



Consumer Wisdom and Well-being Investigated via Intergenerational Interactions

Journal:	<i>Journal of Marketing Management</i>
Manuscript ID	RJMM-2022-0171.R3
Manuscript Type:	Original Paper
Keywords (headings not selectable):	Consumer experience < Consumer research, Consumer psychology < Consumer research, Gender, race and sub-culture < Contemporary perspectives in marketing
Methodologies:	content analysis
Free Response Keywords:	consumer wisdom, family

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Consumer Wisdom and Well-Being

Investigated via Intergenerational Interactions

Abstract

This study examines consumer wisdom and well-being in family life. Drawing on Luchs, Mick and Haws (2021), it specifically examines how consumer wisdom develops and is transmitted in intergenerational interactions via consumption. Qualitative data was gathered via twenty long interviews with Moroccan grandmothers and eleven long interviews with their teen/adult grandchildren. The data analysis uncovers how wisdom interacts with intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being in the lives of families. First, it examines how grandmothers develop and transmit their wisdom to their grandchildren through intergenerational interactions embedded in consumption. Second, it shows how grandmothers manifest wisdom as they balance intrapersonal, interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being. Finally, the study provides a novel perspective on grandchildren's development of wisdom. This study extends our knowledge about the complexity of developing and transmitting consumer wisdom and how wisdom contributes to well-being within family settings. The findings suggest how wisdom can be used in marketing strategies and marketing communications, and provides societal implications related to consumer wisdom and well-being.

Summary statement of contribution: This research extends previous work on consumer wisdom. By capturing the voices of distinct family members across two generations, it proposes a new understanding of wisdom and the nature of well-being within family life

Keywords: Consumer wisdom, Family, Intergenerational interactions, Grandmothers, Grandchildren, Well-being

Introduction

Across time and across cultures, wisdom has been seen as important for enabling a person to live well, cope with problems, and avoid dangers (Aristotle, n.d.; Dalai Lama, 1994; Nozick, 1989). At the individual level, wisdom can bring happiness and well-being. At the collective or extrapersonal level, by balancing needs and constraints, wisdom can promote better contributions to the common good (Ozanne et al., 2021).

Research on wisdom in psychology, healthcare, and education has blossomed over the last two decades (Sternberg et al., 2019), but ‘research on consumer wisdom in particular has been scant’ (Luchs & Mick, 2019). At the same time research on the roles of older individuals in families has tended to focus on the nuclear family (Derbaix & Derbaix, 2019) rather than on wider intergenerational interactions, and has often been under-theorised in the field of consumer behaviour (Huff & Cotte, 2016; Lindridge & Hogg, 2006). Our research aims to offer a more comprehensive understanding of wisdom and its role in intergenerational interactions within families.

Popular belief suggests that, with time, we can all become wiser. Elderly people, with their accumulated life experiences, are often thought to have more wisdom than younger members of society and older people’s wisdom is usually seen as beneficial to others (Sternberg, 2019). It is usually assumed that members of the older generation, e.g. grandparents will be wiser. However, younger people can also be wise (Staudinger, 1999). Thus, the nuances around wisdom need ideally to be better understood (Luchs & Mick, 2018) as wisdom can be useful to help in improving our well-being, making better decisions, sustaining our relationships, and contributing to the welfare of our families.

Our research puts forward a more comprehensive understanding of the processes around wisdom and well-being in family settings and in grandparents/grandchildren interactions. After reviewing current literature on practical wisdom, consumer wisdom and wisdom in the family,

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3 we present our methodological approach. We develop insights from a qualitative study among
4 Moroccan grandmothers and their teen/adult grandchildren. We interviewed twenty
5 grandmothers and eleven grandchildren. Our research found that grandmothers invest in
6 consumption activities with their grandchildren and they enhance forms of well-being and the
7 welfare of their families. Since wisdom is important to improve well-being, these findings
8 raised important questions about the development and transmission of wisdom in family life.
9 We therefore ask the following research questions: How do grandmothers develop and transmit
10 wisdom in the context of intergenerational family interactions? How do grandmothers balance
11 intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being?
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24 Our findings are threefold. Firstly, we show how wisdom along with well-being in old
25 age pervades intergenerational interactions, and consumption in family settings. Secondly, we
26 demonstrate how older consumers, like grandmothers, develop and transmit distinct aspects of
27 wisdom in their families. Finally, our results shed light on the distinct viewpoints around
28 wisdom as we complement the voices of grandmothers with their grandchildren's narratives.
29 As the findings show, this phase is crucial for strengthening wisdom.
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38 Our study offers three contributions to the emerging body of research on consumer
39 wisdom. We complement existing work on wisdom as we unpack the processes around the
40 development and transmission of wisdom. We further enrich the literature on wisdom, as we
41 link wisdom and intergenerational interactions, and reveal how wisdom in family life
42 encompasses intrapersonal well-being along with concerns for others' well-being. We finally
43 contribute to our understanding of wisdom as we uncover the importance of listening to the
44 voices of family members in the processes that surround the development and transmission of
45 wisdom.
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56 Our paper ends with managerial recommendations for brands interested in
57 intergenerational interactions, and interpersonal relations. We finally derive some societal
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3 implications, as we provide avenues for developing wisdom in our societies through marketing
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10 **Wisdom, Family, Well-Being, and Consumption**

11 *Practical Wisdom as a Process*

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15 Wisdom is a central notion in human existence. Ancient Greek philosophers, for
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17 instance, would discuss the meanings of the purpose of life and the notion of what is right and
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19 wrong. Plato believed in wisdom as only attainable in the realm of theory and abstract thinking
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21 i.e. *Sophia*. Aristotle added to the notion of *Sophia* and introduced the idea of practical wisdom
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23 i.e. *Phronesis* – understood as ‘the capacity to recognize the essentials of what we encounter
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25 and to respond well and fittingly to those circumstances’ (Fowers, 2003, p. 415). In
26
27 *Nichomachean Ethics*, Aristotle distinguishes between practical wisdom and other forms of
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29 knowledge such as science – *Episteme* – and art – *Technê*. *Technê* refers to the technical
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31 knowledge of creating or producing something. *Episteme* relates to the knowledge of knowing,
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33 the scientific knowledge about something – as opposed to *Dogma* or static knowledge.
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35 According to Aristotle, *phronesis*, i.e., practical wisdom, refers to who one is, and not to the
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37 kind of knowledge one has (i.e., *Technê*). Over the centuries, practical wisdom has been defined
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39 in many different ways: as a skill, a personality trait, an attitude, a style or a process. In the
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41 present work, we follow Ozanne et al.’s (2021, p. 228) understanding of wisdom, drawing on
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43 Aristotle’s work, as an ‘unfolding process involving multiple facets or components.’ Two main
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45 theoretical perspectives derive from Aristotle’s initial work on *phronesis*: the Berlin paradigm
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47 and the balance theory of wisdom.
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54 The Berlin paradigm has conceptualized wisdom as ‘an expert system dealing with the
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56 meaning and conduct of life’ (Baltes & Staudinger, 2000, p. 124). Wisdom thus uncovers the
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58 fundamental pragmatics of life that relates to the ‘knowledge and judgment about the essence
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3 of the human condition and the ways and means of planning, managing, and understanding a
4 good life' (Baltes & Staudinger, 2000, p. 124). The Berlin paradigm relates wisdom to the
5 ability of an individual to consider alternative viewpoints about a situation, based on explicit
6 knowledge about how individuals think and behave. The balance theory (Sternberg, 1998)
7 builds on the Berlin paradigm and fine tunes the definition of practical wisdom. It defines
8 practical wisdom as a 'tacit knowledge underlying practical intelligence applied to balance
9 intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal interests to achieve a balance of the responses
10 to the environmental context of adaptation to, shaping of, and selection of new environments
11 in order to achieve a common good' (Sternberg, 1998, p. 354).

12 Both theoretical perspectives place great importance on tacit knowledge. Unlike explicit
13 knowledge, tacit knowledge cannot be formally learned, but is acquired through experiences
14 (Sternberg, 2001). Tacit knowledge refers to making wise judgements and taking decisions.
15 However, wisdom is much more than simply tacit knowledge, and it is also to be understood as
16 a process. As suggested in the Berlin paradigm, wisdom is a process of orchestrating the mind
17 and virtue. The balance theory of wisdom also highlights wisdom as a process of balancing (1)
18 intrapersonal interests (self-interests), (2) interpersonal interests (the interests of others), and
19 (3) extrapersonal interests (other aspects of the context in which one lives) (Sternberg, 2001, p.
20 231). Wisdom is thus a complex process involving different types of inputs: tacit knowledge,
21 values, attitudes, or skills. It is also a complex process because it considers multiple viewpoints
22 about a situation. In line with Hall (2010), wisdom as a process represents a guide for 'good
23 decisions.'

24 As a result of this process, human beings search for different outcomes. Wisdom in the
25 Berlin paradigm, while orchestrating mind and virtue, seeks human excellence and the common
26 good. The balance theory of wisdom, while considering multiple points of view, identifies three
27 main outcomes, as related to the pursuit of well-being. Well-being can be defined as 'a state of
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3 flourishing that involves health, happiness, and prosperity' (Mick, Pettigrew, Pechmann, &
4 Ozanne, 2012a, p.6). Seven dimensions underpin well-being: emotional, social, economic,
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6 physical, spiritual, environmental, and political (McGregor & Goldsmith, 1998). The three
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8 outcomes from balance theory involve firstly, intrapersonal interests which might include the
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10 desire to enhance one's prestige or power, or to learn more about something or simply to
11
12 enhance intrapersonal well-being. Secondly, interpersonal interests are quite similar to
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14 intrapersonal interests, but they apply to other people rather than to oneself, for instance other
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16 people's well-being. Thirdly, extrapersonal interests relate to the welfare of one's community.
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18 Extrapersonal interests within the term wisdom might contribute to collective well-being e.g.
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20 of the family. The balance between intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being
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22 operates over both the short and also the long term in order to adapt to various environments.
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24 Overall, wisdom has one main purpose: to help people lead happier, more fulfilling, and better
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26 lives (Hall, 2010).
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35 ***Consumer Wisdom***

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37 Because wisdom is by nature context-dependent, consumer researchers have derived the
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39 concept of consumer wisdom from both philosophical and psychological writings (Mick &
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41 Schwartz, 2012). There is a burgeoning literature on consumer wisdom in the marketing and
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43 consumer behaviour fields. Studies on wisdom have focused on business managers (Mick et
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45 al., 2009; Alemany Oliver, 2020), shoppers (Mick et al., 2012b), and wise consumers (Luchs
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47 & Mick, 2018), or have interviewed innovative members of e-tribes (Kozinets et al., 2008). In
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49 family settings, consumer researchers find traces of wisdom in consumption choices and
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51 intergenerational interactions, but these studies have not included the term explicitly
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53 (Godefroit-Winkel et al., 2019; Huff & Cotte, 2016; Karanika & Hogg, 2016).
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3 Building on wisdom related works, and in an attempt to achieve a deeper understanding
4 of consumer wisdom, Luchs and Mick (2018, p. 371) conceptualized consumer wisdom as ‘the
5 pursuit of well-being for oneself and for others through mindful management of consumption-
6 related choices and behaviours, as realized through the integrated application of Intentionality,
7 Contemplation, Emotional Mastery, Openness, and Transcendence’. Luchs and Mick
8 complemented their work with a consumer wisdom measurement scale (CWS) (Luchs et al.,
9 2021) that consists of six dimensions: responsibility, purpose, flexibility, perspective,
10 reasoning, and sustainability. These six facets of wisdom encompass the five-facet theoretical
11 framework of Luchs and Mick (2018) and were slightly redefined in their boundaries thanks to
12 empirical evidence (Luchs et al., 2021). Luchs et al. (2021) saw consumer wisdom as a process
13 of mindful management of consumption, the facets and dimensions underpinning wisdom
14 constitute many inputs into this process. We outline next the six facets of wisdom as evidenced
15 in Luchs et al.’s (2021) empirical work.

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33 **Responsibility** in wise consumption relates to *lifestyle envisionment* and involves
34 *personal resource management* as well as the *avoidance of negative emotions* that help in
35 realizing the lifestyle envisionment. A lifestyle envisionment relates to ‘the pursuit of a
36 personalized, virtuous pattern of living’ (Luchs & Mick, 2018, p. 371). Consumers might, for
37 instance, evoke how their lifestyle envisionment aligns with their values and resources,
38 acknowledge how they assume personal responsibility in achieving their lifestyle envisionment,
39 and critique how their consumption behaviours support their lifestyle vision. The personal
40 resource management aspect involves realistic planning to achieve and preserve one’s lifestyle
41 envisionment, in both the short and longer term. Accomplishing one’s lifestyle envisionment
42 through consistent behaviours and doing so thanks to realistic planning, as well to a careful
43 management of personal resources, comes with avoiding negative emotions. Consumers tend
44 to learn from their experiences and how these lead to feelings of guilt, regret, or stress.

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3 **Purpose** in wise consumption relates to the strategic *use of positive emotions* to achieve well-
4 being, while at one and the same time searching for a *growth mindset*. Consumers seek to
5 choose consumption contexts (for instance specific retail environments) that promote positive
6 emotions and thus wise consumption. When consumers pursue positive emotions and emotional
7 states then they tend to choose and select specific goods and services, as well as experiences.
8 In addition, consumers seek a growth mindset while believing they can enhance their abilities
9 thanks to their own efforts as well as to help from others. From a consumption perspective, new
10 products/ services that will provide new experiences, skills, knowledge, and positive emotions
11 attract consumers.
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24 **Flexibility** in wise consumption relates to *alternative consumption* practices that refer to ‘non-
25 traditional consumption behaviours’ (Luchs & Mick, 2018, p. 372) such as sharing, renting,
26 borrowing, and the purchase of used or pre-loved goods. Flexibility highlights not only
27 individual well-being but also collective well-being.
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33 **Perspective** in wise consumption refers to how consumers consider discrete consumption
34 options through *retrospection and prospection*. Retrospection relates to consumers’ reflections
35 on the consequences of their and others’ consumption behaviours and choices. Consumers
36 demonstrate retrospection when they show their ability to reflect on and learn from their and
37 others’ consumption experiences. Prospection, in contrast, is future oriented, involving
38 imagining and simulating future consumption outcomes and consequences.
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47 **Reasoning** refers to *prudent reasoning* that includes a balance and a synthesis of all
48 accumulated knowledge, preferences, and values to make wise decisions. Consumers who
49 engage in prudent reasoning are able to consider multiple viewpoints and are likely to integrate
50 procedural and factual knowledge (Baltes & Staudinger, 2000), as well as practical knowledge
51 (Sternberg, 2001), to make the best decisions for themselves and others. Grossmann and
52 Dorfman (2019) further contend that wise reasoning implies recognizing uncertainty and
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3 changes, demonstrating intellectual humility, seeking others' perspectives, as well as
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5 integrating different perspectives.
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7 Finally, *sustainability* in consumer wisdom reflects *compassion* and *interbeing*. *Compassion*
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9 relates to the ability of consumers to consider general and social well-being, through wise
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11 consumption choices such as pro-environmental consumption or the promotion of the local
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13 economy. *Interbeing* suggests that consumers tend towards consumption choices that enhance
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15 and promote relationships and connections between individuals and the natural environment.
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17 In line with the outcomes demonstrated by the application (and process) of practical wisdom
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19 from earlier research (Hall, 2010), the outcome from consumer wisdom relates to the pursuit of
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21 consumer well-being.
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26 In consumer wisdom, well-being is the common good to be pursued and achieved (Mick
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28 & Schwartz, 2012). Wise consumption relates to improving the quality of life for oneself, and
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30 thus personal (i.e. intrapersonal) well-being, as well as for others, and thus interpersonal and
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32 extrapersonal well-being (Luchs & Mick 2018; Luchs et al., 2021). For instance, perspective,
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34 with retrospection and propection, can achieve a prosocial objective by using personal
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36 reflection (Luchs & Mick, 2018). Wise consumption might therefore involve a blend of
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38 intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being.
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45 ***Wisdom, Grandmothers, and Intergenerational Interactions***

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47 Prior literature on aging often conceives grandmotherhood as a stage of life wherein
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49 traces of wisdom, related to interpersonal well-being, appear in their relationships with their
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51 grandchildren (Kivnick, 1981; Lindridge & Hogg, 2006; Hunter-Jones, 2014). This literature
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53 envisions grandmothers as providing wisdom and knowledge, via a variety of consumption
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55 practices, to their grandchildren, as well as to the wider family. In a study conducted among
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57 elderly black American women, Peterson (1990) observed how these women considered that
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3 becoming a grandmother was a sign of having reached the age of wisdom. Practical wisdom is
4 particularly salient among grandmothers as they have accumulated rich experiences, practices,
5 and knowledge through their previous life stages. Grandmothers act as wise people in
6 participating in the development of relationships, and especially in developing intergenerational
7 relationships within the family. They manifest wisdom through sharing stories (Nussbaum &
8 Bettini, 1994), sharing practices (Karanika & Hogg, 2016) or by organizing leisure activities
9 (Hunter-Jones, 2014).

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19 The early lifespan development theories argue that wisdom increases with chronological
20 age (Happé et al., 1998), though some studies have found no empirical evidence for this i.e.,
21 that people acquire more wisdom as they move towards old age (Smith & Baltes, 1990;
22 Staudinger, 1999). Wisdom is nevertheless embedded in the fundamental interconnectedness
23 among generations and between individuals (Aldwin & Levenson, 2019).

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Prior research in consumer studies found traces of wisdom in intergenerational
interactions. Intergenerational exchanges and interactions comprise information, beliefs and
resources, and can also include various objects, possessions, and practices. For instance, Greek
grandmothers provide support to their adult children in situations of economic adversity. They
also contribute to reducing or preventing the external and interpersonal conflicts that relate to
family members' competing needs (Karanika & Hogg, 2016). Godefroit-Winkel et al. (2019)
show how French grandmothers balance emotions to achieve intrapersonal, interpersonal and
extrapersonal well-being. They show how grandmothers pursue intrapersonal well-being
through the pursuit of positive emotions and the avoidance of negative emotions and seek to
enhance interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being. Their research suggests that wisdom
pervades intergenerational interactions between grandmothers and grandchildren. Noteworthy
in these studies is how grandmothers develop wisdom from their life experiences and transmit
such wisdom to their grandchildren. What grandmothers transmit is more than Doxa.

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3 Grandmothers use memories from their previous life-stages to build their daily interactions with
4 their grandchildren (Godefroit-Winkel et al., 2018; Karanika & Hogg, 2016).
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8 Few studies have investigated how wisdom manifests among both older and younger
9 consumers. Specifically, previous studies have not investigated how grandmothers' views of
10 intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being, and the related wisdom, play out in
11 intergenerational interactions and overall in family life. Our research questions are:
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16 RQ1. How do grandmothers develop and transmit wisdom in the context of intergenerational
17 family interactions?
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21 RQ2. How do grandmothers balance intrapersonal, interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being?
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26 **Research Site**

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28 In this research, we aimed to understand the dynamics of different aspects of practical
29 wisdom (Sternberg, 2001; Luchs & Mick, 2018), well-being, and consumption among
30 grandmothers through their intergenerational interactions with their grandchildren.
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35 We chose Morocco as the context for our study. In the Arab world, grandmothers play
36 an important role in their family: they are expected to strengthen family ties, maintain harmony
37 among family members, and contribute to the general welfare of their family (Mernissi, 1994).
38 For the purposes of this study, we elicit insights from a qualitative investigation among
39 grandmothers and their adult or late teen grandchildren in Moroccan families. The study herein
40 uses the consumption experiences of Moroccan grandmothers with their grandchildren to
41 explore wisdom and well-being in intergenerational interactions. We specifically focused on
42 Moroccan grandmothers for theoretical and contextual reasons. Prior research has shown the
43 important role of grandmothers in nurturing human relationships (Nussbaum & Bettini, 1994).
44 Further, older women in Arab contexts play a major role in the transmission of family values
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3 (Newcomb, 2009), including in the arrangement and organization of marriages (Mernissi,
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5 2000).

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8 We located our study in Morocco also because there intergenerational exchanges
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10 provide financial and family support for most elderly women. Only 3% of Moroccan women
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12 over 60 years old have a retirement pension of their own (HCP, 2009). In total, 58.6% of older
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14 people in Morocco rely on the financial support of the younger members of their family as their
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16 only source of income. Morocco has 1.6 million women over 60 years-old - 5% of the Moroccan
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18 population. 85% of them are illiterate, 50% are widowed. The average age of an older woman,
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20 defined as more than 60 years old, in Morocco is 69.7 years old. 54% of these older women
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22 live with their grandchildren in Morocco (HCP, 2009). Only 8.4% of older women live alone
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24 in urban areas. 39% of Moroccans wish to live with their grandparents (Rachik et al., 2005).

25 26 27 28 29 30 31 **Methodology**

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33 In this paper, we analyse and interpret how Moroccan grandmothers manifest wisdom
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35 in their consumption practices and manage well-being at distinct levels in their
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37 intergenerational interactions with their grandchildren. Within the family, we also interviewed
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39 late teen and adult grandchildren, paying particular attention to the grandchildren's narratives.
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41 We did not exclude other family relatives. We also took into account the marketplace. Both the
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43 marketplace and grandmothers' relatives also contribute to the context for grandmothers'
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45 wisdom and family well-being. One novelty in this study lies in the focus on the grandmother-
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47 grandchild dyad. Indeed, most studies on intergenerational interactions have privileged parent-
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49 child relationships (Hogg et al., 2004; Schill et al., 2020). The focus of this study is on how
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51 grandmothers develop and transmit wisdom in consumption experiences with their
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53 grandchildren and how wisdom intersects with well-being in family life.
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We draw on a phenomenological approach, based on the study of grandmothers' lived experiences with their grandchildren. A convenience sampling method was used to contact grandmothers or grandchildren. Informants were identified and recruited by the first author. We used snowballing to recruit new informants. Long interviews (McCracken, 1988) were conducted with grandmothers separately from their grandchild, and with grandchildren separately from their grandmother. We developed an open-ended approach using questions based around themes rather than using closed end questions. The list of themes that were used during the interviews is presented in Appendix 1 (grandmothers) and 2 (grandchildren).

A total of 20 grandmothers and 11 grandchildren were interviewed. The sample comprised 7 dyads, composed of a grandchild and her/his grandmother. Grandmothers had varying socioeconomic backgrounds and levels of education. Their ages ranged from 60 years old to over 80. Grandchildren's ages were between 16 and 25 years old, 10 were high-school or university students, and one grandchild was an employee (see participants' profiles in Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1. Grandmother informants' list

Grandmother's name	Age	No. of Children	No. of Grand-children	Grandchildren Ages (in years)
Aicha	80+	8	11	4 to 35
Fadma	78	15	9	7 to 23
Fatima	75	4	8	18 to 29
Fatma	70+	9	11	2 to 23
Fatna	80+	8	9	2 to 26
Fouzia	65	5	6	3 to 18
Habiba	75	9	14	3 to 30
Hafida	68	5	9	6 to 24
Houria	62	3	4	6 to 15
Khadija	60	2	2	4 to 7
Khadouj	74	7	7	17 to 31
Kheddouj	70+	4	7	2 to 27
Lakbira	75	6	9	11 to 32
Latifa	70+	3	5	17 to 26
Nadia	64	3	4	7 to 16
Rabia	83	7	19	5 to 42
Rachida	68	6	11	7 months to 21

Rekkouch	77	8	14	3 months to 28
Sonia	75	3	7	6 to 27
Rawya	80+	4	15	11 to 32

Table 2. Grandchildren informants' list

Grandchild's name	Gender	Age	Grandmother's name	Occupation
Aida	f	16	Habiba*	Student
Ahmed	m	20	Houria	Student
Asma	f	20	Amina	Student
Ines	f	23	Fatma*	Student
Meriem	f	22	Fatima*	Student
Liv	f	19	Sonia*	Student
Neil	m	21	Rachida*	Student
Neila	f	16	Aicha*	Student
Oumaima	f	21	Rekkouch*	Student
Rim	f	22	Milouda	Student
Wafaa	f	25	Najia	Employee

* These grandmothers were included in the set of interviews with grandmothers.

The interviews with grandmothers started with a discussion about their past and present lives. We next asked them to describe their past experiences with various family members as embedded in consumption. Interviews concluded with the topic of what it means to be a grandmother, i.e. an older person in an extended family, where this topic had not arisen spontaneously earlier in the interview. The interviews with grandchildren started with a discussion about their family relationships, and their relationships with their grandmothers. Interviews took between 45 minutes and 2 hours for both grandmothers and for grandchildren. The long interviews offered opportunities for both the grandmothers and the grandchildren to reflect on their own practices and interactions with other family members. The grandmothers drew on cultural resources to construct meaningful descriptions of their social environment (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). Consumption was not narrowly construed. Several themes, e.g. consumption objects and activities, were suggested by the interviewer when such themes were not addressed spontaneously by the interviewee. For instance, grandmothers were asked to describe their use of electrical appliances, beauty products, dresses, the internet, and grocery shopping during the interview. These themes reflect the most common daily occupations of

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3 Moroccan grandmothers. Informants spontaneously talked about tensions among family
4 members. Some of the wider aspects often subsumed under consumption such as borrowing, or
5 sharing were not spontaneously mentioned by our interviewees. This is in line with the
6 Moroccan culture: grandmothers receive presents that are bought for them, but do not usually
7 share their belongings with other family members. Questions were broadly framed to generate
8 rich data for analysis.
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11 The interviews were held in both Arabic and French. They were fully transcribed for
12 analysis and translated. Then, the three authors from distinct backgrounds analysed the data
13 first separately and then together. They used iteration to form, develop and revise
14 understandings of the entire data set (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). Data analysis focused on
15 grandmothers' and grandchildren's reflexive thoughts about their consumption experiences and
16 practices, and relationships with their grandchildren or grandmothers respectively. Informants
17 provided descriptions, explanations, and justifications for how the consumption experiences
18 and practices had affected their sense of their own selves and their relationships with other
19 family members. The authors paid careful attention to any tensions mentioned by the
20 informants. Each interview was interpreted at the individual level. The authors further
21 reinterpreted the interview data in relation to the developing sense of the 'whole' (Thompson
22 et al., 1989). Hence, the developing thematic structure was often challenged, and revised, in an
23 iterative process. An emic perspective was used which relied on participants' categories. An
24 etic approach led the emic categories to broader theoretical notions. Consumer wisdom emerged
25 from this iterative process of data analysis, and seemed a relevant theoretical frame compared
26 to other theoretical notions, such as agency in identity building or intergenerational support.
27 Then, tacking back and forth between the dataset and the interpretations iteratively allowed
28 theoretical links to be drawn between different aspects of wisdom (e.g., Sternberg, 2001; Luchs
29 & Mick, 2018), well-being, intergenerational interactions, and consumption practices. Our
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3 analysis of the grandmothers and the grandchildren data sets provided conceptual themes and
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5 indicated the relationships among these themes.
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10 **Findings - Grandmothers' Wisdom and Well-being**

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12 In presenting our findings, we detail how grandmothers learn new knowledge through
13 experiences in order to balance intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being. The
14 findings are organized in three sections, each of which is a stage of the process of developing
15 and transmitting wisdom.
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21 We start with identifying grandmothers' intergenerational activities and interactions
22 with their grandchildren, and with delineating the related wisdom facets as grandmothers learn
23 to organize and participate in activities with their grandchildren. These activities and
24 intergenerational interactions serve as a first phase in the process of developing wisdom. In the
25 second section, we examine how grandmothers transmit their knowledge, values, attitudes, and
26 skills to their grandchildren through their interactions. This is the second phase in the process.
27 The final section identifies how grandmothers strengthen their wisdom and how grandchildren
28 use their grandmothers' practices to develop their own wisdom. We delineate the distinct
29 viewpoints of grandmothers and grandchildren about activities and well-being, and the tensions
30 around wisdom. This is the final phase in the process of developing and transmitting wisdom.
31 We indicate how grandchildren understand their grandmothers' practices and related facets of
32 wisdom, and how they build on such understandings to develop their own wisdom.
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51 ***Developing New Facets of Wisdom through Intergenerational Interactions with*** 52 ***Grandchildren***

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55 Our grandmother informants related many stories about the skills and knowledge that
56 they have developed with their grandchildren. They also learned to value new practices and
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2
3 changed some of their attitudes towards their extended family habits. The learning of tacit
4
5 knowledge is intrinsically linked to the development of wisdom.
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7
8 Family members develop symbiotic and parallel activities (Epp & Price, 2011, p. 44).
9
10 Developing symbiotic activities comes with the idea of sharing the same activity between
11
12 grandmothers and grandchildren, in close proximity. Engaging in parallel activities means that
13
14 individuals (here grandmothers and grandchildren) participate in the same activity but with
15
16 limited interactions. While they engage in new symbiotic and parallel consumption activities
17
18 with their grandchildren, grandmothers develop new facets of wisdom.
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24 *Acquiring New Knowledge and Skills through Symbiotic Consumption Activities with their*
25
26 *Grandchildren*

27
28 Many grandmother informants manifest strong efforts to initiate or develop
29
30 intergenerational activities with their grandchildren and /or for their grandchildren. These
31
32 activities aim to foster grandmothers' intergenerational interactions with their grandchildren.
33
34 To this end, most of these grandmothers were eager to acquire new knowledge and skills to
35
36 keep strong bonds with their grandchildren. They try new recipes, watch new influencers, or
37
38 learn new languages in order to spend more quality time with their grandchildren.
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41
42 I call my daughter-in-law to help me prepare meals when my grandchildren come home.
43
44 I try to make them happy and to prepare what they like to eat. I try to learn new recipes
45
46 from my daughter-in-law, the ones that she prepares when she is home and that my
47
48 grandchildren like (Rabia, 83)

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50 Sometimes, my grandchildren tell me about recipes that I don't know, and they ask me
51
52 to cook for them. Rihab [granddaughter] called me one day with her mother's phone
53
54 and she showed me videos of recipes. And she said 'Granny, cook this, please. They are
55
56 delicious and you can make them in 10 minutes like Choumicha [cook influencer]' I
57
58 said ok. I tried and did it [smile] (Latifa, 70+)

59
60 My grandchildren, who live abroad, do not speak Arabic. So, I've learned a little French
to talk to them. SiMohamed, [one of] my grandson[s] taught me how to say hi. I can say
'Bonjour, Ça va? Chocolat, Tu me manques' [Good morning, Are you ok? Chocolate, I
miss you].'' (Lakbira, 75)

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3 Rabia and Latifa do not know precisely what to cook for their grandchildren, and Lakbira does
4 not speak the same language as her grandchildren. Here, Rabia, Latifa and Lakbira explain how
5 they have started to learn about new things such as recipes, or languages (e.g., how to speak
6 French). They have initiated new consumption activities like cooking new recipes or starting
7 language courses in order to promote intergenerational interactions. Through these various
8 activities, Rabia, Latifa and Lakbira show distinct dimensions of wisdom (Luchs & Mick 2018).
9 They develop purpose and flexibility as they want to learn new recipes, or a foreign language.
10 They demonstrate interbeing, an intuitive sense that they can connect with their grandchildren,
11 and compassion as they prepare their grandchildren's favourite meals. Through these activities,
12 grandmothers develop their wisdom. They further demonstrate their wisdom, and promote
13 interpersonal well-being.

14
15 Grandmothers demonstrate wisdom by showing kindness and empathy, like Houria
16 (62). Houria's eldest son and his wife work full time, and they have few options for children
17 care. They asked Houria to look after their children when they are at work. Her grandchildren
18 come and eat with her each Wednesday. Houria experiences ambivalent emotions about the fact
19 that her son and his wife work full time. While Houria regrets that they do not have time to be
20 with the children when they are off school on Wednesday afternoons, she nevertheless develops
21 empathy as she understands that they both need to work to fulfil their nuclear family's needs.

22
23 Houria fosters her grandchildren's well-being by cooking for them and spending time
24 with them, on Wednesdays, and her son's well-being by taking care of his children. Houria has
25 thus developed consumption activities – like cooking and invested in intergenerational
26 interactions – she thus shares symbiotic activities with her grandchildren. Sometimes, she feels
27 tired at the end of the day. But she thinks that it is worth it. Thus, her intrapersonal well-being
28 may be challenged some Wednesdays, but she fosters her interpersonal well-being with her son
29 and grandchildren.

1
2
3 Rabia, Latifa, Lakkira and Houria are eager to invest in new consumption activities in
4 order to develop their intergenerational interactions with their grandchildren. They invest in
5 fulfilling relationships with them. They are taking account of others' well-being, i.e., their
6 grandchildren's well-being. In these examples of intergenerational consumption, grandmothers
7 manifest wisdom and demonstrate a balance between their intrapersonal well-being and their
8 grandchildren's well-being (Sternberg, 2001).
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19 *Developing New Attitudes and Habits through Parallel Consumption Activities with their*
20 *Grandchildren*
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23 The data analysis further revealed how grandmother informants also develop new attitudes and
24 habits about family organization and gatherings. While they develop new habits, grandmothers
25 also develop their wisdom. Many grandmothers learned how to preserve their grandchildren's
26 well-being through the organization of parallel consumption activities. A new habit consists of
27 setting up and organizing specific spaces for children during major family gatherings.
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35 Fouzia (65) for instance explains how she has changed her attitudes towards extended
36 family dinners. Many Moroccan families rarely use individual plates to eat; they share a
37 common dish and use their fingers to bring the food to their mouths. Fouzia likes to maintain
38 such traditions. But she has recently changed her attitude toward eating with hands. As she
39 changes her attitudes, she develops wisdom. She notes that 'young children are often not
40 educated like that.' She explains that her daughter-in-law, the mother of her grandchildren, asks
41 that they use knives and forks. When Fouzia adopts new habits and talks about them, she
42 manifests wisdom.
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53 Fouzia expresses her fears of potential critics during extended family dinners: 'they
54 [grand-uncles and grand-aunts] may say that my grandchildren didn't receive a good education
55 [because] they are not used to eating from the common dish [with their hands].' Fouzia wants
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3 her grandchildren to feel comfortable when eating with knives and forks. Thus, at dinner time,
4 she keeps her grandchildren away from the other relatives. She provides two distinct places:
5 grandchildren in the tv room and grand-uncles and aunties in the dining room. She serves her
6 grandchildren a Moroccan stew and provides them with knives and forks, and she adds French
7 fries or deep-fried vegetables. With time Fouzia has learned that preparing two tables, and thus
8 organizing two parallel consumption activities, avoids negative comments. Fouzia has
9 developed wisdom. She manifests purpose, but also compassion and interbeing – sustainability
10 - when she protects her grandchildren’s well-being. Her wisdom is manifested in her emotional
11 mastery but also in her prudent reasoning: in her ability to anticipate and prevent tensions
12 between different family members. And she manifests flexibility as she acknowledges the
13 preference of some members to eat in the traditional way (with fingers) and others to eat in the
14 newer way (with knives and forks). To achieve a balance between interpersonal and
15 extrapersonal well-being, she thus uses purpose, sustainability, and flexibility.
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33 As Fouzia carefully establishes a spatial organization in which family members can feel
34 comfortable, she fosters interpersonal well-being (between family members) and extrapersonal
35 well-being (family well-being).
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40 During our fieldwork, we found additional examples of grandmothers separating family
41 subgroups to enhance well-being. For instance, Habiba (75) always invites her grandchildren
42 on Wednesdays: she makes sure that the parents don’t come for she likes to ‘have time to talk
43 about [her grandchildren’s] lives, without being interrupted [by the parents].’ Fatma (70+) asks
44 a cousin to take the grandson who lives with her for a walk when she entertains her other
45 grandchildren. Fouzia, Habiba, and Fatma foster both the well-being of their grandchildren and
46 the well-being of the family. These grandmothers become wiser and show purpose, reasoning,
47 sustainability, and flexibility as they imagine and develop parallel activities. They also balance
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3 interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being. They preserve each family subgroup and sustain
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5 harmony in their family.
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10 *Transmitting Wisdom to Grandchildren through Intergenerational Interactions*

11
12 The second phase in the process of wisdom relates to the transmission of wisdom. As
13
14 grandmothers learn how to organize and prepare activities with their grandchildren, they share
15
16 their values, attitudes and demonstrate their skills. The grandchildren observe their
17
18 grandmothers and learn about their grandmothers' wisdom.
19

20
21 We detail next how grandmothers' specific activities and interactions engage and transmit
22
23 specific facets of wisdom. Some grandmothers use routines, like Lakbira (75) and Sonia (75).
24
25

26 I tell [my grandchildren] stories about Tarzan or Hayna. I always tell the same story but
27
28 in a different way. I have to educate them through my stories. So, they learn important
29
30 values in life. I tell stories about children who listen to their parents and who are
31
32 successful in life, stories of children who eat lentils and vegetables. Then they eat
33
34 properly and have good health. (Lakbira, 75)

35 When children eat from the same plate and sleep in the same bed, they are close to each
36
37 other later on. I see how I was with my sisters. I have a very good relationship with
38
39 them, thank God. I have put my children and grandchildren in the same beds and told
40
41 my daughters to gather their children together at night also. So, they have strong
42
43 relationships. (Sonia, 75).

44 Here, Lakbira and Sonia use bedtime routines to transmit values such as self-respect, obedience,
45
46 health and caring. They demonstrate responsibility, with lifestyle envisionment for their
47
48 grandchildren. Grandmothers are attentive to the need for their grandchildren to develop strong
49
50 relationships with each other so that they can foster family harmony in the longer term, thus
51
52 promoting extrapersonal well-being. In preserving good relationships between their
53
54 grandchildren, grandmothers demonstrate wisdom in balancing interpersonal and extrapersonal
55
56 well-being. These grandmothers express prospection such that they imagine and anticipate the
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58 effects of sustaining strong ties among their grandchildren in order to foster/sustain the family's
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60 welfare in the longer term.

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3 Other grandmothers transmit their wisdom, not so much verbally as through their own practices.

4
5 This is particularly visible during family meals.

6
7
8 We always eat together [each day] around the table. If one of my sons is missing, then
9 we keep his meal for later. [...] Eating together is the cement of a family. (Rabia, 83)

10 I tell them: even love goes through your plate. If you eat together, you love each other.
11 [...] In Arabic, we say: if you don't receive love, you can't give love. A [grand]mother
12 shows her love when she cooks. (Khadija, 60)

13
14 On Shabbat, we all gather at [my] home. I prepare the traditional meal for Shabbat,
15 salad, then fish, meat and then desserts. And we have a good time. It's like a break in
16 our crazy lives. [...] I have always liked the idea of a united family, gathered around the
17 Shabbat table. [...] It's a lot of work. But it's worth it. (Sonia, 75)

18
19 I have a good feeling [when I have all my children and grandchildren at home]. I am so
20 happy. I feel proud because I have reinforced their education and they [all] share good
21 values. My children will transmit their good values to their children. When I see them
22 all together around the table, I would like to stop time and stay like that forever. (Aicha,
23 80+)

24
25
26 In the quotes above, Rabia, Sonia, and Aicha show how they value family meals as important
27 milestones in forging a united family, or a family with well-educated grandchildren. Liv
28
29 (Sonia's granddaughter) reports how she likes Friday evenings at her grandmother's table:

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31
32
33 It's always like a little fiesta. My grandmother receives the whole family, she gets her
34 beautiful plates out. There are flowers on the table. [...] Last Friday, she had prepared
35 my new salad recipe with oranges and olives, and she told everybody that it was my
36 recipe. I was happy. (Liv, 19)

37
38 The grandmothers, Rabia, Sonia and Aicha, manifest wisdom in balancing intrapersonal and
39
40 extrapersonal well-being. Grandmothers use consumption activities to foster their intrapersonal
41
42 well-being, from which they also derive positive emotions, such as happiness and pride. They
43
44 also increase extrapersonal family well-being when they organize and prepare family
45
46 gatherings.
47
48

49 50 51 52 ***Strengthening Wisdom: Viewpoints, and Voices around Wisdom and Well-being***

53
54 The wisdom that grandmothers develop and transmit is sometimes challenged, showing some
55
56 tensions between grandmothers and their grandchildren. This third phase is crucial in the
57
58 process of wisdom, as it permits grandmothers to strengthen their wisdom and grandchildren to
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3 develop their own wisdom. Some grandmothers privilege their intrapersonal well-being and
4
5 (grand)children develop their personal viewpoints about their grandmothers' practices. Some
6
7 grandchildren express their voices against or in favour of their grandmothers, but most of them
8
9 have ambivalent emotions. In the following section, the data uncovers how wisdom emerges
10
11 from such situations and how grandchildren develop and demonstrate their own wisdom.
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17 *Grandmothers' Practices in the context of Intrapersonal Well-being*

18
19 One of the most important tensions for grandmothers relates to the presents that grandmother
20
21 informants receive from their (grand)children. Consider the following quotes about cosmetics.
22
23

24 No! No! I never use such products [bottled shampoos from supermarkets]. Even if my
25 daughters offer me shampoos. I prefer my own mix and my henna recipes, that I prepare
26 at home [smile], and that I learned from my grandmother. [laughs] This is not for an old
27 woman like me. I rely on my henna mix. This is the only thing that I need for my hair
28 (Rabia, 83)

29
30 My (grand)daughters brought me many [perfume bottles] from France or Canada. But
31 it's not for me [I do not want to use them]. I prefer traditional flower essence [which is
32 made in our village] (Fatma, 70+)

33
34 Halima, my granddaughter came back from France with a new shampoo [as a present
35 for me] I washed my hair with it. The next day, my hair was dry, I could not comb it. I
36 told my granddaughter that her shampoo was really bad. (Kheddouj, 80)

37
38 Kheddouj, Rabia, and Fatma receive gifts from their grandchildren. The grandchildren offer the
39
40 presents with the aim of building strong relations with their grandmothers. 'I always like to
41 bring presents to my grandmother. I like to show that I have been thinking about her when I
42 was away,' says Ines (23, student).
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47 These grandmothers are grateful for the thoughtfulness behind the gift giving, but
48 dismissive of the gifts themselves. Kheddouj, Rabia and Fatima do not use the shampoos and
49 perfumes for they prefer their own traditional products, most of which involve home-made
50 ancestral recipes. Here, grandmothers privilege their intrapersonal well-being underpinned by
51 their responsibility, i.e., their lifestyle envisionment (Luchs & Mick 2018). Kheddouj telling
52 her granddaughter that she does not like her gift is an example of this. Kheddouj prefers to be
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3 straightforward and tells her granddaughter what she likes and does not like, instead of hiding
4
5 her thoughts about the gift.
6

7
8 Tensions also appear in the context of domestic appliances. Many grandmothers receive
9
10 domestic appliances as gifts from their children or grandchildren. However, in the case of
11
12 domestic appliances, the grandmothers are not always so dismissive of the gifts - though maybe
13
14 dismissive of a daughter-in-law's habits, e.g., Khadouj's comment below. Wafaa says that 'it
15
16 was important for me that my grandmother should have a kneading machine. She is old and
17
18 blending with her hands is too tiring. [...] I am worried, I don't want her to be tired. But she is
19
20 stubborn. She does not use it [laughs]'
21
22

23
24 I prefer to use my own hands to prepare bread. I do not know how to use this machine
25
26 [that my son gave me] and I am not interested in it. Because I know that the best way is
27
28 to use my hands. It gives a special taste and a good shape to the bread. [It is] not like the
29
30 bread of my daughter-in-law [who uses a machine]... but she has an excuse to use the
31
32 machine [she has a paid job] (Khadouj, 74)

33
34 Today, I have everything in my kitchen [technical appliances offered by the
35
36 (grand)children]. But I don't use any of them. I do everything with my own hands like
37
38 in the traditional way. Sometimes, I use the Moulinex [blender] because I can't find
39
40 another way [to blend]. In contrast, my daughter and my son's wife use all the domestic
41
42 appliances... You know, even when I wash my clothes, I use my hands instead of the
43
44 washing machine... because I feel this is more in keeping with myself. I have a bad
45
46 feeling when I use [electric] appliances. [...] I learned from my mother how to do things
47
48 properly, with my hands. My laundry is much cleaner when I use my hands, and tagines
49
50 [traditional meals] have a better taste if they are cooked in traditional saucepans [instead
51
52 of the cooker]. (Fatima, 75)

53
54 Grandmothers who buy cookies instead of cooking them, or who use machines instead
55
56 of their hands, are lazy grandmothers. (Fadma, 78)

57
58 Fadma, Khadouj, and Fatima have crafted a specific set of activities that are in line with their
59
60 lifestyle envisionment: they wash laundry, they knead bread, they squeeze rather than using a
blender, they cook with their own hands. And they do not use some technical appliances
because these conflict with what they see as their personal lifestyle as hard-working women.
These practices represent responsibility, showing the avoidance of negative emotions, and
achievement of a lifestyle envisionment, by these women. The manifestations of wisdom that
seem to be oriented towards intrapersonal well-being here seem to conflict with the

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2
3 intergenerational relations that grandmothers have with their grandchildren. Ines for instance
4 keeps bringing presents that her grandmother does not use. And Wafaa does not understand
5 why her grandmother avoids using her presents though they would make her tasks easier. Here,
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7 grandmothers manifest responsibility – avoidance of negative emotions and lifestyle
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intergenerational relations that grandmothers have with their grandchildren. Ines for instance keeps bringing presents that her grandmother does not use. And Wafaa does not understand why her grandmother avoids using her presents though they would make her tasks easier. Here, grandmothers manifest responsibility – avoidance of negative emotions and lifestyle envisionment - as they keep to their own practices and refuse to use the presents from their (grand)children. In the next section, we show how some grandmothers may find ways to express their wisdom while privileging their intrapersonal well-being.

Wisdom in Grandchildren's Voices and Grandmothers' Practices

The previous data extracts showed how grandmothers often refuse to use the presents they have been given for a mixture of utilitarian and cultural reasons. For utilitarian reasons, they feel that they can do a better job (e.g. washing clothes), if they stick with their usual routines. At the same time, adhering to their own deeply-embedded practices (e.g. kneading bread) illustrates the importance that they place on their own long-standing cultural habits and values. During our fieldwork, we observed that several grandmothers nevertheless attach a symbolic value to the presents that they receive from their (grand)children.

During the fieldwork, Latifa among other informants was proud to show off all the domestic appliances that she had received for her kitchen. Latifa values her electrical appliances even if she does not use them. Latifa 'hardly uses the toaster and the boiler' that she received from her family. She continues to use gas to cook her bread and boil water, as she always did. Fatna (80+) likes the washing machine that she received from her (grand)children but she does not use it, she prefers to do her washing with her own hands. Another grandmother, Aicha, says:

The cooker is the only electrical appliance that I have bought. I receive all my electrical appliances from my children and grandchildren. I love them. God bless my children! [...] [my grandchildren] buy all these because they are good kids. These gifts represent the gratitude of my children and grandchildren (Aicha, 80+)

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3 Fatna's and Aicha's kitchens appear as sanctuaries filled with almost-never-used appliances.
4
5 They could give away these never-used appliances, but they keep the presents visible in their
6
7 kitchen and thus show how much they value their relationships with their (grand)children.
8
9 These gifts are symbols of commitment, which encompass familial love (Belk & Coon, 1993).
10
11

12 Among our grandchildren interviewees, Neila (16) says: 'my grandmother never uses
13
14 the blender that we [my sister and I] gave her. But she likes to see it. At the beginning, I was
15
16 frustrated that we could never find something that she could use. But we realized that she is
17
18 happy that we buy her presents. She keeps the blender in its box, and she does not stop telling
19
20 us about how beautiful it is.' Here, Neila has ambivalent perceptions of her grandmother's
21
22 actions. Informants like Ahmed or Oumaima told us that they felt that their grandmothers were
23
24 selfish because they like to receive presents but they don't use them. Neila nevertheless
25
26 recognizes that the blender is a means to foster her intergenerational interactions with her
27
28 grandmother. Neila also acknowledges her grandmother's (Aicha's) alternative consumption as
29
30 she finds an alternative use for the blender, prospection as she reflects on the negative
31
32 consequences about not using the blender, and interbeing as she tries to keep her relational bond
33
34 with her granddaughter going (perspective).
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40 Grandmothers demonstrate wisdom – compassion and interbeing - when they
41
42 understand that their children and grandchildren are trying to please them, even if they offer
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44 presents that will never be used. Most of our grandmother informants display the presents in
45
46 their kitchens. Many informants liked to talk about how many presents they had received, and
47
48 who had bought them: a coffee maker from a son in Italy (Nadia, 64), a slicer from a
49
50 granddaughter in the Netherlands (Rekkouch, 77), or a grill from her daughter in Tangiers
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52 (Hafida, 78). Meanwhile, grandmothers also show how much they value their relations with
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54 their (grand)children. Here, grandmothers find a balance between their intrapersonal well-
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56 being, i.e., protecting their lifestyle through a lifestyle envisionment and the pursuit of positive
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3 emotions, and their interpersonal well-being, i.e., pleasing their grandchildren through
4 compassion and interbeing (sustainability). Flexibility is also manifest in these grandmothers'
5 and grandchildren's interactions.
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10 11 12 *Grandchildren's Wisdom*

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14 Our grandchildren informants expressed many facets of wisdom that they had developed
15 through their interactions with their grandmothers. They see how their grandmothers behave,
16 express their points of view, learn new knowledge, or keep ancient traditions. Many
17 grandchildren develop wisdom as they understand their grandmothers' efforts to avoid tensions
18 in their family (e.g by trying to maintain the peace between brothers and sisters; or by trying to
19 achieve reconciliation between husband and wife).
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28 I often argue with my sister about who she invites home for Wednesday lunches. My
29 grandmother always says that we must keep good relations between brothers and sisters.
30 This is important for our lives. [...] She is right. (Liv, 19)

31 My grandmother did her best to stop my parents' divorce. She did not privilege my
32 mother [the grandmother's daughter] over my father. And she even stopped talking to
33 her for a while because she thought that my mother [the grandmother's daughter] was
34 unfair to my father. (Aida, 16)

35 Aida values her grandmother's wisdom – reasoning perspective and sustainability - in her
36 parents' divorce. As in Karanika and Hogg (2016), Aida's grandmother contributes to the
37 reduction of conflicts between family members. For both Liv and Aida, their grandmothers
38 manifest compassion as they show their concern for the general welfare of their descendants,
39 and show a growth mindset and prudent reasoning as they cultivate efforts to help others.
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51 Grandchildren's wisdom is maybe even more visible when the grandmother imposes her vision
52 of family and family life.
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55 I am a straight-talking woman: When I see something that I don't like, or which is not
56 ok, or which is totally non-sense, I gather my children and grandchildren together and
57 tell them. I speak my mind. And everybody listens to me (Rachida, 68)
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3 I totally disagree with them [grandchildren] when they make mistakes and waste their
4 time in front of TV or Internet, when they don't do their homework. I stop talking to
5 them. After that, they come and ask me to forgive them (Fatma, 70+)

6 Thus, grandmothers like Fatma, and Rachida demonstrate their authority in their family. Here,
7
8 Fatma and Rachida dismiss the idea of considering their grandchildren's preferences. They
9
10 demonstrate a lack of sustainability – compassion and interbeing- and flexibility, i.e., towards
11
12 their grandchildren's insights and degrees of (self) reflection and introspection. Meanwhile,
13
14 they manifest a certain responsibility. That is, they try to maintain a lifestyle environment.
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16

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18 Noteworthy in our data analysis, is grandchildren's wisdom in how they perceive their
19
20 grandmothers' practices and expectations.
21
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23 My grandmother had 14 children. She knows how to manage a household, educate
24 children and build a family. (Meriem, 22)

25 My grandmother still does everything in her house [even though she is 70]. With Wadiaa
26 [helper], they do everything together: they cook, they make the beds, ... she does not sit
27 and wait around like many of my friends' grandmothers. (Neila, 16)

28 Meriem and Neila acknowledge different forms of grandmothers' knowledge and life
29
30 experiences. For Meriem, household management means being able to accommodate many
31
32 family members even if they arrive unexpectedly, being able to cook a meal with the
33
34 ingredients she finds in her refrigerator and cupboards, not wasting food, and making sure that
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36 children do not drop out of school. Neila talks about how her grandmother is still active,
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38 organizing and participating, cleaning and cooking. Neila praises her grandmother and
39
40 compares her to other grandmothers who prefer to sit and just watch TV, instead of working
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42 around the house. Neila and Meriem expect wise grandmothers to be active agents in household
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44 management. As such, they perceive wisdom in their grandmothers' actions.
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50 However, some grandchildren report more nuanced views about their grandmothers'
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52 practical wisdom in the building of a family. Some grandmothers are often perceived as too
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54 active or even intrusive in household management. Consider how Ines qualifies her
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56 grandmother Fatma, who said she disagrees with her grandchildren – see quote above:
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3 My grandmother invites us for Wednesday lunch [her children and grandchildren].
4 Nobody can miss [it]. She is the one who decides everything in the family [...] when
5 she talks, we listen and nod. We don't interfere. [...] We call her colonel [Laugh] (Ines,
6 23)

7
8 For my wedding, I had to wear a caftan [traditional dress] that wouldn't shock anybody,
9 especially my grandmother. So, my grandmother, my mother and my aunts helped me
10 to find a good caftan. My grandmother was the pickiest [laughs] (Wafaa, 25)

11 Fatma, Ines' grandmother, had said that she stops talking to her grandchildren if they watch too
12 much TV or do not do their homework. During her interview, Ines gently mocks her
13 grandmother and she calls her "colonel," smiling kindly. Here, Ines and Wafaa recall the role
14 of the Moroccan grandmother as the guardian of the family and cultural traditions (Sadiqi,
15 2003). The straight-forward speeches of grandmothers correspond to the expectations about
16 grandmothers' authority in Morocco. These grandmothers manifests wisdom - responsibility.
17 The quotes above also reveal the grandchildren's perception of a lack of flexibility – alternative
18 consumption - and sustainability - compassion and interbeing - in their grandmothers' mindsets.
19 Ines and Wafaa sometimes complain about their grandmothers' authority within the family. But
20 they acknowledge their grandmothers' role as cultural gatekeepers (Lindridge & Hogg, 2006).
21 That is, they acknowledge both forms of lack of wisdom – lack of flexibility – and a form of
22 wisdom – responsibility.
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40 Thus, many grandchildren recognize their grandmothers' wisdom as related to
41 intergenerational interactions. The analysis of grandchildren's narratives contributes to our
42 understanding of how grandmothers' wisdom and grandchildren's wisdom interrelate.
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49 Discussion

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51 Grandmothers reported a plethora of consumption experiences with their teenage/adult
52 grandchildren. These consumption experiences were ordinary and extraordinary, embedded in
53 consumption practices, family life and intergenerational interactions. Grandmothers'
54 narratives, when combined with grandchildren's voices, together provided insights into
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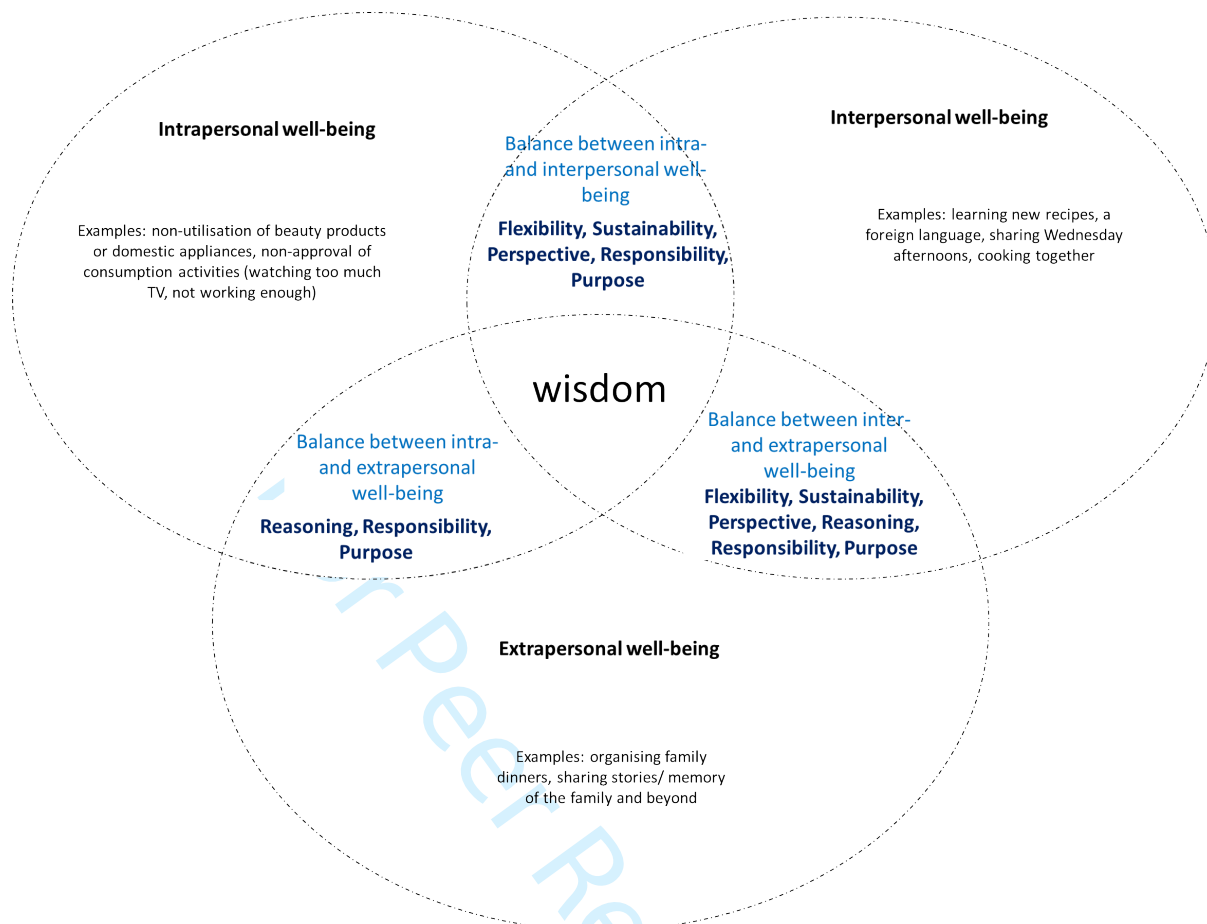
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3 grandmothers' wisdom, as their wisdom related to a balance between intrapersonal,
4 interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being. Our analysis addresses our research questions,
5 which aimed to examine how grandmothers develop and transmit wisdom in the context of
6 intergenerational interactions and how grandmothers balance intrapersonal, interpersonal, and
7 extrapersonal well-being. This study, as outlined above, offers an empirically grounded
8 framework for consumer wisdom in family settings and intergenerational interactions.
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17 The findings are threefold. First, they show how wisdom along with
18 intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being in old age all pervade
19 intergenerational interactions, and consumption practices in family settings. Figure 1 depicts
20 how wisdom is embedded in a balance between intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal
21 well-being.
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28 Figure 1. Application of Luchs et al. (2021) dimensions, revised from Luchs and Mick (2018)
29 domains of well-being, to our dataset¹
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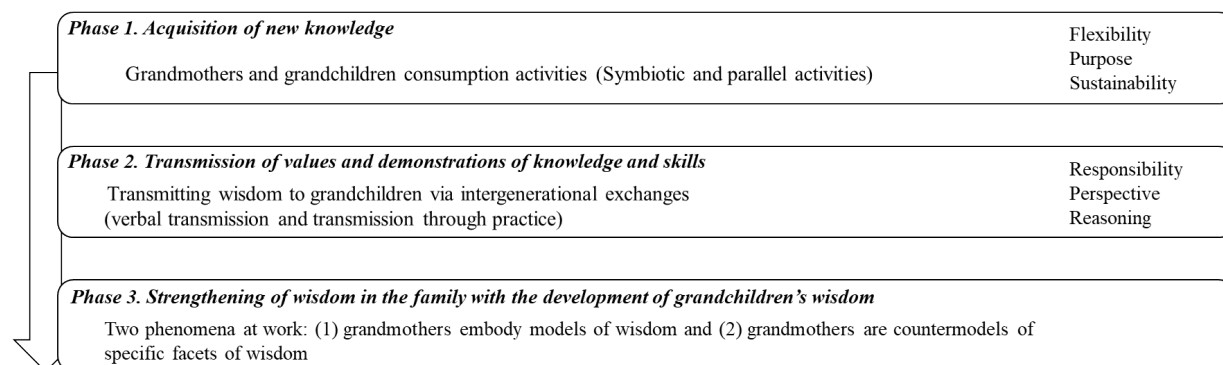
54 ¹ Source: "Mapping C[onsumer]W[isdom]S[cale] to Luchs & Mick's (2018) theoretical
55 framework

56 Our six-dimension conceptualization (including Responsibility, Purpose, Flexibility,
57 Perspective, Reasoning, and Sustainability) refines Luchs & Mick's (2018) five-facet
58 theoretical framework while retaining all eleven of the constituent facet-dimensions of their
59 framework" Luchs Mick Haws 2021_jcpy1224-sup-0001-appendix 1 page 10
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Second, they show how older consumers, like grandmothers, develop and transmit different aspects or facets (and dimensions) of wisdom in their families. Figure 2 illustrates these processes.

Figure 2. The process of developing and transmitting wisdom in family settings



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3 Finally, the findings illustrate the central role of others in consumer wisdom.
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5 Specifically, it shows the importance of grandchildren's understanding of their grandmothers'
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7 experiences and how they use what they learn from their grandmothers' practices to get and
8
9 develop their own wisdom. Tables 3 and 4 in Appendices 3 and 4 provide a summary of the
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11 main findings.
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17 Two major contributions emerge from this study. The first contribution relates to the
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19 process of consumer wisdom (Luchs & Mick, 2018; Luchs et al., 2021). Earlier works have
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21 focussed on the manifestations of wisdom in consumption (Mick et al., 2009; Mick et al.
22
23 2012b). Our study complements these works in unpacking the processes of wisdom, specifically
24
25 the development and transmission of the distinct facets and dimensions of wisdom as uncovered
26
27 by Luchs et al. (2021). The process of developing and transmitting wisdom involves three steps.
28
29 In the first phase, consumer wisdom develops through symbiotic and parallel consumption
30
31 activities. As shown in our data analyses, grandmothers acquire new knowledge and skills.
32
33 They try new experiences, implement new practices and adapt their behaviours to maximize
34
35 interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being. In particular, the main facets that develop at this
36
37 stage are flexibility, purpose, and sustainability. Grandmothers develop flexibility and purpose
38
39 when they invest in symbiotic activities. For instance, Lakbira (75) gets wiser as she becomes
40
41 more open to learning foreign languages, with the aim of communicating with her
42
43 grandchildren. Beyond flexibility and purpose, sustainability arises when grandmothers invest
44
45 in parallel activities. This is manifested in Fouzia's (65) efforts to protect her grandchildren
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47 from critical comments during family gatherings.
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54 The second phase in the process is wisdom transmission. Previous works had suggested
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56 the importance of wisdom in intergenerational interactions (Godefroit-Winkel et al. 2019;
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58 Karanika & Hogg, 2016). Our study extends these works in detailing how wisdom transmission
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3 is performed, and which facets of wisdom are transmitted. Our data analyses show how
4
5 grandmothers transmit wisdom through their verbal expressions of values, and through
6
7 demonstrations of knowledge and skills. One example lies in the celebration of rituals, like
8
9 shabbat. Sonia (75) gathers her family on Fridays. Through the organization of family
10
11 gatherings, Sonia demonstrates to her granddaughter her knowledge of Moroccan Jewish
12
13 traditions, her skills in cooking, and she talks about how much she values a united family.
14
15 Further, our study extends previous works in uncovering that responsibility, perspective and
16
17 reasoning are the main facets of wisdom transmitted from grandmothers to grandchildren.
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21 Our data analyses uncover a third phase in the processes around wisdom: how wisdom
22
23 strengthens the family. Grandchildren develop their wisdom when they understand their
24
25 grandmothers' practices and participate in symbiotic and parallel activities. For the
26
27 strengthening of wisdom, we observe two complementary phenomena: 1) grandmothers
28
29 embody models of wisdom; 2) grandmothers are countermodels of specific facets of wisdom.
30
31 For instance, Liv (19) learns about wisdom and how it is related to family harmony when her
32
33 grandmother tells her about valuing relationships between brothers and sisters and when her
34
35 grandmother gathers her family for shabbat. Meriem (22) and Neila (16) acknowledge the hard
36
37 work of their grandmothers. For Liv, Meriem and Neila, their grandmothers embody models of
38
39 wisdom. Other grandchildren do not agree with their grandmothers' practices. Ines (23) is a
40
41 good example. She gently criticizes her "colonel" grandmother's authority. Ines complains
42
43 about her grandmother's lack of flexibility and takes her grandmother as a countermodel of
44
45 flexibility.
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51 This third and last phase of the wisdom process merits further attention. Recent studies
52
53 in consumer research have detailed how wisdom is constructed (Luchs and Mick, 2018; Luchs
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55 et al., 2021). Our research complements these studies as it specifies which facets of wisdom are
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57 developed and transmitted and how these facets operate in intergenerational interactions. On
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3 the one hand, we observed how grandmothers transmit responsibility, reasoning, and
4 perspective to their grandchildren. On the other hand, we also noted that grandchildren have
5 ambivalent perceptions of their grandmothers' flexibility, sustainability, and purpose (see Table
6 4 in the Appendix 4). Grandmothers are acknowledged as exerting influence over
7 grandchildren, they are suggested to pass on wisdom to the grandchild (Hunter-Jones, 2014).
8 Noteworthy in our study is how grandmothers develop flexibility, perspective, and
9 sustainability with their grandchildren and how these same facets are difficult to transmit. One
10 example lies in Aicha's use of electrical appliances. She demonstrates flexibility e.g. she values
11 her electrical appliances for non-utilitarian dimensions, perspective – she knows about the
12 consequences of not using the appliance, – and shows compassion for her grandchildren. Neila
13 - Aicha's granddaughter - explicitly, detailed her difficulty in understanding her grandmother's
14 wisdom. Flexibility, purpose, and sustainability entail an ability to embrace distinct viewpoints
15 and analyse complex situations with the aim to pursue collective well-being. It may be difficult
16 for grandchildren to perceive the collective objective of their grandmothers' wisdom as related
17 to flexibility, purpose and sustainability, which entail non-traditional forms of consumption. To
18 some extent, responsibility, reasoning, and perspective reflect a tendency in which “wiser
19 consumers regularly engage in decisions that are more systematic than their less-wise
20 counterparts” (Luchs et al., 2021). Thus, grandchildren easily see that their wise grandmothers
21 pursue their lifestyle, use prudent reasoning, reflect on past experiences and are not distracted
22 by surrounding information and noise. Responsibility, reasoning and perspective are easier to
23 pass on by grandmothers to their grandchildren.
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54 The second contribution of this research relates to consumer wisdom in old age. This
55 study contributes to previous research grounded in the balance theory (Sternberg, 2001), while
56 linking this literature to intergenerational interactions (Godefroit-Winkel et al., 2019, Karanika
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3 & Hogg, 2016). It shows how grandmothers manifest wisdom as they balance their
4 intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being for their own and their families'
5 lives. For instance, Rabia (83) manifests a quest for interpersonal wellbeing when she learns
6 new recipes to foster her intergenerational relations with her grandchildren; she fosters
7 extrapersonal well-being when she prepares family meals and keeps food ready when her
8 (grand)children are late. Rabia also seeks intrapersonal well-being when she refuses to use the
9 shampoos that she received as a gift from her daughter, in order to protect her intrapersonal
10 well-being.
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21 Previous work on grandmothers' wisdom argued that wisdom is about having
22 accumulated rich experiences and knowledge through previous life stages (Peterson, 1990).
23 Grandmothers act as wise people in transmitting the importance of human relationships, and
24 especially about the importance of intergenerational relationships within the family (Nussbaum
25 & Bettini, 1994). Concomitantly, studies in Arab countries showed how older women play a
26 major role in the transmission of family values and older women have different forms of
27 authority (Newcomb, 2009). We extend these studies as we unveil the tensions that derive from
28 grandmothers' manifestations of authority in the development of specific intergenerational
29 relations. Our data analysis shows how some grandmothers privilege specific consumption
30 activities that foster their intrapersonal well-being and their grandchildren's obedience. They
31 build on social conventions that place grandmothers as the guardians of traditions (Newcomb,
32 2009). Grandchildren informants sometimes manifest discontent when they sense or perceive a
33 lack of flexibility, purpose, and sustainability on the part of their grandmothers who see
34 themselves as the upholders of the family traditions. As revealed in our data, practical wisdom
35 in family life and intergenerational relations encompasses intrapersonal well-being along with
36 concerns for interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being, through compassion, openness and
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3 transcendence. Noteworthy in our study is how grandmothers use a myriad of consumption
4 experiences and practices to build family ties.
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10 We close this discussion with a methodological insight. Our study extends previous
11 methodological approaches to wisdom that were predominantly introspective. Our use of
12 dyadic data provides interesting insights about whether and how other persons perceive wisdom
13 in the wise person's practices. Our study uses two distinct voices: the voice of the grandmother
14 informant about her wise practices, and the voice of the grandchild about her/his grandmother's
15 wisdom.
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23 Wisdom is conceived as the capacity to act on knowledge of what is good or bad
24 (Aristotle, n.d.). Wisdom is complex and requires the integration of distinct viewpoints.
25 Recently, Alemany Oliver (2020) suggested that businessmen may believe that they act wisely,
26 even when they do not. Our study shows the importance of capturing others' voices in
27 understanding the development of wisdom. We interviewed not just grandmothers but also their
28 grandchildren to capture the grandchildren's views of their grandmothers' practices. The
29 findings are somewhat puzzling and provide insights into the complexity of family life and
30 well-being. While many grandmothers act wisely from the perspective of their own values and
31 understandings of a virtuous pattern of living, their grandchildren have rather different
32 perceptions of their grandmothers' actions. Our dyadic data allows us to capture distinct voices
33 and tease out different aspects of consumer wisdom within families.
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51 **Managerial Implications**

52 Our study provides avenues for the development of strategies for targeting intergenerational
53 marketing as well as targeting different generations within the family. Our study could help
54 companies in tailoring promotional campaigns for products and services that seek to increase
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3 the well-being of different generations using marketing communications specifically directed
4 at the different generations, as well as campaigns that appeal across generations. With the
5 increasing discussion about mental health and well-being across both government and the
6 health industries, social marketing campaigns which leverage the benefits of family life for
7 overall well-being could be an important recommendation from this study. The focus could be
8 on the role that family support across generations can play in promoting health and welfare for
9 all family members. In addition, the importance of looking out for signs of stress within a family
10 (e.g. bullying at school; self-harm among young teenagers; postnatal depression amongst new
11 mothers; difficulties in managing the family budget) could be linked to social marketing
12 campaigns which present families' stories that illustrate the role that intergenerational
13 communication can play in helping to build the well-being and resilience of both families and
14 of individual family members.

15
16 Families regularly appear in advertising campaigns, but these usually concentrate on the
17 promotion of products and brands. For instance, The Laughing Cow cheese brand's
18 commercials in emerging countries, star grandmothers, children, and grandchildren who have
19 lovely family dinners together. In view of the global concerns around the environment and
20 sustainability, and not least the increasing issues with food security, food companies could
21 devise marketing strategies with a special focus on grandmothers' practical wisdom, for
22 instance in the use of specific brands (like Knorr bouillon cubes, or Dari couscous), to attract
23 and develop the food preparation skills of their grandchildren, preparing them for looking after
24 their own families in due course.

25
26 Consumer wisdom may also be of particular interest as a theme in marketing campaigns
27 for brands focused on interpersonal relations. For instance, companies in language learning
28 systems (like Babbel) could target distinct generations who do not speak the same language.
29 Lakbira is a good example. She tries to communicate with her grandchildren who do not speak
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3 her language (Arabic) by learning French (that is her grandchildren's first language). Brands
4 could build their communication campaigns around consumer wisdom and show the wisdom
5 of grandmothers interested in communicating with younger generations. Holiday and airline
6 companies already employ the context of happy family times in their advertising campaigns,
7 but they could also use communication messages about consumers living abroad and visiting
8 their grandparents or grandchildren. Wisdom (through the shared lived experience and
9 acquisition of tacit knowledge) could be developed as a very relevant theme in these marketing
10 communication campaigns; as illustrating the value of passing on family heritage, values and
11 stories. Again, to build resilience for families which necessarily have to live apart.

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24 Another area where our research findings might have particular relevance would be for
25 managers who regularly deal with two or more generations of customers from the same family
26 e.g. planning weddings, holidays or funerals. These retailers could provide products and
27 services that aim to lower tensions between generations and/or family groups. This would help
28 in lowering the risk of a failed purchase. Our first recommendation goes to sellers who are in
29 contact with two or more generations of customers simultaneously. We recommend companies
30 to train shop-floor workers to communicate efficiently and distinctly with the three generations.
31 For instance, retail assistants in wedding stores or hairdressers should be trained to make sales
32 pitches directed not only to the bride but also to the mother, and grandmothers. The bride should
33 be assisted in her choice (i.e. shown dresses/haircuts that are in line with her preferences, her
34 style, ...), while the mother and the grandmother should be comforted and reassured about the
35 choices of the bride (i.e., whether the dress/haircut is appropriate for a more or less traditional
36 ceremony).

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54 Our second recommendation goes to retailers wanting to avoid failed gifts. Expanding
55 on Sherry et al. (1993) and Branco-Illodo et al. (2020), retailers could provide advice to younger
56 customers on suitable and desired products for their grandparents. For instance, shop-floor
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3 sellers in electrical appliance stores could direct younger customers to specific items that have
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5 a utilitarian value for older women. Shop-floor sellers could also be trained to identify the
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7 profile of the grandmother – whether she likes to knead with her hands or not, whether she likes
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9 squeezing juices. Additionally, retailers could include point of sale information e.g. cards with
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11 images representing a united multi-generational family, emphasizing the importance of
12
13 intergenerational bonds.
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16 17 18 19 **Societal Implications**

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21 Our study offers societal implications about consumption. As shown in our study, there
22
23 is a need to increase communication about what is wisdom; and how wisdom contributes to
24
25 family well-being and resilience. As mentioned above, well-being is relevant to the family as a
26
27 whole, and also to individual family members. The importance of wisdom seems to have been
28
29 eroded in our contemporary society (Alemany Oliver, 2020). How can we embrace more
30
31 wisdom in our societies and marketing campaigns? We propose here to focus on two main
32
33 themes. The interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being in families and the intrapersonal well-
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35 being of individual family members.
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40 The well-being of the elderly is related to longevity. Recent advances in vaccinations
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42 that protect against childhood illness and improved sanitation are among the factors that have
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44 increased life expectancy. For instance, over the past 180 years, men and women in England
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46 are on average living twice as long as they did in 1841 (McKie, 2023). Our study may help
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48 governments in developing social marketing campaigns that support and help the elderly to live
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50 longer and well.
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54 Well-being as related to longevity implies that we increase the number of extra years
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56 when we are independent, free of chronic disease and wealthy enough to lead fulfilling lives.
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58 Governments and policy makers could provide public policies that aim to increase intrapersonal
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3 well-being through the development of specific facets of wisdom, like flexibility and reasoning.
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5 However, life might become more oppressive in old age. It is recognized that social life is really
6
7 important in warding off dementia. Dementia can be a dominant feature of older consumers'
8
9 lives. Our study demonstrates the importance of intergenerational interactions for the mental
10
11 health of both older and younger members of the family. Government policy could identify
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13 policies which help to encourage and facilitate social interactions as part of a package of
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15 measures to try and reduce the incidence of dementia in the older population; or to ameliorate
16
17 the impact of dementia in elderly relatives on family life.
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21 At the same time, the well-being of younger people is also challenged. If younger
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23 consumers are depressed, they will not exercise, work, and will not be financially productive.
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25 As shown in our findings, wisdom and intergenerational relationships may help in enhancing
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27 the well-being of younger and older family members.
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31 Social marketing campaigns could build on intergenerational interactions and point out
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33 the importance of bringing the wisdom of both the elderly and the younger family members
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35 into family matters, making both generations important actors in the family decision making
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37 process. For instance, the findings of our study encourage the projection of the wisdom of the
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39 elderly and the enhancement of the family's overall well-being, in times of pandemic or war.
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41 The conflict between Ukraine and Russia draws attention to the need for more wisdom in our
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43 societies. Institutions like schools and universities should emphasize history in the educational
44
45 programmes. Also, the collective memory about wars and other dark historical events resides
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47 in the voices of grandparents who can pass on their stories and experiences to the younger
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49 generations (e.g., the sadness and loss associated with the horrors of war). Thus, building on
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51 grandmothers' experiences and communicating about their wisdom may help in building a
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53 better world (Chandy et al., 2021).
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Limitations

Our study has limitations that indicate avenues for future research. First, we interviewed Moroccan families. Wider investigations could follow in Western contexts. Second, the grandmothers we interviewed belonged to large families. Future studies might investigate the role of grandmothers in smaller families, or in other types of families – like transgender families. Finally, we did not hold formal interviews with other family members, like the parents. Future research may be interested in examining the interactions across three generations (grandparents, parents, children). Scholars might also be interested in other dyads in the family such as grandfathers and their grandchildren.

Conclusion

This study on intergenerational interactions around knowledge and practices of consumption builds on earlier work (Hogg, Curasi & Maclaran, 2004) and offers key insights into the role of different aspects of wisdom in intergenerational relationships. As consumers age, they develop and transmit their wisdom to the next generations through intergenerational interactions. At the same time, wisdom is intrinsically linked with well-being and refers to a balance between extrapersonal, interpersonal and intrapersonal well-being.

Declaration of interest statement

No potential competing interest was reported by the authors.

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17 Appendix 1. List of the themes and open-ended questions for the grandmothers' interviews

18 During this interview, we asked interviewees to:

19 1. Introduction:

20 Describe her activities during a regular day

21 2. Tell us about herself and her family life

22 Tell us about her life, how she lives

23 Tell us about her life before she was married, about her wedding and how she was married

24 Tell us about her relations and activities with her (grand)children

25 Tell us about family gatherings

26 3. About her cooking activities, beauty routine, and presents

27 Visit the kitchen. Tell me about her cooking practices: How did/does she learn? Who
28 helped/helps her? Does she teach anyone, a grandchild, maybe? What was it like
29 cooking when she was younger? How is cooking today?

30 Tell us about her beauty routine: How did/does she learn? Who helped/helps her? Does she
31 teach someone, a grandchild? What was the routine when she was younger? What is
32 her routine today? Tell us about her favourite beauty products

33 Tell us about the presents that she (eventually) receives from family members

34 4. About other grandmothers

Tell us about grandmothers who have many electrical appliances/beauty products/buy bread at the baker's/make her own beauty products/...

Appendix 2. List of the themes and open-ended questions for the grandchildren's interviews

During this interview, we asked interviewees to:

1. Introduction:

Describe their activities during a regular day

2. About herself/himself and her/his family life

Tell us about her/his life, how s/he lives

Tell us about her/his relations and activities with her/his grandmother

Tell us about family gatherings

Tell us about the presents that s/he (eventually) receives from her/his grandmother

Tell us about the presents that s/he or her/his parents give to her/his grandmother

4. Other grandmothers

Tell us about grandmothers who have many electrical appliances/beauty products/buy bread at the baker's/make her own beauty products/...

Appendix 3.

Table 3 provides a description of grandmothers' management of well-being and wisdom, in family life, and thus illustrates how grandmothers' management of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being is related to wisdom.

Table 3. Grandmothers' management of well-being and related wisdom.

Grandmothers' management of well-being	Objectives	Related consumption or family experiences	Examples	Related facets of wisdom*

<p>Balancing intrapersonal and interpersonal well-being</p>	<p>Fostering interpersonal well-being</p>	<p>Investing in new symbiotic consumption activities</p>	<p>My grandchildren, who live abroad, do not speak Arabic. So, I've learned a little French to talk to them. SiMohamed, [one of] my grandson[s] taught me how to say hi. I can say 'Bonjour, Ça va? Chocolat, Tu me manques' [Good morning, Are you ok? Chocolate, I miss you].” (Lakbira, 75)</p>	<p>Flexibility Purpose Sustainability</p>
	<p>Prioritizing intrapersonal well-being</p>	<p>Receiving presents but not using them for utilitarian goals</p>	<p>Today, I have everything in my kitchen [technical appliances offered by the (grand)children]. But I don't use any of them. I do everything with my own hands like in the traditional way. Sometimes, I use the Moulinex [blender] because I can't find another way [to blend]. In contrast, my daughter and my son's wife use all the domestic appliances... You know, even when I wash my clothes, I use my hands instead of the washing machine... because I feel</p>	<p>Responsibility</p>

			<p>this is more in keeping with myself. I have a bad feeling when I use [electric] appliances. [...] I learned from my mother how to do things properly, with my hands. My laundry is much cleaner when I use my hands, and tagines [traditional meals] have a better taste if they are cooked in traditional saucepans [instead of the slow cooker]. (Fatima, 75)</p>
	<p>Reconciling intrapersonal and interpersonal well-being</p>	<p>Attaching symbolic values to presents</p>	<p>The stove is the only electrical appliance that I have bought. I receive all my electrical appliances from my children and grandchildren. I love them. God bless my children! [...] [my grandchildren] buy all these because they are good kids. These gifts represent the gratitude of my children and grandchildren (Aicha, 80+)</p> <p>Flexibility Sustainability Perspective</p>

Balancing interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being	Protecting interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being	Developing parallel activities	Fouzia (65) prepares two tables and two menus for dinners with her extended family	Sustainability Purpose Flexibility Reasoning
	Fostering interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being	Engaging in symbiotic activities	When children eat from the same plate and sleep in the same bed, they are close to each other later on. I see how I was with my sisters. I have a very good relationship with them, thank God. I have put my children and grandchildren in the same beds, and told my daughters to gather their children together at night also. So, they have strong relationships. (Sonia, 75).	Responsibility Perspective Reasoning
Balancing intrapersonal and extrapersonal well-being	Fostering intrapersonal and extrapersonal well-being	Engaging in symbiotic activity	On Shabbat, we all gather at [my] home. I prepare the traditional meal for Shabbat, salad, then fish, meat and then desserts. And we have a good time. It's like a break in our crazy lives. [...] I have always liked the idea of a united family, gathered around the Shabbat table. [...] It's a lot of work. But it's worth it. (Sonia, 75)	Responsibility Reasoning Purpose

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* The facets of wisdom are drawn from Luchs et al. (2021)

Appendix 4.

Table 4 sums up grandchildren's understanding of their grandmothers' practices as related to intrapersonal, interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being.

Table 4. Grandchildren's voices about their grandmothers' practices

Type of grandmothers' management of well-being	How grandchildren perceive their grandmothers' wisdom	What grandmothers try to achieve	Examples of related consumption activity
Balancing intrapersonal and interpersonal well-being	Ambivalent perceptions of flexibility, purpose, and sustainability	Reconciling intrapersonal and interpersonal well-being	Not using gifts for their utilitarian value but retaining them for their emotional/symbolic value
Balancing interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being	Acknowledging sustainability, flexibility, reasoning, and perspective	Avoiding tensions between family subgroups	Preparing and organizing family meals Helping parents and maintaining family harmony during a divorce
Balancing intrapersonal and extrapersonal well-being	Acknowledging responsibility Perceiving a lack of flexibility, purpose and sustainability	Managing family life	Raising her voice during family meals Voicing her [uninvited] preferences during wedding preparations

* The facets of wisdom are drawn from Luchs et al. (2021)

Dear Dr Godefroit-Winkel:

Reference No.: RJMM-2022-0171.R2

I have now received three reviews of your paper entitled "Consumer Wisdom and Well-being Investigated via Intergenerational Interactions" which I attach for your information.

As you will see, the reviewers are very positive about your work and based on their recommendations, I am happy to conditionally accept your paper for publication in the Journal of Marketing Management, subject to you addressing the minor points made by each reviewer. As the Associate Editor writes,

"Thank you for your efforts in providing a much improved submission. All of the reviewers appreciated the authors' efforts to address their concerns and all feel that the paper is nearly ready for publication. However, both reviewer 2 and reviewer 3 have asked for some minor changes to provide a little bit more clarity in some areas and to add that final polish to the paper. Please refer to their comments as these are specific and detailed as to the required areas to be addressed."

I would therefore like to invite you to prepare a resubmission taking these suggestions on board and on completion, I will desk edit the article on receipt.

When resubmitting your revised paper, please upload three copies as follows:

- The complete paper containing all author details and with the changes marked (for the Editor's use)
- The complete version of the paper containing all author details but without the changes marked (this will be the one that is used by the copyeditor should your paper be accepted)
- The main document without the author information and without the changes marked (this will be sent to the referees for re-review)

Alternatively, once you have revised your paper, it can be resubmitted to Journal of Marketing Management by way of the following link:

*** PLEASE NOTE: This is a two-step process. After clicking on the link, you will be directed to a webpage to confirm. ***

https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/rjmm?URL_MASK=81bca903082b4205bd40970154480ec5

We request that when DOIs are available, you include them for both print and electronic sources.

Many thanks again for your interest in the Journal of Marketing Management and I look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Sincerely,
Mark Tadajewski
Journal of Marketing Management

Dear Editor,
We would like to thank you for conditionally accepting our manuscript. Our thanks also go to the AE and three reviewers for their positive comments on our study.
We hope that this new version meets your expectations.
Sincerely,

Reviewer(s)' Comments to Author:

Reviewer: 1

Comments to the Author(s)
well done!

Thank you very much! Your comments and guidance on the previous versions of the paper were very helpful.

Reviewer: 2

Comments to the Author(s)

I congratulate the authors on another well-done revision. The paper is substantially improved, and you have largely addressed my concerns from the last round. I have just a few additional recommendations for further improvement. All relate to the Findings and Discussion sections.

Section titled "Acquiring new Knowledge and Skills through Symbiotic" – Be more precise with your references to "interactions" versus "consumption activities" to disentangle the two. You reference activities in the section heading, but then focus on "interactions" in the first sentence. The examples are consumption activities, but not all are interactive activities. For example, the quotes about preparing meals seem to indicate that the grandmother is preparing food *for* the grandchildren, but not *with* the grandchildren. Thus, food preparation seems like an activity rather than an interaction. It is possible that the goal of the activity is to interact with the children (when they eat), as is indicated in your subsequent sentence about how learning new things is used to "promote intergenerational interactions", but the food preparation itself does not appear to be interactive. In sum, distinguish between these two (interactions and activities) and explain the relationship between them as you explain your examples. This clear distinction should be carried throughout the manuscript.

Thank you for pointing out this inaccuracy. We agree that the two terms "interactions" and "consumption activities" should be disentangled. We have changed the first sentence to read as follows:

"Many grandmother informants manifest strong efforts to initiate or develop intergenerational activities with their grandchildren and/or for their grandchildren. These activities aim to foster grandmothers' intergenerational interactions with their grandchildren."

We further explain the relationship between interactions and activities with examples. In particular, we note that "Rabia, Latifa, Lakbira, and Houria are eager to invest in new consumption activities in order to develop their intergenerational interactions with their grandchildren." We have endeavoured to maintain this clear distinction throughout our manuscript.

--In addition, it's not clear to me what you mean by "strong" intergenerational interactions. What makes an intergenerational interaction "strong"?

We agree that "strong" is not relevant to qualify an interaction. In accordance with the comment on interaction and activity, we have changed the first sentence, and "strong" no longer occurs in the text.

--In this same section, second paragraph, you say that grandmothers "also demonstrate wisdom by showing kindness and empathy" and then later in that same paragraph that Houria "develops empathy as she understands that they both need to work..." Here I was left confused about whether she is developing wisdom (as would be indicated by the title of the section) or demonstrating it, or possibly both? Similar to your use of the terms interactions and activities, be precise with your use of "demonstrates" and "develops" throughout the manuscript.

We agree that there was a lack of clarity. The data analysis showed that grandmothers both develop and demonstrate/manifest wisdom.

We have changed the text and hope to have achieved a clearer use of the notions of "developing wisdom" and "demonstrating/manifesting wisdom." For instance, we write that: "Through these activities, grandmothers develop their wisdom. They further manifest their wisdom, and promote interpersonal well-being."

We further specify that Fouzia develops wisdom as she changes her attitudes towards eating with knives and forks, and that Fouzia demonstrates wisdom when she talks about the change in her attitudes and when she initiates new habits.

Section titled "Strengthening Wisdom..." – The first sentence under the first subheading starts, "Maybe possibly one of the most notable tensions..." Remove the overabundance of qualifiers.

We agree that the sentence lacks clarity. We modified the sentence as follows:

1
2
3 One of the most important tensions for grandmothers relates to the presents that grandmother
4 informants receive from their (grand)children.
5 -----

6 Section titled "Grandchildren's Wisdom..." – starting with the sentence "Grandchildren's wisdom is
7 maybe even more visible..." through the end of the section, provide more context for each
8 example to provide more explanation of the interplay between the grandmother and the
9 grandchild. How do Rachida's and Fatma's grandchildren describe their grandmothers' "straight-
10 talk" and condemnation of watching too much TV or internet? You mention that you observe
11 grandchildren's wisdom in how they perceive their grandmothers' practices and expectations.
12 What specific practices and expectations is Meriem responding to when she acknowledges that her
13 grandmother "knows how to manage a household..."? Similarly, for Neila's quote, provide some
14 context; what prompted Neila to say this? Throughout this section, paint more of a picture about
15 the interplay between specific grandmothers' practices and expectations and their grandchildren's
16 demonstrations of wisdom.
17 -----

18 We agree that this passage needs more detail about the context. We clarify "For Meriem,
19 household management means being able to accommodate many family members even if they
20 arrive unexpectedly, being able to cook a meal with whatever she finds in her refrigerator and
21 cupboards, not wasting food, and making sure her children do not drop out of school." We go on
22 to explain that Neila compares her grandmother - who actively organizes and participates in
23 household management - to grandmothers who just sit and watch TV, and rarely get involved in
24 daily household tasks.

25 Meriem and Neila expect their grandmothers to be active agents in the family and applaud them
26 for this. They see active participation in household management as a manifestation of wisdom.
27 We also note that active participation in the household management can be perceived as intrusive
28 when grandmothers sometimes comment on family decisions, as Ines' and Wafaa's grandmothers
29 do.
30 -----

31 Figure 2 - this still needs improvement. It isn't very clear how the right side of the figure relates
32 to the left side. After reading the text, I drew some horizontal lines through the top two dotted
33 lines and just above the words "Strengthening Wisdom", and this helped to visualize what is
34 happening in each phase. Even with that addition, the visual language is very different on the left
35 and right sides, and the "strengthening wisdom" circle seems to be very different from the rest of
36 the diagram. In addition, you make some key points in the discussion that seem like they should
37 be included in the figure. Specifically, you say that "the main facets [of wisdom] that develop at
38 this [first] stage are flexibility, purpose, and sustainability." This seems to be a key conclusion
39 that should be depicted in the figure. Similarly, you say that you extend previous work by
40 revealing that "responsibility, perspective, and reasoning are the main facets of wisdom
41 transmitted from grandmothers to grandchildren." If this is a key contribution of your work, it
42 should also be shown in the figure. You may also consider adding grandmothers' embodiment of
43 both models and countermodels of wisdom, which you mention in the text, as key processes in the
44 figure. In sum, I would like to see a revised figure 2 that is more visually cohesive and that
45 depicts more of the key conclusions of your analysis.
46 -----

47 Thank you for your comment and guidance to improve the Figure 2. We considered your
48 suggestions, and reworked completely the form of the figure. We made sure the visual language
49 remains the same. We further included the key points related to the process of developing and
50 transmitting wisdom in family settings into the figure. We hope that the changes will meet your
51 expectations.
52 -----

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56 Best of luck as you continue refining the manuscript.
57 -----

58 Thank you very much for your guidance and helpful comments.
59 -----
60

Reviewer: 3

Comments to the Author(s)

Comments to the authors of RJMM-2022-0171.R2: "Consumer Wisdom and Well-being
Investigated via Intergenerational Interactions"

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4 In general, my reaction to this revision is favorable. The authors retained the key contributions of
5 the paper – bringing together consumer wisdom and well-being within the context of
6 intergenerational interactions – while also addressing my critiques related to the structure of the
7 paper and second research question. Regarding structure, I appreciate the changes the authors
8 made to headings and content throughout the findings section. The revised structure now more
9 clearly outlines how wisdom is built, transmitted, and strengthened through intergenerational
10 interactions. Further, the paper's revised RQ2 did indeed produce a deeper level of analysis in the
11 findings around the balance among intra-, inter-, and extra-personal well-being and how these
12 dimensions relate to consumer wisdom. This relationship is also more explicit in Figure 1. Finally, I
13 continue to value the dyadic data collection/analysis for its ability to reveal tensions and varying
14 perspectives in this process. The pivot to framing this as a methodological recommendation rather
15 than a stand-alone contribution makes sense. The authors resolved all of my major concerns in
16 this round. I only have a few remaining suggestions (very minor!) to strengthen the paper.

16 -----
17 Thank you very much! Your previous comments on the manuscript helped us to really improve the
18 manuscript.
19 -----

20
21 1. I know I recommended using the word "tensions" in RQ2 but I did so mostly because I assumed
22 that tensions were directly shaping the intergenerational interactions you analyzed. In the revised
23 version, you focus on some tensions, but we also see important overlaps such as when
24 grandmothers' actions contribute to both interpersonal and extrapersonal well-being (e.g.,
25 bedtime routines "develop strong relationships [between grandchildren]...and foster family
26 harmony"). Consider removing "tensions" from RQ2, and just leave it as "balancing intrapersonal,
27 interpersonal, and extrapersonal well-being." This broader framing allows for both consideration of
28 tensions and overlap to align better with your analysis.

28 -----
29 We agree that removing "tensions" from RQ2 allows a better alignment with the analysis. Thank
30 you for this helpful suggestion. We further removed "tension" from the title of the section
31 "Strengthening wisdom" in the findings.
32 -----

33
34 2. On p. 21, the authors characterize Sonia's quote as "verbal transmission" of wisdom, but the
35 quote clearly describes a practice (bedtime routines).

36 -----
37 We totally agree. We have replaced "verbal transmission" with "routines."
38 -----

39
40 3. On p. 25, are the reasons grandmothers give for not using gifts they received "utilitarian" or are
41 they maybe "cultural" (or something else)? Kneading bread with one's hands is the "traditional
42 way" (Fatima) connected to deeply socialized cultural practices. Perhaps "taste" and "shape" of the
43 bread (Khadouj) point to more utilitarian reasoning, but it seems the choice to continue engaging
44 in conventional ways of doing things moves beyond just functional aspects.

44 -----
45 Thank you very much for pointing out how utilitarian only really captures part of the explanation
46 for the choices that grandmothers make in relation to gifts. We have rewritten this sentence as
47 follows:

48 "The previous data extracts showed how grandmothers often refuse to use the presents they have
49 been given for a mixture of utilitarian and cultural reasons. For utilitarian reasons, they feel that
50 they can do a better job (e.g. washing clothes), if they stick with their usual routines. At the same
51 time, adhering to their own deeply-embedded practices (e.g. kneading bread) illustrates the
52 importance that they place on their own long-standing cultural habits and values.
53 -----

54
55 4. Some of the conceptual muddiness from the previous round still lingers in the paper. In
56 particular, Table 3 still does not match Figure 1 in terms of where the authors have placed the
57 dimensions of wisdom in relation to balancing well-being. For example, Figure 1 places flexibility,
58 sustainability, and perspective at the intersection of intra- and inter-personal well-being, but Table
59 3 includes purpose and responsibility at this intersection as well. Even though Table 3 is no longer
60 in the body of the paper, it should align. I would recommend taking another pass through the

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2
3 paper to ensure the body of the text, Figures, and Tables all reinforce the same relationships
4 between wisdom and well-being.
5

6 Thank you for this important point. As you suggested, we carefully read the paper to ensure a
7 match between the text, figures, and tables about the relationships between wisdom and well-
8 being. We added a few elements in the text, as well as in the figure 1.
9

10
11 5. In Figure 2, consider making the labels parallel (e.g., verbal transmission, practice
12 transmission).
13

14 Thank you very much for your recommendation. We have reworked the figure 2 in relation with
15 the comment of the second reviewer. We hope that this new visual will meet your expectations.
16

17 Thank you for another responsive revision. I enjoyed reading it! Best of luck in moving forward.
18

19
20 Thank you very much for your valuable comments on the last version of the manuscript.
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