A more detailed technical description is provided in the Appendix, where the measured values indicate how well the model fits the data that is being used. Those relationships that are not significant are not included in Figure 4 or the Appendix.

What is shown in Figure 4 are the relationships in which the class granddad carries out his work in the school and if those children who had difficulty in concentrating were better able to do so when the class granddad was close to them, and the following:

- The social capital between the pupils themselves
- The social capital between the pupils and the granddad
- The social capital between the pupils and the teacher

Those pupils who, for some reason, find it difficult to sit still and work but who are better able to do so when the class granddad is close to them are of considerable importance for the social capital between the pupils themselves. It is the pupils themselves who assess whether there are such
pupils in their class and if they improve if the class granddad is close by. The work of the class granddad and social capital are influenced by the nature of the cooperation between the pupils themselves and what sorts of relationships exist between them. Part of the work of the class granddad is to be an additional adult together with the teacher in the classroom, during lunch in the dining room, and on excursions and study visits outside the school.

When the granddad is outside during the breaks, he is more on his own, which becomes apparent as an indicator in the data, being a strong component in itself. The work of the class granddad consists of many different parts. The pupils most often refer to the fact that he talks to the children and comforts them when needed (communication, information passed between actors is a part of social capital), that he assists everyone (security, confidence, and trust is a part of social capital), and that he sets limits for what is allowed (norms and structure is a part of social capital). In other words, the work of the class granddad contains all the parts that constitute social capital, according to Coleman’s definition (Coleman, 1988).

The work of the class granddad, both together with the teacher and outside during the breaks, also influences in a positive way the social capital between the pupils and the teacher. The work of the teacher is very greatly influenced by the relationships between the pupils in the group.

FIGURE 4 The relationship between the work of the class granddad and the social capital between pupils, class granddad, and teacher.
CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study has been to deepen understanding of practical activities in those schools that have introduced a class granddad, an additional adult in their activities. It rests on earlier research on informal learning, which takes place between an older and a younger generation, a part of lifelong learning. It is necessary to have a positive social environment in order for learning to take place. This positive social environment may be created through providing basic security in the school environment and the opportunity to be given individual assistance when required. Positive social capital may provide the conditions for a learning society for all, both young and old. It is demonstrated that the work of the class granddad is greatly appreciated in the schools. He assists the pupils in various ways, reduces conflict by his very presence and, through his work, influences in a positive way the social capital between the pupils in the school. There are also indications that his presence in the schoolyard during breaks, when he is not working in the classroom, still has a positive influence on the teaching situation for the teacher in the classroom. The teachers placed the highest valuation on the class granddad accompanying them on excursions, on his being present in the classroom as an additional adult, and on his being outside during the breaks. Other duties carried out by the teachers when a class granddad was available included taking care of and assisting individual children.

The children who most need the granddad are those who, for some reason, find it difficult to concentrate if there is no adult close by them. Because he is there for these children, there are improved conditions for cooperation and good relationships with the other pupils, there is increased security for the whole group, and there is an all-round increase in social capital. The teacher also gains from this situation. It can also be seen that the children seek out the granddad to varying degrees. Those who have changed groups and environments have a greater need for the class granddad than others. Those pupils who feel that they have no friends or feel left out also willingly seek out the granddad to talk and feel secure. In a longer social perspective, the teachers and other staff felt that the class granddad built bridges between generations and improved the quality of life for the pupils by helping them feel secure in school, which is difficult to measure in a shorter perspective, but, nonetheless, this aspect of the effects of the work of the class granddad should not be ignored.

REFERENCES


**APPENDIX**

GIJOLUE: granddad is present at lunch
GIJOCLE: granddad is present in the classroom
GIJOEXE: idikerar att klassmorfar finns med på utflykter utanför skolan
GIJOBRE: granddad comes along on study visits
GIJOSTE: “troublesome” student
GIJOOSE: several “troublesome” students
SCNSSEE: cooperation between students in the classroom
SCNSFPE: indicates cooperation between boys and girls
SCNSSRE: cooperation between students during breaks
GIJOCOE: granddad talks and comforts
GIJOADE: granddad helps everyone
GIJONSE: granddad solves conflicts
SCOLDE: students’ discussion with the teacher
SCTRLPE: students talking to the teacher when there is a problem
SCTRLAE: individual support from the teacher

Indicators of the fit of the model to the data

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