



Role of Cultural Capital and Cultural Reproduction on Youth Development in India: A Generational Perspective

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Abstract

The present study endeavored to understand the perceptions of Indian older adults (age 60 and above) from urban centres of New Delhi, Kolkata, and Mumbai, about the state of youth development in India through applying a generational perspective. Drawing from our understanding of Bourdieu's concept of cultural reproduction of values, the study explored older adults' thoughts about the current state of Indian youth concerning their civic participation and contribution to the development of Indian society. Additionally, it sought to find familial roles that the elderly would like to undertake to support their younger family members. Thematic analysis revealed that the older adults in this study perceive that youths are not completely engaged in positive youth development and need to contribute more towards their civic societies. Additionally, the older adults expressed their interest in occupying the role of secondary socializing agents in the family due to their perceived intergenerational differences with youth.

***Keywords:** Cultural capital; cultural reproduction; positive youth development; India*

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Introduction

India, the second-most populous country and democracy in the world, is continuously changing and evolving to contend with the many outside forces and challenges it may face. Such changes are either in the form of significant developments meant to benefit citizens, while other changes prove to be maladaptive, leading to violence, disruption, communal riots, poverty, and unemployment, amongst others. For example, in 2019, India witnessed the Citizenship Amendment Act – National Register of Citizens Protests. Students actively participated in these protests and advocated for societal and political change. Youth power was utilised by many different political parties like the National Student's Union of India in both constructive as well as destructive manners. The entire country witnessed students emerging as leaders (Shankar 2020).

Protests and similar types of unrest caused by social issues demand attention through effective citizen civic engagement. Youth, specifically in India, have been at the forefront of many past and recent movements. In this regard, 'youth unrest' is a term that refers to the collective dissatisfaction faced by an entire youth population of a country and the youth population also has the potential to initiate civic engagement in the country. The concept of civic engagement can be understood as a broader concept including political, social, and moral involvement (Berger 2009). In Berger's (2009) view, social engagement is understood as a part of civic engagement, which is not necessarily related to political activity. At the local level, civic engagement includes membership in local organizations, involvement in various programs, or involvement in making and managing municipal policies. A robust civic society has developed in India, with organizations providing civic opportunities for youth and governmental frameworks that strongly support youth participation.

Lerner, Almergi, Theokas, and Lerner (2005), building on previous data about positive youth development (PYD), proposed a model linking PYD with civic youth engagement. They define the former as a "strength-based conception of adolescence." This model states that the strengths of young people align with resources(education, employment, security, skill-building) and are bilaterally strengthened to develop relationships with people and social institutions. Civic engagement is defined as a person's commitments and contributions towards the community and society through leadership, social entrepreneurship, media, and community development welfare programs. Civic engagement is defined as a person's commitments and contributions towards the community and society through leadership, social entrepreneurship, media, and community development welfare programs.

In sum, civic engagement includes a wide range of actions and behaviors that work towards the development of society and the nation as a whole rather than for private investment. The present study focuses on the generational perceptions about the present state of youth as contributing members of

Indian society; the role of older adults in youth's civic participation, and how this leads to positive youth development; how the elderly perceive youth behavior and use a cultural capital and reproduction approach to aid in positive youth development.

The following section presents a brief review of literature on the theoretical concepts used in this paper.

Role of Family, Grandparents and Value-transmission in Youth Development

A family is considered the primary socializing institution and a vital source of social capital for an individual starting from birth (Bourdieu 1977). Social capital is amongst the three dimensions of capital as proposed by Bourdieu (1986) in addition to economic and cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) called capital multidimensional, wherein the varied kinds of capital are not evenly distributed throughout the society. Family serves as a vital agent in reproducing social, cultural, and biological values towards the child. Parents and other guardians play an important role in providing the younger generation with a secure platform from where they can explore and operate in their social worlds. There are several competencies, skills, and values that the family wants their future generations to behold and practice. This, in turn, determines the young person's participation in the civic culture of their country. The concept of mediation between practices followed in an institution is called habitus (Bourdieu 1990). It is a valuable tool for the analysis of relationships within family lifestyles as well. The dispositions created inside an individual embodied through their speech, behaviors, attitudes, and manners when reproduced by the family practices is called family habitus (Tomanović 2004). It predicts the daily lifestyle and choices of the child.

Cultural Reproduction

The concept of cultural reproduction was coined by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the early 1970s. This concept was initially utilized to understand education as a socializing tool that helps in reproducing a set of values, usually held and released by the dominant class, which is then transmitted to students. However, the cultural part of this concept concerns transmitting traditional cultural values and traditions to succeeding generations. It also examines the time frame in which these values are sustained and used across time. The term 'reproduction' refers to a form of copying that is exactly done by a culture that amalgams a passed-on value system. Even behaviors that individuals learn—mannerisms, body language, way of talking, and facial expressions are all part of a reproduced knowledge that the hegemonic forces in charge have disseminated since times immemorial.

Families are the primary venues where values are transferred, and relationships are exhibited and negotiated. In India, elders in the family are considered an enriched reservoir of values and morals that are appreciated as an important source of guidance, enabling the younger generation to better understand their world and swim through the hurdles and challenges in life (Tripathi 2014).

Identity is formed by the availability of awareness with different opportunities in life that require the individual to make choices, these choices are provided by the family. As the individual grows up and their lifestyle becomes diverse and less dependent on their family members, differences in their thinking patterns and choices start showing. They may start making choices on their own, but the baseline identity remains the same as seen through childhood in the family environment. However, the key influence that family habitus provides is defining the everyday life for the individual by providing them with and by culturally reproducing this information (Morrow 1999).

According to previous psychological research (Vauclair 2009), the most common definitions of “values” contain the following features:

- i. Concepts or beliefs
- ii. The desirable end states or behaviours related to it
- iii. Guidance or evaluation of behaviours
- iv. The relevance or importance of these

Based on Vauclair’s (2009) research, values must be understood as desirable and trans-situational in guiding peoples’ lives. Values add meaning to individuals’ ways of perceiving the world, shaping individuals’ ways of behaving, the choices they make, and the ways they evaluate and understand their surroundings. Family value systems act as assets future generations are expected to inculcate. The present study focuses on how the older population often wants the youth to include them in their own daily functions. Values often constitute the family members’ socio-moral interest in transmitting them intergenerationally.

The grandparent’s generation is also under continuous change. Today, older adults are more involved in a multitude of activities even after retirement, as compared to the past ten years (Takashima *et. al* 2020). Grandparents volunteer to stay involved in the lives of their grandchildren, which often leads to a symbiotic relationship between grandparents, parents, and grandchildren. The grandparents in the family provide emotional and financial support, thereby decreasing the stress, pressure, and burden on parents to provide a nourishing healthy environment for the young generation.

On the other hand, grandchildren also develop deep emotional attachments with their grandparents. This provides them with essential emotional support and allows them to stay updated on their grandparents’ ongoing activities, which increases the satisfaction level for the grandparental role (Peterson 1999).

Dunifon and Bajracharya (2012) explored and discovered both understudied and mixed findings on the level of involvement of older generations in their families. The researchers indicate high involvement of older generations, while other research indicated a lack in such studies. Understanding these familial involvements are instrumental in bringing shifts in family dynamics as well as producing a mix of positive and harmful consequences for the young generation. These shifts in the family are expected to impact the cultural reproduction of values amongst the youth.

Youth in India and its Positive Development

India, being one of the largest demographic countries in the world, comprises 22.1 percent of the youth population worldwide. Young people consist of ages 15-29 years and comprise 27.5 percent of the total population. At present, the youth contribute to 34 percent of India’s gross national income (GNI). The total youth population is divided into urban, which is 10,95,58,848 crores and rural, which is 22,38,05,788 (Parmasivan and Kumaresan 2016).¹

Youth being the country’s future in itself, reserve a considerable portion of India’s resources to reach greater heights. Thus, being an active and productive population of India, they should not be debarred of earned avenues, growth, and opportunities. As quoted by the Ministry of Youth Affairs, “We must rekindle the imagination of our youth so that the nation surges ahead with added strength and vigor” (2014). India is turning into a more capitalist society, and they are also driven by conflicts and tensions

stemming from the past (Sau 1984). Within such a contemporary society, the powerful hold dominant status and rich value systems that suggest ways of behaving, that are passed on as knowledge and wisdom.

Positive youth development (PYD) focuses on the active promotion of optimal human development. The concept of positive youth development (Hamilton 1999) and civic youth participation posits that young people are resourceful, and their caliber can be guided to develop them as positive contributors to society. This framework is based on developmental concepts of resilience plasticity and competency building. Roth, Brookes & Gun (2016) state that youth require opportunities and avenues for positive growth, including positive relationships with caring adults, challenging experiences, and skill-improving practices. A generous view of human capacity and capabilities are the underlying factors involved in positive youth development because these are positive actions and productive contributions made towards the community and society as a whole. Moreover, youth can construct avenues for the nurturance of society. For example, using social media to initiate a business and collect funds or spreading awareness regarding an issue. Thus, to attain their aspirations, the place where they live should provide them with such resources for positive growth.

An exploratory paper by Hameed and Mehrotra (2017) found an unprecedented growth in the concern for the mental health of youth in India (Chadda 2018). The intersection between positive youth development and mental health promotion among youth is becoming evident in recent times. Such interventions would become helpful in making the youth of India a potential contributor to the country.

The present study derives its impetus from the relatively scarce literature on the role of family in the social, cultural, (and biological) reproduction of values by its younger generation (Ginsborg 2008; Howell 2006). With this backdrop, the present study endeavors to delve into the perceptions and roles of older adults in influencing youth's civic participation and how this leads to youth's positive development. It seeks to answer how older adults in the family aim to transmit these values to the younger generations, and how they perceive changing familial roles (if any) today.

The objectives of this study are to (1) explore older adults' perceptions of Indian youth in terms of their level of development, (2) describe how older adults want to transmit their existing value systems to younger generations, and (3) explore any changing roles older adults may want to pursue while interacting with the youth in their family.

Methods

Sample and sampling technique

A total of 20 people, 10 men and 10 women between 65 years and above, participated in this study. The participants, primarily from middle to upper-middle-class households, belonged to the urban sections of the cities from where we collected data. A majority of the participants practiced Hinduism and lived in Delhi NCR and other metropolitan cities of India like Mumbai and Kolkata.

We utilized a purposive sampling method, with older people who were grandparents to younger adult grandchildren (aged 20 years and above) selected. The average educational attainment of the respondents was post-graduation (5 years). They were employed in the government sector, some in private, and the rest were self-employed.

Interview location and settings

All interviews were collected by only one author in Hindi, English, or both based on the individual respondent's comfort level and articulation. The participants were allowed to use both Hindi and English to provide answers. Before recording the entire interview, participants were briefed on the study, and they provided consent and permission.

Data collection occurred during the onset of the global pandemic (COVID-19). Therefore, we witnessed a few challenges regarding conducting close-contact interviews. The interviews were collected through the on-call mode or inside the houses of the participants who allowed, but with increased safety precautions. Due to pandemic restrictions, a majority of the interviews took place over the phone. Participants who were located in cities other than New Delhi participated on-call. All the in-person interviews were collected in New Delhi.

Method of data inquiry

A semi-structured interviewing technique was used. Using semi-structured interviews, the researcher holds the opportunity to mend the session according to the responses provided to him/her. Such interviews are carried out in the form of ongoing dialogues, or questions can be asked between the narratives as well. This provides the advantage of getting numerous perceptions and reasons on a single shared situation.

The interview schedule constituted nine open-ended questions which were flexibly followed to elicit respondents' perceptions (listed in Appendix I). The questions were simple and lacked any jargon to be understandable and accessible to all participants. The questions mainly focused on their perceptions regarding youth of India and the concepts used in this study like positive youth development and civic youth engagement.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis

We utilized a thematic analysis approach to understanding the data collected in this study (Braun and Clark 2006). In this, the narratives were first recorded on a recorder, transcribed, and then analyzed using the coding technique. The study was not objective-based and did not generalize phenomena; instead, it discovered causes and differing perceptions of certain situations. Some theoretical concepts explored in the study were kept as a baseline when coding. The specific dialogues were selected and coded according to the reasoning given by the respondents for the concept or theory that had to be discovered. The codes were made on the basis of common answers in the dataset.

Results

After analyzing the data, different themes emerged regarding older adults' perceptions of youth behaviour and efforts regarding youth development in India. Table 01 below displays the codes, themes, and operational definitions of the themes as a result of the study, developed with reference to thematic analysis (Braun and Clark 2006). Seven themes were made from the responses provided by the subjects. Under each theme, some codes were prepared after transcribing and analyzing the interviews, these were as follows:

Table 01: Themes, including operational definition of themes and codes

<u>Themes</u>	<u>Codes</u>	<u>Operational Definition of Themes</u>
1. Youth Contributing to Development of India	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Doubtful as lesser percentage 2. Both positive and negative contributions 3. Need more guidance 	Understanding whether the youth of India is an asset to the progress of the country. It could be both constructive and negative.
2. Positive Youth Development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Exploitation of youth 2. Indulging in deviant activities- "<i>Dange-fasaad</i>" (violence) 	An approach to understand the youth in terms of their engagement in school, communities, organizations, or peer groups in productive and constructive forms.
3. Civic Youth Engagement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Promoted by educated youth 2. Conscious of their duty 3. Raising the youth with money 4. Corruption 5. Away from social obligations 6. Some are contributing 7. Should be more civically active in rural areas 8. Volunteering work going well at community level 	Making a difference in the civic life of one's community involving skills, knowledge, values, and motivation in forms of volunteering, awareness generation or service-learning.
4. Cultural Reproduction of Values	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Early childhood inculcation 2. Older adults themselves first need to follow them 3. Guided by parents as well 4. Youth should be good listeners 5. Respect the guidance 6. Going back to joint families 7. Spirituality matters 8. Education and literacy used 9. Open discussions and expression of what they want 	Mechanisms by which existing forms of culture, values or belief systems, understandings and practices are transmitted from generation to generation. This helps in sustaining the continuity of those concepts across time.
5. Older Adult's Intervention: Retirement Role for PYD.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Institute run by older adults 2. Helped in education field 3. Would guide them 4. Provide them monetary, social, and emotional support 	Improving the outcomes for the youth of today by guiding, discussing, and helping them in some strategic manner.
6. Restrictions to PYD	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Youth needing guidance and motivation 2. No moral values respected 3. Diversions and distractions 	Risk factors or elements that would not promote PYD or can create a constraint on the youth to use their potential or abilities.
7. Comparison with Older Adults as Youth	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Youths have more opportunities 2. Older adults as 'youth' more civically engaged 3. Youth today running a 'rat-race' 4. Gave more importance to values 	A contrast drawn on the basis of the circumstances seen by the older adults when they were young adults and how within those circumstances they lived and grew.

Discussion

This study explored the perceptions of older adults using Bourdieu's (1977) concept of a cultural reproduction of values. Our study revealed that there is a shift in the ways older adults express their value system. They provided several reasons with respect to the changing trends in family dynamics and youth's own decision-making processes. According to the study, the concept on which elderly's perception was known as *youth's positive development*. A rapid change has been predicted in the population of elderly all over the world as well (Ingle and Nath 2008). We utilized the concept of youth engagement to understand trends in positive youth development. Lastly, we explored the role elderly people want to take in transmitting values to youth. The results were as follows:

1. *Youth Contributing to Development of India*

The codes under this first theme were *doubtful, positive contribution, negative contribution, need more guidance, direction & training*. From the codes, we interpret that youths are not contributing much to the development of India. Moreover, codes like *need more direction and opportunities* are supported by research. For instance, the reason youth of metropolitan cities participate in volunteering activities more than suburban youth might be due to more availability and exposure to different opportunities in developed cities. Lerner's (2004) study supporting youth engagement and contribution suggests that there is not only a lack of opportunities but also the lack of awareness about available opportunities that pose a major barrier for youth's engagement in development-based activities, which may contribute to perceptions that the youth are not contributing to India's development.

2. *Positive Development of the Country's Youth*

The codes under this theme were *exploitation of youth and indulging in wrong things like – unrest in youth*. These codes indicate that the elderly participants in our study do not firmly believe the youth of India is developing in a positive manner. Some of the reasons our participants gave for this include youth being exploited by the unnecessary and ill-intentioned power play in the country, getting caught in crime or violence, and unrest. Responses also show how the older adults in this study think youth are being manipulated through politics. As one respondent mentioned, "Many political parties of India may force the youth directly or indirectly to indulge in violence."

As supported by the studies suggesting that younger people engage in more violence because it is a disease that develops mostly from environmental contexts and circumstances (Elliot *et al.* 1998). The prior research on youth and violence often entrails the way they are portrayed and reasons for the deviance of youth (Rhodes 2000) but hardly reports on how younger people might see the world around them as problematic and wrong, which can lead to violence. This violence, in turn, makes adults concerned about youth behaviour, as demonstrated in the findings of the current study.

3. *Civic Youth Engagement*

The codes under this third theme were as follows: *promoted by educated youth more, some youth wasting their time, conscious of their duty, raising the youth with money, corruption, away from social obligations, some are contributing – education field, can be more civically active in rural areas, interested in solving social problems-researched well and studied well, volunteering work going well at community level*. Hart (1992) found that young people take initiatives and make decisions which helps them to participate better. They also play the role of leadership and decide the processes that lead to positive youth development as well as positive social changes. They may want to collaborate, govern, and change to existing conditions of the society. Therefore, in light of Hart's (1992) study, civic engagement should include roles of leadership along with the social changes in the community. Thus, it can be expected that civic engagement is a concept where the youth organize, youth empower, and their participation is seen important. Civic

engagement involves the effect and activity of youth involved in and influencing foundations impacting their lives (Checkoway & Richards-Schuster 2006). Kirlin (2002) stressed the importance of development of civic engagement skills of youth and adolescence in her study. As mentioned by a respondent, “they are associated with many NGOs, providing financial assistance and platforms where funds are being generated for those who are in need. Over the years, youth’s financial backup has become better and through this they help others as well.” Also, our research suggests that the elderly do want to help the youth and want them to engage in social services. Many of those who were interviewed had grandchildren who were actively involved and civically engaged in forms of teaching or helping poor people. The respondents believe that every youth should be civically engaged, the youth who engages in such activities will develop positively.

4. Cultural Reproduction of Values

Codes that emerged under this were *early childhood inculcation, elderly themselves first need to follow values, guided by parents as well, respect the guidance, going back to joint families, spirituality matters, education and literacy used, open discussions and expression of what they want*. Grandparents expressed the reasons behind values that are being passed on to youth. Spiritual books and explanations help with this transfer of knowledge. When discussing the sharing of values, many of the respondents mentioned the phrase “*practice what you preach*,” where these values must be shown to youth through older adults’ own behaviors. Young people, therefore, are more likely to successfully reproduce values and become responsible adults if they see their older family members practicing the values as well. It was analyzed (Apple 1977) that in modern industrial societies, there is an increasing gap between the world of the child and that of the adult. The need for a joint family (in India the joint family also known as the extended family. It comprises of two or more generations living together) has been emphasized enough by the elderly who participated in this study, in order to successfully transmit these values to the younger generation. In the previous times in a joint family, the relationship between father and son was based upon respect, fear, and affection between the two. What the child felt towards his/her elders was so powerful that it used to create a bond between them. The chief values of the family resided with the males of the older generation, who had the power and authority to make decisions about the type of education imparted on the young, the type of occupation that the youth should engage in, and even selecting a mate (Ahuja 1994).

In summation, it could be said that understanding the theory of a cultural reproduction of values is applicable to our current study on intergenerational perspectives. However, modes of expression and transmission of values have undergone a shift. For example, one participant mentioned that they are the ones who can share their experiences and wisdom with the youth but cannot force them to follow a particular path in life. The youth is their best decision-maker. It seems that they do not necessarily want to enforce these values on the younger generation of their family by strictly ordering them to do so, rather incorporating those values within their behaviour through indirect and practicing what they preach. It can also be understood that the concept of family habitus (Bourdieu 1977), which highlights the family’s role in reproducing values, is also shifting. Based on participants’ answers, they no longer want the youth to follow a particular lifestyle or repeat exactly what previous generations did. The older generation understands the constraints and requirements of the time the youth live in. Reasons such as the changing nature of joint families and the influence of technology can unbound the youth from following a lot of practices that their previous generations did.

5. Older Adult’s Intervention: Retirement Role

For the fifth theme we found, certain codes that emerged were as follows: *institute run by elderly – helps in personality development, helped in education field, would guide them, provide them monetary, social and emotional support, motivation, experiential learning, make them understand them concepts of morality*.

Older adults want to be actively engaged with the youth in forms of guidance. Some of the older adults have already engaged in interventions which provide youth with opportunities. Mentioned by one interviewee, “[the] best way to teach the youth is with providing them clear pros and cons of something and also personal experiences. Every advice should be a suggestive advice to the youth by providing them reasons. “Therefore, it can be seen that the older adults do want to help and guide in the youth of the country and provide support in different forms. They have mentioned already how they think that the youth lacks guidance which can be covered with older adult’s guidance.

6. *Restrictions to Positive Youth Development*

This sixth theme regards the positive development of Indian youth. Codes formed under this were as follows: *diversions, need guidance, no moral values respected.*

7. *Comparison with Older Adults as Youth*

Codes formed under this were *more opportunities with today’s youth, youth today not risk-taking, we as “youth” were more active, more civically engaged, we had lesser avenues still were developing positively, rapidness in lifestyle, youth today running a ‘rat-race,’ we gave importance to family values.* Studies support that the elderly, or the boomer generation, complain that the millennial generation is tough to progress with, this younger generation focuses on the faults. (Deal, Altman, and Rogelberg 2010). Such perspectives on young adults come from millennials always expressing opinions and creating more opportunities than their elder generation and “experienced” equivalents (Levenson 2010). They see them as a dynamic workforce as well as always communicating their needs (Myers & Kamyab 2010).

The elderly also expressed why they do not view young people as particularly responsible. They see them as progressing, yet still learning, and many respondents gave the answer of “No comment” on questions asked in relation to how much responsible they are as compared to the when the older adults were young adults.

Overall, it was discovered that the elderly do not see themselves as the reasons for socialization now in the current Indian society’s scenario. The elderly want to be the source of secondary socialization. *Socialization* is being distinguished as to why and when during the life course the socialization occurs (Handel *et al.* 2007). *Primary socialization* occurs during the early days (usually, the span between being born and puberty) and is done by the parents. Socialization does not stagnate at a fixed age however, but rather flows over one’s lifetime. This *other half of socialization* has been referred to as *secondary socialization* because it may be less influential than that which occurs during childhood. Our elderly participants do not want to hold complete responsibility for training and guiding the youth, especially since they view today’s youth as more self-sufficient. They want parents to play a more active role in the transmission of value systems and give them greater importance in comparison to their own role in the family. Also, the older adults want their children to switch to joint families, especially for value transmission to occur.

Another important concept of socialization can be taken from Bronfenbrenner’s *Ecological Model* (1977), in which an individual has to develop within processes of *assimilation* and has to accommodate to his/her environmental and cultural contexts, specifically each step of the model of socialization influence beginning from family (microsystem) to neighbourhoods, to schools (mesosystem), then to cultural institutions (exosystem) in the society. Findings place the socializing authority on the parents; the elderly want to remain the secondary socialization agent inside the family and let parents be the primary source. The elderly see education as a relevant aspect in socialization and development as well. The education system plays a role in the cultural reproduction of the foundations that enhance one’s cultural capital. The amount of cultural capital one has can also determine one’s level of education and

the kind of education they receive (Bourdieu 1990, 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). According to the findings of the present study, this is the type of youth which is currently viewed by the older adults in India which is viewed as contributing less towards the country.

It can also be seen that whether traditional values of the family are accepted or rejected with the modern values of socialism (being self-producing of something) and individualism (becoming self-reliant) depends on the existential realities experienced by each of the families. There is a shift seen in the family structure. The change in the family type from joint to now becoming nuclear is due to the influence of socialism and individualism as they support autonomy of the individual, this has been seen to impact the traditional decision-making process which was done majorly by the elders of the family (Oomen 1982). These emerging trends in the family's structure can be seen to impact the reproduction of the values-system.

A reason as to why today's youth, even after being passed down with the traditional values of the family, still cannot adhere or conform to them, is that the realities and contexts of the current scenarios in Indian society are different as compared to when these values were initially developed.

Concluding Remarks

The present study explored the perspectives of the older population in order to understand how they view the young adults in their family as well as India in general. The study was done through collecting data in the form of interviews with the older population. The theoretical framework of cultural capital and cultural reproduction theory given by Bourdieu (1977) was used as a baseline for forming the content of the interview questions as well as analysis of our findings. The findings reveal that the current older population, those aged sixty-five years and above, have seen a shift in their intergenerational relations with younger adults. They do not necessarily want to use authority and the position of being an "elder" in the family to have relations with their youth or forcefully transmit values upon them.

They do think that the youth of today is growing at a rapid rate, but their positive development has not happened yet. Since they are both within a more technologically advanced world, this helps them perform tasks easily and creating better opportunities than their "experienced" generations. This is one motivating factor for the development of India, our country.

Overall, the older population thinks that the youth is very independent and does not require much interference or guidance from them. They realize that their values cannot be forced upon younger people, as they were forced on themselves as youth. India's youth have potential, which needs to be channelized in correct directions. The older adults in this study also mentioned that any support on behalf of the Indian government should be provided to the youth. This study contributes to the existing body of intergenerational relationships as it signifies the changing ways of transmission of values by older adults to their younger generations.

Notes

1. A crore (cr) also called as *Karor*, *Karod* is equivalent to 100 Lakhs in the Indian numbering system denotes ten million (10,000,000 or 10^7 in scientific notation).

Appendix-I

- Q 1. Viewing the current scenario of India in terms of how it has changed positively and/or negatively, how much do you think that the youth is becoming a contributing member in this? (Good & Bad).
- Q2. What are your views about the level of involvement of youth being civically engaged in India?

- Q3. Do you have a young adult in your home, if yes how much is he/she civically engaged (if so) in the ongoing social issues or likes to volunteer for it? Do you support him/her and how?
- Q4. According to you, are youth's involvement in behaviors related to civic engagement leading to their positive development? If not, then why?
- Q5. Being guiding figures with rich experiences, values and wisdom how would you like to help them?
- Q6. There are lot of risk factors that youth usually face when they want to be civically more active, how would you like to remove these barriers through intervention strategies. (E.g.- Restrictions, Arrests, Substance-use, unemployment, etc.)
- Q 7. Do you want to be more involved in these discussions with the youth? How would involvement at this stage in life act as a turning point for you?
- Q8. People of your age have seen and experienced a lot, how would compare and contrast on the opportunities provided to you as a youth and for today's youth? (In terms of PYD)?
- Q 9. Is this a good retirement role using all the knowledge to help the youth of today? How would this help you somewhere in life at this stage?

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