CHAPTER II
AN EXPLANATION OF CONCEPTS

The present study is an attempt to investigate generational discontinuity between parents and offspring in terms of attitudinal modernity and value orientations. The focus primarily is on three concepts namely, 'generational discontinuity', 'attitudinal modernity', and 'value orientations'. This chapter is devoted to the detailed explanation of these concepts.

2.1 GENERATIONAL DISCONTINUITY

The Concept of ‘Generations’:

"Generation" as it is employed by social scientists, may be given four definitions:

1. A generation comprises of all those members of a society whose behaviour towards each other and towards members of other generations is based on the fact that they are contemporaries or that, they are descended by the same number of degrees from a common ancestor.

2. A generation comprises of the offspring of the same parent or parents and is counted as a single degree or step in reckoning the descent of a person or family from a more distant ancestor.

3. A generation comprises of all the members of a society who are born at approximately the same time, whether or not they are related by blood. In this usage, it is usually accompanied by an effort to explain the behaviour of the members of the generation by the conditions peculiar to their time. Thus, the generation itself may be described as being the "Lost generation", the "post-war generation", etc.
A generation is the time segment between the birth of those members of a society born at the same time and the birth of their offspring, statistically assumed by the social scientist to be a certain period, usually thirty years or three generations to a century.

History of the Generation Concept

- August Comte (1839), the founder of modern sociology, considered the duration of human life a decisive element in determining the velocity of human evolution and therefore the passing of one generation to another, the full activity for man being thirty years. Comte did not deal with the phenomenon of individual or simply familial life but with social life based on the “unanimous adhesion to certain fundamental notions”.

- John Stuart Mill ((1843)1961) obtained the concept of social generations from Comte and added further refinements of considerable interest. He argued that in each successive age the “principle phenomena” of society are different, and that the interval which marks these changes most clearly is the generation - that is, the period of time in which a “new set” of individuals reach maturity and take possession of society.

- Antoine Augustin Cournot (1872), the French Economist and mathematician first explicated the fact that epochs succeed themselves in continuity and only historical events give evidence of the articulation of generations. “Through education, each generation transmits to the one immediately following, a certain groundwork of ideas.”

- Giuseppe Ferrari (1874), Italian historian and politician, limited himself to the examination of political history, in which he believed he had discovered that the scene changes every thirty years and that the generation is the decisive element. Starting from this basic premise, he formulated laws of political succession. “Generations
behave according to these principles, and are in turn preparatory, revolutionary, reactionary and conciliatory.”

- The German historian Wilhelm Dilthey (1875) also found the idea of generation useful for studying the culture of an epoch. He believed that the generation is at once a space of time, an internal metrical concept of human life of about thirty years duration and a contemporary relation of individuals to each other.

“The relationship between individuals denoted by the term “generation” is therefore one of simultaneity. We say that certain people belong to the same generation when they have, in a certain sense, grown up together, passed through a childhood and youth at about the same time, and enjoyed their period of maturity during more or less the same years. It follows then, that such people are bound together in another, deeper relationship: they also constitute “the same generation” because in their impressionable years, they have been subject to the same leading influences”. (Dilthey, Wilhelm, 1875)

Ortega y Gasset ((1933)1962) made a distinction between the “Contemporary” (those who live in the same time) and the “coeval” (those who are the same age and are in turns, young, mature and old together) who constitute a generation. Ortega rejected mathematical exactitude in dealing with the concept of generation. “Within the human trajectory of life, age is a certain way of living.....Age then, is not a date, but a ‘Zone of dates’; and it is not only those born in the same year who are the same age in life and in history, but those who are born within a ‘zone of dates’. (Ortega y Gasset; 1962)

- For Mannheim(1952) the concept of generations represented a unique type of social location - one aspect of differentiation in a society - based on the dynamic interplay of “demographic facts” which inevitably create an age cohort (being born or coming of
age at a certain point of time) and "Social meaning" (the consciousness of that Cohort’s peculiar location in history, arising from decisive political or social events). The concept of generation thus serves as the crucial link between time and social structure and is important in understanding the progress of historical events and the course of social change. Mannheim put forth the crucial idea of historical consciousness - the social construction of an age cohort as a group - which arises in some, but not all, age strata in conjunction with traumatic socio-political events. He coined the term “Generational Unit” to describe the active, change producing element of an age group.

- During the 1963-73 period, the consequences of destabilizing features of advanced industrial development and the specific historical framework of this development (Lifton, 1972) became apparent in large scale protest movements dominated by the young. For those concerned with youth movements as agents of social change the generational concept developed by Mannheim (1952) appeared immensely useful to explain the sources of the youth movement and their significance in the process of social change.

Generational Analysis

Generational analysis involves characterization of the variations within, as well as between, age groups and exploration of the social and psychological implications of such distinctions for the continuity of current social structure.

Since the beginning of recorded history, elders have puzzled the often contradictory configurations of the emergent generation and pondered their possible effects on the cycle of human history. For example, pre-Socratic social theorists, seeking rational explanation
for changes they observed in the political and social order turned to the age-related facts of birth, succession, decline and death as exhibited by successive generations of individuals. This seemed a sensible way to account for the growth and decline of dynasties, ideologies, religions, even artistic styles - alterations in social structure and culture, which often appeared to follow some periodic rhythm. However, most such explanations which simplistically linked cultural progression to the biological succession of generations proved to be inadequate for the pre-scientific scholars.

In the early nineteenth century, social philosophers began developing models of generations that were social and historical in nature rather than biological or genealogical (Marias, 1968). This coincides with the beginning of the modern period of sociology and psychology - and of generational analysis.

Bengtson, Furlong and Laufer (1974) have divided the development of theory regarding generations into three stages:

a. Initial development of competing formulations focusing on youth groups by social historians and modern sociologists;

b. a sudden wave of responses by social scientists to the worldwide student protest of the 1960s coupled with the growth of more sophisticated analytic perspectives in social gerontology; and

c. more broadly based empirical studies of youth and older age-groups, employing statements of generational theory that further explicate the initial statements postulated by classical generational analysts.

A perspective of generational analysis which can be termed classic was put forth by Davis (1940) in his analysis of generational dynamics as manifest in the "Sociology of
Parent-Youth Conflict. Davis suggested that generational conflict is unavoidable, arising as a function of developmental contrasts in individuals who are at different stages of socialization and who are born into different historical periods. These universal factors causing parent-youth differences in every society may lead to overt conflict between generations; but whether they do, and to what degree, depends on variables such as the rate of social change and the complexity and integration of the culture. Davis (1940) viewed modern industrialized society in contrast with the more stable rural culture of past decades, where the family was the primary unit of production and socialization. In such societies, emancipation from parents was gradual and culturally regulated, with less inter-generational competition for status. By contrast, in modern societies, most positions are based on achievement rather than ascription; employment is no longer related to acceptance of parental standards. Conflict or rebellion between generations, therefore, is more characteristic of families in modern society where social and technological change is pronounced.

Emergence of the Youth Culture - Generational Conflict

Among the students of social issues and social change, the sudden appearance of student protest movement in the 1960's caused a revival of interest in the concept of generations. Many social scientists turned to the classical perspectives regarding explanations for the periodic emergence of age-linked political movements, and a considerable amount of theoretical and empirical research was carried out in an attempt to identify the sources of student activism. (Flacks, 1971; Altbach and Laufer, 1972; Lipset and Ladd, 1972).
About the same time, the development of counter culture, with its exotic innovations and lifestyles, attracted the interests of many Sociologists (Rozak, 1969; Simmons and Winograd, 1967; Suchman, 1968). These and other Sociologists were hopeful of charting the course of social change as the many elements of the counterculture swept across the traditional boundaries of social differentiation (Flacks, 1971; Reich, 1970). In analysing the counter culture as well as the student protest movement, it seemed most relevant to examine Mannheim’s (1952) suggestion that generational units are an important interface between dimensions of time and dimensions of social structure and thus are crucial in understanding social change.

The view that a youth culture exists, embodying values in conflict with those of the adult world was stated by Talcott Parsons as early as 1942. He characterized it as being “more or less specifically irresponsible”, with heavy emphasis on having a good time, much cross sex socializing, and a certain recalcitrance to the pressure of adult expectations and discipline (Parsons, 1963).

Sociologist Clifford Kirkpatrick (1955) has conceptualized intergenerational conflict as the “clash of inferiority complexes”. The concept describes the subtle dynamics of the process whereby the offspring try to dethrone their parents. Young people feel inferior because there are untried and lack experience. Feeling this deficiency keenly, they overcompensate by aggressiveness and pseudosophistication. But parents often feel a sense of inferiority because they believe they have passed their prime in life, are declining in youthful attraction and sexual prowess, and look back on a life of relatively minor or modest achievements. When they look ahead, they perceive themselves as declining in importance. When such opposite attitudes encounter each other, as they often do in the course of interaction between the generations, they goad each other on to a heightened
degree, sometimes to the point of nearly exploding in animosity or violence. As the final result, alienation between the generations emerges. This estrangement is often superficial and temporary, but occasionally it is of tragic duration.

“One of the most poignant moments in the psychology of man is the scene between the adolescent and the parent, glaring at each other with hopeless despair. They yearn for each other with aching desperation; they long for the familiar signs of understanding. Instead, they find that they no longer speak the same language, perceive the same dangers nor accept the same values. At the precise moment when each needs the reassuring warmth of the other, there is a breakdown of communication as though a bulk of lighting had cut the lines that bound them together. It is at this moment that they become aware of how widely they are separated by the distance of a generation. The twenty odd years that separate them suddenly become an unbridgeable chasm. This bleak and disheartening scene is not particularly unique to our time. “What is happening to our modern generation?” Is an imperishable cliché which has always plagued and baffled parents, teachers, Social workers, ministers, judges, psychologists and not the least of all -- the youths themselves. The lament, the complaints, the bill of indictment may change like seasons but the cold (and often hot) war between adults and adolescents is as certain as springtime” (Kirkpatrick, 1955).

Elkind (1968) interpreted generational conflict in terms of exploitation of the young by the old. He construed parent-child relationship in terms of certain implicit contracts and agreements. Three principal “Contracts” between parent and child at different age levels were cited: (a) Responsibility – freedom,(b) Achievement – support, (c) Loyalty – commitment. An adolescent who becomes angry at being treated like a child feels that his freedom was restricted in one context and his responsibility increased in another.
Achievement and support contracts can appear in academic, social, athletic, and vocational situations.

Particularly germane to generational conflict is the last contract: namely, loyalty—commitment. Young people, supposedly, feel that an adult society has not lived up to its obligations to youth and, consequently, they feel no reciprocal need to be loyal to the values and beliefs of that older society. Behind the demands of student power lies youth’s resentment that adult society has been looking out for itself and has forsaken the future, which is youth’s, for its own immediate good. Youth fears that adults are not even committed to the values that they espouse. Parent’s confusions about moral and social issues often are misinterpreted; when parents say that they do not know the answer, youth may believe that they do not care.

Distler (1968) evolved another explanation of generational conflict through his work with a group of affluent, dissident college students. He pictured the United States as passing from a paristic to a maristic culture. The paristic culture which was in vogue for the older generation featured the male role. Paristic cultures value achievement, goal directedness, delay of gratification, rationality, autonomy and individual responsibility. The advent of automation and technical disenfranchisement, plus the longer periods of educational preparation, contributed to youth’s preference for maristic culture. A maristic culture values expressive roles, feelings, intimacy, and sensory experiences; it attempts to break away from the emphasis on rationality. The cultural shift seems to fit a transition from Jung’s Ani’mus to Anima; or in other Jungian terminology; modern popular cognitive processes are more feeling—based than thinking—based.

Yet another explanation for youth protests is given by Feuer (1969): “Students movements are a manifestation of the trauma of adolescence, which is in larger measure, a
trauma of renunciation; the young man must renounce his bookish dreams and ideals and come to reality. He must in other words, accept an alienation of part of his self; he must give up part of himself. Not only must he give up a variety of interests to concentrate on a particular craft and job; he must also surrender the egalitarianism of the young group, the comradeship, and the friendship. The student movement is a protest against the alienation from self which the social system exacts”.

Mead (1970) offered an explanation for the growing estrangement between the old and younger generations. She distinguished among three varied kinds of cultures:

(a) Postfigurative – in which children learn primarily from their forebearers,

(b) Configurative – in which both children and adults learn from their peers, and

(c) Prefigurative – in which adults learn from their children.

Primitive societies and small religious and ideological enclaves are primarily postfigurative, deriving authority from the past. Great civilisations which necessarily have developed techniques for incorporating change, characteristically make use of some form of configurative learning from peers, playmates, fellow students, and fellow apprentices. “We are now entering a period, new in history, in which the young are taking on new authority in their prefigurative apprehension of the still unknown future” (Mead, 1970).

Gouldner (1970), argued that the psychedelic culture differs from the dominant culture in that this group of young people have rejected the dominant utilitarian assumptions of western culture and replaced them with expressive standards (Thomas, 1974).
While analysing the nature of social change, Katz (1974) has distinguished among four types of change – individual, radically structural (revolutionary), incrementally structural (of a reform character), and cultural.

Cultural change comprises the behavioural, cognitive, and affective life style of people; The way they dress, prepare their food, the type of music they prefer, their values, attitudes, and beliefs. To be part of a culture or subculture rather than idiosyncratic expression these characteristics must be fairly common to a given group, and there must be some awareness of its group characters by individual members.

According to Katz (1974), one source of cultural change is in generational differences. “No two generations are reared in identical environments and in a developing technological society, the gap between the socialization setting of parents and children has widened considerably. Educational differences separate the generations in two ways... The discrepancy between the two generations can be in aspirations, motives, values, and behaviour patterns. Age groupings may also be sources of change in the competition for opportunities, privileges and rewards in the system. In the society in which positions of power and status are inaccessible to members of the younger generation, the ground work is laid for youth movements (Eisentadt, 1965). The opportunity structure can also interact with changed aspirations and values in that young people may seek more than the slow circuitous channels of advancements previously available to their parents”. (Katz, 1974).

The emergence of widespread student unrest in the Universities all over the world made Social scientists study and explain the causes for such behaviour. The student unrest has been described in various ways as “student disturbances”, “protest behaviour”, “youth unrest”, “Cultural protest”, “hippie culture”, “uncommitted youth” (Keniston, 1968). This
unrest on the part of the young people took on the characteristic of a movement, which is popularly known as “youth movement”.

To analyze these kinds of social events and youth movements, the term generation gap has been frequently used. Even terms like generational conflict and inter-generational conflict are used to reflect the youth revolt against the gerontocracy. It is well understood that inter-generational differences may range all the way from a mere feeling on the part of young people that the older generation has a set of beliefs, attitudes, ideas, and ways of behaviour which are not like their own, through mild disapproval, and may vary from resentment to acute tensional differences and overt conflict.

**Generation Gap** means for some a clash of values between young and old, for others, a relative lack of communication between youth and adults, and for still others, a pervasive conflict in virtually all areas of living between the groups differentiated by age. However, in many studies, the term generation gap has been systematically described in terms of differences of attitudes and values between children and their parental generation.

Robinette (1994), examined the generation gaps between youth and adults that resulted in major political and social change in the 1960s from a clinical sociology perspective. He noted that mutual understanding, respect, conflict resolution, and the orderly transfer of autonomy from one generation to the next helps adolescents and adults to co-operatively coalesce towards emergent emancipation.

**The Generation Gap**

The term generation gap stands for the difference in age and opinion between parent/s and offspring. The generation gap is an age-old phenomenon.
Aristotle commented over two thousand years ago, in a society far less subject to change than ours, that young people have exalted notions because they have not yet been humbled by life’s trials and tribulations or have learnt its necessary limitations. All their mistakes are in the direction of doing things excessively. They would always rather do noble deeds than useful ones; their lives are regulated more by feeling than by reasoning. They over do everything – they love too much, they hate too much, and the same with everything else.

Aristotle noted that older people usually differ from such characteristics. After many years of struggles and mistakes, they have become more ponderous, see things in less than black and white, always “think” but never “know”, and in their hesitation always add “perhaps” or “maybe”, so that all their statements are of this kind: never qualified.

The Russian novelist, Ivan Turgenev, devoted his masterpiece, *Fathers and Sons*, which was first published in Moscow in 1861, to exploring the causes and consequences of the generation gap which was evidently a very serious social problem even then.

G. Stanley Hall’s (1904) formulation in his, the first adolescent psychology text presupposed a gap dividing the generations at the adolescent stage. Hall reflected in his writings the influence of Darwin’s evolution theory. From Darwin, or more accurately from Haeckel’s explanation of Darwin’s views, Hall adapted the recapitulation theory (Murray, 1971). The recapitulation theory held that every phase of human growth, represented one of the different levels at which the human race was once mature: in the human foetal stage, for example, the reptile stage of evolution was reflected; the adolescent period signaled the break-out from the old sphere of man, a “second birth” in the words of Rousseau. The adolescent period suggested an ancient period, one of “storm and stress”, when old moorings of the past were broken, and new heights of human development were
attained. Adolescence marked the point of departure for the upper–anthropoid level which Hall (1904) expected each group of adolescents to reach during their years of development.

Hall provided a framework in adolescent psychology for intergenerational differences, and probably would have applauded such differences because they offered promise of a brighter future for the human race (Murray, 1971). Other authors are not persuaded that any significant chasm exists between young and old, although all recognise inevitable differences and disputes between parents and children, between old and young. Some plausible explanations have been advanced for the modern scene among youth, and each theory accentuated some facet of the young-old disparity, which is included in the term “Generation Gap”.

In every society, youth are radically influenced by social change. The attitudes, values and beliefs of old people are more or less set, unlike those of youngsters, whose attitudes are in a state of formation. Coupled with this, the questioning attitudes fostered by modern education makes young people differ from the old in their attitudes and behaviour (E. I. George, 1971).

As D. S. Kothari (1971) notes, “In the present era, sons grow in an environment different from the one in which their fathers grew. The child is now carrying a different world within himself, a world which is at a variance with the world of the older generation”.

Cattell, Maria G. (1989) found that social and cultural changes in the past century have modified the role of the elderly as keepers and transmitters of wisdom and knowledge, and modern education has widened the generation gap.
Conflict between younger and older generations is a perennial force. The social dynamics of every society undergoing cultural and social change exhibit some degree of tension between the generations. However, our post-industrial society seems singularly afflicted.

Part of the explanation of the generation gap lies with the pace of social change. In a rapidly changing society, the established and respected norms of one generation become obsolete to the next. The older generation may greet innovations with mixed emotions ranging from caution to hostility. Nostalgia for the "good old days" is the universal reaction of elders to unfamiliar behaviour patterns. The older generation's lack of familiarity with new styles is frequently reflected in the tendency to label innovations as "weird", "immoral" or "subversive". These epithets, describing the younger generation, can be found in the diaries of virtually all eras. Exceptions to the rule are limited to a few simple-structured tribal societies in isolated localities in which social change is paced almost imperceptibly. In most societies, socio-cultural change is a perceptible process.

Tempo of change is directly correlated with imbalance of perceptions and behaviour patterns among the generations. This means that the faster a society changes, the wider the psychological distance between the older and the younger generations.

According to the materialistic philosophy first preached by Karl Marx, everything is classified on the basis of time. It is argued that as the problems and conditions of life change in every stage, a system of values and institutions are true and valid for one period only and must inevitably become outdated in the succeeding stage. A change in the physical environment and economic system necessitates a corresponding change in morality and outlook as well. In other words, Marx asserted that man's morality and religious beliefs depend upon the material conditions and type of economy of his environment.
Magaret Mead, the internationally renowned anthropologist, accepted without any question, Marxian philosophy. She insisted that the scientific and technological revolution since World War I brought about a growing estrangement between the old and young generation. In her book *Culture and Commitment* (1970), she writes: “The successful splitting of the atom and the invention of fission and fusion bombs, the discovery of biochemistry of the living cell, the exploration of the planet’s surface, the population explosion and the recognition of the certainty of catastrophe if it continues, the break down of the organization of cities, the destruction of natural environment, the linking up of all parts of the world by means of jet flights and television, the building of satellites and the first steps into space, the newly realized possibilities of unlimited energy and synthetic raw materials and in advanced countries, the transformation of the economy from problems of production into problems of distribution and consumption - all these have brought about a drastic, irreversible division between the generations. Today’s children have grown up in a world their elders never knew. This break between generations, is wholly new, having never occurred in history before; it is planetary and universal”.

Conger (1971) wrote: “There is a widespread tendency to confuse generational differences that may indeed be new, either in kind or in magnitude, with those that have traditionally separated parents and children - if for no other reason than that successive generations occupy differing positions in the life cycle. The adolescent who is just becoming aware of the insistent stirring of sexual impulses will inevitably differ from the middle-aged adult who perceives their urgency waning. Adolescents need ways to consume their energy; adults look for ways to conserve it. Young people are concerned about where they are going; adults are concerned about where they have been. Adults, having personally experienced the many partial victories and defeats and the inevitable compromises of living, tend to be tempered in their enthusiasms and cautious in their
moral judgments. Young people, in contrast, tend to be impatient, impulsive and given at times to imperious moral judgments that allow little room for shades of gray. They are more likely to move rapidly from profound joy to despair. Adults must worry more about their children; adolescents must worry more about themselves. The psychological mechanisms of adolescents are in a flux, and only partially effective; those of adults tend, like arteries, to harden with age”.

Generation gap has a functional aspect. Since young people are not committed to, and so are less likely to settle for, the status quo, they are able to function as a prime factor of innovation and societal improvement (Mannheim, 1944).

The young have not yet developed the vested interests that their parents are likely to have in either the ongoing economic system or the value structure, and thus they are less likely to plead for the status quo. What to the adult is habit, is to them a challenging novelty.

Youth’s lack of commitment to the existing order can be interpreted as a potential resource. Static or slowly evolving traditional societies do not call on this resource and may even suppress it. However dynamic societies often use it and may even organize it (Sebald, 1978).

India today boasts a dynamic society exposed to various agencies of modernization. The present research is an attempt at investigating the extent and nature of the generation gap in terms of modernity and value orientations.
2.2 THE CONCEPT OF MODERNITY:

A Clarification of Terms:

Modern, modernism, modernization, modernity and related terms, taken alone, qualified or compounded, are used everyday in the popular media as well as in specialized journals and technical exchanges. The ubiquity of these terms is due in part to the shifting sets of meaning they carry.

Modern is a correlative term. It implies what is new as opposed to what is ancient, what is innovative as opposed to what is traditional or handed down. However, what is judged modern at a particular time and place in a culture will not necessarily be defined as such either in the future or in some other context. Since a judgement about what is modern is a matter of perspective of the observer, phenomena that may appear similar may in fact vary depending on their context. Thus, "modern architecture" of the mid-twentieth century now has a distinctly dated look. Similarly, nineteenth century music must have seemed modern to those brought up in that period, but outmoded to those brought up in today's times.

The term modernism represents cultural and social attitudes supporting what is perceived as modern. It entails a kind of explicit and self-conscious commitment to the modern in intellectual and cultural spheres. It involves a commitment to support the tenets of the "new" in the face of critics, opponents and detractors.

The term modernization represents programs dedicated to supporting what is perceived as modern. It involves a programmatic remaking of the social, political and economic aspects of society in support of the "new." Attitudes towards art, music, drama, religion and social practices usually hang together and form a powerful set of interactive
commitments. Indeed, such a set of cultural ideals may be related to social, economic and political change as designated by modernization. Cultural modernism is often associated with programs for social modernization.

The term modernity explicitly identifies an openness and a commitment to the new as opposed to the old. It implies the consciousness of cultural change. Cultural change and the awareness of that change are pervasive in contemporary societies. Modernity is a special case of social and cultural change. It is social and cultural change embraced self-consciously in the contemporary world. Modernity includes a systematic commitment to rationality, that is a conviction that logically consistent and universalizable principles ought to be the basis for change.

Modernity is an end-product and not a process. Both the end and process are distinct concepts. The end-quality of being modern is denoted by modernity, while the process of becoming modern is denoted by modernization.

**Individual Modernity:**

The progress of a society from tradition towards modernization is marked by macrostructural changes. Characteristics of a society undergoing modernization are social mobility (Deutsch, 1961), growth of communication and media exposure (Lerner and Schramm, 1967; Pye, 1963), the development of universalistic norms and democratic institutions (Parsons, 1963; Geertz, 1963; Apter, 1965), mass education, urbanization, industrialization, bureaucratization and the development of transportation (Black, 1965). As less developed societies acquire these characteristics, the cultural and ideational aspects of members of these societies undergo a change. This change is reflected in individual modernity.
Ray (1968) has described individual modernity as a particular outlook, a perspective of mind and a system of ideas and values which are gradually evolved through the process of social development.

Inkeles and Smith (1947) referred to modernity as an "ethos" and have defined it as a mode of individual functioning, a set of dispositions to act in certain ways. Inkeles (1971) pointed out that although his exposure to the modern setting may certainly contribute to the transformation of traditional man, it is only when man has undergone a change in spirit - has acquired new ways of thinking, feeling, and acting - that he can be considered truly modern.

Modernization includes positive attitudes, rational outlook, activist orientation and scientific world-view. It is the growth of rationality and secularism and a process by which men break away from the Constraints of superstitions (Weiner, 1966). It creates a mobile sensibility and empathic skills in the individual (Lerner, 1958). Bellah (1968) has referred to modernity as an individual's disposition to behave in the most adequate way to fit him in modernizing society. Individual modernity thus understood, is not a single trait of man, but a complex of qualities (Halyal, 1984). It facilitates the personal, social, economic and political development of an individual in a modernizing society. It is both a means to the end of yet greater growth and at the same time one of the great ends itself of the development process (Inkeles, 1971).

Several possible measurements of individual modernity have been proposed. Stephenson (1968) claimed that modernity could be measured only in reference to local standards, and illustrated the development of a scale of local modernism. McClelland (1949) constructed the n-Achievement score, which measures motivation, but which also has been used as an index of modernizing activity. Tumin and Feldman (1957) cited occupational mobility as an activity which can serve as an index of modernity.
However, most recent attempts in the determination of an index of individual modernity have centered around an instrument developed to incorporate a constellation of attitudinal themes suggesting a potential for modern activity. Such instruments have been used by Kahl (1968), Smith and Inkeles (1966), Schnaiberg (1971), Armer and Youtz (1971), Cunnigham (1973) and Suzman (1973).

The Harvard Project on Socio-cultural Aspects of Development, directed by Inkeles (1966) was an attempt to study the clusters of socio-psychological traits of individual modernity in six developing countries including India (Inkeles, 1969). He noted that individual modernity does exist “in nature”. The psychological “structure” of individual modernity proved to be basically much the same in the samples from all six of the very different countries studied. Central to this “syndrome” were: (1) Openness to new experience, both with people and with new ways of doing things (2) the assertion of increasing independence from the authority of traditional figures like parents (3) belief in the efficacy of science and medicine, and a general abandonment of passivity and fatalism in the face of life’s difficulties (4) ambition for oneself to achieve high occupational and educational goals (5) Liking people to be on time and showing an interest and taking an active part in Civic and community affairs and local politics, and (7) striving energetically to keep up with the news and within this effort preferring news of national and international import over items dealing with sports, religion, or purely local affairs.

Inkeles emphasized that “the modern man is clearly not just a construct in the mind of sociological theorists. He exists and he can be identified with fair reliability within any population which can complete the Overall Modernity (OM) questionnaire”.

The concept of modernity is particularly useful in the study of generation gap because it covers all the important dimensions of socio-cultural values as well as
contemporary rational and scientific attitudes. The concept of modernity, therefore, highlights the most important differences between parents and children. Modernity is a concept which is rooted in the individual, but it relates the individual to society. An increase in modernity is beneficial to social development. Therefore, a generation gap, indicating greater modernity in the younger generation, becomes a positive factor rather than negative as has been described by several authors on generation gap. The generation gap may imply certain strain and conflict but this is not necessarily negative for the society (Halyal and Mallappa, 1984).

The present study is also based upon this contention. The generation gap clearly has a functional aspect. In a dynamic society like India, the younger generation has grown up in a world their elders never knew. Better avenues for education, a liberalized economy, unparalleled advances in science like the internet and cloning, the linking up of the world by satellite have brought newly realized possibilities to the young. The youth of today will serve as instruments of innovation and societal improvement. Thus, the phenomenon of generation gap, when viewed in terms of modernity, offers a brighter future for India. The present study attempts to investigate the differences in the levels of modernity between parents and offspring.

Dimensions of Modernity

The measure of attitudinal modernity used in the present study consists of four dimensions namely Personality modernity, Socio-cultural modernity, Political modernity, and Health modernity. Each dimension is represented by five themes.

1. Personality Modernity

The themes in this dimension are:

a) Rationality (RAT)

b) Aspirations (ASP)
c) Openness to change (CI)
d) Work ethics (WE) and
e) Locus of control (LC)

These themes are psychological dispositions to indicate the individual’s use of reason in the understanding and evaluation of life-events, educational and career aspirations, preparedness to accept changes in self and society, ideas regarding work and motivations therein, and belief in success through one’s own efforts.

2. Socio-cultural Modernity:

This dimension consists of the following themes:

a) Women’s right (WR)
b) Caste attitudes (CA)
c) Social customs attitudes (SCA)
d) Social equality (SE) and
e) Family planning (FP)

These themes cover the individual’s dispositions towards the status of women in society, nature of caste and class hierarchy, relevance of culturally transmitted customs, the notion of equality, and the need for population control and measures to ensure it.

3. Political Modernity:

The themes in this dimension are:

a) Democracy (DEM)
b) Civic rights (CR)
c) Secularism (SEC)
d) Political identification (PI) and
e) Political participation (PP)
These themes indicate the individual’s attitudes towards political aspects such as voting rights of citizens, an understanding of the concept of democracy, freedom of speech and press, need for an opposition, respect for diverse religions, the politicizing of caste and religion, corruption and gansterism in politics, and identification with and participation in nation building.

4. **Health Modernity:**

This dimension deals with the scientific understanding of both physical and mental health and disease. The themes in this dimension are subdivided into two groups:

i) **Physical Health**:
   a) Scientific vs. superstitious beliefs (HMP/SS),
   b) Nutrition and diet (HMP/ND),
   c) Scientific understanding (HMP/SU).

And

ii) **Mental Health**
   d) Scientific vs. superstitious beliefs (HMM/SS).
   e) Scientific understanding (HMM/SU).

These themes are concerned with the amount of information and belief in modern medical care, superstitions regarding physical and mental well-being that abound in society, and dispositions towards hygiene, nutrition and diet, and use of modern medicine.

The four different dimensions of attitudinal modernity are not dichotomous concepts. They are interlinked, affecting each other, constituting the total concept of modernity. The manifestations on all themes in these dimensions will lead to a more general, unified expression of modernity.
Charts 1, 2, 3 and 4 present sample items representing the four dimensions and their themes. One item is included, by way of illustration, from each of these themes.

Charts 5, 6, 7 and 8 illustrate the attitudinal profiles of persons possessing personality, socio-cultural, political and health modernity respectively.
CHART 1

SAMPLE ITEMS IN THEMES OF PERSONALITY MODERNITY

RATIONALITY
God has not created man. Man has slowly evolved from animals in millions of years.

ASPIRATIONS
A troublesome job with worries and difficulties is not good even if the income is high. Compared to this, a job with less income but offering peace and comfort is better.

OPENNESS TO CHANGE
It is better to limit oneself to know persons; one should not go on adding new friends and acquaintances.

WORK ETHICS
It is a good custom that offices are closed on the death of someone because a dead person should be respected. Work, after all, is done sooner or later.
CHART 2
SAMPLE ITEMS IN THEMES OF SOCIO-CULTURAL MODERNITY

WOMEN'S RIGHTS
A wife should give better food to her husband than she herself takes.

CASTE ATTITUDES
Children of upper castes should not play with children of lower castes.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS ATTITUDES
Ordinarily, the daughter does not get her share in parental property. Therefore, it is proper that she gets a dowry.

SOCIAL EQUALITY
No effort can change a crow into a parrot. One needs hereditary qualities to learn. All men are not equal. Therefore, equal status cannot be given to all men in the society.

FAMILY PLANNING
Children are gifts of God; therefore it is improper to restrict the number of children in the family.
CHART 3

SAMPLE ITEMS IN THEMES OF POLITICAL MODERNITY

DEMOCRACY
Democracy is the best political system because it offers an opportunity to change government without violence and bloodshed.

CIVIC RIGHTS
A person who votes against the ruling party should be barred from government service.

SECULARISM
Strict loyalty to religion blocks man’s free thinking.

POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION
If one cannot fight for his own caste or religion, he cannot fight for his country.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
The politics these days is only gangsterism; therefore it is a waste of time to vote.
CHART 4

SAMPLE ITEMS IN THEMES OF HEALTH MODERNITY

PHYSICAL HEALTH

SCIENTIFIC VS SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS
Diseases can be avoided by pacifying the planets with prayers.

NUTRITION AND DIET
Breast feeding is better for health of the child than bottle feeding.

SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING
Diarrhoea in children can be prevented by clean and good water and food.

MENTAL HEALTH

SCIENTIFIC VS SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS
Pilgrimage can cure mental illness.

SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING
Loss of semen causes insanity.
### ATTITUDINAL PROFILE OF AN INDIVIDUAL POSSESSING PERSONALITY MODERNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREES THAT</th>
<th>DISAGREES THAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man was not created by God, but is the product of evolution.</td>
<td>In order to be successful, luck is more important than intelligence and hard work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man has progressed because of his own efforts and not because of God and prayers.</td>
<td>Marriages are successful if they are arranged on the basis of matched horoscopes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard work leads to success in examinations.</td>
<td>High aspiration always leads to disappointment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A challenging job with high income is preferable compared to a comfortable job with low income.</td>
<td>Persons always engaged in work may achieve success but cannot enjoy life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and religious customs causing economic strain should be discarded.</td>
<td>Social changes like equality for women and for lower caste and youngsters marrying according to their wishes are harmful to society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One can befriend a person of a different religion and from a different place.</td>
<td>Well-established laws from the past should continue to be followed in society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not proper to use office money for personal needs, even if one replaces it later.</td>
<td>Offices should be closed on death of a person as a mark of respect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One should work even if he has enough money to live in comfort.</td>
<td>A woman should not work if her husband earns enough to maintain the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sooner or later, a capable person certainly gets success.</td>
<td>Our society is controlled by wealthy and powerful persons; an ordinary man cannot achieve success even if he tries enough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties and worries are a result of one’s own mistakes and not due to fate.</td>
<td>Often circumstances are so powerful that even an able person loses grip on them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHART 6

**ATTITUDINAL PROFILE OF AN INDIVIDUAL POSSESSING SOCIO-CULTURAL MODERNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREES THAT</th>
<th>DISAGREES THAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For the same work, both men and women should be payed equally.</td>
<td>A wife should serve better food to her husband than she herself takes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women too should get high governmental jobs.</td>
<td>Men are more intelligent than women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One’s honesty is not determined by one’s caste.</td>
<td>Children of upper caste should not play with children of lower caste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In case blood transfusion becomes necessary, one should not hesitate to</td>
<td>Lower caste persons commit more crimes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>receive blood from a person of another caste.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow remarriage should be allowed.</td>
<td>In order to protect themselves from the evil eyes of society, women should</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>observe “purda”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowry system should be stopped.</td>
<td>The “Shradha” of parents should be done properly even if one has to borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before the Court of law everyone is equal.</td>
<td>Common people should not be respected because they are uneducated and rustic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal status should be given to all persons in society.</td>
<td>The theory of social equality is wrong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion is a proper action if it becomes necessary.</td>
<td>It is improper to restrict the number of children in the family as they are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gifts of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use of condoms does not destroy the joys of married life.</td>
<td>One should not stop having children till a son is born.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ATTITUDBINAL PROFILE OF AN INDIVIDUAL POSSESING POLITICAL MODERNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREES THAT</th>
<th>DISAGREES THAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is not necessary to have hereditary characteristics in order to run an administration or government.</td>
<td>To make democracy a success, voting rights should be restricted to educated persons only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy is the best political system because it permits a change of government without violence and blood shed.</td>
<td>For proper functioning of the government, one-party system should be adopted; an opposition party is not necessary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every citizen should have freedom of speech.</td>
<td>Persons voting against the ruling party should be barred from government service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On radio, the opposition should be given the same amount of time as the ruling party.</td>
<td>Newspapers should not publish news and articles against the government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strict loyalty to religion blocks free thinking.</td>
<td>One's religion is better than that of others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The customs of different religions are different; but the ideals of all are similar.</td>
<td>Inter-religious marriages are not successful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One should also be concerned with what is happening outside one's village or town.</td>
<td>Our country can develop only through strengthening our religion and caste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besides caring for his family, an ordinary man should also involve himself in the service of his country.</td>
<td>If one cannot fight for his own caste or religion, he cannot fight for his country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems and difficulties in society should be brought to the notice of the authorities.</td>
<td>Practical wisdom demands that one should get his work done through flattery, recommendation &amp; bribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One should also be involved in improving the conditions of others.</td>
<td>It is a waste of time to vote as politics these days is only gangsterism.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# ATTITUDINAL PROFILE OF AN INDIVIDUAL POSSESSING HEALTH MODERNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREES THAT</th>
<th>DISAGREES THAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diseases cannot be treated by pacifying the planets by prayers.</td>
<td>Life and death depends on God; medical treatment cannot do anything.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amulets, prayers, and witch-craft cannot cure a patient.</td>
<td>Small pox should not be medically treated because it angers Godess “Sitla”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overeating makes a person ill as undereating does.</td>
<td>An expensive food is better than an inexpensive one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use of tobacco is injurious to health.</td>
<td>A pregnant woman does not need any special diet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women need physical exercise as much as men do.</td>
<td>Unless there is an emergency, one should keep away from a hospital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some types of leprosy do not spread by contagion.</td>
<td>Diarrhoea in children can be prevented by clean food and water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking a religious vow does not lead to insanity.</td>
<td>Insanity is caused by evil spirits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilgrimage is not a cure for mental illness.</td>
<td>The influence of bad stars can cause insanity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of semen is not a cause of insanity.</td>
<td>Disorder of menstruation causes insanity in women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons cured of mental illness can be entrusted with responsible jobs.</td>
<td>Mental patients can never be good husbands and wives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 GENERATIONAL DISCONTINUITY IN VALUES

The Concept of Values

The term 'value' is used in many disciplines, from Economics to Psychology to Philosophy and Theology. The definition varies from discipline to discipline. Bengtson and Lovejoy (1973) define values as “Conceptions of the desirable: self-sufficient ends which can be ordered and which serve as orientations to action.”

There are four elements of this definition:

First, values are cognitions – conceptions or beliefs about the world. These cognitions are organized, reflecting a consistent pattern among discrete beliefs (Kluckhohn, 1951); they may be explicit (readily verbalized) or implicit (inferred only from overt behaviour.)

Second, values are distinguished from other cognitions by their evaluative character. As Jones and Gevard (1967) suggest, they are “signed cognitions” – positive or negative affective judgements regarding the desirability of objects or states in the social world.

Third, values are alternatives implying choice and action: the relative evaluation of one belief compared to the other orients the individual to action as he attempts to maximize his chances of achieving the desirable (Fallding, 1965; Rokeach, 1968).

Finally, values refer to ultimate cognitions, applied to desirable end-states of existence. That is, they attach to recurrent, long-term problems in human functioning, rather than to the immediate gratification of transitory needs (Fallding, 1965; Smith, 1969).
Seen in these four ways, the value pattern of an individual represents the "background assumptions" (Gouldner, 1970) which he or she uses in making the difficult decisions concerning where to invest limited resources of time and energy throughout life.

**Value orientations** arise from experiences – an existential process of coping with situations in day to day living. Two types of experiences are relevant here. Firstly, experiences relating to an individual’s location in social structure: the objective conditions of his or her station in life, reflected in measures of social differentiation or status, produce a context in which conceptions of the desirable are formed. Secondly, experiences relating to the individual’s idiographic adaptive response to events and conditions of life: the subjective reactions which are reflected in measures of psychological affect. Thus, value orientations arise from, and covary with, both objective conditions of social location (the social system) and subjective conditions of affect (the personal system).

Another point in the formulation of values concerns the issue of continuity and change over time. Values are not static; though exhibiting stability between one point in time and another, they also may change in accordance with the two levels of experience just described.

While the general framework of desirable ends may be laid down early in life, there is a continuous, dynamic interplay between the various elements in forming a value system throughout stages of the lifecycle (or between periods of history). For example, definitions of the desirable may change with progression through age-related social positions or with the normal ups and downs of psychological adaptations; they may change with historical events, which characterize a particular era.

Values are at the core of an individual’s belief and action system, and thus significant in understanding both motivation and behaviour. They represent an important
product of the interaction between social and psychological processes. Values mediate the effects of social structure on personality: that is, social location (objective experience) influences values, and values in turn influence psychological states (subjective experience) or behaviour (Bengtson and Lovejoy, 1973).

Values And Cultural Change

The general systems theory (Bengtson and Black, 1973) explains both change and continuous cycle of generations. The fresh contact with established social order experienced by youth as they prepare for adult life, may result in a feedback pattern such as the following: (a) The emergence of new definitions of desirable ends which depart from established goals (b) developing alternative behaviour patterns geared toward actualizing those values (c) testing these alternatives in everyday life (d) selecting one or more of the alternatives and attempting to sustain these in a new social order.

The youthful generation is in a unique position to participate in such a feedback process of exploration. By virtue of their greater freedom from the commitments attendant to adult status, their relative ideological openness and goals, they are the most likely candidates within a society for value and behavioural innovation (Bengtson, Furlong and Laufer, 1974).

According to Daniel Katz (1974), the basic role of generational differences is to produce cultural change rather than social, structural or political change. Habits of dress, types of music, sexual practices and mores can reflect individual wishes for self expression. This is where there has been the greatest impact of generational differences.

"The question that needs more research is whether this cultural change has seriously modified the values which legitimate social and political institutions. The
significant outcome of generational differences may not be a radically new set of values but an acceleration of an existing trend, namely the refusal to equate authority and existing practices with morality" (Katz, 1974).

As values mediate the effects of social structure on personality, they are important to the study of the generation gap, which is a socio-cultural phenomenon. In a dynamic society, the problems and conditions of life change from time to time, generation to generation. Thus, a system of values which was true and valid for one generation must inevitably become outdated for the succeeding generation. A change in the physical environment, economic environment, and technology available, necessitates a corresponding change in morality and value orientations. The present study addresses itself to the disparity in value orientations between parents and offspring.