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Mending Maya:

An Analysis of Aging and Intergenerational Connection in Delhi, India

A thesis presented by

Aleksandr Chandra

to the Department of Psychology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

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Abstract

Past research suggests that intergenerational programming can have positive effects in bridging generational gaps. In an effort to explore intergenerational programming in one specific, cosmopolitan community in India, this research examined intergenerational connection and understanding and tested the effectiveness of implementing an art-based intergenerational intervention called Mending Maya. The intervention engaged seven young adults from a young adult's empowerment and learning center and eight seniors at an old age home. This eight-week intergenerational intervention connected both young adults and seniors through three specific art forms: music, arts and crafts, and theater/meditation. Before and after the conclusion of this intergenerational intervention, intergenerational connection and understanding were explored in semi-structured interviews with senior program participants and young adults from the surrounding community (pre-program interviews), and with young adult intervention participants (pre and post-program interviews and structured assessments). Interviews were thematically coded. Results revealed that intergenerational arts programming in New Delhi, India can be an effective way to repair and restore webs of attachments between generations both inside and outside the actual parameters of the program. Aspects of the program that appeared essential to supporting these effects were utilization and maximization of existing community resources and a focus on cultural values that emphasize family and community. The final discussion synthesizes perceptions of aging in a changing world and program evaluations in order to paint a picture of aging as it is currently understood in Delhi, India. The discussion also examines the intergenerational intervention's relevance to and sustainability within the Delhi community, and suggests ways the Delhi community can utilize intergenerational programming to enhance personal and community development through civic engagement.

Keywords: aging, art, intergenerational contact, community development, India

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Chapter One: An Introduction to Aging in India

Hands aged with sun,
Rings grown too tight,
Feet wrinkled by walk,
Eyes dropped with tire,

Hair stained with die,
Teeth yellowed with tea,
Each wrinkle,
Each taint,
Each sunspot,
Each grey hair,
Filled with experience
Young adult program participant

This thesis explores global perspectives on aging in India as a means of understanding concepts of family, the home, gender, the body, kinship, culture, and connection. It does so specifically in Delhi, India because of the rich understandings of aging found there, as suggested by the poem above. Heretofore, Indologists have articulated postcolonial perspectives on aging. They have made grand gestures toward examining aging as reflecting or refracting both local and global considerations. They have also positioned themselves alongside shifting economic and social structures in order to capture colorful expressions of the South Asian aging experience. This thesis is an extension then of those efforts being made. It embraces the friction between global and local forces in order to process issues of aging in India leading up to a certain generational divide.

To build the foundation upon which this project is situated, this chapter will first review multi-axial and multivalent theories of globalization. It will then discuss globalization's effect on aging in India as a lens through which to view the generational gap. A brief history on the Indian family will be given as well as a review of studies that have contributed to the discussion of aging in the postcolonial context. This thesis will examine the proposition that globalization has

severed and strained intergenerational relations in India and that through an art-based intergenerational intervention webs of attachments between generations can be repaired and restored.

An Introduction to Globalization

In the name of globalization scholars have postulated two positions: globalization as either a contemporary phenomenon or globalization as an acceleration of 600-hundred year old forces. In the case of the former, scholars have understood globalization in the form of dramatic ruptures or honest dislocations from the past where the flow of economic and cultural forces have recently swamped the borders of nation states (Jay, 2010). That these radical ruptures and forceful flows transpired during the advent of electronic media forms forever changed the topography of the social, cultural, economic, and political landscape. Other critics, however, have understood globalization as a significant acceleration of non-Western forces that have been in play since the 16th century (Jay, 2010). Instead of a radical rupture from the past, globalization is a long historical process that has exponentially accelerated. Globalization is thus bilateral: while on one side it is a complex explosion of intercultural encounters facilitated by successive and excessive historical churns, on the other side it is an extension of relationships with a long and complex history both in and outside the West (Jay, 2010).

Arjun Appadurai, a social-cultural anthropologist, was progenitor of the contemporary perspective on global theory. Appadurai defined globalization as a "global now," a "historical rupture from the past with non-isomorphic flows" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 29). According to Appadurai "the world we live in now seems rhizomic, even schizophrenic, calling for theories of rootlessness, alienation, and psychological distance between individuals and groups" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 29). Accordingly, Appadurai framed these distances and differences in the global

cultural economy among five dimensions of global cultural flows: a) ethnoscapes, b) mediascapes, c) technoscapes, d) financescapes, and e) ideoscapes. By *ethnoscapes*, Appadurai meant the rapid growth of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups (Appadurai, 1990). Appadurai coined t*echnoscape* as the global configuration of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now penetrates and transcends various kinds of previously impervious and insurmountable boundaries (Appadurai, 1990). For example, many countries are now home to multinational enterprises: a huge steel complex in Libya may involve interests from India, China, Russia, and Japan, providing an aggregation of different technological configurations. While India exports waiters and chauffeurs to Dubai and Sharjah, it also exports software engineers to the United States (Appadurai, 1990). Appadurai's fluid and fractal shape of *financescapes* figures dispositions of global capital as a more mysterious, rapid, and difficult landscape to follow than ever before (Appadurai, 1990). According to Cole and Durham (2006), the rapidly increasing volume of consumer goods contributes to a new cartography of capital by creating consumer-driven markets. Structural adjustment and the neoliberalization of the economies (a concept that will be revisited in this chapter) contribute to a process of shrinking state bureaucracies and institutions that foster the growth of a middle class wedged between the haves and have-nots (Cole & Durham, 2007).

Appadurai's final coinages are closely related landscapes of images. *Mediascapes* refer both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information that is now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world and to the images of the world created by these media (Appadurai, 1990). Mediascapes also provide large and complex repositories of images, narratives, and ethnoscapes to viewers throughout the

world, in which the world of commodities and the world of news and politics are profoundly mixed (Appadurai, 1990). *Ideoscapes* are series of images often directly political and frequently having to do with the ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of movements (Appadurai, 1990). These ideoscapes consist of terms and images (e.g., freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty) that suggest a relationship between representation and reality. Since the nineteenth century, however, the global dispersion of these terms and images has rendered their meanings malleable insofar as different nation states have oriented and organized their cultures around different, more appropriate, key words (Appadurai, 1990). Appadurai's various *scapes* then, through the global flows of commodities and cultural products and the rapid increase of circulating media and images, encourage individuals to envision alternative lives and future possibilities (Cole & Durham, 2007).

By emphasizing rupture, speed, conversion, and disjuncture in the name of globalization, Paul Jay, a literary and global studies scholar, argues that Appadurai forgoes historicizing those forces that have led to those disjunctures in the first place (Jay, 2010). By moving away from Appadurai's "global now" approach, Jay moves toward a "global then and now" model that patiently contextualizes and historicizes global cultural flows. Jay's theoretical and conceptual framework constitutes globalizations as a "complex set of intercultural exchanges facilitated by successive historical shifts in forms of travel, communication, exploration, conquest, and trade that periodically accelerate in ways that echo technological, economic, and political change" (Jay, 2010, p. 34). Globalization then is the extension of relationships with long and complex historical vicissitudes both within and outside of the West. Compared to Appadurai's dimensional disjunctures, Jay's theoretical framework proffers a more fluid and nuanced historical perspective of globalization tethered to theories of colonialism, post-colonialism,

modernity, and post-modernity.

Looking ahead, this thesis will investigate the disjuncture and difference between these two diametrically opposed theories as a means to treat the tension between local and global forces. While Appadurai situates globalization among various scapes in an immediate rupture from the past and while Jay historicizes globalization in an exponential acceleration of the present, neither aptly investigates the psychological consequences of global cultural flows. What follows then, submerges these theories beneath the surface of psychological science to rethink aging and identity in a more global context.

Psychology of Globalization

While globalization encompasses a wide range of issues and phenomena, its primary psychological influence is on identity (Arnett, 2002). According to Arnett, four dimensions of identity more or less stand out as issues related specifically to the confluence of global and local forces: bicultural identity, identity confusion, self-selected cultures, and emerging adulthood. From a psychological perspective, globalization has an indelible influence on bicultural identity. That is, in addition to a local identity defined by traditional values of reticence, modesty, and family obligations young people develop and retain a global identity that gives them a sense of global interconnectedness and includes awareness of events and practices that are part of a global culture. Appadurai's technoscape is a crucial factor in the development of a global identity because it explicitly provides exposure to people, events, and information from all over the world. According to Arnett, an example of bicultural identity can be found among the young people in India who fuel the country's vibrant and vigorous high-tech economic sector. Though full-fledged members of a global cultural economy, many youth in India still prefer to have arranged marriages in accordance to Indian traditions. They also generally expect to care for

their parents in old age, a practice also consistent with Indian tradition. While on the one hand youth in India have an identity for participating in a global economy, on the other hand they have an identity deeply rooted in Indian tradition with respect to their families and their own personal lives.

As many youth, especially in India, adapt to globalization's superimposition on local culture, they adopt a bicultural identity that provides for them a certain basis for living in their local culture while participating in the global cultural economy. Rather than becoming bicultural, however, some individuals experience feelings of exclusion from both their local and global cultures. Instead of being able to adapt to and adopt the best of both worlds, they feel as though they belong to neither. According to Arnett, "a number of observers of globalization have discussed this issue using the term delocalization" (Arnett, 2002, p. 778). What this means is that as youth increasingly grow up with a global consciousness, they are likely to have diminished ties to the place in which they live. Thus, in rapidly changing cultures, such as India, young people may conclude that the worldview that was part of their cultural tradition rages in remarkable contrast to the new global culture in which they live— "as traditional ways of life change in response to globalization, traditional worldviews may lack compelling emotional and ideological power for young people" (Arnett, 2002, p. 778). Arnett suggests that the decline in the power of collectivism for young people in Japan and China is a good example of this. Nevertheless, those same young people may have trouble finding meaning in a worldview that is not indigenous to their culture, and, may in fact, directly contradict their cultural traditions.

Those cultural traditions may continue to exist, however, if some people choose to become part of a self-selected culture that provides more meaning and structure than the global culture. According to Arnett, these self-selected cultures often have a religious basis whereas the global

culture is relentlessly secular. Mostly, religious issues of self-selected cultures are ignored in favor of the global cultural economy where individualism, free market economies, democracy, freedom of choice, individual rights, openness to change, and toleration of differences tend to dominate. This means then that in distinguishing itself apart from self-selected cultures, global culture is defined in part by what it is not: it is not dogmatic and it is not exclusionary. Another type of self-selected culture defines itself explicitly against globalization. In this way, aspects of identity and culture that may have been assimilated without reflection in previous generations (i.e., fundamental notions of family in India) have become consciously self-selected as the pressure of globalization has increased.

The final aspect of identity that stands out as an issue related to globalization is the spread of emerging adulthood as a changing trend in aging. That is, as traditional hierarchies of authority weaken under the pressure of globalization and young people increasingly gain control over their own lives, they generally choose to wait longer to enter more culturally defined enclaves of adulthood (i.e., marriage and jobs). This new period of life is characterized by self-focused exploration of possibilities in love, work, and worldviews which gives youth time to learn more about themselves by clarifying their preferences and abilities. Though this period now exists for most young people in industrialized societies, Arnett argues that it is growing in prevalence for young people in wealthier segments, mainly urban areas, of developing countries. As Saraswathi and Larson observed, “in many ways, the lives of middle class youth in India, South East Asia, and Europe have more in common with each other than those of poor youth in their own countries” (cited in Arnett, 2002, p. 781). For those privileged enough to participate in a global cultural economy then, identity becomes less about prescribed social roles and more about

individual decisions and desires that result in increasingly complex bicultural, multicultural, hybrid identities in a neoliberal India.

Global Identities and Neoliberal India

As defined by David Harvey, neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practice that maintains the integrity of an infrastructure while it "advances individual liberties and entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). It is with neoliberalism's creation that it often involves a contrapuntal narrative of destruction, not only of divisions of labor and welfare provisions per se, but also of social relations and ways of life. By opening public sectors to privatization, however, and by relaxing a certain ethos of intervention and regulation, citizens of the global cultural economy in India "have driven desires for new global-yet-Indian identities" (Pathak, 2014, p. 314). In India, these emerging identities can be found not only between the friction of global and local forces as espoused by Arnett (2002), but also between the friction of shifting economic structures as explained by Harvey (2005).

Global Indian identities often involve a certain "category of middle-class neoliberal subjectivity" (Pathak, 2014, p. 326). That is, these identities are "built around self-consciously inhabiting an urban, professional, middle-class aesthetic by exercising appropriate consumer agency" (Pathak, 2014, p. 326). According to Gauri Pathak, against the backdrop of new global discourses, "consumers' choices are constructing and reflecting emerging identities in new environments of risk and opportunity" (Pathak, 2014, p. 315). It is by accessing these new environments and the technologies of the market that youth in India are able to do the following four things: constitute themselves as free, enterprising individuals who add values to themselves through their own personal investment (e.g., education); administer themselves as an economic

interest with vocabularies of management and performativity; invest in their own aspirations by adopting expert advice; and maximize and express their own autonomy through choices and alternatives. In harnessing this individual choice and freedom, global identities in India are dramatically diminishing and in some cases severely severing traditionally strong ties between social relations.

According to Sennett, the social and psychological costs of neoliberalism are profound (cited in Sugarman, 2015). We now live in a society where traditional values are undermined by an increasing reliance on authority for answers and in a context of work built on short-term contracts. It is in this environment that it becomes difficult to preserve the integrity of long-term commitment and relationships. A society of individuals frequently switching jobs, relocating, and preoccupied with personal risk and self-interest, is conducive neither to stable families nor cohesive communities. The enterprising culture of neoliberal India is one example of a country that emphasizes and echoes the importance of individual capabilities in an environment of self-interest. By bringing individual agency to the fore and placing onus on the individual worker to take the initiative, Indian identities are being transformed into neoliberal subjectivities responsible for their own self-government and self-advancement (Nambiar, 2013). In this way, middle class youth in neoliberal India are being empowered to take advantage of new economic opportunities instead of becoming "constraints on the state" (Nambiar, 2013, p. 60). Nevertheless, these new economic opportunities that promote Indian youth as enterprising subjects often do so in an environment that is extremely insecure, flexible, and uncertain. Sennett observes, that these uncertain and flexible environments create fragmented lives and life narratives where commitment is no longer a meaningful concept and where social anxiety becomes an object of exemplary research (cited in Sugarman, 2015). By placing a "premium on

social prowess, confidence, exuberance, and initiative" and by underscoring the importance of self-presentation and self-surveillance in the workplace of enterprising culture, neoliberal India shapes a space for a new kind of inequality (Sugarman, 2015, p. 107).

Mustapha Pasha, a professor of international politics, writes that "blamed for injecting a culture of consumerism and greed amongst the nouveau riche," neoliberal globalization articulates new forms of cultural and social inequality in India (Pasha, 2000, p. 79). On the one hand, neoliberal globalization in India "crystallizes the rise of a globalizing elite, and on the other hand it [solidifies] large segments of the underclass" (Pasha, 2000, p. 79) With this new consumer-driven market place comes an ethos of indifference toward "the poor, the infirm, the elderly, and social actors who cannot successfully battle market rationality" and a new middle class aesthetic (Pasha, 2000, p. 80). This neoliberal inequality then subordinates indigenous cultural expression at the same time it dissolves traditional values into a homogenizing global culture. As a result, this new neoliberal culture of inequality in India is beginning to replace culturally "embedded social forms and relationships" in ways that complicate the very structure and practice of family (Pasha, 2000, p. 80).

Introduction to the Indian Family

"In Europe, it may be normal that children leave home. But in our society, we have roots, and suddenly, all these families have started sending their children abroad; their children lose contact with their past; they forget to come home" (Lamb, 2007, p. 30).

- *Jayaraj, director of Karunam*

Contemporary, postmodern perspectives of aging and family in India are indelibly marked by comparisons with a traditional Indian past. Dr. Sarah Lamb, a professor of anthropology, remarks that "more than almost anything else, the joint, multigenerational, intimate family represents a traditional Indian past in contrast to an emerging modernity" (Lamb, 2007, p. 83). In the multigenerational home, aging is a family matter. Adult children live with and care for their

aging parents out of a love and deep respect for their elders. There are also profound feelings of reciprocity. Children feel moral, even spiritual obligations to attempt to repay the inerasable debts they owe their parents for all the effort, expense, and affection their parents expended to produce and raise them (Lamb, 2007). Lamb writes that the multigenerational family is thus imbued with a complex range of values, including "fellow-feeling, supportive interdependence, patriarchy, crowded hearths, plentiful time and moral spiritual order" (Lamb, 2007, p. 83).

Edwin D. Driver, a professor emeritus of sociology, finds that family studies in India "invariably include the joint family system among the basic features of Hindu social organization" (cited in Patel, 2005, p. 204). According to Driver, the joint, multigenerational family consists usually of the following structure: "a married man, his father, his grandfather, and his collaterals within three generations" (cited in Patel, 2005, p. 204). They along with their spouses and children occupy the same dwelling, eat and worship together, and enjoy property in common. The joint family also cooperates in economic activity where, even if the members are differentiated occupationally, they pool their earnings. Driver writes that the "joint family provides nursing care for the sick and afflicted, social security for the unemployed, and support for the aged" (cited in Patel, 2005, p. 204). Senior persons explore through this material and social support their own self-hood as vital members of enduring, intimate families (Lamb, 2007). The care and the maintenance of dependents then is a moral obligation in the Indian family backed by forces of social prestige and opprobrium. In being a closely knit unit, members of the Indian joint family "share their routines, problems, and joys of social living, have strong feelings of mutual obligation during crisis, and regard self-interest as identical to family welfare" (Patel, 2005, p. 204). Additionally, the joint household's taxonomic and hierarchical structure recognizes the Indian family as the juridical unit for social relationships and family quarrels.

Thus, immense power is vested in the Indian family's ability to distill a sort of macro-culture into its most concentrated micro-form.

A.M. Shah, a family sociologist and former professor of sociology, remarks that the study of family in India has come a long way since its inception in the middle of the 19th century. Nevertheless, there remains a necessity to revisit the "conceptual distinction between household and family" (cited in Patel, 2005, p. 214). Shah siphons off Driver's observations acknowledging the close association of the household with the house and the hearth almost all over India, which renders them easily identifiable sociocultural artifacts. According to Shah, the household represents a variety of things, ideas, and images, and is the locus of social relationships and interpersonal interconnectedness. Shah states that the "household is not a discrete unit in an absolute sense, however" (cited in Patel, 2005, p. 215) The Indian household is "intimately related to the family and other structures of kinship and marriage" (cited in Patel, 2005, p. 215). Shah remarks that the "very attempt to distinguish between family and household in India…goes hand in hand with establishing a relationship between the two" (cited in Patel, 2005, p. 215). The field studies of the 1950s, three years post Indian independence, recognized a multiplicity of household and family types in place of the earlier exclusive concerns with the proverbial jointness of the Hindu family. According to Shah, to understand the contemporary structure of the Indian home and family, a reversion in time is necessary to the British colonial amalgam that carved out the Indian family in the form of the joint Hindu family.

Colonial Perspectives. By the middle of the 20th century, Britain had gained direct and indirect control over almost all of India through presidencies, provinces, and polities containing the most valuable parts of the British Empire. The dominance of the British Raj (1858-1947) in India imposed an alien culture on traditional ways of life between the disjuncture and difference

of global and local forces. By the last decades of the century, however, the penetration of foreign culture was so profound that Hindu domestic life and its most intimate relationships became a contested area of study.

The study of the Indian family during the colonial period appeared most prominently in the writings of Sir Henry S. Maine. According to Maine circa the late 19th century, the earliest form of the Indian family is the patrilineal joint family. It is, in his own words, "a group of natural or adoptive descendants held together by subjection to the eldest living ascendant, father, grandfather, or great-grandfather—the eldest male parent, the eldest ascendant, is absolutely supreme in his household" (Maine, 1974, p. 123). It "springs universally out of the Patriarchal family and marks a stage in the gradual transmutation of the Patriarch into the Chief" (Maine, 1974, p. 123). Maine's pejorative remark about the Indian family as primitive is measured with a yardstick against views of the Indian family as "morally inferior" (Maine, 1974, p. 123). He maintained that the divided or individual family of Europe and America was civilized and represented the final stage in evolution. In depositing diametrically opposed family dimensions, the conceptual and typological distinctions between the joint family of India and the divided family of the West exercised great influence among his followers.

In the 1930s appeared works that amalgamated ideas thrown up by juridical texts, historical documents, and census materials regarding the Indian family. L. S. S. O'Malley's *India's Social Heritage* imports Maine's dichotomy of the joint and separate families to understand the Indian family as a "multi-functional group with a common property, a common house with a common kitchen, and a common worship of the family idol or idols" (O'Malley, 1974, p. 128). O'Malley insists that the family's membership may be "a hundred or even hundreds and it may be composed of a man and his wife, his brother and their wives, his sons and their wives, and his

grandsons" (O'Malley, 1974, p. 128). According to O'Malley, this is a three-generation group if the common ancestor (i.e., the common denominator) is excluded and a four-generation group if the common ancestor is included. O'Malley gestures toward globalization describing at considerable length how "members of the joint family may live in separate households, but remain joint in property, worship, and other activities" (O'Malley, 1974, p. 128). They negotiate native and foreign ways of life by living alone together.

In his essay entitled "Family and Religion" in *Modern India and the West*, (1941), O'Malley shifts his attention toward the disintegration of the joint family and away from the nature of the traditional family which he more or less summarizes in the description of his earlier book *India's Social Heritage*. O'Malley believes that the disintegration of the joint family is due to changes in economic conditions. Though O'Malley does not further explain these changing economic conditions, he does mention the second major factor in disintegration to be psychological. He alludes to "friction between different members of the family with different temperaments, the trouble caused by the work-shy, quarrels among women, mismanagement of property by the head of the family and the inability to control those under him" (O'Malley, 1974, pp. 129-130). O'Malley prematurely gestures to neoliberal practices and postcolonial perspectives by figuring the disintegration of the joint family with the onset of an ethos of individualism encouraged by Western influences. Nevertheless, Shah writes that O'Malley's firm belief in the "Indological-cum-legal view of the traditional Indian family is indeed the major obstacle in his attempt to understand the reality of the Indian family" (O'Malley, 1974, p. 130).

Postcolonial Perspectives: The Family in Flux. Looking back, this chapter has only begun to capture changing trends in aging and the structure and practice of family in the Indian context. From defining globalization through two diametrically opposed theories and by finding

globalization's place in psychological science and in neoliberal space, this chapter will now turn away from colonial perspectives on household dimensions in India and move towards postmodern and postcolonial perspectives on the "reality of the Indian family."

Contemporary discourse in India posits that "traditional, family-based modes of aging are now undergoing especially striking transformations where different faces of Westernization: careerism, individualism, materialism, consumerism, and gender and age and egalitarianism" seem particularly attractive (Cole & Durham, 2007, p. 134). With all of these social churns, the system of lifelong intergenerational reciprocity within the family disintegrates (anticipated by O'Malley in his 1941 publication), and the old person left in an old age home or across the ocean becomes the signifier of a new age. Within this new age then, profound shifts are underway around the world regarding the ways elder care giving and residence are configured.

Over the past 15 years, many individuals in a neoliberal India have been participating in a shift from the "intergenerational family as the central site of aging and elder care to an increasing reliance on individual selves, the state, and private institutions" (Lamb, Cultural and moral values surrounding care and (in)dependence in late life: reflections from India in an era of global modernity, 2005, p. 80). The heart of residence and care for elders in India was once the multigenerational family home. The joint family residence was widely considered to be the most valued, normal, and traditional place for aging and family life. Yet, urban churns are being felt in India with modern, global flows of persons, things, ideologies, and ways of life. These changes include a) the national and transnational dispersal of families, b) the increasing participation of women in the paid workforce, c) and the emergence of modern or Western cultural values and practices: individualism, materialism, careerism, nuclear families, and a scarcity of time (Lamb, 2005). Westernization has introduced to India the old age home, negative images of aging, and

individualism. As shown in Figure 1, urbanization has caused the breakup of the joint family—urban houses tend to be smaller and their walls more divisive and isolating than was previously the case.

Figure 1.1. and 1.2. Multigenerational Homes. Urbanization has created a vertical community where each family lives on a separate floor

Consequently, elders are forced to remain their own caretakers on village lands. The role of women in particular has changed over the past 15 years. They are better educated than they were previously, and now leave the home to seek employment (Lamb, 2000). Women desire their independence and are no longer inclined to perform seva—service to elders—as they once were expected to do. They not only leave the home, but they also leave and abandon their culturally defined roles within the home. Simply put, the bonds of attachment and relations—samparka—between generations in India that were once enduring, are now, in fact, quickly eroding.

In a national study conducted by the Agewell Foundation on the "Status of Older Persons in Delhi and NCR" (2012), comprehensive interviews were collected from 15,000 older persons (approximately 7,710 older men and 7,290 older women) to understand issues that have a deep effect on the life of an older person i.e., isolation in old age, intergenerational gap, etc. Results indicated that 83.8% of older persons were found isolated in old age (60+) in Delhi and NCR (National Capital Region). The level of isolation in old age of older persons living in urban areas was 89.8% in comparison to 77.6% of older persons living in rural areas. Roughly 44.2% said that no/less interaction with family members or within society is a major cause of their state of isolation or loneliness in Delhi/NCR. Furthermore, 37.5% of elders felt isolated because they were living alone or only with their spouse. The Agewell Foundation Research and Advocacy Center (AFRAC) affirms that these statistics are the result of changing trends in old age. While the intergenerational gap is a global phenomenon, AFRAC finds that the generational gap in Delhi/NCR is large. According to AFRAC life in Delhi/NCR has changed rapidly and drastically over the last few decades with the increased proliferation of computers, satellite TV, better income opportunities, etc. As a result, people are exposed to media and new ideas of social relationships and vast fields of opportunity that reside elsewhere, even outside the homeland.

Thus, parents and children have a difficult time relating to each other's lives. AFRAC offers another cause: education. With modern systems of education, children's attitudes towards their own grandparents are changing. Because modern educational systems in India have no role to play in sensitizing generation z (the generation born during the mid-to-late 1990s) towards the elderly, post-millennials are becoming increasingly more and more self-centric and reliant on technology to make sense of their everyday lives. Thus, the wisdom that elders have to offer, much like elders themselves, has become forgotten and abandoned in other worlds.

One of the most striking signifiers of this sort of cultural shift is the emergence and proliferation of old age homes in India. HelpAge India, a non-for-profit organization that serves the elderly, recognizes 484 homes for the aged in 16 cities of the country with an aged population of more than 250,000,000. Indians take this emerging and novel trend for eldercare to represent a salient transformation involving not only aging per se, but also principles underlying the very identity of India (Lamb, 2005). For some, the emergence of the old-age home is a loss of what they held most dear and what defined India as a nation and culture: family intimacy, love, and time together. For others, it is a loss of reciprocal interdependence across generations and a respect for elders.

While old age homes, senior communities, and continuing care retirement facilities in the U.S. are exhaustive in the services they provide to a diverse patient pool, Lamb finds that in India, "old age homes are entirely a middle-class phenomenon, possible only for those with retirement pensions, professional children and/or considerable savings" (Lamb, 2007, p. 85). Lamb's ethnography reveals that "homes range in size from about five to fifty residents, and the residents themselves come from a wide range of family situations: some are childless, others have only daughters, others' children are all abroad, and others have sons and daughters-in-law

living right nearby" (Lamb, 2007, p. 85). Lamb also notes that in the old ages home "all meals are provided, including morning and afternoon tea" and "weekly or biweekly doctor visits are provided, although if one becomes very ill or disabled, the family or individual must generally pay additionally for a private nurse's care, or else the old person is sent to a hospital or back to his or her kin" (Lamb, 2007, p. 86). Oftentimes, "minimal formal activities are planned, and residents spend their time reading, chatting, simply sitting, playing cards, knitting, writing journals and letters, having tea, watching television, going on morning walks, taking a stroll to a nearby market, and attending occasional cultural programs and functions" (Lamb, 2007, p. 86).

Although viewed as a product of the West, there are important ways in which the old age home is the bedrock of bicultural identity. They are, according to Lamb, "emerging as intrinsically local materializations of this now globally ubiquitous institution" (Lamb, 2007, p. 87). For example, among many residents, there is a profound perception that these homes are a contemporary version of the classical Hindu third or "forest dweller" life phase. During this phase, "persons purposefully leave their households of reproduction to embark on a path of late-life spiritual cultivation" (Lamb, 2007, p. 87). Thus, the old age home is viewed as the site of detachment. Founders of these intuitions also tend to see their core mission as offering seva or respectful service to elders. The old age home reinvests in respect and devotion towards seniors through personalized treatment and care from employees. According to Lamb, "residents, staff, and directors, almost always come to employ kin terms when referring to each other, and many speak of the institutions as in certain ways not unlike the large joint families of the past in which numerous people were linked together under one roof sharing food from the same hearth" (Lamb, 2007, p. 87). Nevertheless, the old age home is being viewed as a radical transformation of fundamental Indian values—family and aging—because in these homes, aging happens

outside the family.

Webs of Attachment. Because aging is transpiring outside familial life spaces, relationships between members within those spaces are weakening. According to N.K. Chadha, a distinguished scholar in the field of applied gerontology, "large scale industrialization and modernization have brought about various economic, social, and cultural changes weakening the family and community bonds" at the turn of the century (Chadha & Mongia, 1997, p. 372). These changes not only affect the family's traditional role of providing physical care and financial support, but also hamper intergenerational ties. Chadha extends upon Lamb's initial observations citing data from eight rural and urban studies in India which show that between 54 and 78% of the elderly persons in these areas live with a married son. From 92 to 100% elderly live with some relative and less than 4% live alone. Thus, compared to detachment theory, elderly persons living in rural or urban areas of India more than likely continue living in a joint family system. Chadha explains that while the data provide evidence that the extended family norm persists, the generational depth does not. The different changes have a detrimental impact on intergenerational family relations. Changing values, hobbies, life-styles, and beliefs, have brought about difference and dissension between the generations. Advancement in science and technology has led to the transference of power from the elderly patriarch to a member of the younger generation who could embrace modern institutions. The dependence of the young on the elderly for guidance has thus been reduced and the power dynamic reversed.

In addition to shifts in structure, the family is also undergoing changes in the number of offspring, the number of siblings and kin. The decline in birth rate has led to decreases in the number of children within the family and hence a decline in the number of potential caregivers for the aged. According to Chadha, radical changes have also transpired in the value systems,

standards of behavior, and attitudes towards the aged. What was once a blessing serving one's elder has become oppressing. The feeling of being burdensome on their children has precipitated feelings of stress among the elderly. They have developed negative emotions toward themselves and towards the process of aging. In addition to problems surrounding loss of employment, low income, and failing health for the aged, there has also been psychosocial atrophy. Newly added anxieties for the aged include but are not limited to neglect, loss of importance in the family, a feeling of inadequacy, loneliness, and feelings of being unwanted. These anxieties have in turn interrupted intergenerational interactions.

How to Best Support Elders in a Changing World: Research on Aging

Declines in fertility and mortality have literally reshaped aging. According to Laura Carstensen, professor of psychology and director of Stanford University's Center on Longevity, populations have historically been configured in the shape of a pyramid; "many young ones are born at the bottom and the distribution winnows to a tiny peak at the top" (Carstensen, 2012, p. 2). Over the years these pyramids are being slowly reshaped into rectangles with a more even distribution of aged and adolescent members (Carstensen, 2007). Population statistics project, however, that over the coming years these rectangles will gradually transform into funnels as life expectancy across all countries exponentially increases. Thus, population pyramids will eventually become inverted—young ones who have historically formed the foundation of the population pyramid, will eventually fill the tip of the population funnel. Conversely, with the advent of the longevity dividend (a shift in attention from disease management to delayed aging) aged members of our society, who have historically constituted the peak of the population pyramid, will eventually comprise the topmost and largest portion of the population funnel (Olshansky, Perry, Miller, & Butler, 2006).

These population statistics are most pronounced in India, a country that is poised to become home to the second largest elderly population in the world (Madnawat & Kachhawa, 2007). With this ever-increasing number of elderly persons, gerontological research has sought to incorporate within its body of literature not only "socioeconomic issues such as seniors' residential patterns, intrafamilial or intergenerational resource transfers, public provision of services and pensions," but also "dimensions of seniors' well-being and health" (Sudha, Suchindran, Mutran, Rajan, & Sarma, 2006, p. 104). In one such study, researchers examined the impact of familial social support ties (i.e., marital status, kin availability, sources of economic support, and frequency and quality of emotional interactions) on subjective health perception among a sample of elderly men and women aged 60 and older in South India (Sudha et al., 2006). Results of the study supported the hypotheses that widowhood would be associated with poorer self-rated health and that economic and social support from kin would improve outcomes. Researchers also found that the presence of specific kin rather than the number of each type of family member was important. Thus, these findings supplement insights into differences in gender and changes in demographic patterns in India on self-rated health among elders as fertility continues to decline and family relationships are reconfigured by social change.

Among elderly individuals in Rajasthan, India and their anxiety towards death, researchers found that the number of kin available was just as important as the quality. While elderly women reported more death anxiety than did elderly men, contrary to expectations, elderly Indian individuals living with family members reported more death anxiety than did those living alone (Madnawat & Kachhawa, 2007). Given that family is one of the biggest concerns in Indian society, and that Indian society and its people are closely tied to family, the present study supported the finding that thoughts of separation and disengagement from kin promotes death

anxiety among Indian elders (Lahniers, 1975). On the role of the family in the context of care-giving to rural elderly in Odisha, India, researchers found that until now, elderly people have preferred to live with their family instead of any institution, given the support for the instrumental activities of daily living they receive from kin (Pradhan & Aruna, 2014). The findings also suggest that members of family provide a range of care to the elderly and that the relationship between care giver and care receiver is instrumental for providing preferable support for elders in rural areas of Odisha. While the present study focused substantial attention on social support as a buffer against negative outcomes to stressful life events (i.e., detachment, separation, and abandonment), the present study also showed that a small portion of rural elders were not happy with their relationship with their care givers due to a large generational gap between both parents and children. A small percentage (3.3%) of children who participated in the study did not visit their parents at all. They were all well settled outside the village and did not keep in contact with their parents. Thus, the findings from this study introduce a shift in perception and attitude towards care giving and care receiving in rural areas of India.

Old Age Homes. These fluctuating familial values, structures, and practices have led to the development and proliferation of old age homes across India (Lamb, 2009). As old age homes in India mushroom in metropolitan areas, they continue to connote feelings of cut-offs, filial disobedience, and disrespect towards older generations (Marrow & Tanya, 2012). Many in India, however, are attempting to negotiate these sentiments within the realms of detachment and disengagement (Mishra, 2012). They equate the old age home to the fourth life stage in Hinduism: The Forest Dweller or Ascetic Phase (Cohen, 1998). This particular phase calls to mind the isolated communities of elders visited by Ram and by the Pandava brothers during their years of exile in the Hindu Epics. Both the forest and the senior home become sites of

detachment from worldly pleasures and disengagement from familial and social responsibility. The old age home reifies Henry and Cumming's (1961) disengagement theory, which denotes successful aging as involving a lower overall volume of social relations and a less psychological investment in the social affairs of the family, as opposed to continuity theory's more involved model of aging. Framed in terms of an ideology of a strong traditional Indian family, the old age home then places in proximity disparate, detached, and disengaged generational elements that characterize the shared experiences of Indian elders (estranged old parents, nuclear households, and unwanted elders). Thus, in the name of the old age home, family achieves a new manifestation at the moment it is perceived as being in decline.

In a recent study on the experience of women in formal care homes in southern India, results revealed that childlessness and widowhood were important considerations in the decision to relocate to an old age home (Kalavar & D., 2011). Older women reported higher degrees of psychological closeness and contact with daughters than sons, and the overall social network size was small. Senior respondents stated that the primary reasons for liking the facility were that "they had no day-to-day worries, they were away from family problems, and they were being served timely food" (Kalavar & D., 2011, p. 211). However, "the absence of family members, limited social contact, and a monotonous life with similar age-mates" were cited as sources of dissatisfaction with this living arrangement" (Kalavar & D., 2011, p. 211). Researchers concluded with recommended strategies for enhancing quality of life for older women in old age homes. Such options, according to researchers, may include the "establishment of intergenerational programs with the broader community so meaningful social relationships may develop" (Kalavar & D., 2011, p. 212). Additionally, researchers recommended that, "such institutions be situated next to an orphanage or child care setting so the opportunity to socialize

and develop intergenerational relations is fostered" (Kalavar & D., 2011, p. 212). In contrast to disengagement theory, the results and recommendations of this study contribute to an even more recent alternative approach in the field of geriatric psychology: Atchley's (1999) continuity theory of aging.

According to the continuity theory of aging, older adults who maintain mid-life habits, lifestyles, and relationships will have more success in aging (Atchley, 1989). The theory makes an attempt to discover the extent and ways in which respondents are able to successfully engage and adjust between the expectation to continue with mid-life roles in the family and the demand to pass over the reign of decision making and other such roles to the younger generation. Individuals "will tend to maintain continuity of psychological and social patterns adopted during their life course by developing stable patterns that will help them preserve earlier ones" (Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007, p. 2). Continuity Theory can also be disaggregated into internal continuity and external continuity. Internal continuity emphasizes the preservation of the "self" and the "identity," whereas external continuity embodies the roles and activities of the physical and social environment. According to Atchley, when there are so many external and internal changes, maintaining external continuity helps elderly people preserve internal continuity as well. Thus, with the rapidly changing familial environment in India, eldercare must seek ways to maintain elders' external continuity in order to preserve elders' internal continuity.

In a study that explored continuity theory and the psychosocial needs of older adults in a residential elder care center in Ethiopia, researchers found that despite the lack of proper medical care at the facility, residents emphasized the need for sustained meaningful "social interaction" since social interaction is a key component of institutionalized older adults' perceptions of home (Teka & Adamek, 2014). While psychosocial support was being both undervalued and

underutilized by staff members, thus potentially putting residents' psychosocial well-being appeared to be at risk, long term care residents in Ethiopia reported social contacts as the most important factor promoting quality of life. Researchers concluded that the Ethiopian elders in residential care centers faced many conditions that exacerbate depression in older adults including but not limited to: loss of status, loss of loved ones, poor health conditions, economic inactivity, limited community support, and poor medical care. The research further argued, that various sources of sustained psychosocial support may provide a way in which older adults can continue to derive pride and well-being from productive and meaningful roles.

Continuity theory was further investigated in research that compared the quality of life as defined by two samples of Nepali elderly women. Those who live with their families and those who live in an old age home, found that larger social and cultural norms, along with immediate contextual factors, impact what older women consider important to lead a good life in old age (Shrestha & Zarit, 2012). The study showed that "cultural norms, informed by religion, associated with the role of the aged within the family, intergenerational caregiving expectations, and gender hierarchy informed what constituted quality of life in old age among both groups of Nepali female elders" (Shrestha & Zarit, 2012). Furthermore, the overarching themes of access to sustenance, family support and functionality were reported by both groups. Researchers pointed to the theme of sustenance as suggesting a crucial interconnectedness of family members on quality of life for Nepali elders. Compared to the lives of Nepali participants living with family members, lack of sustenance or family involvement in the lives of the Nepali participants who live in old age homes contributed to their sense of abandonment. This finding highlights the importance of the role of family and the continuous care received from family on the quality of life of elderly Nepali women.

A recent study on the life satisfaction of elderly living in an old age homes in the city of Ahmedabad, India found that the majority of the elderly people living in old age homes did not get respect, love, and affection from their family members, and were highly dissatisfied with the behavior of their children. While the largest number of respondents of this study gave a response of "not satisfied" with respect to their satisfaction of life at old age homes, positive factors of old age homes that emerged during personal interactions included having the freedom to do what they wanted and to live as they wished, to not have to be dependent on the whims of family members, and to be properly and adequately looked after. Nonetheless, respondents gave diverse suggestions on how the quality of life for elderly in old age homes could be improved. The largest number of respondents suggested that regular or frequent visitors would help in enhancing the dignity and quality of life of the elderly. Visitors, respondents stressed, need not be family members, but could also include people who come to visit because they feel attached to the elderly persons, even though they may not be related to them (Rao, Trivedi, & Yadav, 2015).

In a study conducted among elderly females living in old age homes in Agartala, India, findings showed that continuous support was not there (Acharyya, 2012). Two groups of female aged person were chosen for the study using random sampling (75 resided in different old age homes in Agartala and 45 were residents of mainstream families). Using Beck's Depression Inventory, a Revised UCLA Loneliness Scale, and Maslow's security-insecurity test, results revealed that elderly women residing in old age homes in Agartala had more feelings of depression, loneliness, and insecurity than did the elderly women who continued to live with their family. The results of the study revealed that the well-being of older adults living in old age homes is markedly affected by the feeling of alienation from the family. Therefore, regarding a

study on the mental health needs of elderly living in old age homes in Delhi, India, researchers concluded that mental health problems (i.e., isolation, alienation, and loneliness leading to depression) for institutionalized aged were more severe than was true for the aged living in mainstream families (Bhattacharya & Khan, 2008). Thus, the isolation from sustained psychosocial support (i.e., family) can have deleterious effects for the quality of life and well-being of elder residents in old age homes throughout India.

A similar study on mental health problems among inhabitants of old age homes in Lucknow, India, found that of the 45 residents interviewed, depression was found to be the most common health problem followed by anxiety disorders and dementia (Tiwari, Pandey, & Singh, 2012). The study cites that the "prevalence of mental health problems as well as physical problems were found to be higher in inhabitants of old age homes in comparison to community" and that "the reason could be more psychological stressors, negligible family support, lack of medical care and facilities, restricted environment of old age homes, and financial constraints" (Tiwari et al., 2012, p. 147). In a study of old age homes and residents in Kerala, India, results revealed that 82% of residents found the environment of the old age home to be "alright," 16% answered that they liked the environment very much, and only 1% reported that the environment in old age homes was "bad." Results revealed that while 67% of residents indicated that they joined old age homes because of a lack of care at home, 9% of residents also indirectly indicated they joined old age homes because of their children being away and problems with their children (Rajan, 2002). Thus, as the research indicates, the lack of proper familial support has created a need for more practical and pragmatic continuity based approaches that support Indian elders' rights to age in our changing world.

Intergenerational Programming. As had been recommended by Kalavar and D. (2011), the

establishment of intergenerational programming as a means to sustain meaningful social relationships could be an appropriate response to the call for more practical approaches to aging in old age homes. While Gladstone, Dupuis, and Wexler (2006) found that families more or less continue care for relatives in long-term care facilities in Canada, the negative stigma surrounding these institutions in countries like India render familial support nonexistent. Thus, intergenerational programming, as a surrogate for nonexistent familial support, could be used as a tool to enhance well-being and quality of life for elder residents within old age homes across India. According to a study conducted between a child care program and nursing home facility in the U.S., researchers found that after participating in a program for one year, children responded with more positive descriptors towards elders. At the same token, elders participating in the intergenerational program said that they experienced emotional support, acceptance, and unconditional friendship as they enjoyed the opportunity to serve others and develop friendships on a continuing basis (Holmes, 2009).

A similar study on the benefits and risks of intergenerational programming on senior participants in the U.S. found that participation in intergenerational programming appeared to influence generativity i.e., "a multifaceted construct including, but not limited to, motivations, intentions, and behaviors aimed at benefiting future generations and leaving a lasting and positive mark on the world" (Lawford & Ramey, 2015, p. 1396). Specifically, for seniors who participated in intergenerational programming, scores on generativity were higher than those seniors who did not participate in the intergenerational programming. Thus, the research showed that participation in intergenerational programming can, in fact, translate into psychological gains for seniors (Herrmann, Herrmann, Stafford, & Herrmann, 2005). Similar results were found in a study on six-month outcomes of an innovative intergenerational program with older

adults and school-aged children in a Japanese urban community. Results revealed that the quality of life in relation to the mental health of older adults improved significantly between the first involvement and after six months, while depression scores decreased in the more depressed older people's subgroup (Kamei et al., 2011).

In keeping with continuity theory, a study on the intergenerational program effects on social responses of elderly adult day care members in the U.S. found that elderly participants showed significantly higher levels of social interaction and significantly lower levels of solitary productive behaviors when the preschool program was in session than when it was not (Short-DeGraff & Diamond, 1996). This study demonstrated that cognitively impaired elderly members of an adult day care center exhibit enhanced social interaction as a result of their involvement in a regular half-day intergenerational program. Thus, the present study has potentially practical and important theoretical considerations for the relationship between engagement and activity with elders and higher levels of happiness and life satisfaction.

Another study on intergenerational sharing seminars with older students revealed that participation had a positive impact on senior citizen's perceptions of younger family members (Dellmann-Jenkins, Fowler, Lambert, Fruit, & Richardson, 1994). More than half of the senior participants reported that their involvement with the intergenerational sharing seminars improved their attitudes towards young adult members of their own families. Even still, the young adult participants benefitted from the program as well. Not only did participation in the program enhance the young adult participants' interests to work in the field of gerontology, but pre-and-posttest responses also revealed that significantly more of the younger adults reported after the program than before the program that they were interested in working with older persons for their senior practicum experience and after graduating college. Additionally, participation in the

intergenerational program had a positive effect on young adult participants' willingness to interact socially with older people. Thus, the results of the study illustrate the ability of intergenerational contact to foster each generation's willingness to accept and understand the other in both social and academic settings.

Intergenerational Programming and the Arts. Much research has recently focused on state of the art approaches to increase intergenerational interaction through art-based intergenerational programming. One such study that examined the benefits of creating and performing ensemble-created plays to older adults' and university students' well-being and the key processes that promote well-being found that professional dramaturgical processes of storytelling, reminiscence, and playfulness were key elements in participants' generative learning (Anderson et al., 2016). They augmented older adults' and university students' ability to understand their situations and try innovative solutions. Skills such as openness, flexibility, and adaptation transferred into students' and older adults' lives. Researchers concluded that participation in this intergenerational theater group reduced ageism and improved intergenerational relationships. It increased older adults' and university students' well-being by building social networks, confidence, self-esteem, and developed a sense of social justice, empathy, and support for others.

In a similar study that compared older adults' experiences in three multiple-aged music intergenerational programs found differences in perceptions of the program's benefits provided to the younger generation (Belgrave, 2012). Older adults involved in the preschool and elementary school programs identified similar benefits received including "enjoyment" and "knowledge of children." Older adults in the college program also identified "personal enjoyment" as well as "social interaction" as the main benefits of participation. Researchers concluded that music-based intergenerational programming can be successful and provide a

variety of benefits based on the age of the younger generation, the duration of the intergenerational program, and the quality of the intergenerational interactions.

While intergenerational programming, though unidirectional, focuses on challenging ageism, researchers who facilitated the Promoting Art for Life Enrichment through Transgenerational Engagement (PALETTE) took intergenerational programming a step further by "employing collaborative activities as a way to challenge the gerontophobia that often accompanies ageism" (Rubie et al., 2015, p. 241) By combining both intergenerational arts activities with formal education on education on aging, ageism, and gerontophobia, PALETTE demonstrated success in changing the attitudes of students towards older adults. Five themes also emerged from student evaluations: reflections about personal aging, challenging ageism and assumptions, personal and academic development, meeting in neutral space to create common ground for a shared activity, and career impact. Overall, researchers concluded that the use of collaborative art as a way for students and older generations to build meaningful relationships proved successful.

Reflections about intergenerational connection through the arts was further elaborated on in qualitative analyses of "300 journals written by 59 students participating in the Open Minds through Art intergenerational art program for people with dementia" (Lokon, Kinney, & Kunkel, 2012, p. 337). Results from this content analysis revealed that facilitating the creative expressions of elders with dementia resulted in many positive gains for college students. The experience participating in the intergenerational intervention enhanced students' academic learning and their feelings about making meaningful contributions and differences in the lives of others. Thus, not only did students' attitudes towards elders become more positive as they built genuine and reciprocal relationships with elders, but their sense of civic responsibility also increased.

While research on intergenerational programming in Western countries, primarily in the United States, abounds, the research on intergenerational programming in Asian countries, especially in South Asia, is scant. In "Intergenerational Programming in Asia: Converging Diversities toward a Common Goal," a certain need to connect generations in Asia is being recognized (Thang, Kaplan, & Henkin, 2003, p. 56). Despite this burgeoning awareness, however, researchers cite that intergenerational programming is still a fairly new model in this part of the world because most individuals who identify as Asian understand "intergenerational" solely in the context of the family unit (Thang et al., 2003, p. 56). Researchers recognize that the "general neglect of the word 'programming' may be a function of the tendency to draw connections between 'intergenerational' and family, and more specifically link it with issues related to elder and child care" (Thang et al., 2003, p. 56). Because the term intergenerational is usually associated with the family, intergenerational programming surfaces as a tool to bring the family back to its traditional state.

Nonetheless, researchers realize that limited resources still prove to be a barrier to developing intergenerational programs in Asia since these "initiatives are not predicated on the existence of an evolved and highly funded human services system such as in the U.S., where a wide range of health and human service institutions for older adults are in place" (Thang et al., 2003, p. 64). Instead, such initiatives would have to utilize and maximize existing community resources, mobilize people in ways that are not contingent on outside resources, and build on cultural values that emphasize family and community (Chadha, 2008). Additionally, researchers express the need for intergenerational programming that embraces the salience of culture. While on the one hand the cultural tradition of family in Asia has confined intergenerational programming to the family sphere, on the other hand the focus on the family yields intervention that is viewed as

culturally appropriate and effective. Finally, one of the most important limitations of intergenerational programming that researchers realize, is not so much the lack of programming but rather that there remains a substantial need for more of such attempts to document and expand our knowledge of intergenerational programs implemented from within an Asian context (Thang et al., 2003). Research regarding changing attitudes toward filial piety and multi-generational living and its impact on the nature of age relations would add to an understanding of the role intergenerational programs play in strengthening the family.

The research presented in this thesis is a response to that call for a more comprehensive understanding of intergenerational programming in Asia. Through research conducted at an old age home in North India, this thesis marries a culturally appropriate intergenerational intervention with evaluation and documentation. It begins with a single word, maya, and ends with many stories.

Maya: A Bengali Term for Attachment. Radical transformations of intergenerational connections in India can be anchored by a single word: *maya*. Through maya is predominately defined as a "grand illusion," its lesser known connotation is that of various forms of attachment (Paranjpe, 1998, p. 161). More precisely, maya is a "multivalent Bengali term that denotes webs of attachment, affections, jealousies, and love that make up social relations" in India (Lamb, 2000, p. 28). Individuals in India see themselves as substantially part of and tied to the people, place, belongings, land, animals, objects, and houses that make up their personhoods and lived-in worlds. When one disregards maya, one disregards oneself. Indeed, maya is psychologically binding. These bindings or net enmesh all living beings. Bengalis forcefully argue that strands of this net can be experienced as pulls. The bindings of maya can be loosened or cut by acts such as moving away from a home or a village, ceasing to give to or receive from others, or arguing.

Nonetheless, Bengalis often say that these bonds are very difficult to loosen.

The reverse side of the same coin, however, views maya as 'bad." Through her interactions with local Bengalis, Lamb discovered that many believed maya to be bad "because it causes [and forecasts] immense pain and suffering." Life is saturated with separations and losses—sisters and daughters leave their husbands' homes, grandparents and parents die, a favorite calf is sold, a beloved sari is torn—and the more maya people have towards all these things, the more they suffer the pain of separation. Indeed, because relationships are inherently ephemeral, maya creates problems whenever there will be separations or conflicting attachments. Even in young adults, many in America tend to think of themselves as separate individuals, not substantially interconnected with those with whom they live. Many Americans live alone for significant portions of their lives, especially in old age. But in India, many tend to live their whole lives in households crowded with others. They perceive the self as being substantially, as well as emotionally, part of others. Yet, as has been demonstrated, the confluence of global and local forces has torn maya, the fabric of intergenerational interconnectedness, between generations in India.

The remaining chapters of this thesis seek to examine the impact of this torn fabric on seniors and on young adults through interviews about the lived experiences of intergenerational relations in a neoliberal India (Chapter Two), to describe a program developed to mend this fabric with seniors living in an old age home and young adult facilitators who visit them, and to evaluate the impact of that program on attitudes about and relations with the elderly among young adults in the program (Chapter Three). This thesis will conclude with a discussion and analysis of central findings and of the future of intergenerational programming in the context of India (Chapter Four). The final discussion synthesizes the perceptions of aging in a changing world and

program evaluations in order to paint a picture of aging as it is currently understood in Delhi, India, examine the intergenerational interventions relevance to and sustainability within the Delhi community, and suggest ways the Delhi community can utilize intergenerational programming to enhance personal and community development through civic engagement.

Chapter Two: Lived Experiences of Intergenerational Relations

"Respecting elders, sitting with them, feeding them first, and then eating. Do any young people do that now? That is the big difference." - *Senior program participant*

Overview

In response to the concerns discussed in the introductory chapter, and in order to develop and expose a snapshot of current intergenerational relations and attitudes in one community in India, this chapter will present interviews with eight seniors living at Aashirwad Old Age Home in East Delhi, India, and interviews with eight young adults living in and around South Delhi, India. The purpose here is to present young adult and senior attitudes towards changing trends in aging in hopes of capturing variegated expressions of intergenerational connection in one specific, cosmopolitan community. Upon generating this sort of cultural commentary on aging and the generational gap, the following chapter will fill in that gap with expressions and attitudes among intervention young adults that will more or less respond to a call for more comprehensive understandings of intergenerational programming in Asia.

Method

Participants

Eight elders living in an old age home in Delhi, India participated in semi-structured interviews. All of these individuals were interested in and eventually participated in the Mending Maya intergenerational contact program described in detail in Chapter Three. More information about this old age home can be found in Chapter Three. These are the only data provided by the seniors who participated in Mending Maya, so they are discussed here in part as context for the Mending Maya intervention. Of the eight seniors, three were women and five were men and their ages ranged from 60 to 90 years old. Seniors were mostly from upper-middle class backgrounds and were either retired or fully employed (e.g., working as an accountant in a municipality).

While six seniors in the intervention identified as Hindu two seniors identified as Jain. While tenants of Jainism overlap with those of Hinduism, one of the main distinctions between these two faiths is that Jains "reject the authority of the Vedas" (Werner, 1994, p. 81). Though seniors in the intervention lived in the old age home located in Delhi, many were originally from around the country and from regions outside of India (i.e., Pakistan). Thus, responses by select seniors were shaped by narratives of diaspora. Four of the eight semi-structured interviews were conducted in English while the remaining four semi-structured interviews were administered in Hindi. All interviews with seniors, however, were conducted before the intervention began.

Sixteen young adult participants (four men and 12 women ages 19 to 40) were initially recruited to participate as a control group for the Mending Maya intervention. A full complement of comparison data could not be collected from these control participants due to logistical constraints, so interview data from eight of these participants (to match the senior sample size) were used here to provide a young adult perspective on intergenerational relations for comparison with the senior sample. Most of the young adult participants in this chapter were recruited through the researcher's ties to a local non-for-profit organization in Delhi that works toward the welfare and empowerment of older individuals and through connections with friends in that area. The young adult participants in the control group ranged from 19 to 24 years of age and were from reasonably well-educated and urban backgrounds (i.e., most students were enrolled in a college/university and lived in urban areas of Delhi). Compared to the young adult participants in the Mending Maya intervention (see Chapter Three for details), the young adult participants in the control group, were not as well versed in arts and activism, but were nonetheless reasonably representative of their upper-middle class counterparts from South Delhi.

All eight semi-structured interviews were conducted in English and all were conducted over the course of 8 weeks, while the intervention was simultaneously being conducted. .

Measures

Semi-Structured Interview. A researcher-generated individual interview was conducted with each participant. It featured eight questions, all of which were designed to collect qualitative information about participants' intergenerational experiences and attitudes, background and demographic information. Seniors were asked questions including:

- *What comes to mind when you think about adolescents today?*
- *How would you describe them in your own words?*
- *Are they similar to adolescents when you were younger or are they different?*

Young adults were asked questions including:

- *What comes to mind when you think about seniors today?*
- *How would you describe them in your own words?*
- *What do you think seniors have to offer in modern society? In what ways do they/can they contribute?*

Both groups were asked questions about intergenerational connection, including:

- *How much contact do you have with adolescents/seniors?*
- *Where/how do you have that contact?*

And intergenerational understanding, including:

- *To what extent do you think the two generations understand each other?*
- *What gets in the way?*
- *What might improve intergenerational understanding?*

A full list of interview questions is provided in Appendix G.

Procedure

Interviews took approximately 15 minutes per participant and were conducted in private settings. While interviews with non-intervention young adults were conducted in a conference room generously provided by the Agewell Foundation, interviews with seniors were conducted either in the privacy of a senior's own room or in the main living space at Aashirwad Old Age home. All participants provided Informed Consent prior to completing the interviews, following an IRB approved protocol. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed qualitatively. Ten interviews were conducted in Hindi (four seniors and six young adults) by the intervention's manager and were transcribed and translated by Shatrunjay Mall, a student of Indian origin at Connecticut College.

Rational for Qualitative Inquiry. The current research employed a phenomenological study to describe and capture the essence of lived experiences of aging and intergenerational relations for several individuals. Given that the basic purpose of phenomenology is "describe what all participants have in common as they experience a phenomenon" (i.e., aging), the current study draws heavily from transcendental phenomenology as its rational for qualitative inquiry and research design (Creswell, 2007). Transcendental phenomenology consist of identifying a particular phenomenon to study, disaggregating experiences from that phenomenon, and collecting data from several persons who have experienced that phenomenon. In the present study, the universal phenomenon of aging was disaggregated into particular experiences which were then analyzed and reduced to significant statements or quotes and then combined into themes. From these themes the researcher developed a "textual description" of the experiences of the persons, a "structural description" of their experiences, and a combination of both textual and structural descriptions to capture and convey the overall essence of aging and lived experiences

of intergenerational relations. Through the combination of both textual and structural descriptions, the current study justified its rational for qualitative inquiry and research design by not only capturing "what" participants experienced, but also "how" they experienced it.

Coding. Qualitative analyses of interview data utilized transcendental phenomenology, which is concerned with the essence of a particular experience. In this case, the phenomenon under examination is aging and lived experiences of intergenerational relations. Therefore, primary design features include purposeful sampling, interviews, and qualitative data analysis strategies concordant with the transcendental phenomenological approach (content or thematic analysis), all with the intention of gleaning significant and overlapping themes and presenting findings in the original words of each participant. Polkinghorne (1989) recommends that researchers interview 5 to 25 individuals to capture the essence of a particular phenomenon. In the present study, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews, one of the most popular methods of qualitative data collection, with 23 individuals. Accordingly, participants were asked questions querying several unique domains (e.g. amount of intergenerational contact and understanding, negotiating cultures for seniors, negotiating cultures for young adults, and emotional closeness) concerned with changing trends in aging in Delhi, India. Each interview was audio-taped, translated, and transcribed verbatim prior to coding and ethical approval for the study was granted by the Connecticut College Institutional Review Board committee (Van Manen, 1990). Although data collection, translation, and transcription were carried out before formal coding commenced, interviews were analyzed for reoccurring and dominant themes throughout these initial processes.

The transcendental phenomenological approach to coding, broadly defined, consists of identifying salient statements in participant responses that most accurately and comprehensively

capture and convey the meaning of the larger response from which they are extracted. In this way, these statements are analogous to 'topic sentences' of each participant's response: distilling the macro-response into its most concentrated micro-form. Thus, prior to a formal thematic analysis, participant responses were examined with the intention of identifying and isolating central, significant meaning-statements therein. Throughout this process, as a salient statement was identified, it was also assigned a theme (e.g., intergenerational understanding, intergenerational contact, social isolation, western cultural values and practices, etc.). These themes were not exclusive to any one particular question or section of the interview, occurring both across sections and transcripts, meaning that salient statements identified within different sections of the interview were assigned the same theme. Additionally, different themes were assigned the same salient statement. That is, salient statements were often double-coded with different themes in order to better capture their multivalency. Procedures for reliability assessment are discussed below.

Transcripts were coded, and thematic categories were compared, contrasted, reorganized, and collapsed into a set of seven overarching themes or categories identified within and across interview transcriptions. Dominant themes which emerged and cut across dimensions of intergenerational connection and understanding were as follows: social isolation, western cultural values and practices, stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks, filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, two-childhoods theme, blessing versus burden/karmic responsibility theme, and a self-centered/self-righteousness theme. There was thematic overlap between these, and several other minor themes and sub-themes of interest which emerged in the interviews. These seven themes, however, figured most often and most prominently in participant responses.

Several strategies were employed to ensure validity and reliability throughout the coding process. Primarily, the External Auditor method was used to review the entire project. The external auditor provides “an objective assessment of the project throughout the process of research or at the conclusion of the study”. The overall validity of the study is enhanced as the independent investigator asks specific questions throughout the data collection and organization processes with regards to the researcher’s primary methodology and preliminary results. The external auditor supervises several and various features of the project including: accuracy of transcription, the relationship between the research question and the data, and the level of data analysis from the raw data through interpretation. In this case, the external auditor —a faculty member and her research group—were consulted in weekly meetings with regard to whether or not the identified salient statements and the corresponding themes assigned to each salient statement were appropriate, present, sufficient, and correct. Finally, negative or discrepant information was identified within and across multiple transcripts, themes, and significant statements. Creswell (2002) argues that because "real life is composed of different perspectives that do not always coalesce, discussing contrary information adds to the credibility of the account" (p. 192). So, in presenting and discussing contradictory evidence - or evidence that runs counter to the themes - the account of the experience in question becomes more realistic and therefore valid. For clarity, the results below are partitioned according to participant-type.

Results

Overview

While seven codes, which cut across dimensions of intergenerational connection and understanding emerged within and across participant responses, not all of those codes emerged according to participant-type. That is, while only three of the seven themes were particularly relevant with regard to senior narratives, five of the seven themes were particularly relevant with

regard to young adult narratives. Themes of intergenerational connection and understanding were not counted as individual codes within and across participant responses because questions asked of participants were designed to tap into those specific themes. Thus, the data that follow more or less captured themes that "naturally" emerged from participant narratives as opposed to the more or less "artificial" themes of intergenerational connection and understanding that emerged by virtue of being part of those questions designed to guide participant responses.

Senior Interview Themes

The data presented below have been categorized into three themes: western cultural values and practices, self-centered/self-righteous, and social isolation that cut across dimensions of intergenerational connection and understanding. These three themes figured most often and most prominently in participant responses.

Western Cultural Values and Practices. Significant statements concerned with western cultural values and practices appeared most frequently and most prominently in participant narratives. Seven of the eight seniors reported western cultural values and practices as factors contributing to changing trends in aging. These western cultural values and practices, posited in the introductory chapter, manifested themselves across interviews with seniors in the following ways: individualism, materialism, and technology. More times than not, however, these western cultural values and practices functioned to create a barrier between the two generations. One senior, when commenting on the mindset of the young adults nowadays overtly implicated westernization in the creation of a certain generational divide.

> Their mindset has become wrong, because of the English/Westerners. It would be very good if they could sit together with their parents, then there would be understanding between them. You understand, and make other understand yourself. If you won't even

> sit with your parents, will you be able to listen to them, or have them listen to your own view?

Another senior, however, blamed changing cultural values and practices on young adults taking that which is only negative from abroad and not the good things.

> Young people these days, I'll call it 90 percent they are learning the most thing from abroad and not the good thing. You know, they just copy the things. We learn the best from others and pass onto other generation, this is not there but still we are growing.

For one senior, materialism, or the concern with material possessions as opposed to more spiritual and intellectual pursuits, functions to create a sort of barrier between the generations.

> The reason that I see as to why the young adults of today will suffer is that when I look at my relative's children, they go to school by an air conditioned bus. Their school is air-conditioned and they have all the conveniences at home. They are taken by their school on trips to places like Kerala by air. When they become older, what will they do? They will have no motivation to do anything! They have all the facilities. They will go on honeymoons to places like Mauritius or Canada to see the Niagara Falls. After two years of fun, they will take a trip to Mussourie and find it boring compared to Niagara Falls. And they have an ego because they are educated. When they get married, the wife also has her own ego. Therefore their love and affection for each other will stay only for a while. Later they will suffer.

That same senior continued his commentary on young adults' materialism when he compared young adults growing up to young adults nowadays.

> In earlier times the younger people would share in their parent's efforts and be willing to do twice as much as what their parents would do. For instance, if the parents earned a

> rupee, the children would think that they need to earn two rupees. They would also live within their means. Now, if someone earns two rupees, they spend four rupees.

And for yet another senior, the increasing reliance on science and technology plays a major role not only in changing trends in aging per se, but also in the loss of a certain sort of intergenerational wisdom.

> As I said, they do what they feel like. Because they think that what older people say is of no relevance to them. The progress of science has played a major role in this. Now, science can predict whether it will rain or not. We look at the sky and check for the sun, and predict whether it will rain or not. That is a big difference. There is the impact of technology everywhere.

Self-Centered/Self-Righteous. Five of the eight seniors made significant statements with regard to self-centeredness/self-righteousness as the biggest difference between young adults growing up and young adults nowadays. This theme emerged within various contexts including culture, traditional values, and intergenerational understanding, and was characterized by seniors as a certainty espoused by young adults, especially an unfounded one, that one is totally correct or morally superior. Socially, self-centeredness/self-righteousness functioned to create a barrier between the two generations.

Some seniors expressed a certain sentiment that young adults nowadays emphasize the individual and disregard the group. As one senior put it, discussing the manner in which the "individual" interferes in intergenerational understanding and emotional closeness:

> In general there is one thing that I feel. That today, whatever young people there are, whoever they may be, from A to Z, are solely concerned with themselves and their own wants. They don't listen to what anybody tells them. If you say something, they will

> retort back. Today, every young person is self-righteous. They believe that what they are saying is correct and the viewpoint of elders is incorrect, even though it is correct. There is a big difference, a difference of 200%. When our parents would tell us something, we would listen to what they were saying and think about it. In the present nobody listens. Times have changed.

One senior in particular, when responding to the difference between young adults growing up and young adults nowadays, whittled the "individual" down to the "I".

> Child, today's young people are absorbed in themselves. Everything is "I". Earlier people were concerned with others, with making older people happy with the sense that what older people do is correct. It wasn't the "I" earlier, but the focus has become the "I" now. This is the main difference otherwise there aren't any differences.

Still another senior described young adults' self-centeredness/ self-righteousness within the context of familial responsibility.

> The thing is that the young people of today, they do not listen. The young people of today are only into their own concerns. They do not care or feel obligated to others. Earlier people would care for their parents. These days, who does? When daughters-in-law come into the family, there are those who serve the older people in the family, but there are those who do not care or ask anything to the older members of the family.

Social Isolation. Statements about social isolation also figured quite prominently within and across participant responses. This theme emerged primarily within the context of the old age home, a recent byproduct of western cultural forces and practices. Only two of the eight seniors expressed a sentiment of social isolation, a theme that also correlated highly with negative

emotions and feelings of abandonment. One senior, for instance, captured this theme in his response to the question: why is it important for seniors to interact with young adults?

> They give positivity to us. Because we are always sitting idle always keep on thinking negative. Here when you come we have a good time and it brings positivity in our lives. It is a good pastime otherwise we are sitting alone and keeping negativity.

Another senior captured the essence of social isolation within a particular zone of social abandonment (Marrow & Tanya, 2012).

> Relatives don't know where I am and where I am not. They weren't even told. What is the use of telling them? One younger brother, he knows that I am here. He used to come sometimes, but now he can't because he is ill. Son, I have made many sacrifices, for everyone, for my parents-in-law, but now everybody is leaving their parents-in-law. What should one do?

This same senior localized life within the old age home and her subsequent social isolation within the context of karma.

> It is because of my karma that I am here. Otherwise, I would be sitting at home. It had been six years into marriage. I had two daughters and a son: a five year old daughter, a two year old son, and a three month old younger daughter, who died. We didn't have money. What should be done? We served our parents. Now our time for sadness has come, but nobody came, everyone has gone far away.

Nonetheless, this same resident saw the old age home as the crucible for familial connection and emotional closeness.

> The manager is very nice. He comes and asks if there is any difficulty. He has helped me a great deal. He's very nice. Mr. Bheemji is very good as is his wife. She comes in the

> night and sits with us. He feels like a son and she like a daughter-in-law. They give a lot of love. I haven't seen as much love as I have seen from them. They are wonderful. He has given me like a son, in happiness and sadness. They will definitely come by my room to check upon me. I get a lot of help from Bheemji. Sometimes General Sahib also definitely comes by. Bheemji and his wife live here. When his wife leaves in the morning she lets us know. In the evening she will sit with us, eat with us. It is with their help that I am living here. I don't really speak to anybody else, beyond greetings. I have their support. It has been a year since they got married. They are very nice. If I had not met them, I don't know how I would be living right now. They love me like a mother. They greet me in the morning. They come by, spend time with me in happiness and in sadness. If they go anywhere they leave their keys. They always ask about me. Last winter I had gotten so ill. They helped me through, feeding me, giving me tea and milk, sitting by me, taking care of me. I am sitting here because of Bheemji's support and service.

Young Adult Interview Themes

The data presented below have been categorized into six themes: filial responsibility and respect towards seniors, blessing versus burden, stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks, social isolation, western cultural values and practices, and two-child hoods theme which cut across dimensions of intergenerational connection and understanding. These six themes figured most often and most prominently in participant responses.

Filial Responsibility/Respect towards seniors. Significant statements concerned with filial responsibility and respect towards seniors appeared most frequently and most prominently in participant narratives. All eight of the young adult non-intervention participants reported respect

and/or a sense of filial responsibility (i.e., a duty to give support to the elderly) amid changing trends in aging. One young adult participant, when asked to describe the older generation stated:

> I think they are the people who will love you the most; they are the most loveable people in the world I think.

And when asked if seniors can contribute to society said:

> Yes of course. First of all they can tell you by their experience. I think experience is the best teacher you can ever have. They've got a lot of experience.

Another participant reported how, through his own personal vignette, seniors are pillars in India. He reinforced and extended upon the previous participant's response when he discussed the more or less "omnipresent" role of seniors in society. In his own words:

> I think their [senior's] role is quite omnipresent. Anyone who thinks their uh their contribution or their uh role in society is limited is uh somehow restricted because of their age is uh very blinded because elders have lots of potential not just courtesy their experience in life, but also thanks to that network their uh, I don't know how to put this in words, their uh, their prominence, they're uh, they're like this, they're like this key which is holding a family together and at least in the context of India it's very important to the functioning of a society and at least this civilization. Elders in most families are at least the ones who don't neglect and subject them to hostile situations or behaviors at least in the ones who give them their due, they are very key stakeholders and they are landmarks of change.

In response to those same questions another young adult stated:

> First when I think about older people first thing I think if older people in front of me, then what thing am I going to take from him? Because he is an older people, he is an older guy

> so he has a good experience, he see world more than me. So I think I would take some good knowledge from him. It is the first thing that comes to my mind.

And when asked if seniors can contribute to society again responded saying:

> Yes they can contribute. Yes they are a legend for us because they can either really see experience and they are living with us, they are giving us good knowledge. They are being with us being so polite with us taking care of us.

Blessing versus burden/Karmic Responsibility. In a latter question on how one can improve intergenerational understanding, that same participant discusses both respect and responsibility in his answer and in so doing introduces yet another theme that emerges across conditions: blessing versus burden that is the superstition that seniors can either bless or curse depending on whether or not filial respect and responsibility are fulfilled.

> Firstly we need to give respect to older people whether we are traveling, if some other older guy is standing there over in front of us we should respect that thing and we should offer him to sit. We should give him our seat. Normally he gonna give us a blessing or he gonna start talking okay? And talking helps a lot.

Similarly, another participant positioned filial piety alongside blessings bestowed by seniors.

> Indian society has this instinct you know well many people should live with us it is seen you know as a very pious thing to do. You know it's very pure and if you serve them [seniors] you will be blessed, you're blessed. You know there's this thing which goes in our thing you know if you are serving them it's a blessing to you. When they live with you are blessed. You are not oppressed in any sense.

Stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks. Statements that stereotype about seniors also figured quite prominently within and across participant responses. This theme emerged primarily

within the context of ageist remarks about ability. Roughly four of the eight seniors stereotyped about seniors. One young adult participant, for instance, captured this theme in her response to the question: what comes to mind when you think about seniors today and how would you describe seniors or older people in your own word?

> Okay the thing that strikes me about senior citizens is how fragile they are and you know how like with their impaired visions and their decreased mobilities and they're not even able to do simple basic tasks like walking or getting dressed up so I think it is really a tough phase of life. Yeah, okay, what I think is that they are fragile and they have, they lose fatigue, and um, they get brown hair, and you know the ability to think and react it kind of decreases. Okay, and um, they have impaired visions and I think they are difficult to handle which is why we should understand them because that's their phase.

Another participant offered a parallel response in her impressions of seniors.

> Umm, they're old and they need special care because they're old, and um I don't know. They need someone to be at home all the time, to be with them so whatever they need they can be given. They don't have to walk around too much. Yeah little things like that. And they need emotional care as well. So somebody with them, talking. Otherwise most of them are in depression as well.

Even still, another participant takes a more reductive approach towards describing seniors.

> When I think of about seniors of course they are old age, grey hair, specks come to my mind. There's also a certain disappointment or you know a sadness that is seen. Like there is nothing left to live for, just breathing.

Social Isolation. Six of the eight young adult participants made significant statements with regard to social isolation. This theme emerged within contexts of western cultural values and

practices. Socially, sentiments regarding social isolation functioned to create a barrier between the two generations. One participant reported what came to her mind when she thinks about seniors today.

> For me I think they are very lonely because they are being left out, because of the neutral families and everything. They are quite lonely. They want their kid's love and affection which they're lacking right now because they are being left out, because people are moving out for their jobs or their education. So they are being left out.

In sharing a vignette, another participant painted a more poignant picture of social isolation.

> There was a friend of my grandfather. He passed away a year ago. He was a very good friend of my grandfather. So the problem with him was that all of his kids were working and nobody had time for him. So he actually wanted to die. And I was feeling so sad that because he was so much neglected he was given food and fruits but then it was actually no one to talk to him and he as not so much interested in reading so that he would read things. What he was do is come to my place in the morning, come to my place in the evening and the rest of the time he felt so much neglected. So he just, at the end when he thought that he could not bear it, could not bear this isolation and neglect he stopped eating and drinking and in the course of two weeks he died.

While previous participants pointed fingers at careerism, individualism, and a scarcity of time as contributing factors to seniors' social isolation, another participant directly accused children for leaving their elders in certain zones of social abandonment.

> They [seniors] spend their entire time in their small decrepit home feeling tense, like a prisoner locked within four walls, who has been sentenced and cannot go anywhere. They don't know anything about the changing seasons-sunlight, rain, etc. outside. They get

> disconnected, and feel that they have nothing to do beyond the boundary of their own home. That leads to isolation and depression, and a distance from their own people.

Two-childhoods. Only three of the eight young adult participants made significant statements with regard to a two-childhoods theme. The theme's fundamental premise: seniors are like children. This theme emerged within the context of filial responsibility and sketched a more circular view of lifespan development. One participant spoke about this theme when asked the question: do you think seniors like interacting with younger generations?

> So yes they are interested if you show interest in them because at that age you, you get this saying which I don't remember they say that you have two childhoods one when you are a child and one after you're sixty. So it's like they want to have this affectionate kind of building to you or you should show interest in them because it is a childish mind working.

Another participant in response to the question: so to what extent do you think the two generations, both adolescents/young adults and seniors understand each other replied:

> So, I mean something that we have read in many documents and in literature also is that elders are like children since they also need care they also need support. So that way in India since the whole joint family system is very prevalent that bond is surely there a grandfather or a grandmother interacting with the child because they have so many similarities like we have discussed before. It's almost natural for them to interact and be around each other.

Still another participant discussed this theme in the context of technology

> Suppose there is a small child, and we teach him/her something, so that arouses interest/thirst for knowledge in other things, and they get other thoughts. Now, in the

> same way, after a person attains a certain age, become older, whatever it is, they have the same thirst for knowledge. They become like children. So they get the feeling to learn these types of things.

Western cultural values and practices. All eight participants reported western cultural values and practices as factors contributing to a generational divide. Responses occurred in several different contexts including changing trends in culture, time, technology, and the joint, multigenerational family. Participants also detailed how western cultural values often compel young adults nowadays to reject traditional practices. How the expression or negotiation of intergenerational connection, emotional closeness, and culture was reported as well. One participant spoke rather overtly about the generational gap.

> There's a gap. There is a gap because there are two-three things, two-three factors working towards this kind of situation. Because cultural factor is one. Because they, I don't know, more of the senior citizens at this point of time they are still some way connected to their roots. So yeah the elderly are somewhat connected to their roots and the problem with the younger generation is they, they want to break everything, they want to be free. They want so much freedom they think that every root, every kind of ritual, every kind of conventional notion is someway restricting them. That's the thing I guess that's one major factor that the younger generation think that they are being restricted by the cultural roots and the ways things were done and the elderly people think it's the best way out. You can live your life with simplicity and you live your life in the best way if you follow the natural cultural roots. And these young people they often regard the elderly as you know, nahe sumuchmai agaya, they won't understand it, they won't get the notion we are living in a modernized, globalized era it's difficult to make

> them understand. So yeah these are very familiar terms I have heard that "he won't get me" because there is such a large generation gap, "he won't understand me."

Another participant, in sharing her observations on young adults' negotiation of time, captured effects of western cultural values and practices.

> See, as far as I have observed, the young adults have less time available. They are bound by time, and are not able to meet with older people. During the weekend, they will go out with their friends, or go to the movies, the mall, and if there are older people at home, like parents, they will have less time to give them. Maybe they feel bored to spend time with older people, or they aren't able to give time to them. They have to spend time with aged people. If they won't listen to older people and talk to them, or get to know their needs, or how they feel, they won't understand them. The young adults have their cars, bikes, motorcycles, and they go out, eat, visit the mall, while the parents are left at home, they don't care. They don't take their parent with them, which they easily could, and didn't ask them about their day, but will call their friends. If they don't give them time, how will they understand them? To understand anyone it is necessary to give them time. It will only come from time.

Similar to the previous response, another participant discussed her own frustrations with this supposed scarcity of time.

> I think to be able to see each other more to be able to understand how they [seniors] are having because the things which the older generation used to have now the technology and everything is so advanced so all the younger generation are moving into having laptops with them and everything which older generation never had. They had time with

> them, but the younger generation doesn't seem to have any time because they are too much involved in their own studies and they have internet and everything TV.

Of particular interest was a narrative of social and moral decay shared by a participant with regard to the generational gap.

> You know we are losing what we had now. There's a number of old age homes in India increasing, why? Maybe it's because of the nuclear families or we moving towards what we call I'm sorry the western culture. So I'm not criticizing I'm just saying that's the people's general perception when they are stuck to their parents and to the joint families, I'm not asking to get stuck to your joint families, but that doesn't mean you're upending your parents. You are a lot more technologically forward, you are more economically well off and here you don't have to care for them, like go visit them once in a weekend, they're capable of managing themselves even at this point of time it's just that they need a certain careful attitude or all the good intentions towards them and you know they can contribute in lots of ways the morals and the values we as a society as young adults we are tending to lose it. Because I know you can always observe sometimes a very sharp difference and sometimes a little difference between the people who grew up in a family with you know in a joint family.

Discussion

The purpose here was to present young adult and senior attitudes towards changing trends in aging in hopes of capturing colorful expressions of intergenerational connection and understanding in one specific, cosmopolitan community. In generating a sort of cultural commentary on aging and the generational gap, this chapter introduced a more contemporary discussion on life in Indian society between eight young adults from South Delhi and eight

seniors from an old age home in East Delhi. Through this conversation the following themes, which cut across dimensions of intergenerational connection and understanding, emerged: social isolation, western cultural values and practices, stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks, filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, two-childhoods, blessing versus burden/karmic responsibility, self-centered/self-righteous. Taken together, these seven themes correlated well with those themes and theories mentioned in the introductory chapter. That is, they began to address a certain need to stop and see how "today's cosmopolitan Indians are participating in a kind of public moment of reflection: how to work out aging—and with it the reproduction of families, and a valued, familiar society—in a terrain where family members are dispersed nationally and transnationally because of professional aspirations, and where the values of materialism, consumerism, and individualism, often associated with the West, modernity, and globalization, have taken center stage" (Cole & Durham, 2007, p. 133).

This present chapter then expanded upon the extant literature by providing a more or less Indic response to aging. By incorporating voices from either end of the spectrum of adult lifespan development, the present chapter unfolded an even grander narrative of the South Asian aging experience. In comparing contrapuntal voices, connections emerged. That is for example, while senior narratives primarily concentrated on the self-centeredness and self-righteousness of young adults nowadays, young adult narratives were surprisingly cognizant of their own changing cultural values and practices. Aware that by the influx of western behaviors and practices they had become subject to a complex range of confusing and contradictory values, both young adults and seniors spelled out over the course of their own narratives newer negotiations of selfhood and a need for more comprehensive connections between the generations.

Though this chapter expands upon the literature, it falls short of filling in any gaps. It captures, but does not necessarily caulk. What it does do, however, is lay the foundation for the latter most's possibility. That is, the current chapter lays the groundwork for the following chapter's ability to actually fill in a certain gap in the literature with expressions and attitudes among intervention young adults that will more or less respond to that call for more comprehensive understandings of intergenerational programming in South Asia. While Chapter Two talks about what needs to be done, Chapter Three introduces an intervention that actually does something about it.

Chapter Three: Mending Maya as an Approach in India

"The program is going excellent. With those who are going according to the program. It is happening with a lot of happiness and love. What I feel is that the little bit of distance between our hearts will go away. We are meeting each other, so it can happen that in the future, we can change minds."

- *Senior participant, Aashirwad Old Age Home*

Overview

In response to concerns addressed in the introductory chapter, and resonating with the personal stories of a torn intergenerational fabric from Chapter Two, Chapter Three introduces an intergenerational intervention designed to facilitate relations between seniors and young adults in Delhi, India. This eight-week intergenerational contact program entitled "Mending Maya" involved 16 sessions of art-based intergenerational contact between seniors and young adults in one specific, cosmopolitan community. The purpose of this chapter is to present the Mending Maya intervention and a preliminary analysis of its impact on the young adults who participated in the program. Upon capturing a preliminary evaluation of the Mending Maya program, this chapter will provide a more comprehensive analysis of intergenerational programming as an effective method to bridge intergenerational connection and understanding in India.

Mending Maya was an eight-week intergenerational contact program modeled after the U.S.-based Sages & Seekers® intergenerational contact program. While both programs were roughly eight weeks in length, each program had different means to the same end. While the Sages & Seekers® intergenerational contact program was primarily conversation-based, Mending Maya took an art-based activities approach towards bridging the generational gap. Because the young adults participating in this intervention were particularly skilled in the field of arts and activism, art-based activities programming was used to bridge intergenerational connection and understanding. Additionally, in India, a country with 22 official languages, art as a universal

language was found to be a particularly effective and brilliant medium in bridging intergenerational and intercultural differences. While students and seniors in the Sages & Seekers® intergenerational contact program were matched one-to-one based on preference, students and young adults in the Mending Maya program collectively collaborated in one large group on each activity simultaneously. That is, the pedagogical approach implemented in the Mending Maya intervention blurred boundaries between "sage" and "seeker". While students brought their curriculum and their particular artistic intentions to each session, they collaboratively engaged nonetheless with seniors during their workshops. For example, while two student arts and crafts facilitators directed a workshop on Madhubani paintings, all seniors and students in the intervention created their own paintings, coaching and constructively critiquing one another throughout the process.

Preparations for Mending Maya began a year prior to the program's implementation. What began as a long list of nonprofit organizations that cater to each end of the generational spectrum was whittled down to two organizations that were the most interested in and able to accommodate intergenerational programming. This intervention brought two local not-for-profit organizations together to cultivate a shared sense of civic engagement. Maitri: Aashirwad Old Age Home and Manzil: Young adults Empowerment Center partnered to bridge the generational gap through meaningful connection. While both speak to different ends of the generational spectrum, both promote and protect the wellbeing of their target demographics. Their missions are as follows:

Manzil: Young adults Empowerment Center encourages low-income young adults to "illuminate their understanding of education and empowerment" and "to learn, teach, be creative, and see the world in new ways." Put simply, Manzil is a school without teachers.

Manzil is a place where boundaries blur, where conventionally defined spaces and roles are challenged—where students are teachers and teachers are students—and the unifying emotion is love; love that nurtures young minds to think independently and to reclaim the joy of learning. Maitri: Aashirwad Old Age Home is committed to "promoting respect and dignity and improving the health and socioeconomic status for elders" through "encouraging independence, self-respect, and education about elder's rights." Guided by a desire to create a home away from home, Aashirwad is designed to provide residents with a relaxing yet structured life. All efforts are made to ensure that the residents live together as a single family unit by maintaining a cordial atmosphere.

Recruitment of partner agencies for this intervention was strategic. Both organizations were recruited based on fit and level of interest. Given that recruitment for seniors was a top concern, this intervention partnered with an organization already with an old age home beneath its aegis. That is, instead of recruiting from around Delhi, a metropolis with a population exceeding 20 million, finding an old age home was paramount in reducing participation demands by finding a community of seniors in need of contact. This intervention also partnered with Manzil an organization that empowers young adults through the arts. Instead of attempting to recruit young adults from around Delhi, this intervention was resourceful in using existing resources and organizations with identified needs.

Establishing partnerships with both organizations was not immediate. Meetings with Maitri and Manzil happened weekly for six months before decisions to join the project were actually made. Meetings with staff members from both organizations were in-person, over the phone, and by email in India and over the phone, by email and through Skype in the U.S. During weekly meetings, proposals and budgets were edited and revised and conversations about the direction of

the project were assessed. Frequent meetings were also made with the Associate Dean of Fellowships at Connecticut College to interpret the logistics of funding. The final Mending Maya project proposal was submitted to the Associate Dean of Fellowships for funding from the Davis 100 Projects for Peace grant and the Minor Myers Research Fellowship. The proposal made it to the final round for the Davis and won the Minor Myers Research Fellowship in late March 2015. Once the award decision was announced, both organizations were notified and agreements to join the research project were officially made.

Participants

Fifteen participants (eight seniors and seven young adults) from their two participating organizations were recruited and completed the eight-week Mending Maya program. All participants were of Indian origin. The eight students ranged in age from 18 to 30 (M_{age} = 24, *SD* = 8.485). Of those eight students, four were women and four were men. Of the seniors that were recruited from the old age home, three women and four men from the old age home participated in the intervention and ranged in ages from 55 to 95 (M_{age} = 75; *SD* = 28.284). These elders were the ones who shared their views on aging and intergenerational relations in Chapter Two.

Mending Maya's program manager, a student at Manzil himself, recruited from his own organization. He recruited from Manzil students for the Mending Maya intervention based on their level of interest in and commitment to their organization's missions and values. He also recruited students based on level of talent. Those students well versed in music, theater, and arts and crafts were recruited from Manzil for the intervention. They also expressed open availability and demonstrated a level of financial need. Because those recruited students demonstrated need, they were compensated for their participation in the program. Recruited young adult participants were compensated accordingly: senior facilitators (i.e., older participants) were compensated

slightly more than were junior facilitators (i.e., younger participants). Senior facilitators were responsible for structuring the curriculum for each session and taking the lead on facilitating each workshop. Junior facilitators, on the other hand, were workshop assistants shadowing senior facilitators. Junior facilitators shadowed senior facilitators in order to learn the tools necessary to transition into roles as senior facilitators in the future.

While not technically participants in the study, both the program manager and the program coordinator actively played a role in bringing cohesion to the project. The eight-week Mending Maya program was managed by a student from Manzil in concert with a program intern from Maitri. Not only did Mending Maya's project manager coordinate the program's verticality (i.e., helping to structure those students working beneath him and communicating with those staff above him) but he also orchestrated the program's horizontality (i.e., ensuring fluidity and transparency of communication between the different organizational entities involved). The program manager was responsible for overseeing the facilitators beneath him in the hierarchy and ensuring their needs were being met. It is important to note that the program's manager did not participate in the intervention. Rather, he oversaw the program's mechanics and assisted with data collection and translations when needed. The program manager also provided constructive feedback at different times throughout the eight-week program. While he oversaw the overall flow of each session, he also critically observed each session. Writing notes for constructive feedback and staying to talk with participants after each session, the program manager was a crucial truss supporting the bridge of intergenerational connection.

Mending Maya's program manager also worked closely with Mending Maya's program coordinator. The program coordinator is currently a student in the U.S. at a large university in the Midwest. As part of his summer internship with Maitri, he was assigned to work closely with

Mending Maya as a resource and liaison. Not only did the program coordinator help to launch the Mending Maya program, but he also assisted in various other capacities over the eight-week program (e.g., communicating and checking in with program participants, serving as a valuable source of information about life in the U.S.). Thus, seven individuals were responsible for the direct running of this program and an additional three individuals were responsible for program management. An organizational chart can be seen in Figure 1.

Aashirwad's manager supervised recruitment from the old age home. Program flyers were disseminated around the old age home to all residents for recruitment purposes. To encourage participation in the program individual and group discussions were had between the old age home's residents and the old age home's manager. The old age home's manager recruited residents most interested in participating in the program. He also recruited mentally alert and mobile seniors save one immobile participant. The immobile participant was initially excluded from the intervention due to health issues but joined once the intervention expanded its services to meet his or her needs. Seniors in the intervention were not compensated for their participation.

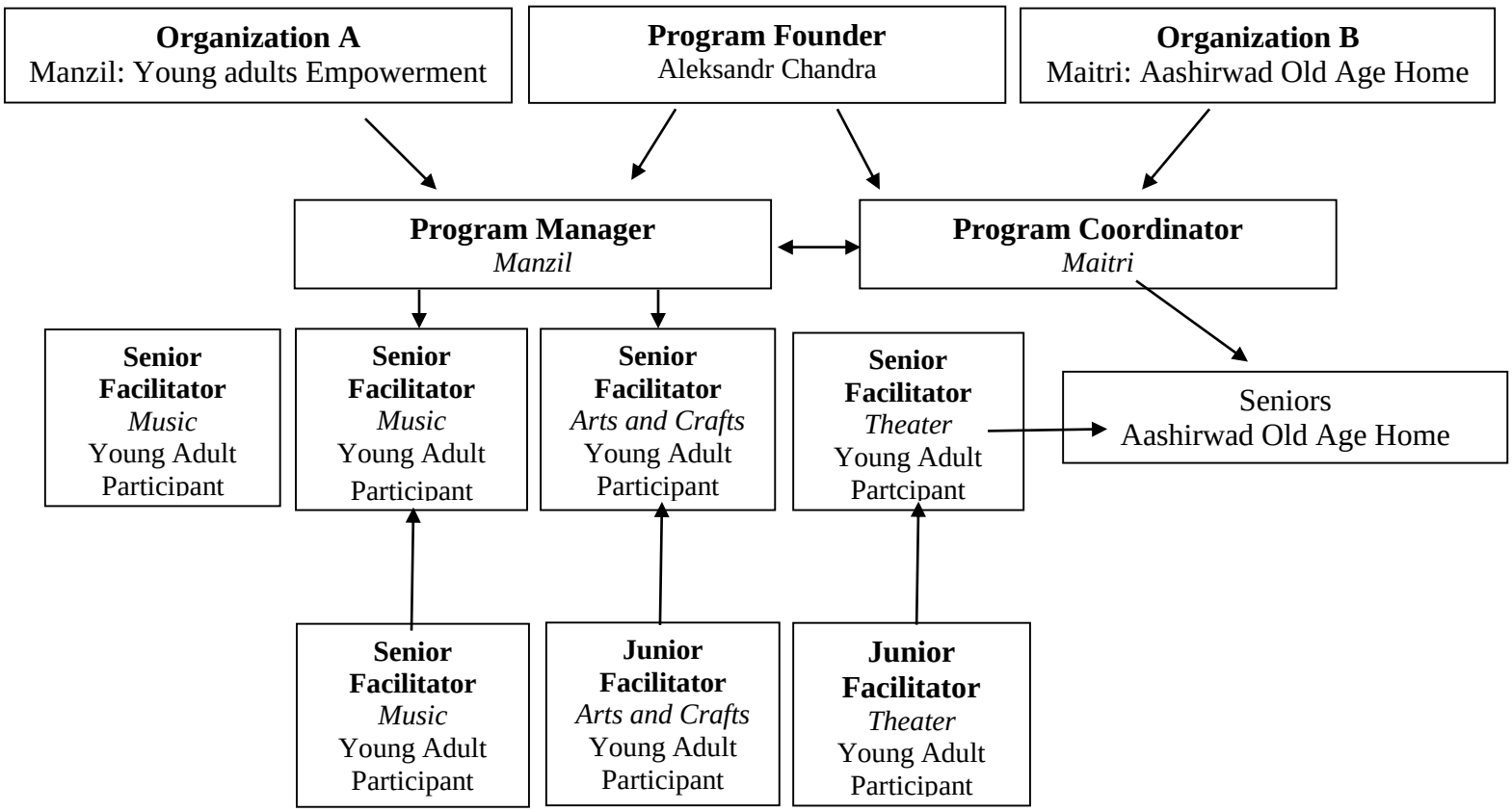


Figure 2.1. An Organizational Chart of the Mending Maya Program

Measures and Materials

The Mending Maya intervention was evaluated using both a repeated measures design and a protocol approved by the Connecticut College Institutional Review Board. Due to logistical constraints, only intervention young adults were fully evaluated before the intervention and after the intervention, so pre-post analyses only focus on them. The intent was to assess all participants with pre-and post-intervention quantitative and qualitative measures and to have a control group, but the form of the quantitative measures was confusing to the seniors during pilot testing, so after some pilot testing, these were discontinued with seniors and not implemented with them at either phase of the data collection. Furthermore, two out of the seven young adult program participants did not complete two of the five quantitative measures thus resulting in varying degrees of freedom for those scales. Additionally, with the priority placed on successfully managing and completing the Mending Maya program in its first implementation, there was not enough time or resources to complete post-intervention interviews with the seniors or with the control group (see Chapter Two for an analysis of senior pre-intervention interviews and interviews with young adults not involved in the program on the topic of intergenerational understanding). Thus, the analyses that follow assess the impact of the Mending Maya intergenerational contact program for young adult participants only.

Quantitative data were collected using seven measures (Future Support Measure, Adherence to Traditional Values Measure, Realizations of Filial Responsibility Measure, The Scale of Positive and Negative Experiences, The Brief Inventory of Thriving, The Flourishing Scale; described below). Qualitative data were collected using semi-structured interviews designed for the present study, and described in detail in Chapter Two. All measures were translated into Hindi for use with individuals who did not speak or read English.

Realizations of Filial Responsibility (RFR). The RFR (Seelbach, 1978) is a 19-item instrument designed to originally measure an aged parent's perception of the level of aid and support received from his or her children. Filial responsibility was defined operationally as scores on items derived from a survey concerning sources of aid and assistance received by parents from their children. The RFR can be very useful in assesses the level of support received by the elderly and evaluating changes in that support. The first six items on the RFR are scored on a 6-point scale and assess attitudes towards filial responsibility. The next set of items assesses the appropriateness of support for various potential needs of aging parents (e.g., grocery shopping, paying rent). Questions are asked in the generic form "how appropriate is it for children to provide support for the following needs to elder members of the family?" (rated on a 6-point scale). In their original form, items are scored on a scale from -1 (someone other than offspring provided the aid) to 0 (no need for aid, or a need is not met) to +1 (a child provided the aid). These questions assess satisfaction with proximity of adult children. Proximity is scored as +1=close, 0=not too far, and -1=distant. Frequency of visits is scored as +1=visits at least weekly, 0= at least monthly but not weekly, and -1= less than monthly. Cronbach's alpha = .75 (see Appendix A).

Adherence to Traditional Values. The Adherence to Traditional Values measure (Min, 2005) consists of five items that are intended to tap filial responsibility, attitude toward co-residence, and attitude toward care in a nursing home. The items are measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly disagree; e.g., "care should be provided by family members, not by an outsider." A high scale score represents a high level of agreement to items, indicating more collectivistic and family-centered values. This measure was

used in its original form with the young adult participants. Cronbach's alpha = .78 (see Appendix B).

The Scale of Positive and Negative Experience. The Scale of Positive and Negative Experience (Diener et al., 2009) is a 12-item questionnaire that includes six items to assess positive feelings and six items to assess negative feelings. For both the positive and negative items, three of the items are general (e.g., positive, negative) and three per subscale are more specific (e.g., joyful, sad). Participants were asked to "think about what you have been doing and experiencing during the past four weeks, then report how much you experienced each of the following feelings": positive, negative, good, bad, pleasant, unpleasant, happy, sad afraid, joyful, angry, contented. Cronbach's alpha (positive) = .85 and Cronbach's alpha (negative) = .63 (see Appendix C).

The Flourishing Scale. The Flourishing Scale (Diener et al., 2009) is a brief 8-item summary measure of the respondent's self-perceived success in important areas such as relationships, self-esteem, purpose, and optimism. The scale provides a single psychological well-being score. Using a 1-7 Likert scale, participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement from 1) strongly disagree to 7) strongly agree on statements such as "I lead a purposeful and meaningful life" and "I am optimistic about my future." Cronbach's alpha = .82 (see Appendix D).

Brief Inventory of Thriving. The Brief Inventory of Thriving (Su et al., 2014) was developed with two specific goals: to measure a broad range of psychological well-being constructs and represent a holistic view of positive functioning, and to predict important health outcomes that are useful for researchers and health practitioners. The Brief Inventory of Thriving has 10 items in total and can serve as an indicator of psychological well-being and a brief screening tool of mental health. Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement or

disagreement on a 5-item Likert scale from 1) strongly disagree to 5) strongly agree on statements such as "my life has a clear sense of purpose" and "I feel a sense of belongingness in my community." Cronbach's alpha = .90 (see Appendix E).

Semi-Structured Interview. A qualitative analysis of the program was undertaken using the interview described in Chapter Two. All young adults involved in the intervention participated in the pre-intervention interviews described there. They also participated in a post-intervention interview. The post-intervention interview included all of the same questions as the pre-intervention interview, and two additional questions: What do you think was the purpose of this program and what did you think of this program overall? As in Chapter Two, all interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and coded. The same coding system was used for pre and post interviews (see Chapter Two, pp 48-50 for a detailed description).

Procedure

What follows is a comprehensive description of the Mending Maya program, detailing each week of the eight-week program. Each week is presented, with its title. Then the goals, activities, and session details for each week are provided. Within each week there were two two-hour sessions. From creating an initial sense of community to developing and presenting the final community showcase, students were empowered, seniors were engaged, and webs of attachments between both generations were mended through joint participation in the arts. The presentation format below departs from APA format to make it more readable and so it can serve as a manual for implementation.

Mending Maya Program Schedule

Week One: Creating Community

Week Two: Getting Comfortable

Week Three: Making Moments

Week Four: Sharing Memories

Week Five: Developing Empathy

Week Six: Diminishing Social Isolation

Week Seven: Being and Becoming

Week Eight: Connect Everyday

Week Nine: Final Showcase

Week One: Creating Community

Week One Goal

During this week, both generations came together for the first time. The goal of this particular meeting then was for participants to get to know one another and to ease any tension or unease between them. It was the manager's job to oversee the flow of the session and appropriately navigate any lulls or signs of discomfort in the conversations. An icebreaker was used during this meeting to introduce all of the participants involved in the intervention to one another. The more profound goal was to begin to show both generations that they are not that different, not that separate, and in fact, are similar in many ways.

Room Arrangement

We used the Group Circle Format to arrange the first meeting's ice breaker activities. There was a seat for each participant, the program coordinator, the program manager, and the program founder. There was enough space between seats so that seniors could navigate properly in and out of the space.

Week One Sessions

A half hour before week one meetings, program staff met to review goals for each session and arrange the physical space. Students and seniors completed a brief ice-breaker activity for the first 30 minutes of the two-hour session. The ice-breaker activity called for both students and seniors to take turns introducing themselves (i.e., first and last names, professions, birthplace, and area of interest). After introductions the program's manager delivered a brief overview of the intervention for participants.

After the ice-breaker, participants were divided into three groups based on their preferences for three different art forms: arts and crafts, music, and theater. One senior facilitator and one junior facilitator were assigned to co-lead each group in different areas of the old age home. Theater workshops were facilitated in the yoga room in the basement of the old age home and both arts and crafts and music workshops were facilitated in the main living space on the ground floor of the old age home. Two-to-three seniors were assigned to each group based on their preferences for a particular art form that session. Workshops lasted for an hour from 10:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. The *arts and crafts* group consisted of students and seniors expressing themselves through drawing and coloring. Students and seniors worked together to create art that cultivated their creativity. The *theater and movement* group facilitated further icebreaker activities during their session through movement. Simple hand and arm gestures were taught to seniors during this session to further facilitate connection between the generations. The *music* group facilitated music lessons with students and seniors. While students sang and played the guitar, seniors in the group sang along clapping their hands. In the final 30 minutes of the program students and seniors gathered together to reflect on the day's experience and to engage in dialogue about the generational divide. This discussion was facilitated in Hindi with students and seniors in the intervention by Mending Maya's project manager. Topics including technology's and westernization's impact on

intergenerational relations were examined by seniors and students in order to introduce a discussion about life when the seniors were young, and what life is like now for the students who are young.

One senior in particular during this session vocalized sentiments regarding the program's orientation. In solidarity with other seniors in the intervention, a senior expressed discomfort in segregating groups to different areas of the old age home. The senior called for having everyone engaging in all art forms all together in one space of the old age home. With this crucial feedback, the program's orientation was changed from then on to reflect this full integration. After the 30 minute reflection/conversation session, the day's program concluded promptly at 12:00 p.m. One senior invited students to his room for light snacks and beverages. Students and seniors congregated in a senior's room for an impromptu gathering. Approximately around 1:00 p.m. students left the old age home. Week one's second session followed suit with students and seniors splitting up and breaking off into groups. The content of week one's second session was the same as the content for week one's first session.

Figures 3.1. and Figure 3.2. Photos from Week One

Week Two: Getting Comfortable

Week Two Goal

The goal of this week was to continue mending webs of attachments between generations. By learning from prior sessions, the goal of this week was to continue cultivating connection between the younger and the older generations through concerted engagement.

Room Arrangement

For these meetings, as well as for the weeks following, all activities happened in the main living space of the old age home. Chairs were brought in the round for theater/meditation and music workshops and were shifted back to the dining room table for the arts and crafts workshops.

Week Two Sessions

Mending Maya's program founder, program coordinator, program manager, and facilitators all arrived at Aashirwad Old Age Home at 9:45 a.m. Having taken stock of the feedback given by seniors in the previous week's session, the program's orientation was modified this week. Students and seniors engaged in all art forms all together in the same space of the old age home. *Arts and Crafts*: from 10:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. students and seniors engaged in their first workshop of the day. During the 30-minute arts and crafts workshop the first session of the second week, students and seniors made decorative wall hangings out of recycled CDs using glitter and paint, and they made fish out of recycled paper in the second session of the second week. Students and seniors decorated designs together and showcased them to all participants at the end of each 30-minute workshop. *Theater/Meditation:* from 10:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. students and seniors participated in a meditation exercise and a game of charades co-led by a senior and junior facilitator from the theater group for both sessions of the second week. During these 30

minute sessions, students and seniors participated in guided meditated for 15 minutes and then played a classic game of charades. *Music*: from 11:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. two students facilitated a music session for students and seniors. Seniors learned vocal scales and practiced singing classical Indian songs during both sessions of the second week. The purpose of these exercises was to train the ear of both students and seniors to recognize and converse with a universal language. A shortened discussion was facilitated at the end of both sessions reflecting on the workshops facilitated each session.

At each session photos were taken by both the program founder and by program participants. Photos were used to document each session's workshops over the course of the eight-week Mending Maya program. Program photos were uploaded onto Mending Maya's Facebook page where participants interacted online with other participants in the program and with members from outside communities. Through the sharing of program activities with technology, a feature that transcended the temporal and spatial bounds of the program, students brought the seniors in to their world. Additionally, most photos taken were candid. Maneuvering around the room in order to find an appropriate angle to take a close-up of both students and seniors yielded candid shots that did not disturb or diminish participant experiences.

Figures 4.1. and 4.2. Photos from Week Two

Week Three: Making Moments

Week Three Goals

The goal of this week was to begin the process of witnessing more meaningful connection. We honored the fact that there would still be potentially awkward interludes in the workshops but that for the most part bonds would begin to be solidified.

Week Three Sessions

Arts and Crafts: from 10:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. students and seniors simultaneously worked together in the main living space of the old age home to make flowers out of tissue paper in the first session and coasters out of Popsicle sticks in the second session. After the 30 minute arts and crafts sessions, individual art was displayed in front of all of the participants and was playfully judged by some seniors. *Theater/Meditation:* Two student facilitators co-led a guided meditation workshop for all of the participants in the program from 10:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. during the first and second sessions of the week. During the second session, theater/meditation workshop facilitators created an intergenerational acting activity. Workshop facilitators divided participants into four groups, one senior and two to three students were assigned to each group. Each group received a particular skit to act out and had five to ten minutes to convene and practice before performing their skit in front of all the participants. In addition to acting, students and seniors wrote poems from 11:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. Poem templates analogous to a "mad libs" exercise were disseminated to all participants. By filling in blanks with their own subjective responses, emotions were stirred and collective memories were captured. Each participant shared his or her poem in front of all of the participants in the intervention. *Music:* from 11:30 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. students and seniors became audience members as one senior performed a skit in front of all the participants in the intervention. Using student volunteers and props that he made

and brought to the day's session, one senior performed a skit that combined music, acting, and arts and crafts. His performance occupied the last half hour of the two-hour session. At the end of the performance, students collected their belongings and left from the old age home around 12:00 p.m.

Figures 5.1., 5.2., and 5.3. Photos from Week Three

Week Four: Sharing Memories

Week Four Goals

This week marked the half-way point in the Mending Maya eight-week program. Taking stock of the first four weeks was useful in planning for the weeks ahead. Meeting times were made more meaningful as both seniors and students cultivated a sense of commitment to one another. Real bonds began to develop through both the breadth and depth of lived experiences.

Week Four Sessions

Arts and Crafts: From 10:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. two arts and crafts workshop facilitators organized Madhubani paintings, a Hindu painting style activity. Students and seniors spent 30 minutes creating their own Madhubani paintings during the first session of the fourth week. After 30 minutes paintings were collected and shown to all participants anonymously. Paintings were again playfully judged and critiqued by some seniors. In the second session of the fourth week, the two arts and crafts workshop facilitators arranged a bag making activity out of newspaper. Seniors and students spent 30 minutes learning how to make their own handbags out of newspaper. *Theater/Meditation:* Students and seniors engaged in the regular guided meditation exercises from 10:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. But, for the first session, students and seniors engaged with theater at the nexus of creativity and imagination from 11:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. Pretending to pass amorphous imaginary objects around the room, participants massaged their creative muscles in order to give their imaginary objects shape and form. In the second session of the week, theater/meditation workshop facilitators had all participants act out emotions. Each participant was asked to act out an emotion of his/her choice. Workshop facilitators encouraged participants to make their expressions overly dramatic to import levity into their experience. *Music*: music facilitators arranged a sing-along with students and seniors during both sessions of

the fourth week. Students began singing a song until seniors were encouraged by students to jump in and change the tune. Having recognized that the program could in many ways be mobile slightly shifted the orientation of the curriculum—two music workshop facilitators, during theater workshops, went upstairs to bring the program to a bedridden senior. The two music workshop facilitators sang songs with the senior for 30 minutes before heading back downstairs to facilitate their music workshop for the rest of the participants in the program.

Figures 6.1. and 6.2. Photos from Week Four

Week Five: Developing Empathy

Week Five Goals

Similar to the previous week, this week's sessions were about forming more intimate bonds between students and seniors. Both seniors and students became more comfortable with each other and began to understand one another.

Week Five Sessions

Arts and Crafts: Students and seniors worked together to create their own handbags during both sessions of the fifth week. In the first session students and seniors made tote bags out of stationary paper, clips, string, and glue, while in the second session students and seniors made handbags out of newspaper. After making their bags, students and seniors modeled their creations in front of the camera. From 10:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. students and seniors participated in guided meditation facilitated by two theater workshop students. Students and seniors sat in a circle. They were instructed to close their eyes and listen to the commands delivered by the two student facilitators. Again, during this time, the two music facilitators went to play music for the bedridden senior. From 11:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. students and seniors participated in a game of truth or dare during the second session. By testing boundaries, students and seniors learned about one another on a new level. This game was organized by a student facilitator. From 11:30 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. students and seniors arranged a sing-along session. While seniors chose songs they wanted sung by the students, everyone eventually sang the selected classical Indian bhajans together.

Figures 7.1. and 7.2. Photos from Week Five

Week Six: Diminishing Social Isolation

Week Six Goals

The meeting goals from Week Five still applied Week Six. It is important to recognize that bonds are not formed overnight and that the aim of Week Six sessions was to form more purposeful, sustainable bonds.

Week Six Sessions

Lights, cameras, action! This week filming began about the program's sessions. A filmmaker would continue visiting the program for the remainder of its duration capturing moments between students and seniors. Nevertheless, the program carried on even with the cameras there. Per usual, from 10:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. students and seniors participated in arts and crafts, this week painting paperweights. The paperweights were rocks that when used resourcefully could serve many purposes. In the second session, the two arts and crafts student facilitators organized a finger painting workshop. From 10:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. one of the theater/meditation student facilitators performed a skit in front of all the program participants. Using seniors as extras in his skit, seniors felt the excitement of the stage and the thrill of performance. Additionally, one particular student who had visited the program for the day, performed her dance routine in front of students and seniors. One particular skit involved seniors attempting to remove a sword from a table. Seniors knelt on the floor in order to fully immerse themselves in their role. During this time the two music workshop facilitators visited the bedridden senior in her room. From 11:00 a.m. until 12:00 p.m. students and seniors sang songs. This time, students gave space to the seniors. Students encouraged seniors to sing their songs solo in front of all the intervention's participants. Students listened attentively to the seniors as they absorbed the power of orality.

After the program concluded, family pictures/selfies were taken of program participants and were then posted on the program's Facebook page.

Figures 8.1. and 8.2. Photos from Week Six

Week Seven: Being and Becoming

Week Seven Goals

More ontological questions were probed during week seven sessions. Seniors and students became mutually interested in exploring existential questions i.e., who are you and where are you from in order to understand one another on an even more intimate level.

Week Seven Sessions

This week students and seniors began preparing for the final showcase. Given that the showcase was about two weeks from this date, it was necessary for students and seniors to begin rehearsing what they would do in front of family, friends, and community partners. What was decided upon was the idea of having friends, families, and community partners, participate in typical Mending Maya workshops. Instead of being audience members watching the program, they would become and be active participants in the actual intervention for one evening. This was believed to be an impactful channel of communication. From 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m., students and seniors rehearsed the program that was a combination of arts and crafts, theater/meditation, and music workshops in a more formal and fluid fashion. The program manager kept track of time so as not to have any workshop run over its allotted 30 minutes. No actual workshops were facilitated this week to give room for conversation and ideas about the final showcase over both sessions this week. Conversations about arranging a musical generated support from the community for the Mending Maya program. Eventually, given the nature of the program, a more comprehensive and informative showcase structure was decided upon that would shape the remainder of the program.

Figures 9.1. and 9.2. Photos from Week Seven

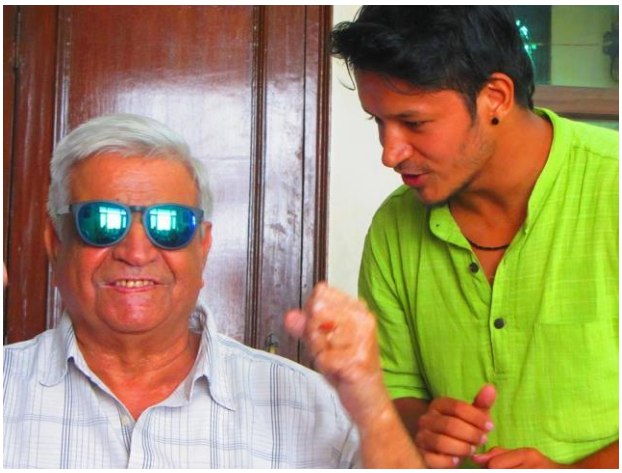
Week Eight: Connect Everyday

Week Eight Goals

This week revived the importance of connecting every day. Workshops were again facilitated this week as a dress rehearsal for the final showcase.

Week Eight Sessions

Arts and Crafts: For exactly 30 minutes, the arts and crafts student workshop facilitators arranged an activity that would be presented during the final showcase. In order to see how well it would be received, they decided to try their workshop during this "dress rehearsal" week. Students and seniors made decorative flowers out of yarn. Using only pieces of yarn to create their flower designs, students and seniors used their listening and communication skills to ensure every senior and every student tried their hand at this activity. Because students and seniors received this particular demonstration well, the two arts and crafts workshop facilitators decided to do this activity for the final showcase the following week. *Theater/meditation* workshop facilitators divided the intervention's participants into three groups with seniors and students comprising each group. Every group had different skits to perform. Again, because this week served as a test run for the final showcase, program participants used the allotted 30 minutes to learn and practice their given skits. *Music* workshop facilitators chose three classic Indian songs that blend the traditional and the modern for the final showcase. The workshop facilitators used their 30 minutes in both sessions of the eighth week to practice with students and seniors the three songs they would be performing for the final showcase.



Figures 10.1. and 10.2. Photos from Week Eight

Week Nine: Final Showcase

Week Nine Goals

The goals of this week were to celebrate and honor the participants in the program in a final Mending Maya session!

The Final Showcase

On August 16, 2015 from 5:00-7:00 p.m. at Aashirwad Old Age Home, friends, families, community partners, students and seniors gathered to enjoy the wonder that is the Mending Maya program. At around 2:00 p.m. students arrived at the old age home to transform the space. Flowers, balloons, and streamers were placed around the room. Rangoli designs were created on the floor by the old age home's entrance. Candles were lit to welcome guests into the warmth of the space. Food was ordered for guests and collages were made by students to show the impact of the program on their lives to friends and family. From 5:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. the program introduction was delivered by the program manager. From 5:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. the arts and crafts group facilitated the flower making workshop. Seniors and students in the intervention along with audience members worked together to create their own individual designs. From 6:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. the three theater groups performed their respective skits with support from audience members' giggles and guffaws. From 6:30 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. program participants sang the three selected songs in front of their audience. A drummer was also hired for this performance to encourage audience members to sing-along and clap their hands in time with the beat. All workshops ensured that audience members were active participants in the program. After the music workshop, closing comments were made by participants, the program manager, and the program founder. Thereafter, food was served and guests slowly trickled out.

Figures 11.1. and 11.2. Photos from Week Nine

Results

Qualitative Analyses

Pre-intervention themes. Many of the themes that were seen in Chapter Two in interviews with non-intervention young adults were also seen here in interviews with intervention young adults. The data presented below then have been categorized into similar themes: stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks, social isolation, western cultural values and practices, filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, and blessing versus burden/karmic responsibility that cut across dimensions of intergenerational connection and understanding. These five themes figured most often and most prominently in participant responses.

Filial Responsibility/Respect towards Seniors. Significant statements concerned with filial responsibility and respect towards seniors appeared most frequently and most prominently in participant narratives prior to participating in the Mending Maya intervention. All eight pre-intervention young adult participants reported respect towards seniors and filial responsibility (i.e., a duty to give support to the elderly) amid changing trends in aging during their interviews. When asked ways in which seniors contribute to modern society Participant six stated:

> In today's day and age, they [seniors] can give a good perspective and thinking. They can give advice about what would be the correct and incorrect for us to do. This is a very good thing that we get to learn from our elders.

When asked how the intergenerational gap can be closed, Participant six touched upon filial responsibility in her answer when she said:

> If we go up to them, and readily start meeting and interacting with them. If we do not take the initiative, how can we expect a result? If you do not talk to seniors, or ask them, they might get angry at the beginning but later they will tell you what is in their heart.

> From that you will get to know what they think about you. Only then will you be able to help them, or even help yourself.

Participant two reported how, through her own personal vignette, seniors can contribute in many ways. She reinforced and extended upon the previous participant's response when she silently stressed the importance of talking to seniors. In her own words:

> If I see any older man or woman I just want to hear them their experiences because they have really great experiences. I learned from my grandmother like because she saw lots of poverty, so whenever she talk about poverty, so I feel like wow she was a woman, so, it's just about experiences and there is many ways they can teach us and they can be a part of you know any kind of social activity, so I think there are many ways they contribute.

Participant four demonstrated respect towards seniors when he discussed the importance of seniors' role in teaching traditional values.

> They can tell us about themselves and motivate us by telling them what things were like in their time, about how they were respectful, and used to help each other, which does not happen these days, it happens, but not much these days. They can contribute in this way.

Finally, Participant five keyed into a similar register when she discussed the relative contribution seniors have made in the context of the family.

> Older people they have a major contribution. They have contributed a lot. Because, if one is living in a joint family they have a major role to play, because it is the tradition, it is said to be a tradition that in a joint family the elders are the ones who teach the young ones about the ancient times, about the various ideologies that happen following and the

> cultures and traditions they have been following since then and it's come to their responsibility to put together the whole family.

Stereotypes about seniors/ageist remarks. Salient statements concerned with stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks appeared frequently and prominently in participant pre-intervention narratives. Four of the seven young adult intervention participants provided pejorative remarks about seniors which functioned to create a barrier between the two generations. When asked what comes to mind when you think about older people and what do you think about older people, Participant one said:

> Low energy. I'm just telling you of my observations, of my experiences. So usually, like I find difficulty to connect with them, because in my family there are no people, there is no one elder actually. So I believe that's why I don't feel comfortable with them, and I think, you know, sometimes, they are rude and sometimes not, but mainly I interact with them those always rude towards me.

Participant three shared similar sentiments when he said:

> I thought they are old obviously and they need some happiness and I can make them happy.

Participant three not only provided ageist remarks during the interview, but he more or less entertained ageist behavior with his own grandmother.

> Like I oftenly disturb her when she is sleeping or when she is doing something else I always disturb her.

Participant seven, when discussing the relationship between herself and her own paternal grandparents made stereotypes about the older generations when asked what seniors care about nowadays,

> What my paternal grandparents want is that food is served to them at the right time, that there not be too much argument and tension in the home. They want peace. That is what they want. In the sense, that they are not very well educated.

and piggybacks popular sentiments when asked to describe senior's role in modern day society:

> In modern society, if I was to think from the perspective of today's younger generation, then they are just useless. Because they consider them a burden. That is what I observe from how I see it.

Finally, Participant four quickly provides a stereotype about seniors when reflecting on his previous thinking about the older generations.

> First of all, if I were to g by what I used to think earlier, I used to think that our seniors are of an old mindset.

Social Isolation. Statements about social isolation also figured quite prominently within and across participant responses. This theme emerged primarily alongside comments concerning extreme loneliness/abandonment and within the context of the old age home. Participant five, for instance, captured this theme in her response to the question: What comes to mind when you think about seniors, older people today?

> Today the scenario has changed a lot because seniors are being let abandoned by their own children. And there are more old age homes now, um, and, the seniors although they have all the facilities there, but the real love, the closeness they want from their children is not there.

When asked: What do you think older people care about? Participant three was quite frank about the particular plight of seniors when he said:

> I think older people want us to stay with them and talk with them because they feel lonely when they have nothing to do. When they have nothing to do. Because they feel like lonely. When I saw them they feel like they felt lonely.

As was Participant one in his response to the same question:

> They [seniors] care about actually, I think they, now these days they are facing loneliness and should give them company.

Still, Participant seven figured senior's relative zone of social abandonment within the context of the family.

> About seniors, from my perspective, those who are living far from their family, one feels bad for them, that their family members have left them in this manner and cannot take responsibility for them.

Western Cultural Values and Practices. Significant statements concerned with western cultural values and practices featured frequently and prominently in participant narratives. Four of the seven young adults reported western cultural values and practices as factors contributing to changing trends in aging. These western cultural values and practices, posited in the introductory chapter and again in Chapter Two, manifested themselves across interviews with intervention young adults in these ways: individualism, materialism, careerism, technology, and a scarcity of time. These western cultural values and practices functioned to create a barrier between the two generations. Participant five spoke about the impact of western cultural values and practices in response to the question: What do you think older people care about nowadays?

> They care about how children are going in a wrong direction because modernity has so much affect on children these days that the old people they think that westernization, modernization has spoiled their career. The children are more into careerism,

> individuality, they are into some other wrong track because the way the children used to be in the past, now the whole scenario has changed. So, they care about their own children. They care about themselves, how they are going to manage when their children abandon them. Because they are somewhat or the other concerned about the western culture because in the western culture the parents and the children don't live in the same roof after some while and the same culture is here. So, they are much careful about this now.

Participant four spoke about the western cultural value of individualism and its role in intergenerational misunderstanding.

> It [intergenerational understanding] is not able to take place because in earlier generations everyone would think about others. Before eating they would ask other whether they would eat or not. But the time is now such that everyone wants to fill their stomach first before thinking about others. It is for this reason that the gap exists. These days, people don't think about others. They only care for themselves.

In response to a question about what seniors think about nowadays, Participant six discussed the western cultural value of a scarcity of time.

> These days, seniors, from what I have seen and heard, think that children of the younger generation do not understand. Maybe because of the nature of their job, they aren't able to take out the time. This makes seniors feel a little different that they are not cared for.

Participant six continued to discuss western cultural values and practices of modernity and careerism in their response to a question about the generational gap.

> Everybody has their own thought processes and opinion, today's old people think that young people have become modern, and are working, so that their thoughts and views are different and do not wish to get together with them.

Yet in his response to a question about seniors and loneliness, Participant one bridged the gap between social isolation and the western cultural values and practices of technology and individualism.

> We [young adults] have our own ideas, because you know technology has been changed, so now you know we have to follow like those things, so we are not following them [seniors] that's why we're true to ourselves.

Blessing versus Burden/Karmic Responsibility. Significant statements concerned with the theme of blessing versus burden/karmic responsibility also appeared frequently and prominently in participant narratives. Three of the seven young adults used such words as "blessing," "curse," and "burden" to describe both powers and pressures of the older generations. When asked if seniors can contribute to society, participant three stated:

> They [seniors] always contribute their ideas their blessing and they always make our path clear.

In response to the question if it is important for young people to interact with older people, participant three said:

> Yes it is important because we want our seniors' blessing and they want our funniest movement, they want us to make them happy, to stay with them.

Participant one discussed in his response, however, senior's ability to curse.

> Because they [seniors], because you know now these days they think they are not useful to us they just hold us they just, you know they just curse us for not following them.

Participant five spoke about this theme in light of seniors as burden when asked if she had anything else to add.

> I have a term that is becoming very common in India. It is grand dumping. Where the children they think that the elders have become a burden on them so they leave them in old age homes.

Similar to the previous response, Participant seven depicted the older generation as an economic burden to the more immediate family.

> About seniors, from my perspective, those who are living far from their family, one feels bad for them, that their family members have left them in this manner and cannot take responsibility for them. That's what I feel. In the sense that that should not happen. As the generation is getting better educated they are not caring about these issues as much. They are only concerned about their wife and children's well-being. That the mother and father who have raised them, one should leave them. Or just put them in an old age home. Paying for their basic food and water needs. If those get too expensive and burdensome, then that is also stopped. That is how it is now.

Two-childhoods. Compared to the non-intervention young adult participants, only one of the seven pre-intervention young adult participants made a significant statement with regard to a two-childhoods theme. Again, the theme's fundamental premise: seniors are like children. This theme emerged within the context of intergenerational connection and sketched a more circular view of lifespan development. Only Participant four spoke about this theme when asked the same question posed to the non-intervention young adult participants: Why do you think seniors like interacting with younger generations?

> They like it because they want care and love, because they cannot stay alone. They have experienced so much in life that they need love, just like a small child needs love and a circle of friends, people who will be with them and talk to them, share with them, and enjoy with them.

Post-intervention themes. Many of the themes that were seen in the pre-intervention interviews were also seen here in the post-intervention interviews with program participants. The data presented below then have been categorized into similar themes: stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks, social isolation, western cultural values and practices, filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, and blessing versus burden/karmic responsibility that cut across dimensions of intergenerational connection and understanding. These five themes figured most often and most prominently in participant responses.

Filial Responsibility/Respect towards Seniors. Significant statements concerned with filial responsibility and respect towards seniors appeared most frequently and most prominently again in participant narratives. All eight post-intervention young adult participants reported respect towards seniors and filial responsibility (i.e., a duty to give support to the elderly) amid changing trends in aging during their interviews. When asked ways in which seniors contribute to modern society Participant six stated:

> They should give their experience. Whatever may be their thoughts and opinions, those should be shared. In that way, we will get to know what is in their hearts, so that we can do what they want us to do.

And in response to a question about whether the younger generation should talk to seniors, Participant six replied with even more respect towards the older generations.

> Because as I had told you before, that parents are at home, but more so than them, seniors are knowledgeable, because they know about their own children, and about their children's children. They care about them, because they have seen so much of the world. They know what happens and what can happen. Children/younger people should not think that what seniors are saying is wrong, or that they are interfering. So, in my view, one should listen to what older people say and converse with them.

Participant two again reported how, through her own personal vignette, seniors can contribute in many ways. She reinforced and extended upon her pre-intervention interview response to the same question when she again silently stressed the importance of talking to seniors. In her own words:

> Just talking to you know, young adults and sharing their experiences, helping us find our way. Um, I have so many friend who are old, who are in their sixties and seventies and I feel so comfortable with them, talking about my life and asking them, you know for decisions. Whenever I have to make a decision, I always ask my father. He is also like sixty. Or there is some other friends. They are older, I ask them.

Participant four, in his post-intervention interview, reinforced seniors' vital role as role models in today's modern society.

> It is said that each person has a role model. In the same way, they are our role models. Living with them we learn how to live life. We get to think about them. The experience they have, we probably did not have, so if we listen to them we can be successful since we can learn from their experiences and they know what life is like.

And for Participant five, seniors once again are admirable assets to the family.

> I believe that older generations should be paid more attention. They are the ones who can teach their children, their grandchildren the traditions they have performed at their age. Things, the times they have seen, the times they have been through I think we should be responsible towards them. For me seniors are the ocean of love. They're the ones who can teach me everything, who can guide me who can be with me every time. I can listen to them, all the stories so they are my guide.

Stereotypes about seniors/ageist remarks. Salient statements concerned with stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks again appeared in one post-intervention narrative. Whereas 57% of participants provided pejorative remarks about seniors during pre-intervention interviews, only 14% of participants stereotyped about seniors during their post-intervention interview. Participant three again infantilized and entertained ageist behavior with his own grandmother and with the older generations.

> Yes. I make so many fun with her, and I taunt her. I make her laugh most of the time. I don't know why I like it. Because they look like childrens. They look like friends. I taunt them. They laugh and they cry also. They upset also. Then I make them laugh again. Not every time I taunt them. Most of the time. They are like childrens I think.

Social Isolation. Statements about social isolation also figured quite prominently within and across participant responses. Whereas 43% of young adults spoke about this theme during their pre-intervention interviews, 57% of young adults spoke about this theme during their post-intervention interviews. This theme again emerged primarily alongside comments concerning extreme loneliness and zones of social abandonment. Participant five, for instance, captured this theme yet again in her response to the question: What comes to mind when you think about seniors, older people today?

> The older generation today they are solitary they are left behind. They're not paid attention now they are thought to be the burden.

The theme of social isolation again emerged when Participant five recalled a specific encounter with a senior during her post-intervention interview.

> Seniors in this old age home they care about how everyone in the old age they are the same age group how they be happy with each other be happy with their lives because as for my experience the lady was also abandoned. She sits alone she talks to herself and when I came in her life I started to talk to her and now it is every time that she talks to me it's every time she calls me up she speaks whatever problem she goes through so they need someone who can talk to them who can understand them because they are already abandoned by their children.

When asked: What do you think the purpose of this program was? Participant three was again quite frank in his post-intervention interview about the particular plight of seniors when he said:

> They are alone here and they want someone who can entertain them who can talk with them.

As was Participant one again in his response to a question about what seniors care about these days:

> They're thinking about, I don't know, being alone is like a cause of depression. So I can understand that because they don't have anyone in their life their family have left them, and in that condition what could they do? Right? So I think that they need someone and they are getting more disturbance from back their mind so they need someone.

In his post-intervention interview, Participant four responded in a similar vein about seniors' relative expectations regarding their own social isolation.

> They [seniors] definitely feel that once their children grow older, their children will leave them, not give them time or do anything for them because they will get busy with their own affairs.

Western Cultural Values and Practices. Significant statements concerned with western cultural values and practices featured frequently and prominently in participant narratives. Whereas 51% of young adults reported western cultural values and practices as factors contributing to changing trends in aging during their pre-intervention interviews, 71% of young adults spoke about western cultural values and practices during their post-intervention interviews. These western cultural values and practices, posited in the introductory chapter and again in Chapter Two, again manifested themselves across interviews in these ways: individualism, materialism, careerism, technology, a scarcity of time, and old age homes. These western cultural values and practices functioned to create a barrier between the two generations. Participant five once again spoke about the more recent phenomenon of old age homes in response to the question: What comes to mind when you think about seniors or the older generation today?

> They [seniors] are an important part of the student's life but some just throw them away and that's why the only reason why the old age homes have been formed in Delhi in several parts of India I believe that analyses they say that there are 484 old age homes in 16 cities all over India. So that's a very large number.

In her post-intervention interview, Participant six touched upon the western cultural value and practice of careerism and individualism in response to the questions: What do you think seniors care about these days? What are they concerned about?

> Seniors feel that in today's environment, younger people are not listening to them, and are too engaged in their work, so they feel that nobody should go on the wrong path, or that something should not happen with them.

Participant one, in his post-intervention interview, discussed the role scarcity of time plays in intergenerational interactions.

> They [seniors] are also making an effort to come out, sometimes, you know people look for small excuses so that they can talk to another person, to the younger generation, but we get distracted because life in today's world has become very busy. So we don't have much time to talk with them. We become very irritable, angry, and aggressive. So, this is the thing.

And while in his post-intervention interview participant three made a passing comment about the scarcity of time,

> Like in this busy world everyone is engaged with their own works no one has time seniors and I am keeping my time for them.

Participant seven, in her post-intervention interview, called out modernity's role in shaping stereotypes about generations.

> Because today's generation has become very modern, so things come to one's mind in the beginning about seniors and children/young people are like.

Blessing versus Burden/Karmic Responsibility. One significant statement concerned with the theme of blessing versus burden/karmic responsibility also appeared in a participant narrative. Whereas 43% of young adults used such words as "blessing," "curse," and "burden" to describe both powers and pressures of the older generations in pre-intervention interviews, only 14% of young adults used the word "burden" to describe children's thoughts about their parents

in a post-intervention interview. In her response to a question regarding what young adults think about the older generations, Participant seven stated:

> These days, children think that their parents are a burden on them. They do not care about them too much.

Two-childhoods. Compared to 14% of the pre-intervention narratives, 71% of the post-intervention interviews revealed significant statements with regard to a two-childhoods theme. Again, the theme's fundamental premise: seniors are like children. This theme emerged within the context of intergenerational connection and sketched a more circular view of lifespan development. Participant four again spoke about this theme when asked why he was interested in participating in the Mending Maya program.

> I was interested because I had not got the opportunity to work with seniors before. I had worked with children before, a little bit, and it is said that seniors are somewhat like young children, and those who say that may be correct to an extent. Because it is just as difficult to understand children, as it is difficult to understand older people.

In her post-intervention interview, Participant two again made reference to the theme of two-childhoods.

> I feel they [seniors] are kid like us. They, yeah I think they are similar to us. There is nothing, they are not like, there are no hierarchy I should say like they're like us.

Participant one further elaborated on this theme when asked to describe seniors in his own words during his post-intervention interview.

> Seniors are like child. Like they are like more like child they like in childhood we need someone who cares for us, but when let's say like after, like over a period of time then we start moving towards getting mature, and at that time, and we get in the maturity, like we

> reach at that age where we need someone where we need people where we need someone to care for us again.

And while participant three echoed this particular theme through pejorative remarks about seniors,

> They [seniors] are like childrens I think. You know we are energetic and they are also but their ideas are not.

Participant six too followed suit when she discussed the temperamental dispositions of this dyad.

> I feel that speaking to the seniors about what is in their hearts, and their problems, and about the good things also, gives a pretty good idea about how one should live with them, for instance, the naughty activities and stubbornness of a small child who may also listen or not listen to you.

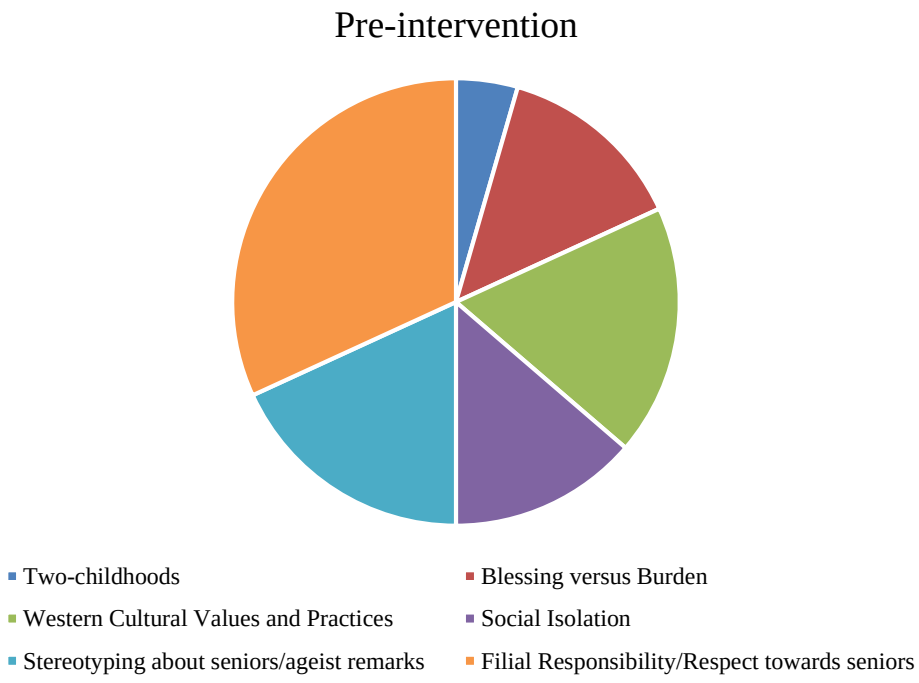


Figure 12.1. Frequency Distribution of Pre-intervention Themes

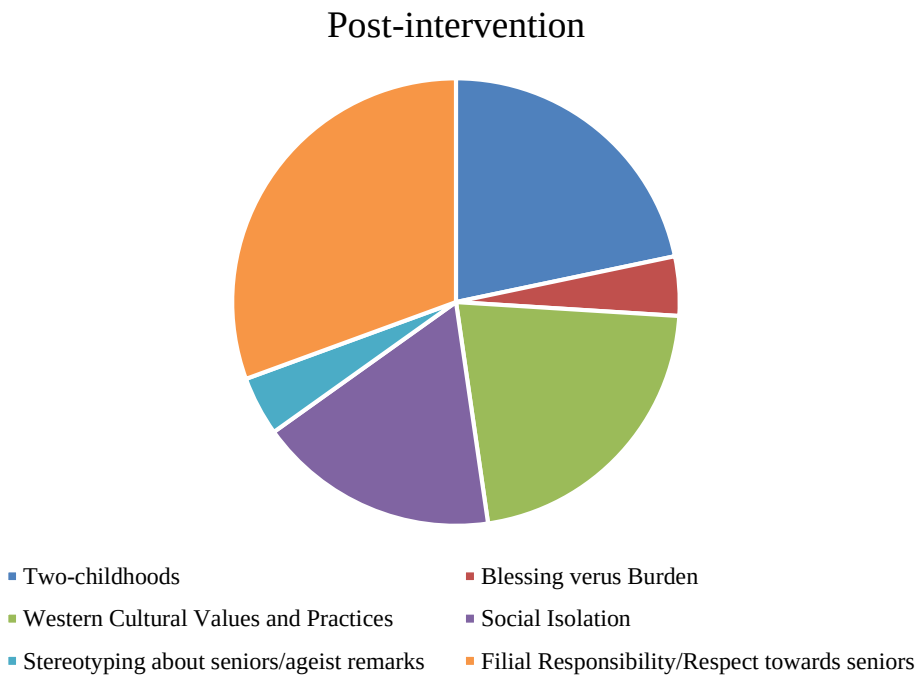


Figure 13.1. Frequency Distribution of Post-intervention Themes

Within-subject analyses of change. Whereas the preceding summary examines pre and post interviews for the group, the data presented below comprehensively compares pre-post intervention interviews for each participant. The post-intervention interview included all of the same questions as the pre-intervention interview, and two additional questions that asked about the purpose and overall impressions of the intervention. The data presented below then also reports on each participant's personal evaluations of the program. The within-subject analysis of change begins with a comparative analysis of Participant one's pre-post intervention interviews as well as his own personal assessments of the intervention.

Participant one. While over the course of the intervention Participant one's narratives remained stable with regards to themes of social isolation, his pre-post intervention interviews most certainly demonstrated increased filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, increased awareness of two-childhoods and western cultural values and practices, and decreased stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks. For example, when asked about his perceptions of the older generation, Participant one's narratives illustrated increased respect towards seniors and decreased ageist remarks over time.

Question: So what comes to mind when you think about seniors today?

Pre-intervention response: Low energy. Like, I'm just telling you of my observations, of my experiences. So usually, like I find difficulty to connect with them, because in my family there are no people, there is no one who is elder actually. So I believe that's why I don't feel comfortable with them, and I think, you know, sometimes they are rude and sometimes not, but mainly I interact with them those always rude towards me.

Post-intervention response: Today, what I think about, like seniors are very important for me. I take so much of advises from them, and, like I respect them seriously. Seniors are like

child. Like they are like more like child they like in childhood we need someone who cares for us, but when let's say after, like over a period of time then we start moving towards getting more mature, and at that time, and we get in the maturity, like we reach at that age where we need someone where we need people where we need someone to care for us again. So I think that, you know, we should not leave them alone. We should love them, we should care for them, because they need our support. They need someone to talk. It happens to us too.

Participant one's interviews were also imbued with an increased awareness of western cultural values and practices over time and an implication of the self in the generational divide.

Question: Why do you think it is important for the younger generations like yourself to interact with the older generation?

Pre-intervention response: I have told you they have faced many things in their life, many problems. Now these days we are not facing those problems they have faced, because you know they, they experienced poverty and many things they have faced.

Post-intervention response: I feel that we shouldn't leave them like that because we will one day be old too. And we will also be at such a stage when we will need someone around to talk to. If we want to improve society, I think we should give them a hand, because the mentality is…there are some things that are wrong with them and wrong with us, so we should take initiative from both sides. And when it happens that older people think that….but their mentality is also changing, they are also making an effort to come out, sometimes, you know, people look for small excuses so that they can talk to another person, to the younger generation, but we get distracted because life in today's world has become very busy. So we

> don't have much time to talk with them. We become very irritable, angry and aggressive. So, this is the thing. We shouldn't be doing that and recognize their importance.

When asked what the purpose was of the Mending Maya program, Participant one reported a changed mentality. In his own words:

> Since I came here, my mentality towards seniors has changed. But now I think that I should take initiative because sometimes I get bored and aggressive because I get so absorbed in my work, so busy with it. But, one should understand the feeling. Now I feel that I should take the initiative.

And when asked what his more general thoughts were about the program, Participant one said:

> What I think about this program is that I have developed many of my skills, through this program. I had come here with the purpose of music, and music/guitar is my passion, and I had come here so that I could explain what I had to say to them through music, and interact with them through it. It helped to change the mentality towards each other meaning it keeps you in the same platform that you are not senior citizen and I am not younger generation. We are all one and we are just moving towards happiness.

Participant three. While over the course of the intergenerational intervention participant three's interviews remained relatively stable with regards to stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks, his pre-post intervention interviews demonstrated increased filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, increased awareness of two-childhoods and western cultural values and practices, and decreased social isolation over time. For example, when asked about his perceptions of the older generation, participant three's narratives illustrated increased respect towards seniors.

Question: So what comes to mind when you think about seniors today?

Pre-intervention response: I thought they are old obviously and they need some happiness and I can make them happy.

Post-intervention response: I would say funny, respect, and sharing.

In a question regarding what seniors care about nowadays, participant three's responses demonstrated decreased social isolation and an increased awareness about seniors lives over time.

Question: So what do you think seniors care about?

Pre-intervention response: I think older people want us to stay with them and talk with them and that's all I think because they feel lonely when they have nothing to do.

Post-intervention response: They care about respect I think and they care about familiar people those kind of people with which they can connect, they can talk.

When asked if seniors like interacting with young adults, participant three's narratives again demonstrated decreased social isolation and an increased two-childhoods theme.

Question: Do you think seniors like interacting with young adults?

Pre-intervention response: Of course, sometimes. No. Because they are so lonely.

Post-intervention response: Sometimes. Like sometimes they are interacting and sometimes they also get irritated with us. Like we are not making progress and if we are not entertaining them so then they become irritated. They are like childrens I think.

And when asked what his more general thoughts were about the program, participant three responded by negotiating western cultural values and practices. In his own words:

> It's a new wave. It's for the first time that something like this. So I think it's good. We are doing something different. Like in this busy world everyone is engaged with their own work so no one has time for seniors and I am keeping my time for them.

Participant five. While over the course of the intergenerational intervention Participant five's interviews remained relatively stable with regards to themes of filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, two-childhoods, western cultural values and practices, and social isolation over time, the more critical change emerged during her own personal evaluation of the program. When asked what the purpose was of the Mending Maya program and her overall impressions of the intervention, Participant five's response illustrated increased connection and understanding between the generations. In her own words:

> First of all, this is a very unique project I have got. I have already told you this was my dream and it has come true. I would not be stopping it now like this project ends it doesn't really matter to me. It just matter how the bondage I have made here what relation I have been and Shobitji, Sunitaji they are so loving and they want me to come here every month, every week. So that's the kind of relationship I have developed with them. If I would have been in charge of this I don't know what I am going to do, but everything they want. Anything that they demand I will do it.

Participant two. While over the course of the intervention Participant two's interviews like Participant five's remained relatively stable with regards to themes of filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, western cultural values and practices, and social isolation over time, Participant two's post-intervention interview, however, alluded to the theme of two-childhoods.

> **Question**: What comes to mind when you think about seniors today?
>
> **Pre-intervention response**: What comes to my mind? Like I feel so much respect for elders because one day I will be older. So yeah, I unfortunately haven't got the time to spend with my grandparents. But yeah, I have my relative's grandparents and I spend time with them and I like to talk to old people, to know about their life and experiences.

Post-intervention response: Experienced people, I feel, I feel so much respect for them at the same time I feel like they are kids like us. They, yeah, I think they are similar to us. There is nothing, they are not like, there is no hierarchy I should say like they're like us.

The more critical change emerged during Participant two's own personal evaluation of the program. When asked what the purpose was of the Mending Maya program and her overall impressions of the intervention, Participant two's response illustrated increased intergenerational connection and understanding both within the program and inside her own home. In her own words:

I feel the program was really, really excellent. It's a wonderful program for us to learn. I had a really great journey throughout this program. I learned a lot about myself. So when the program begin I found a the first session which we attended, I uh, as we entered in the Aashirwad home, I found there is so many old people they were sitting, some of them drinking tea, some of them just reading newspaper. So there was a one old man, he was like quiet and he was like he was reading his newspaper. I greeted him, he didn't respond, he didn't reply. Later I found like he doesn't like to involve in things, he doesn't like to be laugh, so I was a little scared but that time I decided that would be my challenge to talk to him and to make good relationship with him, and finally I got a good relationship with him, I'm so happy. So yeah the program was really good, uh it affected my personal life also. Now I can see my grandparents or my like you know my father what they like what they don't like, yeah so it's really good.

Participant four. While over the course of the intergenerational intervention Participant four's interviews remained relatively stable with regards to themes of filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, two-childhoods, western cultural values and practices, and social isolation over

time, the more specific change emerged during his own personal evaluation of the program. When asked what the purpose was of the Mending Maya program and his overall impressions of the intervention, Participant four's response demonstrated an application of intergenerational connection and understanding beyond the parameters of the program. In his own words:

> The overall purpose of this program is that we understand ourselves and our seniors, and that the gap that there is supposed to be, in my view this gap is not there, it is just that we are not talking to each other and not learning about each other. In my view, if we become aware of each other, this gap will no longer continue to exist. It will easily get filled up. I would say that what I learned from this program, if I were to put it simply, that talking to others is of utmost importance. That's basically it. Actually, wherever I go and find seniors, like when I am traveling by bus, I think that since I am taking part in this project, it is important for me to be talking to seniors. When I meet seniors when traveling by bus, I talk to them. One thing that I realize through this, is that, at one time, these seniors were very active. They used to understand things. And they would know every single thing. If you find any senior, you will hear about the same things and the same situations. When I attempt to talk to seniors in the bus, some people are ready to talk, and others are going back a little tired and do not talk. But it is fun anyway.

Participant six. While over the course of the intergenerational intervention Participant six's interviews remained relatively stable with regards to themes of filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, western cultural values and practices, and social isolation over time, the more specific change emerged during his own personal evaluation of the program. When asked what the purpose was of the Mending Maya program and her overall impressions of the intervention,

Participant six's response captured not only the theme of two-childhoods, but also increased intergenerational connection and understanding within her own home. In her own words:

> What I have felt up till now, because it has been three months for me over here so far, is that the activities we have done at Mending Maya and Aashirwad Homes are small excuses but I feel that speaking to the seniors about what is in their hearts, and their problems, and about the good things also, gives a pretty good idea about how one should live with them. For instance the naughty activities and stubbornness of a small child who may also listen or not listen to you. So our time here has been spent well over here with these people and we have gotten to hear both the good and the bad and learned quite a bit. In these three months I have realized that there were many changes within me and that whatever activities I do or what is my work over here, I share with them and have them do some of it too, what I feel is that going forward, if I get the opportunity, I would like to work with where there are seniors. Because from this there was a tremendous change within me, that my misconception has ended. Since I became involved with this program three months ago, I have been able to speak well with the seniors in my own house. Earlier I would not speak to them at all. I would like to say "thank you" for this change that has happened with me. As I had said earlier, that until we speak to seniors, because it is not necessary that the seniors have to be the ones to initiate conversation, and as I had said earlier, that I myself do not speak to seniors in my own house, but do so over here, and after coming here, whatever change has come within me, I am implementing at home. I would not talk to seniors earlier, but now my paternal grandfather, whoever the seniors may be [in my life], I talk to them. So it is very good that whatever misconceptions or gaps there were have reduced. It feels very good that we have gotten this opportunity to bring this change to ourselves.

Participant seven. While over the course of the intervention Participant seven's interviews remained relatively stable with regards to themes of social isolation and western cultural values and practices, there was a general increase in filial responsibility/respect towards seniors and a general reduction in stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks over time. Even still, while other participants expressed a specific change during their own personal evaluations of the program, Participant seven's assessment of the intervention did not communicate any significant or specific change. When asked what seniors can give in today's modern society, Participant seven's response changed from one that perpetuates stereotypes about seniors to one that gives seniors the respect they deserve.

Question: What do you think about what seniors can give in today's modern society in which all of us live?

Pre-intervention response: In modern society, if I was to think from the perspective of today's younger generation, then they are useless. Because they consider them a burden. That is what I observe from how I see it.

Post-intervention response: Seniors can give a lot to society, for instance, their experience, talking about themselves, about how they lived life and how they spent it, and today's generation does not understand this. They receive all the comforts and amenities. They should learn from seniors about how to handle these, that if these amenities and comforts were not there, how would it be handled. Seniors in society should be made to sit in a group, and all the children should sit too, from which we could learn something.

Quantitative Analyses

Paired *t*-tests on all of the primary composite dependent variables (i.e., realizations of filial responsibility, adherence to traditional values, scale of positive and negative experiences,

flourishing scale, and brief inventory of thriving) indicated no significant differences for pre-post quantitative comparisons. In short, paired *t*-tests were run for each measure but no significant pre-post differences were noted. For the Adherence to Traditional Values Measure, $t(4) = .000$, $p = 1.00$; for the Brief Inventory of Thriving Scale, $t(6) = .935$, $p = .386$; for the Flourishing Scale, $t(6) = -.058$, $p = 955$; for the Realizations of Filial Responsibility Scale, $t(4) = 1.242$, $p = .282$; and for the Scale of Positive and Negative Experiences there was no significant difference pre-post intervention with respect to positivity $t(5) = -.794$, $p = .463$, negativity $t(6) = .821$, $p = .443$, or the affect difference $t(6) = -.593$, $p = .575$.

Table 1.1

Paired Samples T-test Analyses Results, Pre and Post Means, and Standard Deviations of Experimental Group (N=7) on all scales

	Pre		Post			
Measurement	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*(6)	*p*
Traditional Values Scale	18.40	4.67	18.40	6.62	.00	1.00
Thriving Scale	42.14	5.87	41.14	6.79	.935	.386
Flourishing Scale	48.43	6.99	48.57	3.69	-.058	.955
Filial Responsibility Scale	34.20	2.45	32.60	3.91	1.24	.282
Positive Experiences Scale	23.33	5.72	24.50	3.89	-.794	.463
Negative Experiences Scale	14.29	4.50	12.71	3.04	.821	.443
Affect Balance Scale	10.00	8.85	11.71	5.09	-.593	.575

Discussion

This chapter presented the Mending Maya intervention and a preliminary analysis of its impact on the young adults who participated in the program. A larger program evaluation including pre/post data from seniors, and a control group of seniors and young adults would have been ideal, but was beyond the scope of this project. From the data just presented, however, the program proved to be a success. Positive impressions of the intergenerational intervention are supported by some of the pre/post analyses of young adult participant interviews and their evaluative statements about the program itself. Results revealed restored and repaired webs of attachment between generations both inside and outside the parameters of the program. While semi-structured interviews appropriately queried several unique domains relevant to the program itself (i.e., intergenerational connection and intergenerational understanding), questionnaire data were hampered not only by low power, but also by constructs that did not appropriately measure the impact of the intervention. These results will be discussed in greater detail in the following general discussion chapter.

Chapter Four: General Discussion and Conclusion

This two-part investigation was designed to explore the lived experiences of intergenerational relations (Chapter Two) and to explain and evaluate the effectiveness of implementing an art-based intergenerational intervention called Mending Maya between young adults from a youth empowerment and learning center and senior citizens from an old age home (Chapter Three). Both chapters address different aspects of the research goals and provide information that is valuable and promising for the future of intergenerational programming in Delhi, India. When synthesized, these two chapters, and the thesis as a whole, can provide further insight into and understanding of the ways in which specific, cosmopolitan communities like Delhi can utilize intergenerational programming as a method of personal and community development.

Chapter Two introduced a more contemporary discussion on life in Indian society between eight young adults from South Delhi and eight seniors from an old age home in East Delhi. Through, empirical, transcendental phenomenology, the following themes, which cut across dimensions of intergenerational connection and understanding, emerged: social isolation, western cultural values and practices, stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks, filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, two-childhoods, blessing versus burden/karmic responsibility, self-centeredness/self-righteousness. While senior narratives primarily concentrated on the self-centeredness and self-righteousness of adolescents/young adults nowadays, young adult narratives were surprisingly cognizant of their own changing cultural values and practices. Aware that by the influx of western behaviors and practices they had become subject to a complex range of confusing and contradictory values, both young adults and seniors spelled out over the course of their own narratives newer negotiations of selfhood and a

need for more comprehensive connections between the generations. Taken together then, these seven themes captured the essence of lived experiences of aging and intergenerational relations in Delhi, India.

Chapter Three unfolded an even grander narrative of the South Asian aging experience by presenting the Mending Maya intervention and a preliminary analysis of its impact on the seven young adults who participated in the program. Each of the seven young adult participants who took part in the semi-structured interview discussed the profound and enduring effects that changing trends in aging have had on their own intergenerational experiences. By capturing their experiences and consolidating their statements, six essential themes emerged within and across their pre-post intervention responses: stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks, filial responsibility/respect towards seniors, two-childhoods theme, blessing versus burden/karmic responsibility theme, social isolation, and western cultural values and practices.

Compared to pre-intervention analyses where many respondents stereotyped about seniors, in post-intervention analyses many fewer respondents stereotyped about seniors or expressed ageist remarks. The decrease in this theme within and across young adult participant responses could be attributed to an increase in intergenerational connection and understanding and perhaps an increase in respect regarding the lived experiences of older generations. This significant decrease in ageist remarks among young adult intervention participants is consistent with the nature of how formal education on aging and art-based activities function to reduce ageism as reported in Rubie et al. (2015). With the substantial reduction in ageist remarks, young adults were able to grow closer not only to seniors within the actual intervention, but also to seniors in society and in their own homes.

Compared to pre-intervention analyses where few respondents discussed a two-childhoods theme, in post-intervention analyses many respondents discussed a two-childhoods theme. The increase in this theme perhaps alludes to the growth in a more holistic view of lifespan development by virtue of participating in the intergenerational intervention. This holistic view of lifespan development, however, is not particularly linear. In fact, young adult participants in this intervention captured what is perhaps a more or less circular or karmic view of lifespan development. That is, young adults recognized the importance of giving respect to seniors because they themselves would eventually become old one day. Young adults also saw seniors as youthful at heart and thus deserving of care and respect in society. By capturing this circular view of life span development, young adults diminished ageism and developed empathy through art-based intergenerational connection.

Compared to about half of young adult pre-intervention responses, roughly three-quarters of young adult post-intervention responses alluded to western cultural values and practices in their discussions of intergenerational connection and understanding. The slight increase in this theme is consistent with changing trends in the structure and practice of family as discussed in Lamb (2007). By dint of participating in this intergenerational intervention, the young adults increased their own understanding and awareness about those factors which have deep affect in intergenerational relationships and experiences. Participant responses more or less indicated "scarcity of time" and "individualism" as subthemes which have greatly influenced intergenerational relationships. Through these indications then, young adults more or less localized global practices. They contextualized global phenomena of time and space in ways that were personally meaningful and relevant to them. Regardless of the circumstances from which

this scarcity of time and individualism have sprung, both functioned in essentially the same manner for all participants, creating a sense of distance, a divide, between the generations.

Compared to a little less than half of pre-intervention responses, a little more than half of post-intervention responses alluded to themes of social isolation. The slight increase in this theme could be attributed to young adults' increased awarness of seniors' social isolation through narratives of social abandonment. That is, through personal conversations with seniors over the course of the program, young adult participants learned more about seniors' own lived experiences of intergenerational relations and social isolation. For example, as one young adult participant related in her post-intervention interview:

> They [seniors] have their stories and they want their children to listen to them but they have abandoned them. The grand children are not with them. So my purpose was just to have a bonding where we can discuss, where I can learn everything they have seen in their lives. Interaction is very important in this bonding.

Students came to realize that by participanting in this program they not only bridged a certain gap between generations, but they also filled in certain spaces of social abandonment and social isolation that perforate seniors' narratives and lived-in worlds.

Compared to roughly half of all young adult pre-intervention responses, very few young adult post-intervention responses alluded to a theme of blessing versus burden (i.e., words like blessing and curse were used to describe seniors). The decrease in this theme's prominence could perhaps be attributed to the increased awareness of western cultural values and practices as factors affecting changing trends in aging. By participating in an eight-week intergenerational intervention facilitated by two students from the United States (i.e., the program founder and the program coordinator, see organizational chart p. 68) program participants might have increased

their worldviews by bridging the gap between their own local and global identities, a theory concordant with the results of prior research (Arnett, 2002). In doing so, the young adult program participants may have negotiated their own indigenous conceptualizations of intergenerational relations to accommodate for more universal perspectives on aging and global factors affecting intergenerational connection.

Though stereotyping about seniors exponentially decreased, filial responsibility and respect towards seniors more or less remained the same within and across young adult participant responses. The enduring and unchanging nature of this theme could be attributed perhaps to the enduring and unchanging nature of certain cultural values that are virtually embedded and engrained within Indian society. Although Roberts, Wood, and Caspi (2008) argue for personality traits as relatively enduring patterns of thought that are difficult to change, the present study suggests the same could be said for the relatively enduring nature of certain cultural values (i.e., filial responsibility and respect towards seniors). It becomes harder to change those factors that essentially exist beneath the surface. The enduring pattern of filial responsibility and respect towards seniors more or less reflects and reinforces then a sort of ceiling effect whereby the independent variable of a short-term intergenerational intervention no longer has an effect on those variables being measured.

Based on the research findings, intergenerational programming in New Delhi, India can be an effective way to repair and restore webs of attachments between generations both inside and outside the actual parameters of the program if such initiatives a) utilize and maximize existing community resources and b) build on cultural values that emphasize family and community. In other words, art-based intergenerational programming can be an effective way to empower young adults, engage seniors, and build community by maximizing meaningful

connection. In fact, empathy could be developed and ageist remarks could be diminished if intergenerational programming embraces art as a crucial mode of connection. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, in India, a country with 22 official languages, art as a universal language was a brilliant and beautiful medium used to connect the generations. As some social theories of art and intergenerational programming suggest, intergenerational programming that facilitates creative expression can reduce ageism and improve intergenerational relationships (Anderson et al., 2016). Therefore, it seems likely that young adults who participate in a similar intervention can challenge their assumptions about and build meaningful relationships with the older generation.

Values and ideas communicated by participants revealed that some programmatic pedagogies may be more effective and valued by the community than others. For example, intergenerational programming is more likely to be successful if it utilizes and maximizes existing community resources. From the researcher's own personal observations, both the materials themselves and how those materials are used impact intergenerational programming. One particularly successful example of this was when two arts and crafts workshop facilitators taught other young adults and seniors in the program how to use newspaper to create their own tote bags. Although young adults and seniors were initially taught how to make their own tote bags, they were also encouraged to think of creative ways to personalize their designs. This type of activity provided the basic skills and training for how to make tote bags, but also allowed for young adults and seniors to maximize autonomy and gain independence by generating and implementing their own ideas. The tote bag exercise also had particular promise because it is a fully functional object that can be sold to generate an economic income. It provides both young adults and seniors a way to sustain livelihoods while also teaching new ways to think about the

material. The economic component is an additional incentive for students to explore with the materials and to behave creatively. The community is also likely to value young adults' and seniors' artistic expressions because it generates objects that can not only benefit the community, but also funds that can benefit the individual.

The tote bag exercise is one way to cultivate intergenerational connection and understanding through utilizing and maximizing existing community resources. However, there are more materials and methods that should be explored in order to develop more meaningful intergenerational interventions for young adults and seniors in New Delhi. For example, workshops tailored to teach young adults and seniors about the artful repurposing of materials could be used as a means to further connect the generations. Additionally, while the act of connecting generations occurred within the old age home, future methods should explore excursions as a means to facilitate intergenerational connection and understanding (e.g., trips to a museum). Additionally, if more art-based intergenerational programs were implemented throughout the community, seniors could be engaged and youth could be empowered over time. The current study created a structure that cultivated young adults' leadership and communication skills as they facilitated their respective workshops for an audience seventy to eighty years older than they were. By working with a youth-driven model of civic engagement, youth were simultaneously empowered. Through this empowerment, young adults in this program were able to help seniors review their life by helping them recount lived experiences through the simple art of conversation. Thus, seniors reduced their sense of isolation by being engaged, and by being engaged they may have increased their generativity (McKinley and Adler, 2005).

Intergenerational programming in India is also more likely to be successful if it builds on cultural values that emphasize family and community. Mending Maya was initially implemented

using the U.S.-based Sages & Seeker's model of intergenerational programming. That is, seniors and young adults were initially disaggregated and divided in the first week of the program into groups based on three art forms: theater/meditation, arts and crafts, and music. Seniors were expected to rotate from one group to the next every 30 minutes until they were exposed to all three forms of artistic expression and the young adults facilitating that expression in those groups. The first week of the program, however, one senior suggested every one work together with all three activities in one shared space. Thus, instead of assigning participants to a particular group, program participants gathered in the main living space of the old age home to collaboratively connect. This type of design enhanced and emphasized family and community in the old age home. Instead of separating groups into nuclear families based on artistic medium (music, arts and crafts, and theater/meditation), the program became what it ultimately set out to become—a collective community, a joint, multigenerational family. In this way, not only was space inside the old age home rearranged (i.e., by moving chairs from the dining room table and arranging them into a circle in the living room), but interactions within the home were also transformed. By building on cultural values that emphasize family and community, the program not only brought together seniors and young adults but also created new ways of interacting among seniors themselves. That is, seniors were encouraged to leave their rooms twice a week to collaboratively connect in a shared space with other senior residents. Additionally, young adults were encouraged to explore new ways of interacting with one another to make workshops more efficient and effective. To support these interactions, the program's manager hosted biweekly meetings with workshop facilitators. In cultivating connections between generations then, the program increased interactions within each generational group. In short, the algorithm of art-based intergenerational connection looks something like the following: (young adults + seniors) /

(community resources + community values) = increased intergenerational connection and understanding.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite its contributions, the current research was affected by various limitations associated with implementing and evaluating a program based in an unstable, non-controlled environment with young adults and seniors citizens. The study would have been enhanced and more reliable if the size of the young adult experimental (N=7) and control groups were larger (N=16); it is difficult to detect any significant changes over time, even when studying very large effects, if sample sizes are less than eight participants per group. The study would have also been enhanced and perhaps more reliable if the duration of the intervention was longer. The program was held two times a week for eight weeks, so young adults and seniors participated in roughly 16 two-hour workshops. The short duration of the program constrained the possibilities to include breadth and depth of the content and activities. Additionally, the short duration of the program made it difficult to detect any significant changes over time. A longer program would have even allowed for more time to capture significant changes in intergenerational connection and understanding among senior program participants pre-and-post intervention. Moreover, a diverse sample size, though desired, was unattainable. Most program participants were of middle class. Thus, future directions for this type of research would consider a more diverse sample.

One of the more significant limitations was with the control group. Not only were pre-posttests not administered to the control group, but a majority of participants in the control group also volunteered at the previously mentioned Agewell Foundation, a not-for-profit organization that works toward the welfare and empowerment of older individuals in India. Given that the control group included a majority of participants already interested in aging may have biased the

data and thus the potential to detect any significant changes when compared to the experimental group. Also, the experimental group and control group were not kept from making contact or conversation and some members of the control group accessed the intervention during the hours of the program by dropping by. As a result, the study's conditions were not entirely controlled. In an ideal study, the control group would not have had any information about the experimental group and would not have had any contact or connections with organizations in the aging sector.

While transcendental phenomenology provides deep understanding of a phenomenon as experienced by several individuals, it is also limited by its own design. That is, the researcher's own personal views should have been more or less bracketed before proceeding with the experiences of others. The researcher should have better separated himself from the text by understanding how his own agendas were initially introduced into the study. Thus, personal biases through transcendental phenomenology may have in some ways limited the naturally emerging experiences of others. Additionally, the measurements themselves and the way they were administered was an inherent limitation in the design. Only two senior participants were able to complete the quantitative measurements with help from a student. An additional limitation is that when asked to reflect on adolescents during semi-structured interviews, seniors in the intervention reflected on young adults who were not just adolescents. Finding more accessible and appropriate ways to assess the attitudes and values measured on the structured questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with senior participants should be explored in the future. Finally, while interactions among senior participants increased with each other, it was difficult to capture the extent of those interactions. Future research would use semi-structured interviews and pre-and-post intervention observations of social dynamics in the home to detect any significant changes in senior participants' responses over time.

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Appendix A

Realizations of Filial Responsibility

For each of the six items, please write the number that comes closest to your opinion of how your children should behave. Record your answer in the space to the left of each item and determine your answer from the following scale

1. = Strongly Agree
2. = Disagree
3. = Somewhat disagree
4. = Somewhat agree
5. = Agree
6. = Strongly agree

"1" Means you strongly disagree that your children should behave that way, and "6" means you strongly agree that your child should behave that way.

___ 1. Married children should live close to parents.

___ 2. Children should take care of their parents, in whatever way necessary, when they are sick.

___ 3. Children should give their parents financial help.

___ 4. If children live nearby after they grow up, they should visit their parents at least once a week.

___ 5. Children who live at a distance should write to their parents at least once a week.

___ 6. The children should feel responsible for their parents.

For the next 11 items , please record "-1" if someone other than your child provided aid, "0" if there is no need for aid in that area, and "+1" if one of your children provided aid.

___ 1. Shopping for groceries

___ 2. Preparing hot meals

___ 3. Cleaning house

___ 4. Doing laundry

___ 5. Accompanying old parent when paying bills

___ 6. Accompanying old parent when cashing check

___ 7. Paying rent

___ 8. Paying mortgage

___ 9. Heavy work around the house

___10. Going to movie, church, meetings, visiting friends

___11. Walking up and down stairs

For each child circle "-1" if the child lives distant from you, "0" if the child lives not too far, and "+1" if the child lives close.

Child 1	-1 Distant	0 Not too far	+1 Close

For the last item, for each child, circle "-1" if the child visits less than once a month, "0" if the child visits at least monthly, and "+1" if visits are at least weekly.

Child 1	-1 Visits less than once a month	0 Visits are at least Monthly but not Weekly.	+1 Visits are at least Weekly

Appendix A (Hindi)

संतानोचित दायित्व की प्रतीति

छह वस्तुओं में से प्रत्येक के लिए, अपने बच्चों को कैसे व्यवहार करना चाहिए के अपने विचार करने के लिए करीब आता है कि नंबर लिखें। प्रत्येक आइटम के बाईं ओर अंतरिक्ष में अपने जवाब के रिकॉर्ड और निम्न स्तर से आपके जवाब का निर्धारण

1. = *पूरी तरह से सहमत*
2. = *असहमत*
3. = *कुछ हद तक असहमत*
4. = *कुछ हद तक सहमत हैं*
5. = *सहमत हूँ*
6. = *दृढ़ता से सहमत*

"1" *आप दृढ़ता से अपने बच्चों को उस तरह से व्यवहार करना चाहिए कि असहमत मतलब है, और* "6" *आप दृढ़ता से अपने बच्चे को उस तरह से व्यवहार करना चाहिए सहमत हैं कि इसका मतलब है।*___ 1. Married children should live close to parents.

___ 2. *जब वे बीमार हैं बच्चे, जो कुछ भी तरह आवश्यक में अपने माता-पिता का ख्याल रखना चाहिए।*

___ 3. *बच्चों को उनके माता-पिता को वित्तीय मदद देना चाहिए।*

___ 4. *बच्चों को पास के वे बड़े हो जाने के बाद रहते हैं, तो वे एक सप्ताह में कम से कम एक बार अपने माता पिता की यात्रा करनी चाहिए।*

___5. *दूरी पर रहने वाले बच्चे एक सप्ताह में कम से कम एक बार अपने माता पिता से लिखना चाहिए।*

___ 6. *बच्चों को उनके माता-पिता के लिए जिम्मेदार महसूस करना चाहिए।*

अगले 11 *मदों के लिए रिकॉर्ड कृपया* "-1" *अपने बच्चे के अलावा अन्य किसी सहायता प्रदान की जाती है, तो* "0" *कोई उस क्षेत्र में सहायता के लिए की जरूरत है, और* "+1" *अपने बच्चों में से एक प्रदान की अगर सहायता अगर वहाँ।*

___ 1 *किराने का सामान के लिए. खरीदारी*
___ 2. *गर्म भोजन की तैयारी*

___ 3. *घर की सफाई*

___ 4. *करने से कपड़े धोने*

___ 5. *बिलों का भुगतान करने के लिए जब पुराने माता-पिता उनके साथ*

___ 6. *चेक भुना जब पुराने माता-पिता उनके साथ*

___ 7. *पेइंग किराया*

___ 8. *पेइंग बंधक*

___ 9. *घर के आसपास भारी काम*

___10 .*फिल्म, चर्च, बैठकों, पर जाकर दोस्तों के लिए जा रहे हैं*

___1 1. *ऊपर और नीचे सीढ़ियों चलना*

बच्चे, तुम से दूर "0" *रहता है अगर बच्चा बहुत दूर नहीं रहता है, और यदि प्रत्येक बच्चे के चक्र* "-1" *के लिए* "+1" *के बच्चे को करीब रहता है।*

बच्चा 1 -1 0 +1

दूर *बहुत दूर नहीं* *पास*

पिछले आइटम के लिए, प्रत्येक बच्चे, चक्र "-1" *के लिए बच्चे कम एक बार एक महीने से भी दौरा किया, तो* "0" *अगर बच्चे का दौरा कम से कम मासिक, और* "+1" *यात्राओं में कम से कम साप्ताहिक रहे हैं।*

बच्चा 1 -1 0 +1

की तुलना में दौरा कम

महीने में एक बार *दौरा कम से कम कर रहे हैं* *दौरा कम से कम कर*

रहे हैं *मासिक लेकिन नहीं* *साप्ताहिक*

साप्ताहिक

Appendix B

Adherence to Traditional Values

Items

Adult children should be more responsible than elderly parents for make Long Term Care arrangements of their parents.

Children should live together with their elderly parents when they are healthy.

Children should live together with their elderly parents when they are functionally limited and require assistance with personal care.

Care should be provided by family members, not by an outsider.

It is desirable for children to place their impaired elderly parents in a nursing home for proper care.

Note. Responses are measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1), somewhat disagree (2), neutral (3), somewhat agree (4), to strongly agree (5).

Appendix B (Hindi)

पारंपरिक मूल्यों को पालन

Items

उनके माता-पिता की लंबी अवधि की देखभाल व्यवस्था बनाने के लिए वयस्क बच्चों बुजुर्ग माता-पिता की तुलना में अधिक जिम्मेदार होना चाहिए।

वे स्वस्थ हैं जब बच्चे अपने बुजुर्ग माता-पिता के साथ मिलकर रहना चाहिए।

वे कार्यात्मक सीमित हैं और व्यक्तिगत देखभाल के साथ सहायता की आवश्यकता होती है जब बच्चे अपने बुजुर्ग माता-पिता के साथ मिलकर रहना चाहिए।

परवाह नहीं एक बाहरी व्यक्ति द्वारा, परिवार के सदस्यों द्वारा उपलब्ध कराई जानी चाहिए।

बच्चों को उचित देखभाल के लिए एक नर्सिंग होम में उनकी बिगड़ा बुजुर्ग माता-पिता के लिए जगह के लिए यह वांछनीय है।

ध्यान दें। प्रतिक्रियाएँ दृढ़ता से असहमत से लेकर, एक 5 *सूत्री* Likert *प्रकार पैमाने पर मापा जाता है* (1), *कुछ हद तक* (2), *तटस्थ* (3), *कुछ हद तक* (4), *दृढ़ता से सहमत करने के लिए सहमत असहमत* (5) *। एक उच्च पैमाने स्कोर अधिक* collectivistic *और परिवार केंद्रित मूल्यों का संकेत है, आइटम करने के लिए समझौते के एक उच्च स्तर का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है।*

Appendix C

Scale of Positive and Negative Experience

Please think about what you have been doing and experiencing during the past four weeks. Then report how much you experienced each of the following feelings, using the scale below. For each item, select a number from 1 to 5, and indicate that number on your response sheet.

1. Very rarely or never
2. Rarely
3. Sometimes
4. Often
5. Very often or always

Positive
Negative
Good
Bad
Pleasant
Unpleasant
Happy
Sad
Afraid
Joyful
Angry
Contended

Appendix C (Hindi)

सकारात्मक और नकारात्मक अनुभव के स्केल

आप पिछले चार हफ्तों के दौरान कर रही है और अनुभव किया गया है के बारे में क्या करें। तो आप नीचे पैमाने का उपयोग कर, निम्न भावनाओं से प्रत्येक का अनुभव कितना रिपोर्ट। प्रत्येक आइटम के लिए 1 *से* 5 *एक नंबर का चयन करें, और आपकी प्रतिक्रिया पत्रक पर कि संख्या से संकेत मिलता है।*

1. *बहुत शायद ही कभी या कभी नहीं*
2. *शायद ही कभी*
3. *कभी-कभी*
4. *अक्सर*
5. *बहुत बार या हमेशा*

सकारात्मक
नकारात्मक
अच्छा
बुरा
मनोहर
अप्रिय
सुखी
उदास
भयभीत
आनंदपूर्ण
क्रोधित
दलील
स्कोरिंग

उपाय के लिए एक समग्र संतुलन स्कोर को प्रभावित प्राप्त करने के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है, लेकिन यह भी सकारात्मक, नकारात्मक भावनाओं को तराजू में विभाजित किया जा सकता है। सकारात्मक भावनाओं (SPANE- *पी*): *हर्षित, सकारात्मक अच्छा है, सुखद, खुश और संतुष्ट*: *छह मदों के लिए,* 1 *से* 5 *अलग-अलग, स्कोर में जोड़े।* (*सबसे कम*) *संभव* 5 *से* 30 (*उच्चतम सकारात्मक भावनाओं स्कोर*) *से स्कोर भिन्न हो सकते हैं।*

नकारात्मक भावनाओं (SPANE-*एन*): *हर्षित, सकारात्मक अच्छा है, सुखद, खुश और संतुष्ट*: *छह मदों के लिए*, 1 *से* 5 *अलग-अलग, स्कोर में जोड़े।* (*संभव सबसे कम*) 6 *से* 30 (*उच्चतम सकारात्मक भावनाओं स्कोर*) *से स्कोर भिन्न हो सकते हैं।*

(*उच्चतम संभव संतुलन को प्रभावित*) *सकारात्मक भावनाओं स्कोर से नकारात्मक भावनाओं को घटाया जाता है स्कोर, और उसके एवज में फर्क स्कोर से* 24 -24 (unhappiest *संभव हो*) *से भिन्न हो सकते हैं*: *शेष* (SPANE-*बी*) *प्रभावित करते हैं।* 24 *का एक बहुत उच्च स्कोर के साथ एक प्रतिवादी वह या वह शायद ही कभी या कभी नहीं नकारात्मक भावनाओं का कोई अनुभव, और बहुत बार या हमेशा सकारात्मक भावनाओं के सभी है कि रिपोर्ट।*

Appendix D

Flourishing Scale

Below are eight statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by indicating that response for each statement.

7 – Strongly Agree
6 – Agree
5 – Slightly Agree
4 – Neither
3 – Slightly Disagree
2 – Disagree
1 – Strongly Disagree

I lead a purposeful and meaningful life
My social relationships are supportive and rewarding
I am engaged and interested in my daily activities
I actively contribute to the happiness and well-being of others
I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me
I am a good person and live a good life
I am optimistic about my future
People respect me

Appendix D (Hindi)

उत्कर्ष स्केल

नीचे आप सहमत या असहमत हो सकता है, जिसके साथ 8 *बयान कर रहे हैं। नीचे* 1-7 *पैमाने का उपयोग कर, प्रत्येक बयान के लिए कि प्रतिक्रिया का संकेत द्वारा प्रत्येक आइटम के साथ अपने समझौते का संकेत मिलता है।*

7 - *पूरी तरह से सहमत*

6 - *सहमत हूँ*

5 - *थोड़ा सहमत हूँ*

4 - *न तो*

3 - *थोड़ा असहमत*

2 - *असहमत*

1 – *असहमत*

मैं एक उद्देश्यपूर्ण और सार्थक जीवन जीने

मेरा सामाजिक रिश्तों सहायक और पुरस्कृत कर रहे हैं

मैं लगे हुए हैं और अपने दैनिक गतिविधियों में दिलचस्पी है

मैं सक्रिय रूप से खुशी और दूसरों की भलाई के लिए योगदान

मैं मेरे लिए महत्वपूर्ण हैं कि गतिविधियों में सक्षम और सक्षम हूँ

मैं एक अच्छा इंसान हूँ और एक अच्छा जीवन जीने

मैं अपने भविष्य के बारे में आशावादी हूं

लोग मुझे सम्मान

स्कोरिंग

सभी आठ मदों के लिए, 1-7 *अलग प्रतिक्रियाएं जोड़ें। स्कोर के संभव सीमा (न्यूनतम)* 8 *से* 56 *से है (उच्चतम मनोवैज्ञानिक अच्छी तरह से संभव किया जा रहा है)। एक उच्च स्कोर के कई मनोवैज्ञानिक संसाधनों और ताकत के साथ एक व्यक्ति का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है।*

Appendix E

Brief Inventory of Thriving

Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements using the scale below.

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 Agree
5 Strongly Agree

1. My life has a clear sense of purpose
2. I am optimistic about my future
3. My life is going well
4. I feel good most of the time
5. What I do in life is valuable and worthwhile
6. I can succeed if I put my mind to it
7. I am achieving most of my goals
8. In most activities I do, I feel energized
9. There are people who appreciate me as a person
10. I feel a sense of belonging in my community

Appendix E (Hindi)

संपन्न की संक्षिप्त सूची

नीचे पैमाने का उपयोग निम्नलिखित बयानों में से प्रत्येक के साथ अपनी सहमति या असहमति का संकेत देते हैं।

1 *असहमत*

2 *असहमत*

3 *न तो सहमत न ही असहमत*

4 *सहमत हूँ*

5 *पूरी तरह से सहमत*

1. *मेरा जीवन उद्देश्य का स्पष्ट अर्थ है*

2. *मैं अपने भविष्य के बारे में आशावादी हूं*

3. *मेरे जीवन ठीक चल रहा है*

4. *मैं ज्यादातर समय अच्छा लग रहा है*

5. *क्या मैं जीवन में क्या मूल्यवान और सार्थक है*

6. *मैं यह करने के लिए मेरे दिमाग में डाल अगर मैं सफल हो सकती है*

7. *मैं अपने लक्ष्य की सबसे प्राप्त कर रहा हूँ*

8, *मुझे क्या करना सबसे गतिविधियों में मैं सक्रिय लग रहा है*

9. *एक व्यक्ति के रूप में मुझे सराहना ऐसे लोग हैं जो कर रहे हैं*

10. *मैं अपने समुदाय में अपनेपन की भावना महसूस हो रहा है*

Appendix F

Intergenerational Communication, Closeness, and Negotiating Cultures Interview for seniors

1. What comes to mind when you think about adolescents today? How would you describe them in your own words?
2. Are they similar to adolescents when you were younger or are they different?
    a. If different, why do you think so?
    b. What has made them different?
    c. If same, why do you think so, what has contributed?
3. What do you think adolescents care about these days? Why is that?
4. Do you feel close to any adolescents? In your family? Outside of your family?
5. How much contact do you have with adolescents? Where/how do you have that contact?
6. Do you think it is important for elders like yourself to interact with adolescents? Is it important to you?
7. Do you think adolescents like interacting with elders? Why do you think so?
8. To what extent do you think that the two generations understand each other? What gets in the way? What might improve intergenerational understanding?
9. What do you think the purpose is of this program? Why are you interested in participating? (During Interview 2: What do you think of the program so far? What do you like most about it, what would you change about it if you were in charge? During Interview 3: Overall, what do you think of this program? What did you like most about it? What would you change if you were in charge? Do you think it helps increase intergenerational understanding? Can you give me some examples?)

For End-program assessment

Let's look at some of the work (either a list of activities or actual works created) you have done together with your teen partner. Can you tell me a little bit about what it has been like to get to know xxxx and create these works/do this work with him/her?

Can you select one work/activity you are particularly fond of and tell me about the work you did together to create this?

Appendix F (Hindi)

Intergenerational *संचार, निकटता, और वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के लिए बातचीत संस्कृति साक्षात्कार*

1. *क्या आप आज किशोरों के बारे में लगता है कि जब मन में आता है? कैसे आप अपने खुद के शब्दों में उन्हें परिभाषित करेंगे?*
2. *वे जब तुम छोटे थे किशोरों के समान हैं या वे अलग हैं?*

(एक) / अलग-अलग हैं, आप ऐसा क्यों सोचते हैं?

(बी) / क्या उन्हें अलग कर दिया गया है?

(सी) / एक ही हैं, तो आप ऐसा क्यों, क्या योगदान दिया है लगता है?

3. *यदि आप किशोरों इन दिनों के बारे में परवाह क्या सोचते हैं? ऐसा क्यों है?*
4. *यदि आप किसी भी किशोरों के करीब महसूस करते हैं? आपके परिवार में? अपने परिवार के बाहर?*

आप किशोरों के साथ कितना संपर्क 5. *क्या ज़रूरत है? जहां / कैसे आपको लगता है कि संपर्क करना है?*

6. *आप इसे अपने आप को जैसे बड़ों किशोरों के साथ बातचीत करने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है लगता है? यह आप के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है?*
7. *यदि आप बड़ों के साथ बातचीत की तरह किशोरों लगता है? आप ऐसा क्यों सोचते हैं?*

किस हद तक 8. *आप दो पीढ़ियों एक दूसरे को समझते हैं कि लगता है? किस तरह से हो जाता है? क्या* intergenerational *समझ में सुधार हो सकता है?*

9. *आप उद्देश्य इस कार्यक्रम का क्या लगता है? तुम क्यों भाग लेने में रुचि रखते हैं?* (*साक्षात्कार* 2 *के दौरान: यदि आप अब तक के कार्यक्रम के बारे में क्या सोचते हैं क्या आप सबसे इसके बारे में क्या पसंद है तुम प्रभार में थे यदि आप साक्षात्कार* 3 *के दौरान इसके बारे में क्या परिवर्तन होगा? कुल मिलाकर, अगर आप इस कार्यक्रम के बारे में क्या सोचते हैं क्या? आप इसके बारे में सबसे अधिक पसंद किया? तुम प्रभार में थे अगर आप बदलना चाहते हैं? आप यह वृद्धि* intergenerational *समझ में मदद करता है लगता है? क्या आप मुझे कुछ उदाहरण दे सकता है?*)

अंत कार्यक्रम के आकलन के लिए

के काम (या तो गतिविधियों की एक सूची या बनाया वास्तविक काम करता है) आप अपने किशोरों साथी के साथ मिलकर किया है में से कुछ पर नजर डालते हैं। आप / उसके XXXX *जानते हैं और इन कार्यों बनाने / उसके साथ यह काम कर पाने के लिए मुझे यह पसंद है क्या किया गया है के बारे में थोड़ा बता सकते हैं?*

आप एक काम का चयन कर सकते हैं। गतिविधि आप में विशेष रूप से पसंद कर रहे हैं और आप इस बनाने के लिए एक साथ किया था काम के बारे में मुझे बता सकते हैं?

Appendix G

Intergenerational Communication, Closeness, and Negotiating Cultures Interview for adolescents

1. What comes to mind when you think about seniors today? How would you describe them in your own words?
2. What do you think seniors have to offer in modern society? In what ways do they/can they contribute?
3. What do you think seniors care about these days? Why is that?
4. Do you feel close to any seniors? In your family? Outside of your family?
5. How much contact do you have with seniors? Where/how do you have that contact?
6. Do you think it is important for adolescents, like yourself, to interact with seniors? Is it important to you?
7. Do you think seniors like interacting with adolescents? Why do you think so?
8. To what extent do you think the two generations understand each other? What gets in the way? What might improve intergenerational understanding?
9. What do you think the purpose is of this program? Why are you interested in participating? (During Interview 2: What do you think of the program so far? What do you like most about it, what would you change about it if you were in charge? During Interview 3: Overall, what do you think of this program? What did you like most about it? What would you change if you were in charge? Do you think it helps increase intergenerational understanding? Can you give me some examples?

For End-program assessment

Let's look at some of the work you have done together (either a list of activities or actual works created) with your teen partner. Can you tell me a little bit about what it has been like to get to know xxxx and create these works/do this work with him/her?

Can you select one work/activity you are particularly fond of and tell me about the work you did together to create this?

Appendix G (Hindi)

Intergenerational *संचार, निकटता, और किशोरों के लिए बातचीत संस्कृति साक्षात्कार*

1. *क्या आप आज वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के बारे में सोचते हैं मन में आता है? कैसे आप अपने खुद के शब्दों में उन्हें परिभाषित करेंगे?*
2. *क्या आप वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के आधुनिक समाज में की पेशकश की है लगता है? क्या मायनों में वे/ वे योगदान दे सकते है?*
3. *यदि आप वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के इन दिनों के बारे में परवाह क्या सोचते हैं? ऐसा क्यों है?*
4. *यदि आप किसी भी वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के करीब महसूस करते हैं? आपके परिवार में? अपने परिवार के बाहर?*
5. *आप वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के साथ कितना संपर्क क्या ज़रूरत है? जहां/ कैसे आपको लगता है कि संपर्क करना है?*
6. *यदि आप यह किशोरों, अपने आप की तरह, वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के साथ बातचीत करने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है लगता है? यह आप के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है?*
7. *यदि आप किशोरों के साथ बातचीत की तरह वरिष्ठ नागरिकों लगता है? आप ऐसा क्यों सोचते हैं?*
8. *किस हद तक आप दो पीढ़ियों एक दूसरे को समझने लगता है? किस तरह से हो जाता है? क्या* intergenerational *समझ में सुधार हो सकता है?*
9. *आप उद्देश्य इस कार्यक्रम का क्या लगता है? तुम क्यों भाग लेने में रुचि रखते हैं? (साक्षात्कार* 2 *के दौरान: यदि आप अब तक के कार्यक्रम के बारे में क्या सोचते हैं क्या आप सबसे इसके बारे में क्या पसंद है तुम प्रभार में थे यदि आप साक्षात्कार* 3 *के दौरान इसके बारे में क्या परिवर्तन होगा? कुल मिलाकर, अगर आप इस कार्यक्रम के बारे में क्या सोचते हैं क्या? क्या आप प्रभार में थे, तो क्या बदल जाएगा? आप इसे सबसे ज्यादा पसंद के बारे में था? क्या तुम यह वृद्धि* intergenerational *समझ में मदद करता है लगता है? क्या आप मुझे कुछ उदाहरण दे सकते हैं?*

अंत कार्यक्रम के आकलन के लिए

चलो अपने किशोर साथी के साथ काम आप एक साथ (एक गतिविधियों की सूची या बनाया वास्तविक काम करता है या तो) किया है में से कुछ पर नजर डालते हैं। आप/ उसके XXXX *जानते हैं और इन कार्यों बनाने/ उसके साथ यह काम कर पाने के लिए मुझे यह पसंद है क्या किया गया है के बारे में थोड़ा बता सकते हैं?*

आप एक काम का चयन कर सकते हैं/ गतिविधि आप में विशेष रूप से पसंद कर रहे हैं और आप इस बनाने के लिए एक साथ किया था काम के बारे में मुझे बता सकते हैं?

Appendix H

CODE BOOK updated (02/14/16)

LABEL	DEFINITION(S)	EXAMPLE
Intergenerational understanding presence (Green +) absence (Green -) careful mixture (Green +/-)	• Presence, absence, or a careful mixture of "connection" between generations	"They (members of different generations) **understand** each other but you know they feel, they think that they would think about us or they will not feel comfortable with us. You know this is happening from both sides." (+/-)
Intergenerational contact presence (Orange +) absence (Orange -) careful mixture (Orange +/-)	• Presence, absence, or a careful mixture of "interaction"/ "communication" between generations	In response to if **interaction** between generations is important: "Very important. I know that I have learned ninety percent of the things I know today from my grandfather." (+) "So usually, um, like I find difficulty to **connect** with them, because in my family there are no people." (-)(-)
Social isolation (Pink)	• A state or process in which persons, groups, or cultures lose or do not have communication or cooperation with one another resulting in extreme loneliness	"For me I think they are very **lonely** because they are being **left out**, because of the neutral families and everything."
Western culture values and practices (Brown)	• Individualism • Materialism • Careerism • Nuclear families • A scarcity of time • Technology	"But, younger generation **doesn't seem to have time to even go and interact with them and whatever**. Earlier in joint families they used to sit together so the grandparents were teaching them things. Nowadays, because of the **nuclear families** they are being **left out**."

Stereotyping about seniors/ageist remarks (red)	• *Ageism*: prejudice or discrimination on the basis of a person's age. • Making rude, crude, and socially unacceptable comments when talking about the older generations.	"Year, okay, yeah what I think is that they are very **fragile** and they have, they **lose fatigue**, and um, they get **brown hair**, and **you know the ability to think and react it kind of decreases**. Okay, and um they have **impaired visions** and I think they are **difficult to handle** which is **why we should understand** them because that's **their phase**."
Filial responsibility/respect towards seniors (blue)	• Duty to give support to the elderly	"I think **they are the people who will live you the most**, they are the **most loveable people in the world**."
Two-childhoods theme (grey)	• Seniors are like children	"Uh, **seniors are like child**. Like **they are like more like child they like in childhood we need someone who cares for us**, but when let's say like after, like over a period of time then we start moving towards getting mature, and at that time, and we get in the maturity, like we reach at that age where we need someone where we need people where we need someone to care for us again."
Blessing versus burden/ karmic responsibility theme (blue w/ dotted lines) Blessing (+) Curse (-)	• Words like "blessing" and "curse" are used to describe seniors • What goes around, comes around, thus, we need to fulfill our duty to seniors	"You know they **curse us for not following them**." (-) "They should absolutely do so, because if we have the **blessings of seniors, life gets easier**." (+)
Self-centered/self-righteous theme (blue)	• Having or characterized by a certainty, especially an unfounded one, that one is totally correct or morally superior.	"In general, there is one thing I feel. That today, whatever young people there are, whoever they may be, from A to Z, are **solely concerned with themselves and their own wants**. They **don't listen to what anybody tells them**. If

		you say something, they will retort back. They, every young person is **self-righteous**. They **believe that what they are saying is correct and the viewpoints of elders is incorrect**, even though it is correct.”

Appendix I

Demographic Questionnaire for seniors

1. Age _____
2. Gender _____
3. Number and age of children: _____ and _____
4. Do you have living family members? Yes or No (please circle one)
5. If yes, where do they live? _____
6. Do you leave the old age home often? Yes or No (please circle one)
7. If yes, how many times in a given month do you leave the old age home? _____
8. Part of India originally from _____

a. Language spoken at home _____

b. How long have you been in the old age home? What do you think about it?

c. Do family members visit?

Appendix I (Hindi)

वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के लिए जनसांख्यिकीय प्रश्नावली

1. आयु _____

2. लिंग _____

3. संख्या और बच्चों की उम्र: _____ और _____

4. यदि आप परिवार के सदस्यों के रहने वाले है तुम्हारे पास? हाँ या नहीं (एक सर्कल करें)

5. यदि हाँ, जहां वे रहते हैं? _____

6. आप अक्सर बुढ़ापे घर छोड़ देते? हाँ या नहीं (एक सर्कल करें)

7. हाँ, आप वृद्धाश्रम में कितनी बार भी महीने में छोड़ देते हैं? _____

मूल रूप से भारत के 8 भाग _____

एक। भाषा घर पर बात की _____

बी। आप वृद्धाश्रम में कितने समय तक किया गया है? आपने इस बारे में क्या सोचा?

सी। परिवार के सदस्यों के यात्रा करते हैं?

Appendix J

Demographic Questionnaire for Young Adults

1. Age_____
2. Gender_____
3. Age of Father _____
4. Age of Mother _____
5. Number and age of living grandparents: _____ and _____
6. Did your grandparents ever live with you? Yes or No (circle one)
7. If answered no, where do they live? _____
8. Part of India originally from _____

a. Language spoken at home _____

b. Do you have any elderly family members?

If so, where are they living and how often do you visit them?

Appendix J (Hindi)

किशोरों के लिए जनसांख्यिकीय प्रश्नावली

1. Age_____

2. Gender_____

पिता की 3. आयु _____

मदर 4. आयु _____ _____

रहने वाले दादा-दादी की 5. नंबर और उम्र: _____ और _____

अपने दादा दादी कभी आप के साथ 6. रहते हैं? हाँ या नहीं वृत्त (एक)

कोई जवाब 7. हैं, जहां वे रहते हैं? _____

मूल रूप से भारत के 8 भाग _____

एक। भाषा घर पर बात की _____

बी। आप किसी भी बुजुर्ग परिवार के सदस्यों के लिए है?

मैं। यदि हां, तो वे रह रहे हैं, जहां कितनी बार आप उन्हें यात्रा करते हैं?

Appendix K

Consent form for Indian seniors

- I hereby consent to participate in Aleksandr Chandra's research about intergenerational relations between Indian adolescents and seniors.
- I understand that this research is being conducted by a student for an Honors Thesis at Connecticut College in the United States of America and I understand that this research is being supervised by Professor Audrey Zakriski in the Psychology Department and funded through Connecticut College's Myers Research Fellowship.
- I understand that this research will involve interacting with teenagers from Manzil in Delhi, India over an 8 week period and completing a series of interviews and questionnaires.
- I understand that the direct benefits of this research to society are not known, but that it may teach me and the researchers about intergenerational relationships.
- I understand that this research will take approximately 8 weeks to complete.
- I understand that there is a 4 hour commitment each week.
- I understand I will collaborate with an adolescent on conversation and creativity-based activities.
- I understand there will be a 30 -45 minute interview /questionnaire session before program begins and at the end.
- I have been told that there are no more than minimal risks or discomforts related to participating in this research.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to Aashirwad to participate.
- I understand that I may decline to answer any questions as I see fit, and that I may withdraw from the study without penalty at any time.
- I understand that all information will be identified with a code number and NOT my name.
- I have been advised that I may contact the researcher who will answer any questions that I may have about the purposes and procedures of this study.
- I understand that this study is not meant to gather information about specific individuals and that my responses will be combined with other participants' data for the purpose of statistical analyses.
- I consent to publication of the study results as long as the identity of all participants is protected. If I have any questions or concerns I can contact Aleksandr Chandra at achandra@conncoll.edu or his supervising Professor Audrey Zakriski at alzak@conncoll.edu.
- I understand that interviews I do for this study will be audiotaped and that they will be stored with my code number and analyzed at a later date. Once the tapes have been transcribed and coded, I understand they will be destroyed.
- I also understand that products I create in this program with my teen partner may be photographed and or videotaped to document the program and how participants respond to it.
- I understand that these photos and videotapes will be used for research purposes only and will not be shared publicly.
- I also understand that I may be asked about some of this work during assessment interviews.

I understand that this research has been approved by the Connecticut College Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB). Concerns about any aspect of this study may be addressed to Professor Jason Nier, Chairperson of the Connecticut College IRB (janie@conncoll.edu).

I have read these explanations and assurances and voluntarily consent to participate in Aleksandr Chandra's study about intergenerational relations between Indian adolescents and seniors.
Name (printed) _____

Signature _____ Date _____

I voluntarily consent to being audio recorded, video recorded, and photographed by the researcher. I have been advised that all recorded material will be destroyed after they have been transcribed. All transcribed materials will be identified only by a code number and not a name.

Name (printed) _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix K (Hindi)

साक्षात्कार के लिए गाइड कोडिंग

संचार के स्तर

कम: "मैं अपने वरिष्ठ सब कुछ बता नहीं है।" "किशोरों सब कुछ पता है की जरूरत नहीं है" या
मध्यम: या "मैं वे जानना चाहते हैं कि क्या मेरे किशोर बताओ" "मैं जानबूझकर कुछ भी छिपा नहीं है।"
उच्च: "हम एक दूसरे को सब कुछ बता।"
बड़ों के लिए संस्कृतियों वार्ता

भारतीय: "हम भारतीय संस्कृति ही अभ्यास करते हैं।"
मिश्रण: "हम हमारी परम्पराओं के लिए सही रहने की कोशिश, लेकिन समझौता करने के लिए तैयार हैं।"
पश्चिमी: "हम बदलने के लिए तैयार हैं।"

किशोरों के लिए संस्कृति वार्ता

भारतीय: "मैं एक भारतीय के रूप में बहुत ज्यादा खुद के बारे में सोचते हैं।"
मिश्रण: "मैं अपनी भारतीयता के लिए सही रहने की कोशिश, लेकिन पता लगाने के लिए तैयार हूँ।"
पश्चिमी: "मैं भारतीय के रूप में खुद के बारे में सोच नहीं है।"

Intergenerational समझौता

कम: "दो पीढ़ियों, हम वास्तव में एक दूसरे को समझ में नहीं आता बहुत अलग हैं।"
मॉडरेट: "मैं हमेशा उन्हें समझ में नहीं आता है, लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि वे कहाँ से आ रहे हैं।"
उच्च: "हम पूरी तरह से एक दूसरे को समझते हैं।"

Intergenerational संघर्ष

कम: "हम सभी में कुछ भी के बारे में सहमत नहीं है।"
मध्यम: "हम एक समय में एक बार सहमत नहीं हैं।"
उच्च: "हम निश्चित रूप से एक बहुत सहमत नहीं हैं।"

भावनात्मक निकटता
कम: "हम अपनी भावनाओं को साझा नहीं करते।"
मॉडरेट: "हम कभी-कभी हमारी भावनाओं को साझा करते हैं।"
उच्च: "हम हमेशा हमारी भावनाओं को साझा करते हैं।"

Appendix L

Consent Form for Indian Families

We hereby give consent for (name of child) _____ to participate in Aleksandr Chandra's research about intergenerational relations between Indian adolescents and seniors.

- We understand that this research is being conducted by a student for an Honors Thesis at Connecticut College in the United States of America and we understand that this research is being supervised by Professor Audrey Zakriski in the Psychology Department and funded through Connecticut College's Myers Research Fellowship.
- We understand that this research will involve our son/daughter interacting with an elderly individual from Aashirwad Old Age Home in Delhi, India over an 8 week period and completing a series of interviews and questionnaires.
- We understand that there is a 2 hour commitment each week and transportation will be funded by the program but the responsibility of the child to commute to and from the designated location.
- We understand my son/daughter will collaborate with a senior on conversation and creativity-based activities. We understand there will be a 30 -45 minute interview /questionnaire session before program begins and at the end.
- We understand that the interviews and questionnaires contain questions of a somewhat personal nature. For example, your child may be asked to respond to the statement "have your grandparents live with you when you get older." These questionnaires also ask your child to respond to the statement "help your grandparents financially in the future."
- While we understand that the direct benefits of this research to society are not known, we understand that it may teach us and the researchers about intergenerational relationships.
- We understand that this research will take approximately 8 weeks to complete.
- We have been told that there are no more than minimal risks or discomforts related to participating in this research. We understand that we are under no obligation to Manzil to participate.
- We understand that our child may decline to answer any questions as he/she sees fit, and that we may withdraw our child from the study without penalty at any time.
- We understand that all information will be identified with a code number and NOT my child's name.
- We have been advised that we may contact the researcher who will answer any questions that we may have about the purposes and procedures of this study. We understand that this study is not meant to gather information about specific individuals and that my child's responses will be combined with other participants' data for the purpose of statistical analyses.
- We consent to publication of the study results as long as the identity of all participants is protected. If I have any questions or concerns we can contact Aleksandr Chandra at achandra@conncoll.edu or his supervising Professor Audrey Zakriski at alzak@conncoll.edu.
- We understand that this research has been approved by the Connecticut College Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB). Concerns about any aspect of this study may

be addressed to Professor Jason Nier, Chairperson of the Connecticut College IRB (janie@conncoll.edu).

- I understand that interviews my child does for this study will be audiotaped and that they will be stored with my code number and analyzed at a later date. Once the tapes have been transcribed and coded, I understand they will be destroyed. I also understand that products my child creates in this program with his/her elder partner may be photographed and or videotaped to document the program and how participants respond to it.
- I understand that these photos and videotapes will be used for research purposes only and will not be shared publicly. I also understand that my child may be asked about some of this work during assessment interviews.

We have read these explanations and assurances and voluntarily consent for our child to participate in Aleksandr Chandra's study about intergenerational relations between Indian adolescents and seniors.

Name of Parent or Legal Guardian (printed) _____
Signature _____ Date _____

We voluntarily consent for our child to be **audio recorded** by the researcher. I have been advised that all recorded material will be destroyed after they have been transcribed. All transcribed materials will be identified only by a code number and not a name.

Name of Parent or Legal Guardian (printed) _____
Signature _____ Date _____

We voluntarily consent for our child to be **video recorded and photographed** by the researcher. I have been advised that all recorded material will be destroyed after they have been transcribed. All transcribed materials will be identified only by a code number and not a name.

Name of Parent or Guardian (printed) _____
Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix L (Hindi)

भारतीय वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के लिए सहमति फॉर्म

मैं इसके द्वारा भारतीय किशोरों और वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के बीच intergenerational संबंधों के बारे में अलेक्सांद्र चंद्रा के अनुसंधान में भाग लेने के लिए सहमति देते हैं।

मैं इस शोध अमेरिका के संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में कनेक्टिकट कॉलेज में एक सम्मान की थीसिस के लिए एक छात्र द्वारा आयोजित किया जा रहा है कि समझते हैं और मुझे लगता है कि इस शोध के मनोविज्ञान विभाग में प्रोफेसर ऑड्रे Zakriski की देखरेख के द्वारा और कनेक्टिकट कॉलेज के मायर्स रिसर्च फैलोशिप के माध्यम से वित्त पोषित किया जा रहा है कि समझ में ।

मैं इस शोध एक 8 सप्ताह की अवधि में दिल्ली, भारत में मंज़िल से किशोरों के साथ बातचीत और साक्षात्कार और प्रश्नावली की एक श्रृंखला को पूरा करने में शामिल होगी समझते हैं।

मैं समाज के लिए इस शोध का प्रत्यक्ष लाभ नहीं जाना जाता है कि समझते हैं, लेकिन यह मेरे और intergenerational रिश्तों के बारे में शोधकर्ताओं सिखाना हो सकता है।

मैं इस शोध को पूरा करने के लिए लगभग 8 सप्ताह लग जाएगा कि समझते हैं।

मैं एक 4 घंटे प्रतिबद्धता प्रत्येक सप्ताह है कि वहाँ समझते हैं।

मैं मैं बातचीत और रचनात्मकता आधारित गतिविधियों पर एक किशोर के साथ सहयोग करेगा समझते हैं।

मैं इस कार्यक्रम को शुरू होता है और अंत में इससे पहले एक 30 -45 मिनट के साक्षात्कार / प्रश्नावली सत्र होगा समझते हैं।

मैं इस शोध में भाग लेने से संबंधित कम से कम जोखिम या असुविधाओं से अधिक नहीं कर रहे हैं कि कहा गया है।

मैं मैं भाग लेने के लिए Aashirwad के दायित्व के अधीन हूं कि समझते हैं।

मैं मैं मैं फिट देख के रूप में किसी भी सवाल का जवाब देने के लिए गिरावट, और मैं किसी भी समय बिना दंड के अध्ययन से पीछे हट सकता है कि हो सकता है कि समझते हैं।

मैं सभी जानकारी मेरा नाम एक कोड नंबर के साथ पहचान की है और नहीं होगा कि समझते हैं।

मैं मुझे लगता है मैं इस अध्ययन के उद्देश्यों और प्रक्रियाओं के बारे में हो सकता है कि किसी भी सवाल का जवाब देना होगा, जो शोधकर्ता संपर्क कर सकते हैं कि सलाह दी गई है।

मैं इस अध्ययन के विशिष्ट व्यक्तियों के बारे में और मेरी प्रतिक्रिया सांख्यिकीय विश्लेषण के प्रयोजन के लिए अन्य प्रतिभागियों के आंकड़ों के साथ संयुक्त हो जाएगा कि जानकारी इकट्ठा करने के लिए मतलब नहीं है कि समझते हैं।

मैं जब तक सभी प्रतिभागियों की पहचान की रक्षा की है के रूप में अध्ययन के परिणामों के प्रकाशन के लिए सहमति देते हैं। मैं किसी भी प्रश्न या चिंता है, तो मैं achandra@conncoll.edu या

alzak@conncoll.edu में अपने पर्यवेक्षण प्रोफेसर ऑड्रे Zakriski पर अलेक्सांद्र चंद्रा से संपर्क कर सकते हैं।
मैं इस अध्ययन के लिए मुझे क्या करना साक्षात्कार audiotaped और वे अपने कोड नंबर के साथ संग्रहीत और एक बाद की तारीख में विश्लेषण किया जाएगा कि होगी समझते हैं। टेप लिखित और कोडित किया गया है एक बार, मुझे लगता है वे नष्ट हो जाएगा समझते हैं।
मैं भी फोटो खिंचवाने और या कार्यक्रम दस्तावेज़ करने के लिए वीडियो टेप किया जा सकता है मेरे किशोर साथी के साथ इस कार्यक्रम में बना सकते हैं और प्रतिभागियों को यह करने के लिए कैसे प्रतिक्रिया उत्पादों समझते हैं।
मैं इन तस्वीरों और वीडियो टेप अनुसंधान प्रयोजनों के लिए ही इस्तेमाल किया जाएगा और सार्वजनिक रूप से साझा नहीं किया जाएगा समझते हैं।
मैं भी मैं मूल्यांकन साक्षात्कार के दौरान इस काम के बारे में कुछ कहा जा सकता है कि समझते हैं।

मैं इस शोध कनेक्टिकट कॉलेज मानव विषयों संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्ड (आईआरबी) द्वारा अनुमोदित किया गया है कि समझते हैं। इस अध्ययन के किसी भी पहलू के बारे में चिंताएं प्रोफेसर जेसन Nier, कनेक्टिकट कॉलेज आईआरबी (janie@conncoll.edu) के अध्यक्ष को संबोधित किया जा सकता है।

मैं इन स्पष्टीकरण और आश्वासनों पढ़ सकते हैं और स्वेच्छा से भारतीय किशोरों और वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के बीच intergenerational संबंधों के बारे में अलेक्सांद्र चंद्रा के अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए सहमति प्राप्त है।
नाम मुद्रित) _____

हस्ताक्षर _____ तिथि _____
मैं स्वेच्छा से ऑडियो दर्ज की गई, वीडियो रिकॉर्ड किया जा रहा करने के लिए सहमति, और शोधकर्ता द्वारा फोटो खिंचवाने। मुझे लगता है वे लिखित में किया गया है, सब के बाद दर्ज की गई सामग्री नष्ट हो जाएगा कि सलाह दी गई है। सभी लिखित सामग्री केवल एक कोड नंबर नहीं है और एक नाम से पहचाना जाएगा।
नाम मुद्रित) _____

हस्ताक्षर _____ तिथि _____

Appendix M

Debriefing form for Indian young adults, seniors, and families

First of all, thank you for participating in Aleksandr Chandra's research about intergenerational strength and emotional closeness between Indian adolescents and seniors. In the wake of an ever increasing globalization, intergenerational contact has become even more important. The researcher hypothesized that an eight-week intergenerational contact program in Delhi, India would result in an increase in peaceful interpersonal relationships and an increase in emotional closeness between its young adults and senior participants and that these changes would be stronger than those seen between young adults and senior participants who expressed interest in the program but did not participate. This hypothesis was derived from the researcher's Sages & Seekers® intergenerational contact program in New London, CT. If you are interested in this topic and would like further details about the experiment, you can contact the researcher, Aleksandr Chandra at achandra@conncoll.edu or his supervising Professor Audrey Zakriski at alzak@conncoll.edu. Additionally, you can contact the chair of the IRB, Jason Nier (janie@conncoll.edu), if you have any questions or concerns about the manner in which this study was conducted.

For more information on the topic of aging in India and intergenerational contact, you make ask the researcher for these sources:

Lamb, S. (2000). *White Saris and Sweet Mangoes*. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press. Print.

Rani, K. J., & Gayatridevi, S. (2014). Elderly and the Young adults in the Intergenerational Indian Society. *Indian Journal of Gerontology, 28*(2), 291-302.

If you would like to receive the final results of this study, please fill out and return the form below.

We would like to receive the final results of the study. Please send it to:

Name _____

Address _____
_____
_____

Date _____

Appendix M (Hindi)

भारतीय किशोरों, वरिष्ठ नागरिकों, और परिवारों के लिए डीब्रीफिंग प्रपत्र

सबसे पहले, intergenerational शक्ति और भारतीय किशोरों और वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के बीच भावनात्मक निकटता के बारे में अलेक्सांद्र चंद्रा के शोध में भाग लेने के लिए धन्यवाद। एक बढ़ती भूमंडलीकरण के बाद में, intergenerational संपर्क और भी अधिक महत्वपूर्ण हो गया है। शोधकर्ता दिल्ली में एक आठ सप्ताह intergenerational संपर्क कार्यक्रम, भारत शांतिपूर्ण पारस्परिक संबंधों में वृद्धि हुई है और उसके युवा और वरिष्ठ प्रतिभागियों के बीच है और इन परिवर्तनों के युवा और वरिष्ठ के बीच देखा उन लोगों की तुलना में मजबूत हो जाएगा कि भावनात्मक निकटता में वृद्धि का परिणाम होता है कि धारणा कार्यक्रम में रुचि व्यक्त की है, लेकिन भाग नहीं लिया भाग लेने वाले। इस परिकल्पना नई लंदन, सीटी में शोधकर्ता संतों एवं साधक intergenerational संपर्क कार्यक्रम से निकाली थी। यदि आप इस विषय में रुचि रखते हैं और प्रयोग के बारे में अधिक जानकारी चाहते हैं, तो आप achandra@conncoll.edu या alzak@conncoll.edu में अपने पर्यवेक्षण प्रोफेसर ऑड्रे Zakriski में शोधकर्ता, अलेक्सांद्र चंद्रा से संपर्क कर सकते हैं। साथ ही, आपको आईआरबी की कुर्सी, जेसन Nier संपर्क कर सकते हैं (janie@conncoll.edu), तो आप इस अध्ययन का आयोजन किया गया था, जिस तरीके के बारे में कोई प्रश्न या चिंता है।

भारत और intergenerational संपर्क में उम्र बढ़ने के विषय के बारे में अधिक जानकारी के लिए, यदि आप इन स्रोतों के लिए शोधकर्ता पूछना करते हैं:

Lamb, S. (2000). *White Saris and Sweet Mangoes*. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press. Print.

Rani, K. J., & Gayatridevi, S. (2014). Elderly and the Young adults in the Intergenerational Indian Society. *Indian Journal Of Gerontology*, *28*(2), 291-302.

यदि आप इस अध्ययन के अंतिम परिणाम प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं, तो भरें और नीचे के फार्म वापस कृपया।

हम अध्ययन के अंतिम परिणाम प्राप्त करने के लिए करना चाहते हैं। यह करने के लिए भेजें:

नाम _____

पता _____

तिथि _____

आप उपरोक्त लेख चाहते हैं, तो _____ यहाँ जाँच कृपया

Appendix N

Cover Letter

Dear Parent or Guardian,

I am writing to inform you about a study addressing intergenerational relations between adolescents from Manzil and elders from Aashirwad Old Age Home in Delhi, India. This study has been approved by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board at Connecticut College, New London, United States of America where I am a student. I designed the study as a senior Honor's thesis at Connecticut College because I think it is important to study the process of aging and intergenerational contact in our changing world. Studies like this will help us develop programs and policies that will help adolescents and seniors make better sense of their lives and their relations to each other. This research will use the Mending Maya program. The Mending Maya Program is an 8 week intergenerational contact program divided into 2, 4 week units. During the first four week "sharing memories" phase of the program, young adults and the elders will meet for two hours one time each week to share memories with one another through conversation, which is a gradual and natural icebreaker. The final four weeks of the program will focus on "making moments." During this phase, the young adults will continue to meet for two hours one day each week with their respective elder, but will connect with them through a variety of mediums: scrapbooking, painting, theater, and dance movement. Transportation will be funded by the program but will be the responsibility of your child to commute to and from the designated location.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. However, I ask you to consider allowing your child to participate in this research. You may keep the consent form for contact information if you have any questions. Thank you for your cooperation.

X_____

Aleksandr Chandra

Appendix N (Hindi)

कवर लेटर

प्रिय माता पिता या अभिभावक,

मैं दिल्ली, भारत में Aashirwad वृद्धाश्रम से मंज़िल से किशोरों और बड़ों के बीच intergenerational संबंधों को संबोधित एक अध्ययन के बारे में सूचित करने के लिए लिख रहा हूँ। इस अध्ययन में मैं एक छात्र हूँ, जहां मानव विषयों कनेक्टिकट कॉलेज में संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्ड, नई लंदन, अमेरिका के संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका द्वारा अनुमोदित किया गया है। मैं यह उम्र बढ़ने और हमारी बदलती दुनिया में intergenerational संपर्क की प्रक्रिया का अध्ययन करने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि मुझे लगता है कनेक्टिकट कॉलेज में एक वरिष्ठ साहब की थीसिस के रूप में अध्ययन बनाया गया है। इस तरह के अध्ययन हमें किशोरों और वरिष्ठ नागरिकों को उनके जीवन और एक दूसरे को अपने संबंधों के बेहतर समझ बनाने में मदद मिलेगी कि कार्यक्रमों और नीतियों को विकसित करने में मदद मिलेगी। इस शोध बनाना माया कार्यक्रम का उपयोग करेगा। बनाना माया कार्यक्रम 2, 4 सप्ताह इकाइयों में विभाजित एक 8 सप्ताह intergenerational संपर्क कार्यक्रम है। कार्यक्रम के पहले चार सप्ताह "साझा यादें" चरण के दौरान, युवाओं और बड़ों के एक क्रमिक और प्राकृतिक आइसब्रेकर है जो बातचीत के माध्यम से एक दूसरे के साथ यादों को साझा करने के लिए प्रत्येक सप्ताह दो घंटे के एक बार के लिए मुलाकात करेंगे। "। क्षणों बनाने" कार्यक्रम के अंतिम चार सप्ताह पर ध्यान दिया जाएगा इस चरण के दौरान, युवाओं दो घंटे एक दिन उनके संबंधित बड़े के साथ एक सप्ताह के लिए पूरा करने के लिए जारी रहेगा, लेकिन माध्यमों की एक किस्म के माध्यम से उन लोगों के साथ कनेक्ट करेगा: scrapbooking, पेंटिंग, थियेटर, और नृत्य आंदोलन। परिवहन कार्यक्रम द्वारा वित्त पोषित किया जाएगा, लेकिन करने के लिए और निर्दिष्ट स्थान से बदलना करने के लिए अपने बच्चे की जिम्मेदारी होगी। इस अध्ययन में भागीदारी पूरी तरह स्वैच्छिक है। फिर भी, मैं अपने बच्चे को इस शोध में भाग लेने के लिए अनुमति देने पर विचार करने के लिए आप से पूछना। अगर आप किसी भी प्रश्न हैं, तो आप संपर्क जानकारी के लिए सहमति पत्र पर रख सकते हैं। आपके सहयोग के लिए धन्यवाद।

X_____

अलेक्सांद्र चंद्रा

Appendix O

Assent Form

I am doing a research study about the effects of intergenerational contact. A research study is a way to learn more about people. If you decide that you want to be a part of this study, you will be asked to participate in an 8 week intergenerational contact program for 2 hours each week. You will collaborate with a senior on conversation and creativity-based activities. I will fund your transportation, but it will be your responsibility to commute to and from the designated location. Before the program and at the end of the program, I will ask you to complete some questionnaires and participate in a 30-40 minute interview. I will also ask you for some background information before the project begins. During the program I will take photographs and make videotapes to record the work you are doing with your senior partner. I will ask you about some of this work during our interviews. All of this will help me evaluate how well the program is working.

There are some things about this study that you should know. Not everyone who takes part in this study will benefit. A benefit means that something good will happen to you. We think these benefits might be better relationships with seniors. Your parents know about the study and have given their permission for you to participate, but if you do not want to be in this research study, you do not have to be. We do hope you will participate, and we hope you will ask any questions you have that will help you make that decision. If you decide to participate, but then want to stop after we begin, that's okay too. When you are finished with this study I will write a report about what was learned. This report will not include your name or state that you were in the study. This report will help people learn more about intergenerational contact programs like this and how they work.

If you decide you want to be in this study, please sign your name.

I _____, want to be in this research study.

_____ _____

(Sign your name here) (Date)

I agree to be recorded during interviews, and I agree to have my work photographed and/or videotaped to help the researchers evaluate the program.

_____

(Name)

_____ _____

(Sign your name here) (Date)

Appendix O (Hindi)

स्वीकृति प्रपत्र

मैं intergenerational संपर्क के प्रभाव के बारे में एक शोध अध्ययन कर रहा हूँ। एक शोध अध्ययन लोगों के बारे में अधिक जानने के लिए एक तरीका है। क्या आप इस अध्ययन का एक हिस्सा होना चाहते हैं कि निर्णय लेते हैं, तो आपको 2 घंटे एक सप्ताह के लिए एक 8 सप्ताह intergenerational संपर्क कार्यक्रम में भाग लेने के लिए कहा जाएगा। आप बातचीत और रचनात्मकता आधारित गतिविधियों पर एक वरिष्ठ के साथ सहयोग करेंगे। मैं अपने परिवहन निधि जाएगा, लेकिन यह करने के लिए और निर्दिष्ट स्थान से बदलना करने के लिए अपनी जिम्मेदारी होगी। कार्यक्रम से पहले और कार्यक्रम के अंत में, मैं कुछ questionaires को पूरा करने और एक 30-40 मिनट के साक्षात्कार में भाग लेने के लिए कहेंगे। परियोजना शुरू होने से पहले मैं भी कुछ पृष्ठभूमि जानकारी के लिए आप से पूछना होगा। कार्यक्रम के दौरान मैं photgraphs लेने के लिए और आप अपने वरिष्ठ साथी के साथ काम कर रहे हैं रिकॉर्ड करने के लिए वीडियोटेप बनाना होगा। मैं अपने साक्षात्कार के दौरान इस काम से कुछ के बारे में आप से पूछना होगा। इस सब के सब मुझे कार्यक्रम काम कर रहा है कि कैसे अच्छी तरह से मूल्यांकन करने में मदद मिलेगी। आपको पता होना चाहिए कि इस अध्ययन के बारे में कुछ बातें कर रहे हैं। इस अध्ययन में भाग लेता है हर कोई जो लाभ होगा। एक लाभ यह कुछ अच्छा करने के लिए आप कुछ नहीं होगा कि इसका मतलब है। हम इन लाभों के वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के साथ बेहतर संबंधों का हो सकता है। अपने माता पिता के अध्ययन के

बारे में जानते हैं और आप भाग लेने के लिए उनकी अनुमति दे दी है, लेकिन आप इस शोध अध्ययन में शामिल होने के लिए नहीं करना चाहते हैं, तो आपको होने की जरूरत नहीं है। हम आपको भाग लेंगे आशा करते हैं, और हम चाहते हैं कि फैसला लेने में मदद करेगा कि आप किसी भी सवाल पूछना होगा उम्मीद है। हम शुरू हो जाने के बाद आप भाग लेते हैं, लेकिन फिर बंद करना चाहते करने के लिए तय है, वह भी ठीक है। यदि आप इस अध्ययन के साथ खत्म हो रहे हैं मैंने सीखा था के बारे में एक रिपोर्ट लिखना होगा। यह रिपोर्ट आपको अध्ययन में थे कि अपना नाम या राज्य में शामिल नहीं किया जाएगा। इस रिपोर्ट के लोगों intergenerational संपर्क इस तरह के कार्यक्रमों और वे कैसे काम के बारे में और अधिक जानने में मदद मिलेगी।

क्या आप वाकई इस अध्ययन में शामिल होने का निश्चय करते हैं, अपने नाम पर हस्ताक्षर करें।
मैं _____, इस शोध अध्ययन में होना चाहते हैं।

_____ _____

(तिथि) (यहाँ अपना नाम हस्ताक्षर)

मैं साक्षात्कार के दौरान दर्ज होने के लिए सहमत हैं, और मैं अपने काम के फोटो खिंचवाने और / या शोधकर्ताओं ने कार्यक्रम का मूल्यांकन करने में मदद करने के लिए वीडियो टेप पास करने के लिए सहमत हैं।

_____

(नाम)

_____ _____

(तिथि) (यहाँ अपना नाम हस्ताक्षर)