New-age Parenting and Digital Socialization in India: A Qualitative Inquiry

Sonam Chandhok

University of Delhi, Delhi

Suruchi Bhatia

Shyama Prasad Mukherji College, University of Delhi, Delhi

Digital socialization brings novel challenges for parents. Parenting practices evolve with each generation as the socio-cultural contexts change over time. The present study explored the challenges and practices of new-age parenting. Data was collected from Indian parents having adolescent children within the age range of 13 to 18 years (N=10) using semi-structured interviews. Analysis of the data was done using qualitative thematic analysis. Some of the key challenges were pacing up with the digital generation and uncertainties due to the COVID pandemic. The analysis also revealed practices adopted by the parents to deal with these challenges that included making cyber space a safe space, nurturing hobbies and interests and balancing control and responsiveness towards adolescents. The analysis also brought to light the evident changes in parent-child relationships across generations, for instance, a shift from authoritarian to authoritative parenting, changes in family structure and culture, and exposure to technology.

Keywords: Parenting, Digital Socialization, Family, Culture, Adolescents

Parents are the primary socializing agents in a child's life and play a vital role in the shaping of an individual. Good and poor parenting practices and their impact on child outcomes have been discussed in the past by various researchers across cultures (Pinquart & Kauser, 2018; Lubell, 2008; Knerr, Gardner, Cluver, 2013). However, what counts as good and bad parenting practices evolve over time as the socio-cultural contexts change. Each passing generation brings with it a set of distinct challenges for parents. For example, the COVID pandemic was altogether a novel and uncertain context during which various parenting concerns emerged.

Socialization patterns are rapidly changing in the present digital era. In contemporary times, much of our social interactions have shifted to virtual platforms

and social networking sites. The COVID-19 pandemic has further amplified our dependence on digital media. Schooling and education relied heavily on virtual settings. Along with the traditional micro, mezzo, macro and exo- socializing agents, the internet and digital media have evolved into mighty and powerful socializing agents leading to 'digital socialization' which is another unique sociocultural context for parents.

Digital socialization refers to a relatively new form of socialization based on the online contexts of a person in the digitalized world. It is the contextual sphere comprised of online interactions, activities, virtual relationships and cultural exchange through the world-wide web that influences the individual's thoughts, actions, behaviour and identity (Zizek, 2017; Podbolotova et al, 2021). The fast-blurring boundaries between

virtual and physical realities bring unique challenges and concerns for new-age parents that were not encountered by the parents of the previous generations.

The present study explored the challenges and practices of new-age parents of adolescents. It also aimed to identify the generational changes in parenting practices in India.

Method

Participants

The data was collected from Indian parents (N=10) having adolescent children within the age range of 13 to 18 years. The sample comprised of eight mothers and two fathers. Seven participants were living in a nuclear family while three participants were residing in a joint family set-up. Seven parents had two children and three had a single child. All the participants were employed, residents of urban areas of Delhi and educated with at least a graduation degree up to higher education.

Data Collection

The participants were explained the purpose of the study. The participants were ensured that the data would only be used for purely research and academic purposes and their identity would not be revealed to others. They were informed that their participation is voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any point. A written informed consent was taken from each of the participant before carrying out the interviews and recording their responses. To keep the data confidential, pseudonyms were given to each participant and their personal identification details were veiled.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants using the interview guide (Table 1) that covered three key domains: Challenges, Strategies, and Generational Differences. The questions

were open-ended and were modified and sequenced depending on the participants' responses.

Table 1: Interview guide for semi-structured interview

Open ended questions of the interview

- 1. Relationship among family members
- 2. How is it to be a parent of an adolescent child?
- Challenges or concerns as a parent of an adolescent child
- 4. Practices you stick to for countering these challenges
- 5. How was your relationship with your parents when you were an adolescent? How is it different from the relationship you share with your adolescent child?
- Parenting challenges unique to this generation
- Strategies you practice or recommend to deal with such unique parenting challenges

Data Analysis

The data collected was transcribed to form a data set. The participants responded using both English and Hindi languages. English excerpts were kept as is and Hindi excerpts were translated to English. The analysis of the data was done by following insights from the Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012) framework of qualitative thematic analysis. Each transcription was actively read and re-read to get familiarised with the data. Initial codes were formulated from the data and associated excerpts were marked. Next, the initial codes were refined and meaningful patterns were explored to generate themes. The themes were refined and labelled. The naming of themes was done by suffixing a phrase from the responses that convey the underlying essence of the theme.

Results and Discussion

Three themes pertaining to each domain, that is, Challenges, Strategies and Generational Difference were generated from the thematic data analysis. Table 2 summarizes the key themes on each domain.

Table 2: Themes for each domain: Challenges, Strategies and Generational Difference

Domain Themes

 Challenges Theme 1- "Neither an adult, nor a child" – The parent– child roller coaster

Theme 2- "They are two steps ahead of us" - Pacing up with the digital generation

Theme 3- "Everything was stable... and then suddenly everything was unstable" — Parents' uncertainties during COVID

Strategies Theme 4 - "Technology is here to stay forever"- Making cyber space a safe space

Theme 5- "Adolescents have a lot of energy to be channelized"-Nurturing Hobbies and Interests

Theme 6- "Parents should be parents and not friends" - Striking a balance between control and responsiveness

3. Generational Difference
Theme 7- "We used to be afraid of our parents" - Authoritarian to
Authoritative Parenting

Theme 8- "The only distraction in our time was TV" - Technology Exposure

Theme 9- "Children don't know who lives in the next to next house" - Family Structure and Culture

Challenges

The first domain captures the challenges experienced by parents. It pertains to concerns that emerge as children enter adolescence; engagement with the digital world; and difficulties during the COVID pandemic.

Theme 1- "Neither an adult, nor a child" – The parent–child roller coaster

The first theme brings to light the challenges that parents face as their children become adolescents. Adolescence is a major transition phase for children as well as their parents. Hence, it is being called the "roller coaster" as the child and the parent swing between considering them as an adult or a child. Respondents of the study shared that their adolescent children consider parents' ideas as outdated and their authority is often questioned. It is a challenge for parents to see the emerging boundaries of personal space. For instance, a participant said:

"They are not mature adults, but want to be treated as adults... In her mind she is the centre of the world... everyone is just a side character... she thinks she is smarter than the rest of the world... she demands a lot of freedom... she wants to attend parties, roam around late at night... if you say no then she will throw tantrums... we have had arguments because of this... she passed comments on our dressing sense... and felt ashamed of us..." (P3- 43 years, mother of 2 adolescent daughters)

Especially in the Indian cultural context, the concept of needing privacy, autonomy and personal space is contemporary and attributed to newer generations (Rajan, Navaneetham, Philip and Muralidhar, 2020; Chaddha and Deb, 2013). Due to a gap in shared perspectives on personal space and autonomy, it becomes a subject of argument among adolescents and parents. It was also highlighted that the friends gain prime

importance. One of the parents discussed that her son becomes defensive of his friends and cannot hear any word or opinion against them. She said:

"If I see one of his friends as a threat or bad company, and if I try to warn him, it can lead to a big argument and fight... friends are most important to him and he won't hear anything against them..." (P10- 45 years, mother of 1 adolescent son)

Several theorists have emphasized the importance placed on friends and peers during adolescence (Berndt, 2018). It is also the age where children can give into peerpressure. Along those lines, keeping away from drugs and substance was another concern among the parents. Another challenge highlighted by the parents was to help their child discover the career path and direction as they have to thrive in the competitive world. This is a common concern among parents as the smarter generation is competitive like never before and employment opportunities are less (Sriram and Sandhu, 2013).

Concerns related to body image were also pointed out. Adolescents go through significant physical changes in their body and thus, issues related to body image and self-esteem usually arise. One of the participants shared about her daughter:

"She is very self-conscious about how she looks in public... she spends so much time standing in front of the mirror... she cannot tolerate even a single flaw in her face... she thinks she is ugly..." (P3- 43, mother of 2 adolescent daughters)

Studies have also attributed the cause of dwindling of self-esteem to usage of social media and virtual interacting platforms. There is a stark difference between virtual portrayal and reality that creates an illusionary image of ideal body and physical appearance among vulnerable adolescent

minds (Ameen and Cheah, 2022; Singh, Parsekar and Bhumika, 2016; Chandhok and Chandhok, 2017).

Theme 2- "They are two steps ahead of us" - Pacing up with the digital generation

The second theme brings forth the distinctive parenting challenges associated with the usage of digital media and efforts to pace up with the digital generation. On e of the challenges that parents discussed was to monitor all the online activities. They shared that all sorts of content is readily available on the internet and it may not be possible to monitor all the usage because children know much more about technology than they as parents will know.

"When you ask about this generation... it is much faster than us... technology is there... one has to be very careful about what interactions take place online... how do they engage in social media. The challenge is that we cannot control everything..." (P2- 39 years old, mother of one adolescent son and one daughter)

The participants also stated that the younger generation gets easily distracted due to internet and social media. They have a persistent urge to use social media throughout the day. Several researchers have reported similar findings pertaining to increased distractions and decreased attention span among today's adolescents (Bernard, 2016; Allaby and Shannon, 2020). Concerns over increased screen time and odd sleeping schedules were also expressed. One of the participant shared:

"My son will stay up till 1-2 AM with his phone... video games, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube... they don't even realize how many hours they waste on such things". (P10- 45 years, mother of 1 adolescent son)

The parents explicated other concerns over misuse of internet and dangers of cyberspace like cyberbullying. One of the parents, who was also a school teacher, talked about the rise in cases of cyberbullying during the pandemic because virtual platforms became the primary sources of interaction and education during the lockdown.

"Due to the lockdown, the impact of cyberbullying was more on children because that became their main space for interacting with peers... already there was social isolation... and because of that ... whatever happens on social media became more important"—— "Children in my school were misusing technology... there were instances when few students created fake email IDs to mess with the teachers during online classes..." (P5- 43 years, mother of one adolescent son)

Studies also show that the pandemic influenced susceptibility to cyberbullying (Jain, Gupta, Satam and Panda, 2020).

Theme 3- "Everything was stable... and then suddenly everything was unstable" – Parents' uncertainties during COVID

The third theme exclusively captures the challenges that parents of adolescents faced during the pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic brought a heap of uncertainties. One of the participants revealed the financial uncertainty they had to go through as her husband lost his job and was able to find a new one only after almost one year.

"my husband lost his job and faced a lot of rejections from different companies... he got a new job after almost one year... that time was very stressful... we were not sure about our future... I felt so insecure... everything was stable... and then suddenly everything was unstable" (P4-44 years, mother of one adolescent son and one adolescent daughter)

For those who were working, it became complex to maintain a work-life balance during the lockdown because most people were working from home that blurred the boundaries between personal space and professional space. Their children were also attending online school at home that added to the chaos. It became difficult to motivate children to study for exams as the mode of assessment also changed to online openbook exams.

"my daughter became very casual with her studies... it was so difficult to motivate her to do her assignments and study for exams... she knew it will be open-book assessment so she will be able to manage it without studying much... seriousness was lost.." (P6-42 years, mother of one adolescent daughter)

Participants also discussed the way virtual interactions took over all the physical interactions during COVID. In fact, home became the playgrounds too when Physical Training classes also started happening online.

"These days everything is happening online... studies, schooling, exams... how much can you monitor?... Phones and computers have become a necessity... One day we heard some noise from my son's room... when we went there we realized he was doing jumping jacks... his PT class was going on..." (P8- 42 years, mother of 2 sons (1 adolescent))

In addition to challenges associated with parenting adolescents in a digital world, the parents experienced unique challenges because of the pandemic (Sahithya, Kashyap and Roopesh, 2020)

Strategies

This domain explores the strategies practiced or suggested by parents to overcome the challenges discussed in the previous section. It includes acknowledging and adapting to the pervasive nature of technology by making it a safe space; nurturing hobbies and interests; and to

balance parental control and responsiveness.

Theme 4 - "Technology is here to stay forever" - Making cyber space a safe space

The fourth theme of the analysis reveals practices shared by parents that can be adopted to make cyber space a safe space for adolescents by addressing the vulnerabilities associated with internet use. Parents are aware of the emerging issues of the cyber world as they talked about cyberbullying and self-harm games like the infamous 'Blue Whale Challenge'. Participants iterated that it is important for parents to discuss the dangers of the online world with children.

"I always make sure that my children know that we are there in case something happens online... instead of blaming them for using social media, we have to accept that technology is here to stay forever... Parents should listen to them carefully if they approach to share something that happened online... and not brush it off... parents should also take hints if they see something is suddenly wrong with the child's behaviour... you never know there might be something that is bothering them... we know things like blue whale challenge also happen..." (P2-39 years old, mother of one adolescent son and one daughter)

This is a very useful strategy that was explicated by one of the parents as it can help in preventing self-injurious behaviour that is increasingly being reported due to unpleasant incidents on social media (Nair, 2017; Memon, Sharma, Mohite and Jain, 2018).

Another important practice suggested by a participant was to avoid blaming children for internet use because it has become an important part of their life. The participant explained that initially, internet was being used for exclusive purposes like connecting over social media and messengers by most of the users. However, nowadays education systems rely heavily on internet and students cannot survive in the competitive world without using it. The participant shared -

"Nowadays we get so many updates on Whatsapp groups. If a child or his parents are not using Whatsapp, they will miss out on important updates shared by schools... that can badly impact their child's performance...". (P8- 42 years, mother of 2 sons (1 adolescent))

Thus, one cannot blame a child for using the internet or smartphones and devices because they are not merely being used for leisure but also for accessing educational resources and aids.

Theme 5- "Adolescents have a lot of energy to be channelized" - Nurturing Hobbies and Interests

The fifth theme of the analysis pertains to the strategy of nurturing hobbies and interests among adolescents. The participants iterated the importance of encouraging children to learn and seek practical exposure whenever they get relevant opportunities so as to channelize their thoughts and energy into productive outcomes. They also emphasized the importance of nurturing hobbies and interests. Especially during the pandemic, parents were keen on engaging their children in some or the other activity like music, dance, painting, Yoga, etc to keep them active and occupied. Participants suggested activities like reading novels to foster a reading habit and learn from stories; engaging in physical activities and maintaining a disciplined routine; meditation, etc. One of the parents also suggested that they want their children to develop interest towards and engage in spiritual and religious activities for understanding the value of faith and karma and cultivating good morals.

"Children should be engaged in religious activities... they should be inclined towards spirituality... so that they understand the value of faith, karma and good deeds... [activities like?] ... I take them to Temple or Gurudwara, we donate food, do service for needy... It makes them happy too... so they know the joy of giving and helping others... I also make them watch movies or animations of Ramayan and Mahabharat so that they know about their religion and take examples from those stories and ... understand the morals of those stories... especially during the lockdown, we watched the episodes of Ramayan and Mahabharat" (P1- 44 years, father of two daughters (one adolescent).

Such practices are particularly true in the Indian culture where since childhood, children are taught to be inclined towards their respective religion and respective idols. The virtue of faith is valued and imbibed since childhood (Yust, Johnson and Sasso, 2006).

Understanding the importance of hobbies is something which can be observed in newage parents as compared to the parents of previous generations in the Indian context. Parents these days are placing emphasis on holistic development and exploring the talents and passion of their children which was only seldom seen in earlier generations (Roopesh, 2018).

Theme 6- "Parents should be parents and not friends" - Striking a balance between control and responsiveness

The sixth theme focuses on the new-age practice of striking a balance between parental control and responsiveness. The participants conveyed that they encourage open communication with children and want their children to know that they are available for them. They make efforts to understand the needs that children may not directly communicate. One of the participant also shared that she tries to help her children foster self-acceptance and self-love. They

suggest that parents should listen to their child's opinions and understand their perspectives. One of the parents also suggested that parents should talk to other children of similar age group to make sense of the perspectives of the newer generation. They should discuss real-life problems and situations with children through stories of self and others. The parents also talked about the emerging need to respect children's privacy and space and to not to over-impose rules on children. One of the participants explained that even though it is important to cultivate discipline among children, the rules should be rational and practical.

However, it is noteworthy that they also iterate the importance of maintaining boundaries and being firm and authoritative when required. Responses like "parents should be parents and not friends"; "say no when required"; "I do encourage open communication... My child knows that he can discuss anything with me... but you also have to be firm... you have to set certain rules..." were conveyed by the participants.

In light of the modern popular belief that parents should be friends with their adolescent children, it is an interesting finding to see that parents in the present study value the power distance between the child and the parent. This may be particularly true for the Indian culture as the parent-child relationship in India is usually authority bound where parents continue to be the authority figures and decision makers for their children through adulthood (Alexandar and Chauhan, 2020; Manohar, 2011). Parents in India usually assume authority in taking decisions for their offspring's career path, marriage, finances and other key aspects. This is in contrast with the Western cultures where the autonomy and independence experienced by adolescents and adults for major life decisions is usually higher.

Generational differences

This section elaborates the generational differences reported by parents as they compared the time when they were adolescents to the present time when their children are adolescents.

Theme 7- "We used to be afraid of our parents" - Authoritarian to Authoritative Parenting

The seventh theme of the analysis captures an important generational shift in the parenting style from authoritarian to authoritative parenting. The parents shared that when they were adolescents, they could never question their parent's authority, they couldn't talk openly to their parents and they had to obey what was conveyed to them. However, when it comes to their present relation with adolescent children, there is a reduced power distance and children don't readily accept parent's authority and rules. They are allowed to disagree. The relation is more expressive and open wherein they have developed space to discuss various issues and concerns in life. Recent work on parenting styles in India also emphasize on similar inter-generational shift (Sondhi, 2017; Patra. 2022).

"My father was very strict. I never shared my feelings or insecurities with my parents. I didn't feel understood at home. My relationship with my children is opposite... They are allowed to disagree with me. I make sure that they know how much they are loved... I am sure that when they grow up they will be more empathetic towards others" (P3- 43, mother of 2 adolescent daughters)

One of the interesting points discussed by the participants was about generational differences in emphasis on fostering selfacceptance and self-love among adolescents as they go through body image issues and low self-esteem. One of the participants narrated her own experiences as an adolescent and recalled feeling underconfident because of the comments on her physical appearance that she used to hear from relatives and her own parents at times. She explicated that parents learn lessons from their own upbringing and each generation tries to improvise.

"When I was an adolescent. I became little distant with my parents... I was very underconfident about my looks... During that time I had drastic changes in my physical appearance also... I remember how my relatives and sometimes my own parents used to comment on the way I used to look that never pleased me... I make sure that I never do this with my children... I assure them and try to boost their confidence... I try to help them love themselves, their bodies... to respect and accept oneself... This is one thing that is gradually emerging in newer parents... it was not given much importance by the previous generations... Some things change for good and some things change for bad... this is one good change..."—— "Life can be lived only forwards and every parent learns parenting from own experiences of life and how they were brought up by their own parents" (P3- 43, mother of 2 adolescent daughters)

A participant also stated that because the present generation is so tech-savvy, there is a lot to learn from them:

"This is a smarter generation... we learn from them... they bring new ideas to us" (P7-55 years, father of two sons (1 adolescent))

Theme 8- "The only distraction in our time was TV" - Technology Exposure

Theme 8 elucidates the generational difference in terms of exposure to technology, distractions and medium of interactions. The parents shared that the only distraction during their adolescence used to be television. However, their children and even parents have access to many devices and gadgets that keeps them distracted.

"Our parents used to discipline us for various things in life... now we keep disciplining children only for phone usage... it has taken place of so many other important things in life..." (P7- 55 years, father of two sons (1 adolescent))

Studies, in fact, have shown the impact of using devices on reduced attention span (Modi, Joshi and Narayanakurupa, 2018). Parents also pointed out that the medium of social interactions have also changed from being always tangible-physical interactions to less-tangible and virtual interactions nowadays.

"There was more physical activity and games when I was an adolescent... we used to go out to play... our children want to play video games... pubg, minecraft.." (P10- 45 years, mother of 1 adolescent son)

Theme 9- "Children don't know who lives in the next to next house" - Family Structure and Culture

Theme 9 of the analysis highlights the changes in family structure and culture in the Indian context. Parents stated that more and more families are nuclear these days rather than joint families.

"Nowadays it is rare to see joint families...
earlier everyone used to live together...
uncle, aunt, cousins, nephews... now it is
rare to see that... so the quality of
interaction... that culture of sharing with
brothers and sisters... that is something that
today's generation has not seen..." (P9- 50
years, mother of two sons (1 adolescent))

Earlier there was no known concept of 'privacy' and 'personal space' in Indian families. Nowadays, children actively demand some space and privacy. The parents have highlighted the changes in sociability patterns:

"Children don't want to go to social gatherings these days... they don't like to

meet relatives... when we were young we used to be so happy to go to family functions... in our times we used to know the entire neighbourhood... nowadays children don't know who lives in the next to next house..." (P9- 50 years, mother of two sons (1 adolescent))

The collectivist values of the Indian culture are shifting towards individualization which has changed the type and quality of interactions (Sinha, Sinha, Verma and Sinha, 2001).

Conclusion

The study captured the challenges, practices and generational differences experienced by the parents of adolescents in India in contemporary time. Parenting adolescent children is a challenging phase for parents due to sudden physical, social and emotional changes in the child. In addition to the transitory challenges, the new-age parents experience unique challenges due to unique socio-cultural contexts that can be attributed to increased digitalization and COVID pandemic. New challenges demand new parenting practices and strategies creating an inter-generational shift in the parenting styles.

The participants of the study belonged to the urban and educated sect. Thus, the study is a reflection of parenting scenario among urban, educated and employed Indian parents. The participants of the study came across as aware, active and broad-minded "new-age" parents. However, India is a diverse country and familial contexts differ for all individuals. Future studies may tap into the unique challenges and practices of parents in rural areas and unprivileged sections of the Indian society.

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Sonam Chandhok, PhD Research Scholar, Department of Psychology, University of Delhi. Correspondence Email: sonam1995@gmail.com

Suruchi Bhatia, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Applied Psychology, Shyama Prasad Mukherji College, University of Delhi, Delhi