Conceptually-driven Intergenerational Programming in Singapore: A Preliminary Study

Desmond Wong, University of Hull, United Kingdom
Sue Chang-Koh, National University of Singapore, Singapore
Genesis Tan, National University of Singapore, Singapore
Damien Chan, National University of Singapore, Singapore
May Wang, University of California, Los Angeles, United States

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Abstract
There is scarce information on how and why intergenerational programming (IG) contributes to psychosocial change, and a dearth of conceptually-driven IG in Singapore. Thus, our preliminary study sought to fill a practice research gap by surfacing conceptual bases and translation enablers for psychosocial change in the young through a grounded theory approach. Findings suggest conceptual bases in social identity and activity theories, and translation enablers of 'change of scenery' and bridging, including the potential for active listening, peer support by young participants. Reflections point to further theoretical exploration in identity theory, and practical action in recursive social participation following the Australian Group for Health intervention. Key limitations were the lack of outcome indicators and sample size.

Keywords: Activity theory, Intergenerational programming, Shared site facility, Social identity theory, Social inclusion

Introduction

There is growing interest in local, cost-effective community development initiatives [*CD*] "in different combinations … offering ways to galvanise additional resources from within a community … [and] personalization unattainable through traditional service models" (Knapp et al., 2010 pp.2-3). Broadly speaking, there are three models of CD: *Befriending* provides recipients new relationships over periods of time, *navigators* provide recipients guidance through support systems, and *time banks* provide services by volunteers reimbursed in community currencies (Knapp et al., 2010).

In this paper, we ground our inquiry in *befriending* and its intergenerational programming [*IG*] variant. Simply put, this involves new relationships centered in "deliberate attempts to connect the young and old through program activities" (Thang, 2011, p.1). A key narrative behind the push for IG is that it reduces ageism and thereby, contributes to longer-term inclusion (Butts, 2007). And indeed, Butts, Thang and Yeo's (2014) review of worldwide trends suggests rising ageism exacerbated by single age group policies, shifting demographics, and urbanization.

Singapore is no exception to these trends. Generational gaps have grown wider, from new definitions of 'piety' to legislative safeguards like the Maintenance of Parents and Vulnerable Adults Acts (Mehta & Ko, 2004). Yet despite concerns about exclusion (Centre for Strategic Futures, 2013), the country has had a history of *befriending-IG*. In 1978, the Government started mandatory civic engagement for schoolchildren, mostly at old age facilities. In 1986, politicians graced the opening of Singapore's first shared site facility (Thang, 2011), the site of our empirical setting.

Nevertheless, the above approaches can incentivize cursory contact, and not intended engagement, which requires a shift in stakeholders' beliefs, attitudes, and values. Indeed, Thang (2011) posits that the 'software' of civic engagement "may [inadvertently] reinforce the negative stereotypes of old age instead of closing the generation gap" (p.5). Likewise, studies on the 'hardware' of shared site facilities suggest that IG's potential lies in a recursive process of change that "institutionalizes the value and custom of linking young and old" (Jarrott & Bruno, 2007, p.253).

There is scarce information on how and why IG contributes to psychosocial change at least, in the young. Like CD, most IG are 'black boxes' with neither conceptual basis nor program theory. This presents a practice research gap with implications. At best, good IG cannot be translated beyond local activities and settings. At worst, IG is "'pigeonholed' as a 'feel good' story of no wider significance" (Knapp et al., 2010, p.9). One exception is the American Experience Corps, centered in Erikson's (1959) *generativity* and a derivative theory of change (Glass et al., 2004; *Fig. 1*).
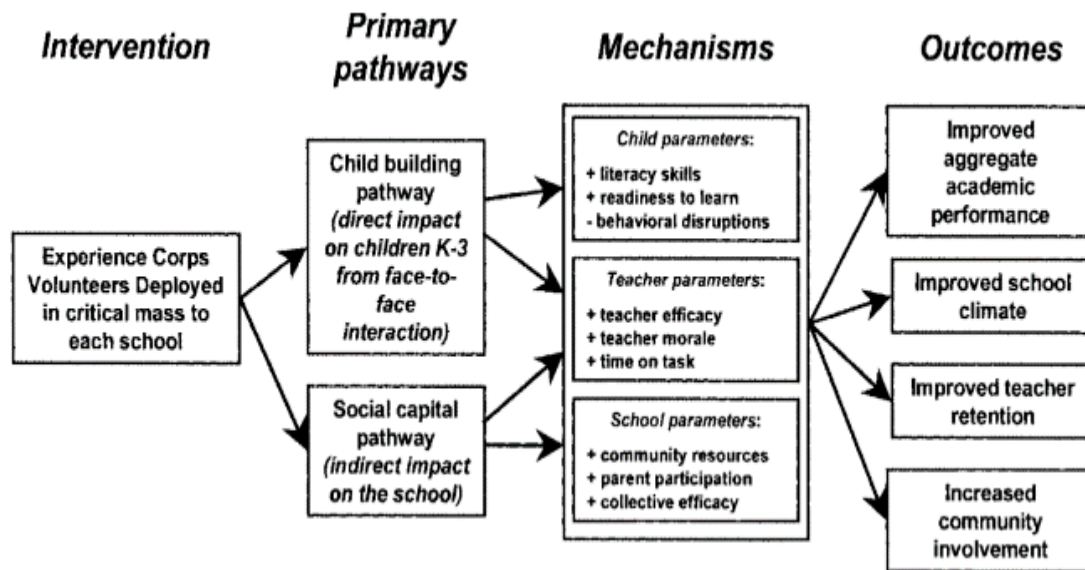
Figure 1. Experience Corps's theory of change

Experience Corps extends generativity into explaining psychosocial change in the young *vis-à-vis* life course and *social capital*: "a property of groups … public goods … collective action … mutual trust" (Glass et al., 2004, p. 97). However, a more searching analysis suggests differences between *bonding* (based on trust and closed networks) and *bridging* (based on civic engagement and open networks; Patulny, 2004). In turn, the implication of a bridging focus is a paradoxical need for high-intensity, mass volunteerism, yet carefully curated roles (similar to *activity theory*, below.)

This paper seeks to fill a practice research gap on how IG contributes to psychosocial change in the young. Drawing on Experience Corps, we took a grounded theory approach to identifying a conceptual basis, theory of change, and translation enablers for IG in our Singaporean sample. In *literature review*, we provide an overview of constructs and potential models, including possible syntheses. In *methodology* and *results*, we present technicalities. In *discussion/conclusion*, we discuss limitations, implications, and insights surfaced through our qualitative inquiry.

Throughout, we adopted pragmatism as our philosophical approach, since it is oriented towards real-world problems. Indeed, this preliminary study was motivated by the scarce information on how and why IG contributes to psychosocial change, above, and a dearth of conceptually-driven IG in Singapore. While we were limited on the outset by our sample size and absence of outcome indicators, we sought to uncover some explanation of change within the 'black boxes' before us. Correspondingly, findings should inform possibilities for befriending-IG in Singapore: Beyond quality to value.

Literature review

Over the last decade, there have been emerging trends for greater evaluation, practice, and research of conceptually-driven IG that has grown out and away from its Eriksonian roots (Vanderven, 2011). Kuehne (2003) makes a distinction between conceptual bases grounded in *interactive contexts* [*IC*] (where change is primarily

attributed to individual interactions within the *environment*), and those in *individual development* [*ID*] (where change is primarily attributed to new developments within the *individual*). Such distinction is not always mutually exclusive, below.

A conceptual basis in *IC* implies an ecological lens: Characteristics in the physical and social environment give potency to individuals' innate capabilities to act in certain ways, thus 'affording' change (Kulkowich & Young, 2001). This appears to be supported by evidence for the effects of *'change of scenery'* in out-of-school programming (Halim et al., 2018; Harvard Family Research Project, 2004). By contrast, a conceptual basis in *ID* takes a life course perspective: "Harnessing the … social capital of older adults to create a win-win opportunity for society" (Glass et al., 2004).

We identify three constructs grounded in IC that may contribute to a conceptual basis in our Singaporean sample, discussed below: *Intergenerational contact*, *social identity*, and *social network theories* (*Table 1*). We also identify three constructs grounded in ID for the same purpose, also discussed below: *Activity theory*, *constructivism,* and *generativity* (*Table 1*). To date, conceptually-driven IG is unchartered waters in Singapore, and the approach to befriending-IG and shared site facilities has been largely aspirational. Thang's (2011) review is a useful primer.

Table 1. Constructs and potential models for psychosocial change in the young

	Primary pathway	Mechanism	Outcomes
Interactional contexts			
Intergenerational contact theory (Fox & Giles, 1993)	Young access inter-cultural and -group exchange	Young develop new communicative approaches towards others	Psychosocial change
Social identity theory (Tajfal & Turner, 1986)	Young engage in asset- and interest-based engagement	Youngs' new group membership leads to new perceptions on others	Psychosocial change
Social network theory (Zippay, 1995)	Young access new social network and subsequent resources	Young develop potency in innate capabilities from tacit knowledge exchange with others	Psychosocial change
Individual development			
Activity theory (Neugarten et al., 1968)	Young realize new roles *vis-à-vis* intergenerational programming	-	Psychosocial change
Constructivism (Piaget, 1952)	Young develop new constructs *vis-à-vis* intergenerational programming	-	Psychosocial change
Generativity (Erikson, 1959)	Youths' developmental needs are reciprocally met *vis-à-vis* intergenerational programming	-	Psychosocial change

With *intergenerational contact theory*, it is hypothesized that the young who access inter-cultural and -group exchange with the old inevitably develop new communicative approaches, as with *social network theory* (sans knowledge exchange), below. This is the simplest construct and closest to Singaporean narratives for IG (Thang, 2011). Yet, its value may be more retrospective than prospective: "Variables include frequency of contact, level of participant intimacy, relative status of participants, and duration of the intergenerational contact" (Kuehne, 2003, p.152).

Social identity and *network theories* are similar in the sense of new narratives created by within-environment interactions. In theory, the former posits that group membership influences social identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and the latter, that novel social participation provides new "skills, approaches, and goals that … [participants] would not otherwise discover" (Kuehne, 2003, pp.150-151). In practice, social identity presents perceptual change as a mechanism for psychosocial change in the young, and social network theory, new competencies, resources, and knowledge.

With *activity theory*, "successful aging is the result of older adults staying active; particularly with regards to social interactions, and engaged within society" (Zacher & Rudolph, 2017, p.38). Such logic extends into the young, who are presented new roles *vis-à-vis* IG. Substituting old roles for new then, is the pathway to psychosocial change (Neugarten et al., 1968). Still, it is worth noting that the construct is somewhat ageist in itself: Applied mostly to the old, presenting a bifurcation of role and meaning, and downplaying the importance of depth in engagement and relationships.

As mentioned earlier, *constructivism* and *generativity* draw on cognitive and life course aspects of human development. Superficially, more has been written on the latter: "Guiding and caring for those in the next generation" (Kuehne, 2003, p.153) or the "concern" (Slater, 2003, p.1) to do so. In comparison, constructivism in IG has been confined to Piaget's (1952) *personal constructivis*, excluding rich, theoretical developments after (Barouillet, 2015). One implication is that constructivism's primary pathway may be a secondary mechanism within constructs like social network theory.

This leads into the possibility of hybrid constructs in conceptually-driven IG. Firstly, different constructs may apply to different stakeholders. Secondly, conceptual bases in IC are not mutually exclusive, if we consider the similarities between primary pathways and mechanisms for *intergenerational contact* and *social network theories*. (Can communicative approaches really develop independently of tacit knowledge?) Finally, conceptual bases in IC may realize psychosocial change through mechanisms that are primary pathways for ID.

Logically speaking, the latter is more likely: "Some large-scale health promotion efforts have yielded disappointing results, in part because of a lack of attention to interconnections between social context and individual behavior … interventions that target individual behavior have less-than-expected impact … because the broader social context was not taken into account" (Glass et al., 2004, p.103). And it is from this lens of *economies of scope* (Butt et al., 2014; Knapp et al., 2010), that we must appraise these constructs and potential models.

Methodology

A.   Empirical setting

Organization X [*X*] is a social enterprise that seeks to "positively impact communities … nurture a global generation of youth … [with] good values … and citizenship education … to meet tangible development and growth outcomes (X, 2018). X is semi-state-funded and semi-sponsored by a voluntary welfare organization (VWO). Its 'Live Café' is embedded rent-free, within the VWO's old age facility, itself embedded within the shared site facility, above. For IG, X designs program activities and recruits youth to participate with VWO clients on an 'opt-in' basis.

Under the circumstances, we were limited to convenience sampling, where young participants were chosen based on ease of access. X notified us on incoming, 'opt-in' cohorts between August to October 2018, and administered the participant information sheets and consent forms beforehand. Old-young combinations were only known on the day of program activities, since neither shared site facility, VWO, or X had full knowledge of all participants in the embedded IG. The cohorts we studied were both involved in school-based civic engagement, as stated in X's callouts.

Otherwise, these cohorts were very different (*Table 2*). Cohort 1 consisted of eight 12 to 14-year olds who were student leaders at a 'co-ed' secondary school. With 10 prefrail seniors, they participated in one 2.5-hour session in science activities, such as drone-flying and remote-controlled cars. Whereas Cohort 2 consisted of eight 21 to 23-year olds who were organized volunteers from a tertiary institution. With 10 prefrail/dementia seniors, they participated in two 3-hour sessions in art, through comic book strips that were autobiographical narratives of seniors' lives (Wong et al., 2018).

Table 2. Overview of cohorts studied

Cohort	Demographics	Program activities	Old-young combinations
1	13 to 14 year olds student ambassadors from 'co-ed' secondary school	1 3-hour session on co-creation in science	Secondary schoolchildren and prefrail seniors
2	19 to 21 year old organized volunteers from local tertiary institution	2 3-hour sessions on co-creation in art-based story-telling	Tertiary undergraduates and prefrail/dementia seniors

B.   Materials and methods

There were two means of data collection. Firstly, we collected administrative data on the 2 IG cohorts. These data were anonymized and included young participant demographics, type and duration of program activities, and old-young combinations (e.g. secondary schoolchildren with frail seniors). Secondly, post-program, we conducted separate focus group discussions [*FGD*] with the young participants and IG facilitators who were staff or volunteers of X. Each FGD involved 6 to 8 interviewees and explored semi-structured questions on the actual experience of IG (*Appendix*).

In particular, FGD formed the basis for answering our research questions: What is a conceptual basis for IG? What is a theory of change for IG? What are some translation enablers? FGD questions were developed from existing semi-structured interviews on the IG experience, and tested for appropriateness and validity over a 3-hour training session conducted for moderators by the last author at the College of Alice and Peter Tan, National University of Singapore. A total of 9 moderators were trained to conduct FGD, which were audio-recorded, then transcribed.

Per institutional review board [*IRB*] (Approval S18-082), X would select participants [*P*] with informed consent for the FGD pre-program. Post-program, X then allocated facilitators [*F*] to FGD groups, conducted separately from those for participants. Also per IRB, we did not work with the VWO or its old client-participants. A grounded theory approach was used in selective coding, informed by our literature review (*Table 1*), above. This helped us surface new insights into our research questions beyond desired states, as well as perceptions and local activities and settings.

Results

A.   A conceptual basis for IG

Overall, we found evidence supporting a conceptual basis in IC and the *social identity theory* (para. 14) in our Singaporean sample. This was reflected in facilitators' desired short-term outcomes:

•   "*… from a macro perspective, what we are trying to do is to push the boundaries of how we perceive, how we engage … [a] shift in perspective … [and] we've achieved the objective.*" (F1-101)

•   "*… spaces where each person or everybody has something to contribute. And that makes their experience very unique … you can really see stark differences in how they interact … [with] agency … a new perspective …*" (F1-102)

•   "*… the innovation … experience is very wonderful when you can see the people doing the stuff and they are happy … when the students were able to put everything aside [to] come together [with seniors] … one collaboration …*" (F1-104)

In turn, such desired outcomes were congruent with participants' experiences, including those who had initially perceived the old as persons challenged by activities of daily living:

"*We did become open minded … it makes us more open … personally I wouldn't feel interested to talk to my grandparents but … I really understand the point now why I should be talking to my grandfather more … we think of elderly as weak, vulnerable … but it blew my mind that they could do it faster than us.*" (P1-103)
One participant described perceptual change as "*mind-blowing … cause I thought that the elderly cannot talk in a [sense of] proper English … then when the elderly started talking I was like wow*" (P1-102). Whereas another participant described it as "*… an eye-opening experience because … I didn't really have that much time to interact [with my grandparents] …. it's like um a good way to see things in a different*

perspective ...” (P2-207). Otherwise, “*… the general perception is like ... they are old ... frail ... don't know what to do, they idle around ...*” (P2-201).

Both cohorts were unanimous in narratives for social identity and perceptual change, sans expectations of program activities and outcomes. Both also suggested that having food would have improved the experience per 'change of scenery', below. Yet despite Cohort 1's positive experience, Cohort 2's experience was a mix of neutrality and “*... deep and more meaningful conversations*” (P2-205). Here, facilitators' generativity narratives were incongruent with most participants' experiences: Where old opened up to young, the process was cathartic, not educational, below.

This leads us into our secondary mechanism in ID and *activity theory* (para. 15). Firstly, young realize new roles *vis-à-vis* IG by providing interaction otherwise unafforded by activity-driven VWOs:

• “*... [At the VWO,] they do a lot of activities, but interaction-wise it's always quite minimal ... if the students weren't there, I don't think they would be having such [real] conversations ...*” (P2-203)

• “*... they just want to be able to talk to someone ... that in itself will leave them [grateful] ... they appreciate that ... not just interacting and playing with them, or drawing and coloring a book ...*” (P2-201)

• “*... it just feels like we're just giving back to the [fabric of] society, not like… indirectly ... I was planning to go back up and take one [photograph] with the elderly just now ... it's a memory ...*” (P1-102)

• “*... I thought when I come for [civic engagement], it won't really make a difference ... but [now] I realise the elderly actually feel very grateful every time somebody comes to talk to them ...*” (P2-206)

Secondly, and saliently, our findings suggest high potential for young participants to play active listening, *peer support* roles in befriending-IG:

• “*... all of a sudden she wanted to talk about her ... failed marriage and then she got very emotional, she actually teared up and cried ... [about] how her marriage was very abusive ... tough ...*” (P2-201)

• “*... [the senior] was telling me about the concept of love and I don't know why ... 'no you just have to have money and any girl will fall in love with you' ... he was an 'ah long' ... partied his life away ...*” (P2-206)

• “*... his life [as a laborer] wasn't that easygoing ... six years ago he got into an accident ... [which made him] partially deaf ... which is why like he tell[s] me ... life is very unexpected ...*” (P2-207)

• “*... as we like manage[d] to talk more in depth ... about more things ... she told us about her divorce ... and like ... different things ... quite an eye-opening experience ... different perspective ...*” (P2-203)

B.   A theory of change for IG

With the short runway, we could only extrapolate a 'high-level' theory of change by comparing constructs and potential models, above, with FGD data (*Figure 2*). This is necessarily insufficient. It also ignores fundamental components like outcome hierarchies and theory of action (Wong, 2018; Lee & Tan, 2016). This is the next step for conceptually-driven IG: "When a program is based on unsound theory, they are unlikely to bring about the intended outcomes, no matter how well they have been implemented" (Astbury & Leeuw, 2010, as cited in Lee & Tan, 2016, p.1).

	Primary pathway	**Mechanism**	**Outcomes**
Old-young dyads deployed to shared site facility	Young engage in asset- and interest-based engagement	Youngs' new group membership leads to new perceptions on others	Psychosocial change (improved self-esteem)
		Young realize new roles *vis-à-vis* intergenerational programming	

Fig 2. Organization X's theory of change

C.   Translation enablers

We return to social identity theory as providing asset- or interest-based group membership and subsequently, perceptual change. In corroborating with our experience (Halim et al., 2018; Wong, 2016), such *interest* needs to be qualified in terms of 'change of scenery' through *novel activities and settings*:

•   "*... mediums where both sides may not have a lot of experience ... when it is something that is new ... we realise they have no choice ... I'm just gonna like hang out ... [in] unfamiliar spaces ...*" (F1-002)

•   "*... settings where everybody's encouraged to engage and be curious ... willing to be open to new things ... [and] engaging them with different mediums ... in order to bridge the gap ...*" (F1-003)

•   "*... anything that has ... a competitive element to it or ... [similarly,] a purpose ... we can communicate with them and bond over that ... create something ... something as simple as cooking a meal ...*" (P1-201)

•   "*I really like ... that activity ... because you can like interact with the seniors and can help them ... and teach and help them ... like the wire thing ... where to connect which one.*" (P1-115)

In turn, 'change of scenery' must also be qualified in terms of *recreational space and time*. Both cohorts unanimously suggested that having food would have improved their IG experience. Essentially, platforms or 'do-nots' that facilitate the experience of new group membership:

- *"I think it is nice that we are talking to, interacting with them, in a space that is not directly their living space. Cause ... it doesn't feel as invasive ... not like completely, so-called 'exposed' ...."* (P2-208)

- *"... I think they freeze up a bit when it's too noisy or there's too many young people around them and they [will] just be like, "This is too much for me" ... they don't want to 'intrude' [more] ..."* (F1-102)

- *"... prolonged periods of [recreational] time ... [initially,] the way they treat you [by your age] is different ... [yet as I] explain to them ... they are [participating] more on the same level ..."* (F1-105)

- *"Doing the same activity ... two hours for any activity is too much, too long ... it gets quite tiring after a while .... [A] change of pace [helps] ... address the restlessness that sets in after a while."* (P2-202)

We also return to *activity theory* and the earlier implication of careful curated roles in *bridging*, above. Such roles must be qualified by some element of *needs-based activities and segregation*:

- *"... something less ... artistic ... quite a lot of the elderly ... are not confident in drawing ... [they are also] not that willing to write ... [perhaps we] can try to target ... [the seniors] left downstairs ..."* (P2-203)

- *"When they feel like there's that difference and their friends are treated differently ... [it's hard] to ... customize to each person ... Then they get that feel like I'm not the same as this person."* (F1-102)

- *"... I think it would be helpful if we kind of have the profile of whoever we are interacting with ... [otherwise] we have to keep prompting ... what was like okay to ask or what might trigger her ..."* (P1-208)

- *"... [at] one of the [other] places I went to ... old folks there are more [in number] ... not as mobile and healthy ... stories are more tumultuous ... but they're kind of more used to sharing ..."* (P2-204)

Bridging must also be qualified by *deliberate facilitation* by both facilitators and the young. In our study, this occurred through refocusing dialogue (directly) on new dyads or (indirectly,) through novel activities that involved both old and young:

- *"... from my observations the way I say things to the elderly really helps ... 'hey ... why don't you speak to the student' ... 'hey, can you please help me with this' ... they [do] feel empowered ..."* (F1-103)

- *"So I just kept encouraging her [despite her illiteracy] ... and told her like this is all about like your creativity, it doesn't really matter, like nobody's going to judge your work or [say] anything..."* (P2-201)

- *"... some people are just disinterested or maybe not so engaged ... then it's always the case of trying to adapt to the situation, finding different things, so for example the drone or motorized cars."* (F1-101)

- *"The kids had fun. And it's about the idea about getting them back into the space ... to entice them based on interest ... no perimeters or boundaries ... come with your interests ... build from there."* (F1-101)

- *"For example we [can] all ... pair up with an elderly person ... go for a pottery lesson ... [or] cooking ... [come] up with a recipe ... [have the] elderly teach you a recipe and ... you do it."* (P1-201)

Discussion / Conclusion

Our findings suggest hybrid conceptual bases in *social identity* and *activity theories* (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Neugarten et al., 1968), with a corresponding theory of change that is unlike Experience Corps and incomplete (*Figure 2*). This is an area for further study. Two translation enablers were identified: Firstly, *'change of scenery'*, through novel activities and settings and recreational space and time. Secondly, *bridging* through needs-based activities and segregation, and deliberate facilitation to keep participants' focus on dyads and new group membership.

Yet as practice informs theory, our reflections on theory also surfaced insights into IG. Facilitators' narratives pointed to Tajfel and Turner's (1986) *self-categorization*, mediated by *social comparison* between in- and out-groups. In turn, such self-categorization may be *evaluative* and lead to improved self-esteem, or *psychological* and lead to improved self-efficacy. Here, Stets and Burke's (2000) review is a useful primer. Indeed, self-esteem was the evident psychosocial change, as the young began to perceive old-young dyads more positively (Abrams & Hogg, 1988).

In theory, discussion would then entail on how the effects of self-categorization are mediated by *salience* between activated and non-activated identities. Yet in practice, we wonder if improved self-esteem arising from perceptual change and new group membership "may [inadvertently] reinforce the negative stereotypes of old age instead of closing the generation gap" (Thang, 2011, p.5), above. Surely, there is more to IG? Yet with social identity theory, we found the Australian (psychosocial intervention) Group for Health useful for thinking again on IG (Haslam et al., 2016).
Like Experience Corps, Group for Health provides a multi-level program that challenges exclusion. However, delivery is systematically structured into *schooling* (raising awareness on group membership), *scoping* (mapping of resources to explore social identities), *sourcing* (identifying social identities for optimization), *scaffolding* (embedding the new group membership while optimizing existing ones), and *sustaining* (maintenance reviews with the new group) modules. This was missing with X, where old-young were not always briefed and with Cohort 2, almost un-facilitated. We also observed discontinuities between the aspirations and actions of X and VWO, in the way X's staff selected old participants based on perceived attributes, rather than autonomy. This led to Participant 203 suggesting that "*[perhaps we] can try to target ... [the seniors] left downstairs ...*", above. Participants' and facilitators' narratives also diverged sharply on the perceived value of activities for the old, who appeared to

be Foucauldian (1994) exhibitions for the young beneath the façade of a "'feel good' story" (Knapps et al., 2010, p.9), and extravagant costs of SGD18K/month.

Indeed, the catharses observed in Cohort 2 were evident of exclusion for the old. Yet it is interesting that these narratives were unknown to X and VWO, un-facilitated, and more so, because they illuminate *counter-intuitive*, peer support roles for the young in IG. Such roles may be the missing ingredient for *psychological* self-categorization and meaningful psychosocial change (like future behaviors and intentions), as opposed to improved self-esteem alone. Recursive *support*, added to the '5Ss' of Group for Health, may lead to more (cost-)effective outcomes for old and young.

From an *activity theory* and *bridging* perspective, going deeper into carefully curated roles for the young is the bridge between role and meaning, and towards depth of engagement and relationships, above. There is space for a more robust (and less ageist) articulation/application of Neugarten (1968) than that observed by Kuehne (2003), tailored to the young. One possible direction is to synthesize our hybrid conceptual bases with *identity theory*, to better understand individuals at "three levels of abstraction (the group, the role, and the person)" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.234).

We were limited on the outset by our sample size and absence of outcome indicators, above. Indeed, an ideal study would have measured longer term outcomes through self-esteem, inclusion, and well-being scales (Haslam et al., 2016), or shorter term outcomes of mechanisms like the *civic engagement scale* or the *interaction rating scale advanced* tools (Anme et al., 2013; Doolittle & Faul, 2013). Nonetheless, this was impossible with convenience sampling and administrative issues between X and schools. Longer, sustained IG was most certainly preferable as well.

The purpose of this paper was to fill a practice research gap on how IG contributes to psychosocial change in the young. In this regard, we were able to surface conceptual bases and translation enablers, and identify future directions for conceptually-driven IG. This 'black box' must be uncovered by scholar-practitioners: Through concrete articulation of purpose and pathways, *not* emotive appeals or conveniently generalizable philosophies on social capital. Inclusion as *process* and exclusion as *condition* require real, recursive social participation, beyond befriending-IG.

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Contact email: Y.S.Wong@2017.hull.ac.uk