Values in three generations of families

Steven William Roecklein

Iowa State University
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Values in three generations of families
by
Steven William Roecklein

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Family Environment

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1981
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CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL RATIONALE

Generational Analysis Introduction

Since ancient times, there has been a concern with the continuity among generations. Feuer (1969) noted that Egyptian and Hebrew sages defined wisdom in terms that implied dire consequences for youth who forsook the way of their elders. Plato and Aristotle incorporated generational struggles in their theories of political change. Specifically, Aristotle suggested a main reason for political struggles could be found in the conflicts of fathers and sons.

More recently, the upheavals of the 1960s caused a resurgence of interest in generational differences and similarities. Contrasts between age groups became the topic of popular concern in the late 1960s as evidenced by discussions of the "generation gap" frequently seen in the mass media (Klein, 1969).

The interaction of generations is one of the issues in modern sociology. However, very few thorough studies are yet available to illuminate the nature and extent of the continuity or discontinuity of values between age groups today. All too often the discussion of generations is impressionistic, speculative, and even apocalyptic, not only in the popular press, but also in the pages of scholarly books and journals (Bengtson, 1970).

The purpose of this investigation was to design a study that explored the relationships among the generations. The main question asked was whether or not a generation gap existed. Implied in this concern was
how well each generation maintained a continuity of viewpoint with previous generations. How successful has the transmission of life style characteristics been among the generations?

In order to respond to these questions, a research plan was designed in which three generations of blood-related families completed a values instrument. The responses of the three generations were then compared to see if a gap existed among them.

Two main effects were used for deciphering any gap: one at the generation or cohort level, the other at the family or lineage level. The hypotheses of the study were presented in null form stating that no difference in values would be evident at the cohort level and no transmission of values would occur at the lineage level.

The first chapter of this study is made up of the following sections: theoretical orientation, a historical view of the American family, and review of the generational literature.

Theoretical Orientation

The two primary theoretical constructs for this study are "values" and "the family as a system comprising three generations." The concept of values is presented first, followed by a discussion of systems theory as it applies to families.

The concept of value

Like the ideas of truth and reality in philosophy, the concept of values remains illusive and slippery for axiologists. The fundamental problem with a theory of values is to define what exactly is a value
(Perry, 1926). As with the parable of the proverbial elephant, each person defines a value from his or her perspective and from individual experience.

In the quest to define what a value is, the following questions are asked (Munsterberg, 1909):

1. In what sense are values really valuable?
2. In what sense are values dependent upon our personal standpoint?
3. Is there anything in the world valuable except our personal likenings and pleasures?
4. Is there any value which we ought to acknowledge without reference to our personality?
5. Is there any moral or logical or aesthetic or religious sin which we ought to reject without reference to our personal disliking?

There are many things people value because they like them or because they are useful for a certain purpose. But, as Munsterberg (1909) points out, such values depend upon our special standpoint and needs. An idea or artifact may be of service to my neighbor but of no consequence to me. An Eskimo sees no need for a refrigerator, but to a Philippino it is a godsend. The French capture the pithiness of the argument in their saying "one man's meat is another man's poison."

From the philosophical perspective, a key question is whether or not there exists a universal set of values that are ultimate objective standards for all of mankind. A goal of speculative philosophers was to discover an all encompassing value or set of values that serve as the
standard for all human choices.

There are many different ways of discussing what values are and how to classify them. As Kluckhohn (1951) notes:

Much of the confusion in discussion about values undoubtedly arises from the fact that one speaker has the general category in mind, another a particular limited type of value, still another a different specific type. We have not discovered any comprehensive classification of values (p. 412).

Too, generally accepted definitions of a value vary from discipline to discipline; unfortunately, there is considerable diversity even within the field of sociology itself (Scott, 1965; Williams, 1970). However, more than any other concept, "values" is an intervening variable that shows promise of being able to unify the apparently diverse interests of all the sciences concerned with human behavior (Rokeach, 1973). Regarding the importance of the concept of values, Robin Williams (1968) writes, "problems of values appear in all fields of the social sciences, and value elements are potentially important as variables to be analyzed in all major areas of investigation" (p. 286).

Rokeach (1973) explains that the value concept is employed in two distinctively different ways in human discourse. It is often said that a person "has a value" but also that an object "has value." These two usages require at the outset a decision whether a systematic study of values turns out to be more fruitful if it focuses on the values that people are said to have or on the values that objects are said to possess.

Robin Williams (1968) raises this same concern as to which usage of the value concept is the most productive for social science research. He
remarks that a person's values serve as "the criterion, or standards, in terms of which evaluations are made by individuals. Values-as-criterion is the more important usage for purposes of social scientific analysis" (Williams, 1968, p. 283).

According to Rokeach (1968), the study of a person's values is likely to be more profitable for social analysis than a study of the values that objects are said to have. Rokeach proposes that by focusing upon a person's values "we would be dealing with a concept that is more central, more dynamic, more economical, a concept that would invite a more enthusiastic interdisciplinary collaboration, and that would broaden the range of the social psychologist's traditional concern to include problems of education and reeducation as well as problems of persuasion" (Rokeach, 1968, p. 159).

The definition proposed by Rokeach (1968, 1973) was chosen for the purposes of this study. Rokeach (1973) offers the following definition of what it means to say that a person has a value:

A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. (p. 5)

Rokeach suggests that the enduring quality of values arises mainly from the fact that they are initially taught and learned in isolation from other values in an absolute, all-or-none manner. Such-and-such a mode of behavior, or end-state, we are taught, is always desirable. We are not taught that it is desirable, for example, to be just a little bit honest or logical, or to strive for just a little bit of salvation or peace. Nor are we taught that such modes or end-states are sometimes desirable and sometimes not.
Systems theory and the family

One of the most important elements of the social structure involved in value formation is the family. A most recent development in the area of family theory is to understand the multifacetal aspects of family life in terms of systems theory (Minuchin, 1974; Bowen, 1978).

Beginning with a general view of systems theory, Stompka (1974) presents what is basic to any system. Every entity that is a system:

1) is a set of elements,
2) that are related to each other,
3) to form a whole or unity,
4) and are marked by boundaries separating the elements from components in other systems.

Family therapists in particular are applying systems directly to family behavior, including the analysis of how families form values. Epstein et al. (1978, p. 20) translates the basic tenets of systems theory into family functioning as follows:

1) Parts of the family are related to each other,
2) One part of the family cannot be understood in isolation from the rest of the system,
3) Family functioning is more than just the sum of the parts,
4) A family's structure and organization are important in determining the behavior of family members, and
5) Transactional patterns (transmission-feedback) of the family system are involved in shaping the behavior of family members.

To further elucidate the system principles with families, Epstein and
Bishop (1973, p. 176) offer the following as a model of family functioning using a systems framework:

In this approach the family is seen as an 'open system' consisting of systems within systems (individual, marital dyad) and relating to other systems (extended family, schools, industry, religions). The unique aspect of the dynamic family group cannot be simply reduced to the characteristics of the individuals or interactions between pairs of members. Rather, there are explicit and implicit rules, plus action by members, which govern and monitor each other's behavior. The significance for therapy is the fact that the therapist is not concerned with what it is in the family which produced pathology in the individual, but rather with the processes occurring within the family system which produce the behavior which is labeled pathology. Therapy on this basis is directed at changing the system and, thereby, the individual. The concepts of communication theory, learning theory, and transaction approach are drawn on, although the infra-structure remains the systems model.

In order to understand any one generation of the family system, it is important to find out about the larger whole or the interrelatedness of two or three generations. Bowen (1978) often refers to the multigenerational transmission process he observes in his clinical work with families. He believes that the parents in any family project their view of reality onto the children in the family. This family projection process continues through multiple generations. If individuals emerge with higher levels of maturity than their predecessors, Bowen believes one will then see higher functioning individuals in the multigenerational lineage.

The role of feedback (transmission) is a key to understanding systems theory in relation to generations. As applied to behavior, feedback involves a continuous process of (a) defining goals, (b) articulating alternative means of achieving those goals, (c) observing the effectiveness of the various alternatives, and (d) selecting or maintaining the best means
from among these alternatives. Or, one can exercise the option of changing the originally stated goals.

Applying the systems model and feedback to the continuous cycle of generations appears relevant to explaining both change and continuity in the social order through time. The fresh contact with the established social order, experienced by the young as they prepare for adulthood, could result in the feedback pattern that follows: (a) the emergence of new definitions of desirable goals which are different from the current strivings, (b) developing alternative behavior patterns geared toward actualizing these ends, (c) testing these alternatives in everyday life, (d) selecting among one or more of the alternatives and attempting to sustain these in the new social order.

Socialization now is being regarded as a bilateral process, a circular-causality model rather than a linear one. The elderly do learn from the young (Mead, 1970). Bengtson et al. (1974) believe that there is a linkage between generations and the process of cultural change. Systems theory, with its emphasis upon feedback mechanisms, may provide some insight into this process of how cultures change.

A Historical View of the American Family

One method of understanding the family as an entity is to take a historical perspective. Within the past twenty years, Aries (1962, 1979); Wishy (1972); and Demos (1974), among other historians, have directed special attention to the study of family life.

The purpose for including a historical review of the American
family in this paper has been to provide a perspective on the roles individuals have played in the family and the way families relate to their communities. How families transmitted values or what specific values have been passed on to the next generation were not the primary focus of this overview.

There have been several interpretations (Bailyn, 1960; Cremin, 1977) on the roles of the American family since colonial times. Demos (1979) has concluded that three phases have occurred in the evolution of the history of the American family: the Family as Community, the Family as Refuge, and the Family as Encounter Group. Demos' categorization has been adopted for this historical review.

Family as community

Many settlers to the New World left Europe for religious freedom; hence, religious concerns permeated daily family life.

A dominant perspective of the family, at least in New England settlements, is seen in the following statement taken from an essay by a Puritan preacher in the early seventeenth century:

A family is a little church, and a little commonwealth, at least a lively representation thereof, whereby trial may be made of such as are fit for any place of authority, or of subjection, in church or commonwealth. Or rather, it is as a school wherein the first principles and grounds of government are learned; whereby men are fitted to greater matters in church and commonwealth (Demos, 1979, p. 46).

What was important about this description was that the family and the wider community were joined in a reciprocal relationship. In other words, individual families were the building blocks out of which the
larger units of social organization were fashioned. Each individual grew up in a community of relatives, neighbors, friends, and others with whom he or she had interdependent relationships.

Morgan (1966) discussed how the membership of these families was not fundamentally different from the pattern today: a man and a woman joined in marriage to raise their natural-born children. Thus, the basic family unit was a "nuclear" one. A small number of historians, including Bailyn (1960), have claimed that extended families were just as prominent as nuclear families. Nonkin could, and did, join these families—orphans, apprentices, hired laborers, and a variety of children "bound out" for a time in conditions of fosterage. Usually designated by the general term "servants," such persons lived as regular members of many colonial households. Here, the master's role was to provide care, restraint, and even a measure of rehabilitation for those involved. They, in turn, gave him their service. Thus, did the needs of the individual householders intertwine with the requirements of the larger community.

The family was a community of work. Survival was uppermost in the lives of these early settlers. Young and old, male and female, labored together to produce the subsistence on which the whole group depended. For long periods of time they worked in each other's presence and thereby frequent daily contact with family members was the norm.

Winslow (1952) noted that church attendance revealed a somewhat different pattern of organization of the family within the larger community. Regarding the typical seating plant of colonial churches
in New England, men and women were separated on opposite sides of a central aisle. Within these separate groups, individual communicants were assigned places in accordance with certain "status" criteria, in general, the oldest, wealthiest, and most prominent citizens sat at the front. Children were relegated still another section of the church, usually the back.

Powers (1966) felt that since the functions of the family and the wider society were so substantially interconnected during these early times, the latter might reasonably intervene when the former experienced difficulty. Magistrates and local officials would thus compel a married couple "to live more peaceably together" or to alter and upgrade the "governance" of their children. This, too, was the context of the famous "stubborn child" laws of early New England, which prescribed the death penalty for persistent disobedience to parents. Such harsh sanctions were seldom carried out, but the statutes remained on the books as a reminder of society's interest in orderly domestic relations.

Jeffrey (1972) argued that the family as a community began to come apart by the early decades of the nineteenth century. Some American families were on a new course as the Industrial Revolution began to exert its influence. For the most part, these were urban families, and distinctly middle-class; and while they did not yet constitute anything like a majority position in the country at large, they pointed the way to the future.
Family as refuge

According to Demos (1979), as the Industrial Revolution progressed a workingman's life polarized between job and family. Although there was some room for affective involvement at work, the family was a more conducive setting for the intimate expression of feelings. Whereas the working world was subject to constant, strict surveillance, the family was a place of refuge, freer from outside control.

Bernard Wishy (1972) has discussed how the nineteenth century family idealized, romanticized, and thus sentimentalized the existence of children. Offspring were judged to be pristine, pure, paragons of virtue. This attitude was in response to the oppressive conditions of the work place in an industrialized society. Children were thought of as being uncontaminated in a tainted world and as such became models for beauty and innocence.

The concept of "home" became highly sentimentalized. Life at home was depicted as a bastion of peace, repose, and orderliness. Here it was hoped that the woman of the family and the children would pass most of their hours and days, safe from the pressures and temptations of the world at large. Here, too, the man of the house was supposed to retreat periodically for refreshment, renewal, and an inner fortification against the dangers he encountered in his work environment.

A passage, taken from the domestic literature of the 1840s, reflects this notion of the family as refuge:

We go forth into the world, amidst the scenes of business and of pleasure; we mix with the gay and the thoughtless, we join the busy crowd, and the heart is sensible to a desolation of feeling;
we behold every principle of justice and of honor, disregarded, and the delicacy of our moral sense is wounded; we see the general good sacrificed to the advancement of personal interest; and we turn from such scenes with a painful sensation, almost believing that virtue has deserted the abodes of men, again, we look to the sanctuary of home; there sympathy, honor, virtue are assembled; there the eye may kindle with intelligence, and receive an answering glance; there disinterested love is ready to sacrifice everything at the alter of affection (Jeffrey, 1972, p. 24).

The above quote reflected the idea of differentiated roles within the family for various individual family members. The husband-father undertook the responsibility for productive labor. Meanwhile, the wife-mother was expected to confine herself to domestic activities. She preserved the home as a safe, secure, and "pure" environment (Welter, 1966).

The children of the marital pair were set off as distinctive creatures in their own right. Home life, from a child's point of view, was a sequence of preparation in which they armored themselves for the challenges and difficulties of the years ahead (Wishy, 1972). Kett (1977) stated that in the nineteenth century maturation of children became disjunctive and problematic as the transition from child to adult became longer, lonelier, and more painful as compared to colonial America.

Laslett (1973) described the nineteenth-century family as the "public gone private institution." That description, he concluded, has carried over into the twentieth century. But with this removal of family life from the public scrutiny, a dissonance between the ideals and realities of family existence developed. Merton (1957) has pointed
out that the more behavior was immune from observation, the more deviation from the norms was likely to occur. Families were no longer censured for departing from the norms, nor were they supported by the community for fulfilling them.

As noted by Greven (1977), in a world that was experiencing the steady loss of family control over the means of production, and in which men were becoming more solely responsible for family income, the family emerged as one institution in which individualism could find expression. Children were seen as the proud progeny of the new nation. And women, temporarily tied down in the domestic sphere, found strength in the fact that they were also tied together, thus establishing a necessary precondition for the eventful emergence of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries powerful feminist movements.

The family as encounter group

According to Demos (1979), the image of "the family as refuge" still has an active life today. Instrumental and expressive roles, as Parsons and Bales (1955) have outlined, are enacted in the family as refuge. People have looked to their home life for relief against the demands and pressures of society at large. Some couples still base their marital contracts on the man being the "provider" and woman the "disarmer" (Goldstein, 1977).

With the encounter family, the home has become a crucible of mutually enhancing activity. Demos (1979) has conducted that individual family members today want families to be interesting and stimulating experiences. Children have been invited to be open and roles are
to be reciprocal. Parents are being encouraged to listen carefully to their children, even to learn from them (Gordon, 1970).

But often these humanistic ideals have been misread and abused. Seen from the view of self-growth as an important need (Satir, 1972), staying with the same marriage partner often has become boring and stultifying. Bane (1976) has noted that the divorce rate in the United States is one of the highest in the world. She concluded that it was not marriage itself but the specific marital partner that was being rejected. Hence, a pattern of serial monogamy has been evident as people have searched for their ideal mate.

Keniston (1977) has been critical of the current state of the American family. Family life to him has been in deep trouble as evidenced by the number of suicides by children under 18, the high rate of divorce, and the degree of family abuse. He has proposed a major governmental commitment to these matters in the form of a national family policy.

In conclusion, the newest trend in family living in general has been one with an emphasis upon the full realization of the self in relation to other family members.

Thus to summarize, Demos (1979) has viewed the American family as having evolved three forms: the family as community, the family as refuge, and the family as encounter group. The family as community was a time period in colonial New England when the roles in the family and society were closely interconnected. Individual family members grew up in a situation in frequent contact with relatives, friends, and neighbors.
As the Industrial Revolution occurred, the family as refuge formed with its emphasis upon the separation of family and the work place. Domestic life was romanticized. The husband, increasingly working away from the family, sought security and peace in the sanctuary of his home. Children were sentimentalized as near perfect representations of innocence and women were sanctified as homemakers.

The third form of the family to emerge was the family as encounter group. Here the family was viewed as a place for self-enhancement through reciprocal interactions with other family members. With this family type the emphasis was upon self-growth of the individual members within the family group.

Review of Generational Literature

A current review of generational literature (Bengtson & Troll, 1979) notes that surveys of generational studies tend to confound different concepts of generations (Troll, 1970; Bengtson, 1970; Bengtson et al., 1974). Many articles recognize three structural generational units: the individual, the family and society at large. For example, generation sometimes refers to structure and at other times to process. It is sometimes localized within the family and at other times in the larger society. It is sometimes applied to large-scale historical patterns and at other times to child-to-adult transitions. A discussion may start with parent-child relations, shift to cultural, or value changes, and get lost in a morass of developmental dilemmas.

Troll (1970) admits that little is said that is either clear or clarifying regarding the generations. The confusion is due partially to
semantics. At least five separate concepts of generations are in circulation, although she states that their differences are probably more implicit than explicit. These five concepts of generations are:

1. generations as ranked descent,
2. generations as age homogeneous groups,
3. generations as developmental stage,
4. generations as time span,
5. generations as Zeitgeist.

Table 1 provides an illustrative aid in comparing these.

Behind the issues of generations are allied issues of social change. To some extent, it is the salience of social change in today's culture that lends urgency to the topic of generations. But the relevance of generations is not only to social change but human development as well. Concepts of generations link social systems to family systems and family systems to the individual and his personality system (Troll et al., 1969).

According to Bengston et al. (1974), generational analysis, in its broadest sense, examines the contribution of emerging age groups to the changing configuration of social order. In its most precise meaning, however, generational analysis involves characterization of the varieties within, as well as between age groups and explanation of the social and psychological implications of such distinctions for the continuity of current social structure.

In the early nineteenth century, social philosophers began developing models of generations that were social and historical in nature, rather than biological or genealogical (Morris & Murphy, 1966). This coincided with the beginning of the modern period of sociology and psychology, and
Table 1. Generation concepts illustrated

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<th>Age group</th>
<th>Developmental stage</th>
<th>Time span</th>
<th>Zeitgeist (in America)</th>
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<td>65+ (aging)</td>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>30 years</td>
<td>Horatio Alger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Son (Daughter)</td>
<td>40-65</td>
<td>Middle age</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>Gray flannel suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Great-grandson</td>
<td>14-25 (youth)</td>
<td>Adolescence</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>Activism and hippies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Great-great-grandson</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Childhood</td>
<td>4 years</td>
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Three progressive stages of theory and research have been traced in the developmental history of the analysis of the generations (Bengston et al., 1974). These were: (a) a "classic" period during which competing perspectives were developed regarding the import of youth groups on social structure (Mannheim, 1952; Parsons, 1963; Davis, 1940); (b) a phase which focused on interpretations of the youth protest movement of the 1960s and was further characterized by the development of new conceptual and methodological tools to examine change over time; and (c) a period of consolidation and reformulation with more precise specification of competing theoretical frameworks and the analysis of a growing body of empirical works.

The First Stage: The classical perspective

Since the seventeenth century, many social theorists such as Comte (1896) and J. S. Mill (1961) have utilized the concept of "generation" in their efforts to explain historical changes and the rise of particular political movements. More recently, Ortega (1923) summarized this perspective of the role of generations in history and social change as follows:

A generation is not a handful of outstanding men, nor simply as mass of men . . . (it) . . . is a dynamic compromise between mass and individual, and is the most important conception in history. It is, so to speak, the pivot responsible for the movements of historical evolution. (pp. 14-15)

This statement, although leaving unspecified precisely what was the nature of the linkage between time and the emergence of new forms and leadership, illustrated the impact which the idea of generations had on early sociologists and political scientists. This orientation, in its varying forms, has been said to be the classical statement of the sociology of generational analysis.
Mannheim (1952) was the person who developed the notion of historical consciousness and social organization as manifest in emerging generations. For Mannheim, the concept of generations portrayed 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 certain points 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 served as the crucial link between time and social structure and was important in understanding the progress of historical events and the course of social change. Mannheim added the notable 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. Mannheim also coined the term "generation unit" to describe the active, change-producing element of an age-group.

A second significant approach to the sociology of generations was found in the structural-functional perspective of Parsons (1963) and Eisenstadt (1965). Their formulation attempted to assess more precisely how generations operated as dimensions of social structure, that is, how age groups reflect strain and imbalance in the social order and, by implication, how differentiations within age groups occur. According to Eisenstadt, the dynamics of generational phenomena can be traced to the interplay between technological development and the division of labor in complex societies. To the extent that social institutions are closed or
inaccessible to members of the younger generation and that the family is unable to provide socialization for participation in specialized positions in the society, there is potential for the development of formalized youth groups. This results in an increased differentiation on the basis of age throughout the broader society and the greater the probability that alienation would develop among that age segment, possibly leading to more broadly based generational conflict and social disorganization.

From the functionalist perspective, some degree of generational conflict inevitably arose from differences in stages of personality development between age groups and from contrasts in social positions between younger and older members of society. However, such differences were not necessarily reflective of permanent value differences or discontinuity between generations, nor were they symptomatic of social disorganization. Rather, generational contrasts reflected the attempt of youth to adapt and to prepare for their entrance into adult roles as they succeeded the parent generation (Parsons & Platt, 1972).

The functionalist perspective on generations thus focused not on age group contributions to dramatic social change, but rather on the mechanisms of orderly cohort flow and gradual evolution of the social order. In an open social system, the progression of generations was to proceed smoothly despite continual manifestations of inevitable but low key conflict.

Mannheim's historical-consciousness and the structural-functional perspectives on the problem of generations were primarily macrosocietal conceptualizations. Their emphasis was on the dynamics of generations as seen in the broader social structure.
A third perspective that can be termed classic was more explicitly a microsocietal analysis of generations. It began with Davis' (1940) analysis of generational dynamics as manifested in the "sociology of parent-youth conflict." Davis suggested, as do the structuralists, that some generational conflict was unavoidable, arising as a function of developmental contrasts between individuals who were at different stages of socialization and who were 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 depended upon variables such as the rate of social change and the complexity and integration of the culture. Davis contrasted modern industrialized society 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 intergenerational competition for status. By contrast, in modern western societies, most positions have been based on achievement rather than ascription; employment was no longer related to acceptance of parental standards. Conflict or rebellion between generations, therefore, was more characteristic of families in modern society where social and technological change was strong.

Davis' basic argument was quite similar to the functionalists, although applied more directly at the individual level of analysis. Several scholars have taken Davis' original formulations and applied them to other issues in socialization with direct reference to their implications for the macro level of social change. For example, Slater (1970) explored the socialization experience in contemporary families and suggested that the problem was not rebellion but too much conformity. His argument was that in modern society,
the young have adopted values which make little sense in terms of moral integrity and the needs of the self, given the demands of post-industrial culture.

Friedenberg (1969a,b) developed the same theme with respect to values assimilated through contemporary educational institutions. He suggested that the institutionally articulated values were archaic and dysfunctional, and noted that such inconsistencies led in the 1950s to 1960s to widespread alienation or at least disenchantment, especially among elite youth. Friedenberg thus appeared to build on the argument of Davis to the effect that youth and the parental generation, being at unequal levels of socialization at the same point in historical time, were prone to conflict at periods of rapid social change.

Other scholars such as Berger (1960) and Aldous and Hill (1965) were noted for the important elaborations they made on the classical perspectives of generations. Prior to the analysis that grew out of the student protest era, their work, in a sense, constituted a bridge between the two stages. Their main contribution has been to focus social and psychological research upon youth and inter-age contrasts as important dimensions of social organization. In varying ways, each attempted to use theoretical foundations similar to those of classical theorists to explain the unique situation, role, and character of age groups in the post-World War II era. For example, Berger's (1960) contribution was to define more precisely the varying ideological and structural implications of the concept generation.

The contribution of Hill and Aldous (1969) was in a more empirical vein. Analyzing data from a large sample of three-generation lineages, they were concerned with formulating theory on family development through time. A study by Aldous and Hill (1965) examined whether or not cultural
transmission through the family was greater in same sex versus cross sex lineages. Data were obtained from a sample of 264 families which were 88 white, three-generation lineages living in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area. Agreement percentages among the three generations showed that the greatest continuity with all lineages was within religious affiliation. The greatest continuity was found in the female lineage (grandmother, mother, daughter). The all-male lineage (grandfather, father, son) showed the greatest continuity on the occupational variable.

The percentage of agreement varied depending upon the variable measured. The hypothesis of greater cohesiveness in lineage of the same sex received some affirmative support.

Richard Flacks (1967), from the University of Chicago, conducted a generational study to examine the roots of the student protest movement of the '60s. The purpose of his study was to check the hypothesis that the student movement appealed particularly to youth from upper-class, highly educated families. Why was it that students from the most advantaged sector of youth population were so disaffected with their own privilege?

Two samples were drawn in the summer of 1965 and spring of 1966 from the Chicago area. The first involved interviews with 100 student activists and nonactivists and their parents. The second sample was of 117 participants, nonparticipants and opponents of a sit-in at the University of Chicago.

Data were collected from both parents and students on variables such as: political attitudes and participation; family life; values broadly defined; family life and other aspects of socialization. Rating scales and projective questions were used to assess family members' perceptions.
Percentage of agreement on issues was the statistic used to substantiate the hypotheses. Flacks found that student activists tended to come from upper status families. Too, student activists were more "radical" than their parents, but activists' parents were decidedly more liberal than others of their status. The data showed that fathers of student activists were disproportionately more liberal.

Flacks' analyses supported the view that value patterns expressed by activists were highly correlated with those of their parents. The four value patterns of Romanticism, Intellectualism, Humanitarianism, and Moralism emerged from the interview material. These four values were strongly related to activism and most importantly Flacks reported, parent and student scores on these values were reported as strongly correlated, although no correlation coefficients were presented. Regarding transmission of values, Flacks concluded that the findings of his data have provided further support for the view that the unconventionality of activists flows out of and was supported by their family traditions. Specifically, Flacks stated that he found activists' parents to be more "permissive" than parents of nonactivists.

Another conclusion from the data of this study was that the student movement was an expression of deep discontent felt by certain types of high status youth as they confronted the incongruities between the values represented by the authority and occupational structure of the larger society and the values inculcated by their families. Also, it was clear that value differences between parents of activists and nonactivists existed and were significant. Nonactivists and their parents tended to
express conventional orientation toward achievement, material success, sexual morality and religion. On the other hand, activists and their parents tended to place greater stress on involvement in intellectual and aesthetic pursuits, humanitarian concerns, opportunity for self-expression and tended to de-emphasize or disvalue personal achievement, conventional morality and conventional religiosity.

To summarize, the classical period of generational analysis in modern social science was marked by the development of competing formulations regarding the impact of age groups on social structure. It is important to note that many sociological formulations of generational theory had their origins in attempts to explain social and political movements at different points in history. To this extent, early generational theory addressed itself to the issue of social change. Most subsequent research in this area—particularly studies regarding student activists of the 1960s—has been based on the same perspectives (Bengston et al., 1974).

The Second Stage: Studying the youth movement

Among students of social issues, social movements, and social change, the protest movement caused a revival of interest in the concept of generations. Many social scientists turned to the classical perspectives searching for explanations of the emergence of age-linked political movements, and empirical research was carried out in an attempt to identify the sources of student activism.

The development of the 1960s counterculture, with its innovations of lifestyles, attracted the interest of sociologists such as Roszak (1969), Suchman (1968) and Reich (1970). These 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. In analyzing the counterculture as well as the student protest movement, it seemed most relevant to examine Mannheim's suggestions that generational units were an important interface between dimensions of time and dimensions of social structure and thus were crucial in understanding social change.

From this second period of generational theorizing and elementary researching, emerged three positions regarding the existence of a generation gap. These were (1) those who felt there was a great gap among generation, (2) those who thought there was no gap at all, (3) those who believed the gap was in reality selective or specific in content.

The first of these, the great gap position, focused on generational discontinuity. From this perspective, the social unrest during the 1960s stemmed from increasing cleavages between the generations. Traditional socialization processes had become dysfunctional in an age of rapid social change, often exacerbated by the apparent hypocrisy of the parental generation. The result was discontinuities in basic core values between youth and their elders (Friedenberg, 1969a,b; Mead, 1970; Slater, 1970).

Margaret Mead (1970) has explained the pulling apart of the generations in terms of differential environmental experiences while young. According to Mead, it was no longer possible for the middle-aged parent to tell his son, "I was once a youth like you." The father never was just like him. Being 20 years old in 1970 was different from being the same age in the 1930s. Youth grew up in a milieu of instant visual news, a
threat of annihilation via nuclear war, and a growing concern with the credibility of established leadership.

One of the more eloquent proponents of this perspective of the great gap in youth-adult relations has been Edgar Friedenburg (1959, 1965, 1969a,b). He has argued that adult institutions have failed to listen to, let alone understand, a youth group which has been progressively alienated. He has suggested that "young people aren't rebelling against their parents, they're abandoning them." Most recently, he has felt that the generation gap reflected "a real, serious conflict of interest" rather than mutual misunderstanding: youth was a discriminated minority. Friedenburg (1969a) felt that the genuine class conflict between a dominant and exploitive older generation and youth who were slowly becoming more aware of what was happening to them would escalate into open conflict.

From a psychodynamic perspective, came additional confirmation for the great gap view of relations between age groups. Freudians have long accepted the proposition that rebellion (challenging the power of an autocratic father-figure) was an essential step in the achievement of power and independence crucial to the masculine identity role. Bettelheim (1965) has observed that factors that traditionally have mitigated generational conflict have become feeble or inoperative. The family has played a decreasing role in the socialization of the young; the elder generation was no longer the resource it had been for coping in the world. The result has been that one simply had to rebel if one was to become socially as well as psychologically an adult.
The "great gap" position emphasized that there were basic and, in some sense, irreconcilable differences between age groups in American society, culminating in rapid cultural transformation. Margaret Mead (1970) has argued that such transformations were all for the best. She has suggested that, in societies where there was rapid social change, generational discontinuity was more adaptive than was substantial similarity between cohorts, since old responses became inappropriate to radically new situations, and parents must learn from their children. Slater (1970) was proposing that we were already a nation of two cultures, defined mainly by age distinctions. Or, as Friedenberg (1969b, p. 42) has put it:

> If the confrontation between the generations does prove, as many portentous civic leaders and upper-case educators fear, a lethal threat to the integrity of the American social system, that threat may perhaps be accepted with graceful irony. Is there, after all, so much to lose? The American social system has never been noted for its integrity. In fact, it would be rather like depriving the Swiss of their surfing.

The second position on generational cleavages has emphasized the continuities between generations, arguing that contemporary anxiety over the differences between age groups has been greatly overplayed. It also has drawn upon historical analysis to indicate the seemingly inevitable recurrence of periods of heightened conflict between age groups. Thus, from this perspective, "the more things change, the more things stay the same." This has been applied to relations between age groups as well as to political changes. Though there have been inevitable generational behavioral differences, the continuities in various aspects of behavior between one generation and the next and the substantial solidarity between
youth and their parents, has taken precedence over these differences (Campbell, 1969).

Several examples supporting the continuity argument follow. In a comprehensive analysis of student protest movements, Feuer (1969) has presented historical documentation to the effect that the conflict of generations has been seen as both inevitable and recurrent. The intensity of the conflict has varied, however, dependent upon the power structure and older generations' ability to solve the problems facing the era.

Similar findings have been suggested in a second area, that of the "sexual revolution," by Bell (1966) and Reiss (1968). Data from these studies have been interpreted to suggest that the greatest generational change in sexual behavior, at least with regard to premarital sex, occurred following WWI between the cohort born before or after 1900 and not between today's youth and their parents.

The purpose of a study by Fengler and Wood (1972) was to explain the differential influences of the mother and father in socialization of their offspring by comparing the attitudes of college students on several current social issues.

Data for this study were obtained from interviews with members of 73 three-generation families. Four members from each family—a college age person, both of his or her parents, and one grandparent—were asked a series of Likert-type questions about a variety of major social issues. Topics such as the student protest, use of drugs, minority acceptance as well as marital and religious issues were studied. The interviews were
conducted by students in an undergraduate course in aging at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the fall of 1969.

The authors found that the continuity across generations was more likely to exist between mother and child than between father and child based on percentages of agreement. In all cases where parents differed in their degree of liberalism (mothers were more liberal than their husbands) mothers appeared to exert more influence than fathers. This was especially true in the area of sexual norms. Of mothers whose responses to sexual norms were liberal, 80% had offspring who were liberal on this issue, compared to 42% liberal children in families where the father was the one liberal parent. Finally, their findings suggested that mothers still dominate in the sphere of child-rearing with fathers having not attained parity in parental influence.

There have been studies which have touched on influence, sentiment, and interaction patterns between parents and youth. Some of these have purported that most adolescents and their parents perceive a decidedly satisfactory relationship in terms of communication, understanding, and closeness (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Larson & Myerhoff, 1965; Adelson, 1970). Other studies have indicated that parents were more important referent persons than peers for some aspects of decision-making in adolescence (Kandel & Lesser, 1969). Musgrove (1965) paradoxically found that adolescents have generally favorable orientations toward adults while the adults in his sample displayed decidedly less favorable descriptions of young people in general.
Streib (1965) did a study with a sample of retired parents, both male and female, and their adult offspring. Data were gathered by means of a self-administered questionnaire filled out by 291 retirees and by an adult child selected by each respondent. Streib discovered that retirees placed greater emphasis on the ties of affection between them and their adult children than the children do. It appeared that from the standpoint of the adult child, family relations within the family of procreation took precedence over linkages to the family of orientation. There was a high degree of agreement (70%) on the part of parents and children that the parents were not in need of financial help. From this study, it appeared that the parents were more likely to give aid to their children than they were to receive it from them.

Another perspective on the position of "nothing really new," has been from the research on political attitudes of students and their parents. Primarily such intergenerational research has indicated substantial continuity among both activists and nonactivists. For example, Thomas (1971), in a study of 60 politically active parents (30 liberal and 30 conservative) and their college age children, found that "children of highly politicized parents tended to be like their parents both in their political attitudes and their political behavior." Westby and Braungart (1966) found considerable similarity between members of the Young Americans for Freedom and their parents' political identification, and slightly less for members of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Friedman et al. (1972) completed a study of parents and student protesters at Columbia College, New York City. They wanted to further pursue
a premise of Keniston (1968) that protesting students were more likely than not to come from families in which the parents were relatively well-educated, urban professional, disproportionately Jewish, and with a history of liberal if not radical political involvement. The findings of Friedman et al. suggested the matter was much more complex than was assumed with Keniston's premise. Friedman et al. gathered a sample of 90 mothers and 75 fathers who replied to a questionnaire of 60 Likert-type questions. Five social and political value scales, "Traditional-Moralism, Machiavellian Tactics, Machiavellian Cynicism, New Left Philosophy and Revolutionary Tactics," comprised the instrument. Male students and their parents completed it. T-tests between groups and correlations between fathers and mothers and their own sons indicated there was a difference between parent scores. The magnitude of this difference varied depending upon the scale being measured. The greatest variance occurred on the "Revolutionary Tactics" scale. Too, it was noted that parents' mean scores were remarkably similar to each other. In general, the sons were more radical in ideology.

Patterns of correlations between parents and children were low. In every case, the correlation between parent-son was lower and significantly so than between father and mother. Thus, there appeared to be considerable slippage in the transmission of shared parental values to sons. Also, it was noted that the father-son and mother-son correlations were practically identical for each scale.

From this study, it was not easy to answer the question of whether or not there was a generation gap. There were a few gaps between parents and
sons in this study which appeared in the Revolutionary Tactics scale. This scale had items reflecting existing institutional ways of social amelioration.

Regarding the original question of the study, i.e., from what kind of families do student radicals come, these authors concluded that those engaging in protest do not necessarily come from more affluent and liberal families. Their findings suggested generally that fathers who were politically extreme, be they conservative or radical, have moderate sons, and sons who were extreme were more likely to have moderate fathers.

A line of argument emanating from this perspective emphasized the life-cycle foundations of generational conflict and the effects of maturation has lessened such cleavages. As today's youth matures into adulthood, one may anticipate a reaffirmation of the basic continuity that existed between the generations in the structure of social institutions. This continuity was in part the result of a decrease in age-related competition for freedom or authority, coupled with the inevitable bilateral exchanges in the socialization process (Bengston & Black, 1973).

Finally, those who "laid their money down" on the side of continuity of intergenerational behavior would hold that the social conflict of the 1960s was not generational in nature at all. Perhaps, as Adelson (1970, p. 25) has suggested:

What we have tended to do is to translate ideological conflict into generational conflict; it may be easier to contemplate and shift between the generations than to confront the depth and extent of our current social discord. The feverish politics of the day do not align the young against the old, not in any significant way. Rather they reflect the ideological differences in a deeply divided nation.
The third thesis proposed to elucidate the nature of the student activism of the 1960s has been termed "selective continuity." It was an intermediate position between the two extremes of "no gap" and "the nothing really new" positions. Like the latter, it maintained that in most respects, conflict between the generations was peripheral; solidarity and continuity of values was substantial across generational lines within the family and across cohort lines in the broader social order. However, like the no gap position, it emphasized that the rapid pace of social change was creating new modes of behavioral expressions that were quite different from those of the preceding generation.

Perhaps the basis for this position was first stated by Benedict (1938) in her discussion of continuity in cultural conditioning. Transmission between generations and progression from one age-grade to another varied greatly in preliterate and industrial societies. In the latter, there was considerably more diversity in what was passed on unchanged from generation to generation; the degree of similarity varied according to the type of attitude or behavior.

A growing body of empirical research has appeared to support the hypothesis of selective continuity. Selective continuity from one area of behavior to another has been seen in the extensive three generational analyses of Aldous and Hill (1965) and Hill (1970). Among the three generational lineages of 312 families in their research, they found some marked changes, especially between the first and second generation. Pearson's correlation coefficient was the statistic used for reporting the
significant differences appeared in traditional values and practices such as child-rearing orientation and family authority patterns.

However, their research revealed a high degree of generational continuity. Occupation, religious affiliation, pre-planning of consumer goods purchased, educational achievement, and marital interaction patterns served as indicators of continuity. The greatest continuity of behavior was evident in the transmission of religious affiliation. Less transmission from generation to generation was apparent in the pattern of dividing marital household tasks, educational achievement, and the making of decisions within the family (Hill, 1970).

Conclusions of the Aldous (1965) study were that white collar workers following a family occupational tradition, e.g., generational lineages of plumbers and farmers, appeared to have higher incomes than white collar workers lacking such a tradition. Too, continuity in religious affiliation over three generations was associated with less marital tension. Aldous concluded, therefore, that the results of past socialization appeared to be as effective as present social contacts in maintaining the family's influence from generation to generation.

An interesting side note of this research by Hill and Aldous was the suggestion of greater similarity between middle-aged parents and their married children than between the parent and the grandparent.

Slightly different conclusions regarding selectivity of transmission in the domain of political orientations have been presented by Jennings and Niemi (1968). Their two-generational data suggested that there was higher correspondence between parents and children on specific political
opinion issues and on party and religious identification than on more
global orientations toward political life (such as cynicism). Kandel and
Lesser (1972) found substantially more continuity between parents and
adolescents in behaviors and values relevant to future life goals of the
child (occupational or educational aspirations) as compared to the area of
political opinion.

Troll et al. (1969) completed a study that was concerned with simi­
larities in values and other personality traits in two generations of
adults within the family. Questions pursued in this study were between
which members of the family was similarity the greatest: mother-father,
mother-son, mother-daughter, father-son or father-daughter?

One hundred white students, 50 activists and 50 nonactivists and
their families living in the Chicago metropolitan area, were selected to
participate. Parallel data to their son and daughter students were pro­
vided by 186 (out of 200) parents. In total, 20 dimensions were measured,
nine for personal and social values and eleven dimensions of personality,
that dealt with coping mechanisms and styles of interpersonal relations.

Personal interviews were conducted with each respondent and compari­
sions within intrafamily dyads were made by correlational analysis. Find­
ings showed at least one significant correlation for 17 of the 20 vari­
bles for at least one family dyad. Four of the value dimensions (dedica­
tion to causes, conventional moralism, intellectualism, humanitarianism)
demonstrated significant correlations across all dyads. While the size of
the correlations was moderate (highest .74, most were .54 and below), the
proportion of significant correlations was well beyond chance. Therefore,
the authors concluded that members of a family did resemble each other in values and to a lesser extent, in personality traits. Parent-parent similarity was somewhat greater than parent-child similarity. Too, no particular parent-child dyad showed significantly more resemblance than any other; there was no clear trend toward either same-sex or cross-sex parent-child resemblance. Sex of child was not significant in this study. In conclusion, the salient values of this group of college students, whether they were activists or not, tended to be the salient values of their parents.

Kalish and Johnson (1972) did a primarily descriptive study of a three-generational sample of 53 women (aged 14-29), their mothers, and their maternal grandmothers. All informants responded to a Likert-type (5 point range) questionnaire consisting of six scales: political-social values, religiosity, attitudes toward students, attitudes toward one's own aging, attitudes toward old people, and attitudes toward death. Correlations were used to report findings about within-family similarity. T-tests were used to examine between-generation similarity.

In general, attitudes of daughters correlated more highly with attitudes of their mothers than did mothers with grandmothers. Further, Gen 1 (youth) was significantly more liberal politically, more secular, and more permissive toward students than Gen 2 (parent) which was significantly more liberal, secular and permissive than Gen 3 (grandmothers).

Conclusions from this study were that Gen 1 and Gen 2 showed greater generational agreement than either of the other pairings; however, on 4 of the 6 scales, values of daughters and grandmothers were more highly
correlated than values of mothers and grandmothers. Too, the older generation tended to be more conservative on social issues than younger generations. Correlational findings (11 of 18 were significant) substantiated that family members definitely held similar values.

The results of this study indicated that generational differences vary as a function of the particular issue, and that for some populations and on some issues, gaps between grandmothers and their offspring were greater than between the mothers and their youthful daughters.

These three positions just reviewed, the great gap, nothing really new, and selective continuity, have reflected a debate that lingers on in the research. Thomas (1974) has asserted that one important aspect of this debate has been that scholars in the generational analysis arena have argued past each other and have not addressed themselves to the same phenomena. Proponents of the "great gap" between generations have argued for generational discontinuity at the level of value orientation, while the "nothing really new" proponents have argued a case for similarities between the generations on the level of beliefs traditionally referred to as attitudes.

The revival of interest in generational analysis in the 1960s produced numerous studies, a great deal of public awareness, and mass media coverage. It has not, however, provided clear answers to sociological questions regarding the causes of the social movements of that period—or perhaps more importantly, to a conclusive understanding of generational dynamics. There were very few studies which systematically attempted to illuminate the nature and extent of continuity or differences between age
groups. There were even fewer empirical attempts to analyze the effect on social structure of differences between generations (Bengston et al., 1974).

**The Third Stage: Development and refinement of generational theory**

A third phase has been reached regarding generational analysis in sociology and psychology. Five major themes have been developed that seem to characterize the concerns of generational analysis in this current phase. These have been reflected in various ways in the scholarly articles on generations currently being published.

The five major themes below that characterize generational analysis overlap considerably, and yet can be approached separately in scholarly investigation (Bengtson et al., 1974, pp. 14-15).

1. **Definition and dimensions of generations: conceptualizations regarding the relations among time, aging, and social change.** This involves examining the importance of age strata as elements of social organization, evidence for—and against—the existence of generations as identifiable social aggregates, and the definition of within stratum distinctions (generation units). This is, to be sure, the central question of generational analysis, involving assessment of the degree to which generations do function as indicators of social location, and of the extent to which identifiable generation units are operant within an age cohort.

2. **Continuity and discontinuity between age groups: the extent of similarity and conflict between age groups in behaviors and standards of behaviors.** This issue involves analysis of socialization or transmission from elders to youth, as well as the degree of feedback as youth socialize their elders. It also involves assessment of the resultant continuity or discontinuity between age strata and between one point in historical time and another. Finally, this point concerns the nature and extent of conflict between groups defined on the basis of age.

3. **Persistence of generational themes over time: the extent to which behaviors or orientations adopted by specific generation units during youth (e.g., counterculture lifestyle) will be**
maintained over the adult life course of that cohort, or a given individual, and come to affect broader configurations of the culture.

4. Generational solidarity: the degree to which an age group develops within-stratum similarity and cohesiveness as opposed to disunity. This issue, while related to the identification of generational units, involves the degree of interpenetration and commonality among emergent cohort, and in part it reflects the homogeneity of experiences and outlook within the cohort. Both issues are influenced by age configurations of the population and the degree to which dramatic sociopolitical events have impinged on the emerging generation.

5. Generations and other dimensions of social structure: the degree to which generations interact with attributes of social locations similar to socioeconomic class, ethnicity, and sex to produce distinctive behavioral patterns; and the historical as well as the structural implications of such location.

The present study focuses primarily on the second major theme, that of continuity and discontinuity between age groups.

A key issue underlying the definitional problems of the continuity of generations has been the dilemma of whether generational phenomena can best be examined on a macro (age-cohort) level or a micro (family lineage) level (Connell, 1972; Bengtson and Black, 1973). The cohort perspective emphasized demographic attributes of age groups. Born during a given period of history, a particular age cohort experienced in similar ways the consequences of historical events. This view emphasized the role of age groups in macrosocial differentiation. A second approach, generation as lineage, offered the most appropriate perspective for examining micro-patterns of continuity and discontinuity through the socialization process, especially as evident within the family context (Bengston & Cutler, 1976).
Transmission of behaviors from one generation to the next has to be a central component of generational analysis, whether or not it is explicitly recognized. Much of the research in generational dynamics has involved the socialization process and intergenerational similarities between elders and youth (Aldous & Hill, 1965; Keniston, 1968; Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Troll et al., 1969; Kandel & Lesser, 1972). From one perspective:

... the focus of socialization is on the shaping of large-scale aggregates who are carriers of culture. Although the immediate and intended outcome is the shaping of a particular cohort, the same process is one through which cultures are changed and history is registered. (Bengtson & Black, 1973, p. 247)

The study of continuity and discontinuity between generations has clear implications for the issue of social change at both the cohort and lineage levels (Hill, 1970). An article by Balswick (1974) provided information on the successful transmission of fundamentalist orientations in Protestantism to younger cohorts who were heavily influenced by counterculture innovations, i.e., drugs and communal living. His analysis suggested the success of a continuity of religious orientation outside of the traditional institutional arrangements (the formal church structure).

On the other hand, generational conflict has occurred when differences between generations became so great that smooth intergenerational relations could no longer be achieved. Much of the popular concern about generations in the late 1960s was directed at this issue, and many of the violent confrontations that spurred this concern were based on generational differences in positions and expectations (Feuer, 1969).
Whereas discontinuity implied a true change in the culture, dissimilarities need not imply a generational schism. As Kandel (1974) pointed out in her article, adolescent marijuana use was more frequent among youth whose parents drank, smoked, or took pills. In short, while each generation may exhibit different behaviors, the behaviors may be based on a common value system; and as Aldous and Hill (1965), Jennings and Niemi (1968), and Kandel and Lesser (1972) have shown, differences in behaviors and values between the generations may exist in the context of close interpersonal relationships between parents and their adolescent children.

Thomas (1974) presented a review of the literature dealing with parent-child similarity in political orientation and values. He reported that although very little research has been done on parent-child congruence or value orientations, several studies of political attitudes indicated higher parent-child agreement on partisan attitudes than on political value orientations.

The topic of intergenerational transmission has focused upon the degree of similarities or differences between parent and children and, to a lesser extent because of a dearth of studies of three generations, between grandparents and grandchildren. To what extent have people in different generations of the same family replicated each other? This question will now be examined in light of studies that deal specifically with value similarities and differences between and among the generations.

Payne et al. (1973) completed a study whose purpose was to investigate the scope of generational differences by assessing judgments about a wide variety of behaviors from three generations of individuals. The
sample consisted of 95 undergraduate student subjects (44 males, 51 females) from introductory psychology classes, and at least one of their living parents and grandparents. Sixty-eight fathers, 69 mothers, 32 grandfathers and 59 grandmothers returned an 85-item questionnaire in which they indicated "how bad they would feel" (on a seven point scale) were they to engage in each of the behaviors described therein.

From the analysis of the 85 items, three factors emerged. Factor I encompassed items that could be considered violations of "conventional morality," e.g., violations of laws, premarital sexual relations, drug use and patriotism. Factor II was interpreted as "personal failure" and was exemplified by violations of interpersonal confidence and trust, carelessness, accidental actions, failure to obtain personal goals, etc. Factor III was labeled "embarrassment" inasmuch as the behaviors which loaded highly on this factor typically led to embarrassment or ridicule.

The data obtained were further subjected to a three (generation) x 2 (sex) analysis of variance. A mean score, based on the subject's responses to all 85 items, was computed for each subject. The analysis of overall responses yielded significant main effects for both generation and sex. With regard to the generation effect, individual comparison of mean scores yielded significant differences among all three generations (number mean scores: students 4.86; parents 5.26; grandparents 5.71). The sex effect was due to the higher mean score for females (5.42) than for males (5.10) (scale ranged from (1) "not at all bad", to (2) "extremely bad").

With Factor I, findings showed significance only in the main effect for generations. In general, students indicated a lower level of negative
affect than did parents, who in turn indicated they would feel less negative affect than grandparents with regard to violations of "conventional morality."

Regarding Factor II, the generation main effect was once again the only significant effect identified. However, individual comparisons showed grandparents and students less severe in their judgments on "personal failure" than parents.

Factor III analysis found significance in the main effect for generation also. Individual comparisons showed parents and grandparents to be quite similar and students lower than both parents and grandparents.

In addition, an analysis was performed on 10 items which failed to emerge as a major factor, yet which constituted an "a priori" cluster of what was termed "socially irresponsible behaviors." These 10 items were closely related to three current social issues (ecology, racism, and overpopulation). The responses to these 10 items were averaged for each subject and then analyzed according to a 2 (sex) x 3 (generation) ANOVA. Main effects were obtained for both sex and generation. Regarding the sex effect, female subjects indicated stronger negative affect than did male subjects concerning these behaviors. On the other hand, the generation effect differed from the previous findings of this study. Specifically, the strongest negative affect (7 was tops) was shown by the student subjects (5.22), followed by the grandparents (5.03) and then by the parents (4.80).

The major conclusions of this study were that (a) on the whole, the student subjects were less severe in their judgments than were their
parents, who in turn were less severe than the grandparents; but (b) the ordering of generational differences varied according to the class (factor) of behavior which was being judged. Too, while the difference in judgments between parents and grandparents may not be as visible as that between students and parents, this study suggested that this difference exists nonetheless. Thus, this study gave moderate support to the existence of a generation gap.

The purpose of the Bengston and Lovejoy study (1973) was to explore the extent of covariation between values, social experience and subjective self-experience. Values, in this way, were seen as an important conceptual linkage between the social and the personal system.

The data for this analysis were from a larger study regarding patterns of transmission and contrasts in three-generational families. These families were drawn from a population of 840,000 members of a metropolitan medical care plan which serviced many large labor unions. The population represents a predominantly working class background.

The data for this study were based on 2,044 individuals who were members of three generation family units. Sixteen value items, e.g., financial comfort, respect, equality, skill, novelty, patriotism, were rank-ordered by the respondents. From these 16 items, two factors emerged. Factor I was termed materialism/humanism (high positive loadings on items concerning financial comfort, high negative loadings on items such as equality); Factor II was labeled individualistic/institutional orientation (high positive loadings on value items as skill, high negative loadings on
items such as patriotism). Factor scores were calculated for each respondent on the two factors.

The findings from the data gave partial support to the proposition that values covary with both objective experiencing (social location) and subjective experiencing (affect status). There was a surprising homogeneity in values across the sub-groups defined in this analysis. Too, of all the independent (predictor) variables, age status accounted for the greatest predictability of values. This last finding has suggested that age status may be a particularly salient dimension of social differentiation and personal experiencing. This means that the primary contrasts in values, at least according to this study, were along generational lines.

Bengtson (1975) asked the question to what degree was the socialization of "core" values a function of family, as opposed to generational influences? Data from 2,044 individuals, which were subsequently reduced to 256 grandparent-parent-youth lineages, were used to explore this question. For this particular study, 16 value items, presented in random format, were rank-ordered. When analyzed, these 16 values factored into a humanism/materialism pole and a collectivism/individualism pole.

Results were presented on four major questions: The first was, did members of different generations display unique configurations on the 16 value items or was there factorial invariance from generation to generation? In other words, did members of contrasting generations conceptualize desirable ends in such different ways that the underlying dimensions of value orientation varied from one group to the next? This was the implication of those who postulate a "great gap" between contemporary
generations (Reich, 1970; Mead, 1970; Roszak, 1969). Findings showed similar factor loadings for all three generations indicating a high degree of invariance across generations. Similarity of the loadings was assessed by computing Spearman rank-order correlations between each pair of generations.

A second question involved the extent of age-group differences in "location" on the value dimensions. Were there clear contrasts between youth and the older generations? Between the middle-aged and the elderly? The demonstration of factorial invariance suggested that the generational groups in this study did not differ in the "dimensionality" of the values examined; however, they could still differ in their respective "distribution," or location, on those common dimensions. To test this, generational differences were examined in an analysis of variance design. In a sub-sample of 768 individuals, 256 distinct family lineages were each represented by one grandparent, one parent and one young adult grandchild. Since selection of individuals within three generational lineages was random, there were a variety of sex lineage combinations with approximately equal representation. Results of the ANOVA showed both differences and similarities between generations. On Factor I (Humanism/Materialism), there was little group difference on the family or generation effect with all groups leaning toward the Humanitarianism pole. On this dimension, there appeared to be a curvilinear relationship between value orientation and generational membership, with the grandparents even more inclined toward Humanism than the youth. However, on Factor II (collectivism/individualism), there was a clear progression by age. The grandparent's
mean was the lowest (leaning towards the collectivism pole), and the grandchildren were the highest (toward the individualism pole). The generation main effect was statistically significant (beyond .001) and accounted for 22% of the variance.

Therefore, although there were statistically significant contrasts between generations on the collectivism/individualism value dimension, there was little group difference on material/humanism. Moreover, the magnitude of within generation variation appeared so substantial as to question a simple generational interpretation of value differences.

The third question this study tackled was the issue of "within family similarities" in values, the extent to which there was continuity between parents and children, grandparents and youth, in the ordering of desirable ends. A regression analysis was performed to test the degree of covariation or prediction in value orientations among lineage members. The 256 triads described earlier were recomposed into 3 sets of two generation dyads. In this model, Gen 3 scores (youth) were defined by two independent variables (Gen1 grandparents, Gen2 parents) plus the residual. The results suggested relatively low levels of parent-child predictions and a high degree of residual variation (.98 Factor I; .91 Factor II). What this meant was that very little transmission appeared with Factor I between groups. Analysis of Factor II, however, suggested both generational group differences and slight within family transmission.

The fourth question of this research was the relative efficiency of lineage as opposed to cohort effects in accounting for variation in values. The key question asked here was: Of the variance in value orienta-
tions for the sample, how much was attributed to the fact that individuals were members of different lineage (the family effect) and how much to the fact they were members of different age groups (the generation effect)?

To explore this issue, a blocked ANOVA design was employed. Three two-way ANOVAs were performed on three two-generation dyads (as in the regression analysis). In this design, large net differences between families were interpreted as high lineage similarity. This method represented a way of assessing the intra-family agreement versus prediction or covariation, which the regression analysis did.

The unit of analysis was three sets of parent-child pairs for each value, rather than one set of three-generation dyad.

Findings noted several things: First, a small to moderate percentage of total variance accounted for by either main effect of cohort or lineage (the residual range was from 62 to 100% in the various dyads). There was clearly a high degree of individual variance, neither inter-generation differences nor intra-family similarity were factors which consistently accounted for much variance on the various value dimensions.

A second finding concerned contrasts among the lineage dyads and between the two types of values in comparing the two effects. The Gen 2-Gen 3 (parent-youth dyad), particularly with regard to collectivism/individualism, showed stronger family socialization effects (29%) than generational effects (4%). The Gen 1-Gen 3 dyad (grandparents and youth) reflected a different pattern on this factor, 9% family effect, 29% generation effect. Again, there was some suggestion of family transmission but in the latter case, there was substantially more generation influence.
It was on Factor II where both the "gap" and the "transmission" most commonly was seen. The highest family similarity occurred between youth and their parents. The largest generational dissimilarity was seen between youth and their grandparents. On Factor I, both family and generational influences appeared slight.

In short, the findings of this study suggested neither (a) marked generational differences nor (b) strong familial similarity in value orientation. Generational differences in collectivism/individualism were mildly apparent, and on this dimension, low to moderate family transmission effects did emerge.

Thus, generalization concerning homogeneity within generational groups and their contrast to other age aggregates should be made most carefully, since empirical evidence often revealed the "generation gap" to be subtle if it existed at all. By the same token, generalizations concerning family influences on the development of values should be made with caution: Similarity between parents and youth reflected their commonality of social location rather than direct transmission.

Bengtson concluded that value orientation may be more reflective of the individual's unique personal biography or of his or her response to socio-historical events, than of the effects attributable either to family or generational factors.

In conclusion, Bengtson and Troll (1979) have reviewed the most important studies having to do with generations in the family. Regarding transmission and continuity within generations, they arrived at this conclusion:
There is substantial but selective intergenerational continuity within the family. Parent-child similarity is most noticeable in religious and political areas, least in sex roles and lifestyle characteristics (values). (p. 139)

Finally, Bengtson and Troll (1979) have asked the question if there are gender differences in transmission. They decided, upon extensively reviewing the available literature, that:

At the present time, we cannot conclude that gender effects are important in transmission. While some studies support the common assumption that fathers are more influential than mothers, other studies do not. Sex of the child does not appear to be a relevant variable in parent-child similarity. (p. 145)

Summary

According to Demos (1979), three movements have occurred within the history of the American family. In colonial times, the family was viewed as a group of related individuals closely aligned to the community at large. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the family became a refuge onto itself, a place for family members to protect themselves from the depersonalization occurring in the work place. The family as an encounter group was the most recent to emerge. Here, individual family members sought to discover their full human potential by emphasizing personal awareness and self-realization.

There have been three phases in the evolution of thinking regarding the generations. These were the classical perspective, the 1960s youth movement, and the empirical refinement of generational theory. The literature on generations revealed three positions concerning the generation gap: some who believed no gap has occurred; those who held a great gap had taken place; and those who have supported a gap based on selected,
specific issues. Studies that have looked at three generations were few and limited in scope. The findings of three generational research studies of values showed mixed results in that both similarities and differences were noted. Transmission of values did seem to occur between generations on a selective basis. Gender may affect the transmission of values but the sex of the child has not appeared to be the pertinent variable in parent-child value similarity.
CHAPTER TWO. METHODOLOGY

Rationale for the Study

Bengtson and Troll (1979) noted that knowledge and understanding of the relations between generations has been one of the more undeveloped areas of family studies. Researching the values of the generations has been one manner of assessing the similarities and differences between children, their parents and grandparents. The present task was undertaken because there have been so few research studies regarding the similarities and/or differences of family generations.

One purpose for this study has been to examine specific values of three generations of blood-related families to assess if differences in values occurred among the three groups. Another purpose was to see if evidence existed for value transmission from one generation to another within these same families.

For this research project, Milton Rokeach's definition of a value has been used. He stated, "a value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5).

The other theoretical construct for this study has been the family as a system. Each family was comprised of separate yet related elements (generations) making a larger whole (Epstein et al., 1978). In order to understand any one of the parts or generations of the family system, it was important to discover the interrelatedness of two or three generations.
As discussed in Chapter One of this dissertation, Bowen (1978) has observed the multigenerational transmission process in his clinical work with families. He has contended that the parents in any family "project" their view of reality onto the children in the family. The level of "maturity" that was projected determined the overall emotional health of the family. According to Bowen, this family projection process continues through multiple generations.

In order to assess the similarity of values among generations, data on the values of three generations of blood-related families were gathered and analyzed. The fundamental question asked of the data was whether or not a generation gap existed with the values of the three separate cohorts. Another question was about the transmission of values within family lineages, i.e., would evidence appear that indicated value transmission had been successful within families?

For the purposes of this study, the term "cohort" will be used to discuss the main effects between and among generations, and the term "lineage" will be used to discuss the main effects among families.

The following sections will discuss the questionnaire, the sample, data analysis techniques, and hypotheses.

The Questionnaire

The instrument used to gather the data for this study was comprised of two components, the Rokeach Values Survey and Crossroads.

The Rokeach Values Survey contained two lists of 18 alphabetically arranged "instrumental and terminal" values. Each of the values in the
survey was presented along with a brief definition. Instrumental values referred to "modes of conduct" or the way in which one did something. Terminal values were seen as "desirable end states of existence" and as such focused on goals or outcomes. Some scholars (Lovejoy, 1950; Hilliard, 1950) have made a distinction between means and ends of values. Rokeach's use of terminal and instrumental values has been similar.

These particular 36 values that encompass the survey were gleaned from much longer lists. Reducing these value inventories to the two indexes of 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values has made the instrument reasonably comprehensive, thorough, and representative (Rokeach, 1973).

Originally, Rokeach intended his survey to be completed in rank-order fashion. Respondents in this study were asked to rate how important each of the values were on a one to eleven scale. One was of "no importance," eleven was "extremely important." Altering the data in this manner changed the nature of the data from ordinal to interval and afforded these advantages:

1) a separate and independent score to each item, therefore, a wider range of responses was possible,
2) intervals between and among items,
3) more flexibility in combining similar items into factors,
4) parametric statistics were then available to analyze the data, i.e., correlations and analysis of variance.

The major disadvantage appeared to be that items assigned the same score were not able to be differentiated in importance among themselves.

There are basically two types of research instruments which can be used to measure families: the self-report method and the direct observa-
tion method (Olson, 1976). The self-report type provides information from the perspective of the participants themselves (insiders). The observational method provides information about the participants from another individual (outsider). In Research, both perspectives are important and need to be seriously considered (Olson, 1975). A multi-method approach seeks both subjective and objective data. This combination provides two perspectives on the same trait being measured.

The Rokeach Values Survey is a self-report measure of a projective type and is, therefore, completely subjective in intent. In order to ascertain more objective or outsider data from the respondents, another instrument, a nonprojective measure, is necessary. Nonprojectives measure variables by asking an individual to respond to forced-choice items under standardized conditions. Although the nonprojective measures are self-report, they seek information more in line of actual behaviors. This kind of measure supplies objective data since it focuses on choices as behaviors. A commonly known instrument of this type is the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI).

The nonprojective measure for this study was Crossroads. It was comprised of ten vignettes, each representing a particular value from the Rokeach Values Survey. Vignettes were chosen rather than single statements of behavior because more control could be exercised in describing the situations in the vignettes. Each vignette ended with a decision or choice. The respondent was asked to show his or her agreement or disagreement with that choice on a five point scale of strongly agree (5) to disagree strongly (1).

Crossroads was developed especially for this study. The author
brainstormed with four friends to get basic ideas for the vignettes. Twenty-eight vignettes were then written and rewritten. Next, five additional people tried to match a vignette with one particular value from Rokeach's list. Twenty-three vignettes were consistently matched correctly by these people. Thirteen of the best from these twenty-three were then chosen to be used for a pre-test.

In order to assess the construct validity of Crossroads, these thirteen vignettes were taken to an undergraduate class of 37 members. These students were asked to match 16 possible value items with the 13 vignettes. Twelve of the thirteen vignettes received a correct response rate of .5 or better. From these 12 vignettes, vignettes representing six terminal values (world of beauty, family security, true friendship, mature love, inner harmony, and happiness) and four instrumental values (helpful, self-controlled, honesty and responsible) were selected to comprise the final version of Crossroads.

Two separate pre-tests were then conducted to assess the ease of completing the instrument and to ascertain its perspicacity. The first occurred in early November, 1979, with a group of seven parents, four men and three women, all living in the Ames area. Most finished the questionnaire within 15 minutes and all completed it within 20 minutes time. Feedback was positive in that all these parents found the instrument readable, understandable, and executable. One thought 36 values was a very long list to rate.

The second pre-tests occurred in mid-November, 1979, with a group of ten volunteer undergraduate students. They completed the instrument within 15 minutes and reported no difficulties.
A final check was made when the instrument design was shown to several grandparents at the Ames' Senior Citizens Center. They suggested that the directions for the completion of Crossroads be expanded. Upon their recommendation, an example of how to complete the ratings for Crossroads was included in the final form of the questionnaire.

There were two similar, but separate versions, of the final questionnaire. One form (blue) was for student respondents. Another form (green or yellow) was used for the parent/grandparent replies. Both forms included a demographic information section (see Appendix B).

The Sample

The goal of this study was to have approximately one hundred male and one hundred female Iowa State University undergraduate students fill out the research instrument. This was a purposive sample in that this study was seeking to discover the value similarities of three generations of families of Iowa State University students.

For each group of male and female students, a minimum total goal of 25 parents and grandparents, blood-related, was to respond to the values questionnaire. For the purposes of this study, students were designated as Generation I; parents, Generation II; and grandparents, Generation III.

The History Department on campus was contacted in order to gain permission to address large lecture sections of both American and European History. These lecture sections were between 150 to 200 students in size. A completely random sample was improbable for this study due to the purposive nature of the sample desired. However, having gone to these large
lecture classes which have a cross-section of students, some variety of students was available.

A total of ten classes were contacted and after a brief overview of the study was presented, a total of 240 student volunteers initially indicated their willingness to participate. But many of these students failed to appear for their scheduled appointment times to complete the questionnaire. With some additional efforts, such as recruiting volunteers out of student lounges, the necessary number of students was secured.

At the time, the student volunteers filled out their copy of the instrument, addresses of their parents and grandparents (if living) were obtained. Approximately 50% of the student's parents and grandparents were then mailed questionnaires. Ninety-two percent of the male students' parents and grandparents responded as well as 84% of the females' parents and grandparents. In the final sample, with a goal of 25 parents and grandparents from each gender of students, the end tally indicated 46 complete male lineages and 42 complete female lineages (a student with at least one parent and one grandparent responding constituted a complete lineage).

A total of 580 individual cases were then coded and key punched. Tables 2 and 3 contain the frequencies of the demographic data from this overall sample population.
Table 2. Student demographic frequencies for overall sample (N=203) and for subsample used for analysis of variance (N=88)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Male (N=99)</th>
<th>Female (N=104)</th>
<th>Subsamplea</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Race:</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>85</td>
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<tr>
<td>23-30</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>98</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Year in school:</strong></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Design</td>
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<td>Engineering</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>3.5 and over</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.0 to 2.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>less than 2.0</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>64</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside Iowa</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
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</table>

a46 male and 42 female students were identified with at least one parent and one grandparent responding, thereby constituting a complete lineage.
Table 2. (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Male (N=99)</th>
<th>Female (N=104)</th>
<th>Subsamplea</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locality of home of record:</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farm or open country</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very small town (less than 1,000)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small town/city (1,000-10,000)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium size town (10,000-50,000)</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large city (50,000-100,000)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very large city (100,000) and above)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The student sample was primarily Caucasian, unmarried, between the ages of 18 and 22, from Iowa, and Protestant. Many were from the farm or small to medium-sized communities. Women students had somewhat higher grade-point averages than the males. More males tended to be Republican. Most students were enrolled in Science and Humanities with about one-third of the female students in Home Economics.

The parent/grandparent sample was Caucasian, primarily residing in Iowa, strongly Protestant, more Republican than Democrat, and well-mixed regarding place of residence. The parents were better formally educated than the grandparents. Many more grandparents had retired. About one-fourth of the parents were homemakers compared to one-third of the grandparents.

A subsample was drawn from the overall sample in order to perform a factor analysis, the first statistical procedure used to analyze the data. Complete family lineages were the criteria used to draw this subsample. Forty-six student male lineages and 42 female student...
Table 3. Parent/grandparent demographic frequencies for overall sample and analysis of variance subsample (N=88)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Parent (N=184)a</th>
<th>Subsample (parent)b</th>
<th>Grand-parent (N=193)c</th>
<th>Subsample (Grand-parent)d</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Age: 36-45</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-75</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76-85</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86-96</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residing: in Iowa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not live in Iowa</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of residence:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farm or open country</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very small town (less than 1,000)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small town or city (1,000 to 10,000)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium size town (10,000 to 50,000)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large city (50,000 to 100,000)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very large city (100,000 and above)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious preference:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a^Relationship to Iowa State student: 90 fathers of students; 94 mothers of students.

^b^For the parent subsample, 43 respondents were male and 45 female. These subjects were identified as part of a complete lineage within the larger sample.

^c^Relationship to Iowa State student: 36 grandfathers (father's side); 53 grandmothers (father's side); 40 grandfathers (mother's side); and 64 grandmothers (mother's side).

^d^For the grandparent subsample, 27 respondents were male and 61 were female. These subjects were identified as part of a complete lineage within the larger sample.
lineages qualified for inclusion. A total of 427 individuals comprised this subsample of 88 students, 170 parents and 160 grandparents.

The final subsample drawn for this study was used for an analysis of variance procedure. One parent and one grandparent from each student's lineage were randomly selected for inclusion in this subsample. This was done to construct lineages with one member per generation for the analysis of variance procedure. Therefore, the total number of individuals was reduced to 264 for this analysis. Table 2 and 3 summarizes
the demographic data for this particular subsample.

Data Analysis

For all data analyses in this study, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Nie et al., 1975) was used.

The initial area of exploration was to assess the nature and extent of age-group (cohort) differences in values via factor analysis. Bengtson's (1975) three-generational study of values provided a general guideline for the analysis employed in this dissertation. Bengtson noted that a factor analysis examined a crucial preliminary issue of whether members of separate generations conceptualized their personal values in very different ways. The terms "freedom" or "responsibility" may have quite different meanings to a 60-year-old respondent in contrast to a 20-year-old. Thus, unless factor invariance among generations has been established, one runs the risk of having detected changes in the operation of the measuring instrument rather than actual changes in the values of the cohorts. This possibility has not been adequately considered in much of the previous research contrasting age strata (Bengtson, 1975).

A factor analysis was appropriate because a distinctive characteristic of a factor analysis is its data reduction capability. Given a set of variables, factor-analytic techniques have enabled researchers to see whether some underlying pattern of relationships existed such that the data may be rearranged or reduced to a smaller set of factors or components. These factors then have been taken as source variables accounting for the observed interrelations in the data.

A varimax rotation factor analysis was completed with the data from
the first subsample of families. From this procedure, a variety of factor loadings were identified that indicated several underlying patterns within the data. By listing the individual Rokeach items within each factor, names were chosen for each factor that best captured the central theme present. Seven distinct factors were designated: Deference, Conceptual, Discerning, Concordance, Nurturing, Commonweal and Crossroads. With the recommendation of the statistical advisor for this project, several of these factors were combined to see if blending them would yield additional test information. Conceptual/Discerning, Concordance/Nurturing, and Concordance/Nurturing/Commonweal were created by this procedure.

The Crossroads factor was an exception to the other factors in that it was designed as a behavioral measure rather than an attitudinal one. Crossroads was comprised of Rokeach value items explicated in a behavioral vignette. The factor analysis with Crossroads showed the values of "self-control, honesty, and mature love" captured the most variance present within the sample. Therefore, those three items were selected to be the factor "Crossroads."

Table 5 contains a summary of the results of the factor analysis procedure.

Once the factors were decided upon, the subsample was drawn for the final statistical procedure completed, the analysis of variance. Each factor was tested for the two main effects of generation and lineage.

According to Kerlinger (1964), the crux of the matter with an analysis of variance is to be able to understand the variances about the means. If the means among the three generations are different, then one wants to see how the variances differ among the groups. At least two variances are
Table 4. Factors and factor loadings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Rokeach item</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Gen I</th>
<th>Gen II</th>
<th>Gen III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deference</td>
<td>obedient</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>polite</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>responsible</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>self-control</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clean</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual</td>
<td>capable</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imaginative</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>independent</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intellectual</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>logical</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discerning</td>
<td>wisdom</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>broad-minded</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>courageous</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordance</td>
<td>family security</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>freedom</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>happiness</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inner harmony</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>honesty</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurturing</td>
<td>forgiving</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>helpful</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loving</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonweal</td>
<td>world at peace</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>equality</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>national security</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>self-respect</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crossroads</td>
<td>self-control</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>honesty</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mature love</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pitted against each other. One variance, due to a main effect, is pitted against another variance, presumably due to error or randomness in a F-test for significance. This is a case for information versus error, as Diamond (1959) states it, or as a systems theorist asserts, information versus noise.
Once the means square for regression and residual were calculated as part of the analysis of variance, then the F-test for significance between groups was computed. It was assumed in using the F-test that the samples were drawn from populations that were normally distributed. It was also assumed that the variances within the groups were homogeneous.

Finally, in order to compute the statistics for the analysis of variance, correlation coefficients for cohorts were calculated. These correlation coefficients have been included adjunctively to the present study, as a matter of interest to the reader (see Table 8).

Hypotheses

The following general hypotheses (stated in null form) were developed to test generational or cohort differences for each of the identified factors.

1. There will be no significant different among students, parents, and grandparents as to where each cohort positions itself on each values' factor.
2. There will be no significant difference as to where male students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on each of the values' factors.
3. There will be no significant difference as to where female students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on each of the values' factors.

For the main effect of lineage, the following general null hypotheses were tested for each of the identified factors.
1. There will be no significant difference among the student family lineages as to where every family positions itself on each values' factor.

2. There will be no significant difference among the male students' family lineages as to where every family positions itself on each values' factor.

3. There will be no significant difference among the female students' family lineages as to where every lineage positions itself on each values' factor.
CHAPTER THREE. RESULTS

Ten factors were used in a research design to examine value similarities and differences between groups of students, their parents and grandparents both as cohorts and lineages. This ability of the factors to discriminate among groups was tested by means of an analysis of variance statistical procedure. Six separate hypotheses were tested for each factor. One group of three hypotheses pursued the question of generation or cohort differences while the other group of three sought to understand the effect of family or lineage upon the values of the 88 participating families.

This chapter is comprised of two components: (1) a presentation of the results from the analysis of variance, and (2) a summary table of correlations among the generations.

In order to help with the interpretation of the findings from the analysis of variance procedure, Table 5 has been provided to illustrate the format for data.

Table 5. Structure of analysis of variance performed to examine cohort and lineage effects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family number</th>
<th>Student ratings</th>
<th>Parent ratings</th>
<th>Grandparent ratings</th>
<th>(Lineage) means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>X1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>X2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>X3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cohort Means

\[ \bar{X}_{\text{Student}} \quad \bar{X}_{\text{Parents}} \quad \bar{X}_{\text{Grandparents}} \]
A block design was used which calculated both lineage means and cohort means. Individual lineage means are not reported because of the large number of families participating, eighty-eight. The means presented in Table 7 are from the cohorts of students, parents, and grandparents. As stated earlier, the term cohort was used for generation and lineage for family.

Table 6 has an example of an ANOVA table for a block design in a commonly found format and as generated output in computer programs. For this example, the conceptual factor and the total sample were used to illustrate the use of analysis of variance to assess the main effects of cohort and lineage.

Table 6. An example of complete ANOVA table using the factor conceptual for summarizations in Table 7 and Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>d.f.</th>
<th>Means square</th>
<th>F-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cohort</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.70</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineage</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>59.20</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>50.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 presents a summary of the findings gleaned from the analysis of variance procedure. Included in this table is a column for the "estimated explained variance." In social science research, one often tries to account for the variance in responses among the total number of subjects. Certain variables may be more helpful than
## Table 7. Summary of analysis of variance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Students^a</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Grand-parents</th>
<th>Cohort F-value</th>
<th>Var^b</th>
<th>Lineage F-value</th>
<th>Var</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deference</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42.55</td>
<td>44.43</td>
<td>47.55</td>
<td>4.76**</td>
<td>1.76*</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>41.83</td>
<td>43.07</td>
<td>49.26</td>
<td>17.94***</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42.20</td>
<td>43.77</td>
<td>48.38</td>
<td>18.40***</td>
<td>1.57**</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41.54</td>
<td>42.52</td>
<td>41.83</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42.07</td>
<td>40.52</td>
<td>43.00</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41.80</td>
<td>41.57</td>
<td>42.39</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discerning</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26.40</td>
<td>27.13</td>
<td>27.40</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>1.99**</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26.55</td>
<td>25.88</td>
<td>27.93</td>
<td>3.36*</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26.47</td>
<td>26.53</td>
<td>27.65</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.81*</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual/</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>67.93</td>
<td>69.65</td>
<td>69.21</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>1.62*</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discerning</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>68.62</td>
<td>66.40</td>
<td>70.92</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68.26</td>
<td>69.10</td>
<td>70.03</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>1.40*</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordance</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47.48</td>
<td>49.59</td>
<td>49.52</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>48.79</td>
<td>48.17</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<tr>
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<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48.10</td>
<td>48.91</td>
<td>49.75</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurturing</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26.22</td>
<td>27.50</td>
<td>28.63</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>25.86</td>
<td>28.69</td>
<td>6.27**</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27.34</td>
<td>26.72</td>
<td>28.66</td>
<td>3.87*</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46 Male</td>
<td>42 Female</td>
<td>88 Total</td>
<td>Concordance/ 46 Male</td>
<td>42 Female</td>
<td>88 Total</td>
<td>Nurturing/ 46 Female</td>
<td>42 Female</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
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<td>34.90</td>
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<td>115.57</td>
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<td>78.41</td>
<td>117.15</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14.67***</td>
<td>7.65***</td>
<td>15.96***</td>
<td>3.12*</td>
<td>.480**</td>
</tr>
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<td>.15</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.06</td>
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<td>.96</td>
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<td>.00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

^Male and female refer to students only. This analysis did not control for gender differences in the parent and grandparent generations.

^Var—estimated explained variance.

*p < .05.

**p < .01.

***p < .001.
others in being able to circumscribe the variance evident within the research study. For the variance coefficients or the main effect cohort, the equation is:

\[
\frac{(k-1)(MS. \text{ Cohort} - MS. \text{ Residual})}{jk} \text{ / } MS. \text{ Total}
\]

For the main effect of lineage, the formula is:

\[
\frac{(j-1)(MS. \text{ Lineage} - MS. \text{ Residual})}{jk} \text{ / } MS. \text{ Total}
\]

\(k = \text{the number of cohorts and } j = \text{the number of lineages}\).

The key reason for using the "estimated explained variance" is that it is a more sophisticated manner of estimating the explanatory power of the variables generation and lineage rather than just reporting the significant results from the ANOVA (Vaughn & Corbollis, 1969).

**Deference**

The following null hypotheses for the factor Deference were rejected.

1. There will be no difference among students, parents and grandparents as to where each cohort positions itself on Deference. By examining the means of the three groups, the grandparents valued Deference the most, the students the least, and the parents were between the two.

2. There will be no difference as to where male students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on Deference. The direction of differences among the three groups here was the same as
above, that is, the grandparents rated Deference as most important, the students least important, with the parents of male students in between.

3. There will be no difference as to where female students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on Deference. Here again the grandparents were the highest, the students the lowest, and the parents in between.

4. There will be no difference among the student family lineages as to where every family positions itself on Deference. As mentioned earlier, the individual lineage means are not present because of the large number of families. The primary interest here is that families are different from one another, not differences within families.

5. There will be no difference among the male students' family lineages as to where every family places itself on Deference. The lineage effect was significant among the lineages of the male students.

The following hypothesis was the only one accepted in its null form for the factor of Deference:

There will be no significant difference among the female students' family lineages as to where every lineage positions itself on each values' factor.

Conceptual

All hypotheses were accepted indicating no significant differences were present with either cohort or lineage effects. All seem to value Conceptual items relatively equally.
Discerning

With this factor the following null hypotheses were rejected:

1. There will be no significant difference as to where female students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on Discerning. In this situation, cohort means indicated that grandparents valued Discerning the most, Generation II the least, and the female students were between the two.

2. There will be no significant difference among the student family lineages as to where every family positions itself on Discerning. The overall test for significance indicated that the lineage effect was significant.

3. There will be no significant difference among the male student's family lineages as to where every family positions itself on Discerning. There were differences among the lineages of male students on the Discerning factor.

For Discerning, the following null hypotheses were accepted:

1. There will be no significant difference among students, parents, and grandparents as to where each cohort positions itself on each values' factor.

2. There will be no significant difference as to where male students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on each of the values' factors.
3. There will be no significant difference among the female students' family lineages as to where every lineage positions itself on each values' factor.

Conceptual/Discerning

Null hypotheses that were rejected for this factor were:

1. There will be no significant difference among the student family lineages as to where every family positions itself on this factor. The test of significance indicated that lineages were different when evaluating this factor.

2. There will be no significant difference among the male students' family lineages as to where each family positions itself on the Conceptual/Discerning factor. Results from the test of significance showed that the male students' lineages noted the items of this factor differently.

All null hypotheses for cohorts were accepted for this factor. Regarding lineages, only the female students' families null hypothesis was accepted.

Concordance

All hypotheses were accepted in their null form which indicated that the groups and families were similar on this factor.
Nurturing

Two null hypotheses, both with cohorts, were rejected from this factor. They were:

1. There will be no significant difference among students, and grandparents as to where each cohort positions itself on Nurturing. The differences here showed that the grandparents valued Nurturing the most, the parents the least, and the students were between the two groups.

2. There will be no significant difference as to where female students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on Nurturing. With this factor, the parents cohort displayed the most difference from the other two. The means for Generation I and III were almost identical where the parents rated Nurturing lower. With cohorts, the following hypothesis was accepted: There will be no significant difference as to where male students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on each of the values' factors.

All lineage hypotheses were accepted in their null form for Nurturing.

Commonweal

With this factor, cohorts were significantly different and lineages were not. The null hypotheses rejected for Commonweal were:
1. There will be no significant difference among students, parents, and grandparents as to where each cohort positions itself on Commonweal. Cohort means indicated that the grandparents scored Commonweal as the most important, the students the least important, and the parents were in between.

2. There will be no significant difference as to where male students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on Commonweal. Cohort means showed the same pattern as with hypothesis I above. However, the parental generation was most like Generation III in that the means were almost identical. Generation I scored the lowest, about five points separating them from Generation II and III.

3. There will be no significant difference as to where female students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on Commonweal. In this case, the grandparents rated Commonweal the highest in importance, the parents the lowest, and the students were between the two, although the students were much closer to their parents than grandparents.

Concordance/Nurturance

Just one null hypothesis was rejected for this combined factor. It was:

1. There will be no significant difference as to where female students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position
themselves on Commonweal. Cohort means showed that the grandparents valued this factor the most, the parents the least, the students were between the two and a bit closer to their grandparents than their parents.

The following null hypotheses were accepted with cohorts:

1. There will be no significant difference among students, parents, and grandparents as to where each cohort positions itself on each values' factor.

2. There will be no significant difference as to where male students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on each of the values' factors.

All lineage hypotheses were accepted for this combined factor of Concordance/Nurturing.

Concordance/Nurturing/Commonweal

All the null hypotheses rejected for this combination factor were with cohorts. These were:

1. There will be no significant difference among students, parents, and grandparents as to where each cohort positions itself on this factor. Cohort means indicated that grandparents rated these items as most important, the students the least important, and the parents were in between.

2. There will be no significant difference as to where male students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on this factor. Here, the grandparents were again
the highest raters, the students the lowest and the parents were between the two, although closest to Generation II.

3. There will be no significant difference as to where female students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on this factor. In this case, the grandparents were again highest in their ratings. The parents, however, were the lowest, and the students were between the two groups.

All lineage hypotheses were accepted in their null form for this combined factor.

Crossroads

Three separate null hypotheses were rejected from this factor. They were:

1. There will be no significant difference among students, parents and grandparents as to where each cohort positions itself on Crossroads. Overall cohort means indicated that the students agreed the strongest with the items of this factor, the grandparents agreed the least, and the parents were between the two groups.

2. There will be no significant difference as to where male students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts place themselves on Crossroads. The male students agreed most with Crossroads, the grandparents the least, the parents were between the two, nearer the grandparents.
3. There will be no significant difference among the male students' family lineages as to where every family places itself on Crossroads. According to the test results, male student families were different from each other.

Three null hypotheses were accepted for Crossroads. There were:

1. There will be no significant difference as to where female students, their parents and grandparents as cohorts position themselves on each of the values' factors.

2. There will be no significant difference among the student family lineages as to where every family positions itself on each values' factor.

3. There will be no significant difference among the female students' family lineages as to where every lineage positions itself on each values' factor.

The way the male and female students rated Crossroads indicated some evidence of gender differences. One vignette contained within Crossroads had to do with a female engaging in pre-marital sex without being committed in the relationship. Frequencies for all male and female students showed this breakdown on this vignette:
Table 8. Male and female student ratings to Crossroads vignette regarding pre-marital sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What was evident here was that the males spread their responses out more evenly than did the females. Too, double the number of men strongly agreed with the vignette than did the women. These above frequencies may account for the reason why male students were different in test results from their female peer group and the other cohorts as they rated the vignettes comprising Crossroads.

Correlations

At the time of computing the analysis of variance results, it was convenient also to compute correlations among the generations. These were done as an adjunct to the present study, as a matter of interest, and were another way to assess the similarities and differences among the cohorts.

Table 9 presents these correlations for each factor. A brief commentary for each factor follows.

Deference correlations indicated more association between students and their parents and less between students and Generation III. Male stu-
Table 9. Generational correlation coefficients for each factor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Students^a</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Grandparents</th>
<th>Parents/ grandparents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deference</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discerning</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual/Discerning</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordance</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurturing</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonweal</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordance/Nurturing</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordance/Nurturing/Commonweal</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crossroads</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Male and female refer to students only. Both genders are included with parents and grandparents.

^b Probability values in this column represent correlation coefficients between parents' and grandparents' responses on each factor.
dents and their parents exhibited the highest relationship for all groups, with female students and their parents next highest. Female students and their parents associated in a positive direction, whereas female students and their grandparents were negatively related. There appeared more similarity between Generation I and II. Grandparents were consistently further apart from the other two groups.

With Conceptual, generally weak relationships existed. However, a stronger association (.31) was found between the parents and grandparents of male students.

The correlations for Discerning showed a significant relationship in a positive direction between the male students and their parents. Too, parents and grandparents of male students correlated in a positive direction with some magnitude (.41). Correlations were positive but lower for the female students and their families on Discerning.

The combination of Conceptual/Discerning yielded the strongest association (.35), positive, between the parents and grandparents of the male students. The female students' lineages displayed weak associations.

With Concordance, the figures showed mixed valences and very little association among the generations.

No really strong relationships appeared with Nurturing. Grandparents were in a negative, and opposite, direction from the other two generations.

Male students and their parents showed the most association (.28), in a positive direction, on Commonweal. In contrast, the parents and grandparents of female students were in the opposite direction with some magnitude (-.20).
Correlations with Concordance/Nurturing displayed weak relationships in general, with grandparents less likely to agree with statements than students and parents.

There was a mixture of valences but generally weaker relationships on this combined factor of Concordance/Nurturance/Commonweal. Male students and their parents showed the strongest positive relationship (.17). The parents and grandparents of female students exhibited the opposite inclination with similar strength (.15).

With Crossroads, the strongest relationship, in a positive direction, appeared with the male students, their parents (.32) and grandparents (.22). A negative relationship with some magnitude (-.21) was experienced between the female students and their grandparents.

Results Summary

At the cohort level of analysis, evidence supporting the existence of a generation gap was found in the fact of test significance with the factors of Deference, Nurturing, Discerning, Commonweal, and Crossroads. With Deference and Commonweal, overall means indicated that Generation III rated the items as most important, Generation I the least important, and Generation II between the other two.

Findings from Conceptual, Discerning, and Nurturing indicated that Generation II from the female students' families was the cohort which rated the items in these factors the lowest. The female students were next highest with the grandparents of the female students the highest of all.

With Crossroads, the male students appeared to be the group to show
the most differences from other groups. Overall means indicated that the students showed the most agreement with the vignettes of Crossroads, Generation III the least agreement, and Generation II was in between. Female students were closely allied with their parents and grandparents on Crossroads. Male and female students differed two full points indicating peer group distinctions based upon gender.

With the factors of Conceptual and Concordance, no significant differences were identified with the cohort effect. Means for all cohorts were close in proximity. Therefore, no generation gap presented itself with these two factors.

Regarding the lineage effect, only the male students' lineages were statistically different and only on the factors of Deference, Discerning, and Crossroads. This finding meant that because the three people in the male students' lineages were blood-related, the probability was that they would rate the value items more similarly than three people randomly selected, not blood-related. Evidence for the successful transmission of values was present by the male students' lineages testing statistically different. This was not the case with the female students, since with no factor did the lineage effect for female students test statistically significant.

In brief, there was mixed evidence to support the existence of a generation gap. Similarities or differences depended upon the test factor being questioned. Thus, a selective continuity thesis was best supported by the findings of this study (Aldous, 1965; Hill, 1970; Payne et al., 1973).
Within lineages, when statistical differences did occur, they were within the male students' lineages with selected, specific factors. These results have indicated that when there was evidence of successful transmission, it was with the male students, their parents and grandparents.

In general, correlational findings failed to provide strong, consistent relationships between or among the generations. Some magnitude occurred between male students and their parents on Deference (.33), Discerning (.41), and Crossroads (.32). These higher correlation coefficients replicated where the statistical significance occurred with the lineage effect and thus were a portent of where the lineage effect would test significant. Other than the three factors just mentioned, correlation coefficients for the other factors demonstrated mixed valences with no consistent robust associations.
CHAPTER FOUR. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results of the study are discussed and conclusions are drawn. Limitations and recommendations then follow.

Discussion

In order to understand the results of the tests of significance, it is important to be aware of several separate, but related issues.

To begin, in a sense, this study has two subsample populations: one was three groups of peers or contemporaries (cohorts—in this study, students, parents, and grandparents); the other was three persons, all from the same family (lineages). Tests using data from cohorts reflected some generation gaps, the fundamental concern of this study. Family lineage data were examined for evidence of transmission of values from generation to generation among specific families.

Differences identified among cohort rankings for some values supported the position of the existence of a generation gap discussed in Chapter I, but not for all values. Significant test results for the lineage effect showed that because three people were blood-related, the probability was higher that they would rate items similarly than would three people randomly selected, not blood-related. Significant differences here were considered to be evidence for value transmission from one generation to another.
Cohort analyses

With these specifics in mind, evidence for a generation gap at the cohort level of analysis was found for the factors of Deference, Nurturing, Discerning, and Commonweal. Overall test means with Deference, Discerning, and Commonweal indicated that grandparents rated the items as most important, students the least important, and parents were between the other two. This was what one would expect to find given the theoretical formulations that emanated from the classical period of generational analysis (Davis, 1940; Mannheim, 1952; Parsons, 1963). These authors viewed generations as unique and different. Conflict was unavoidable and led to generational changes as well as the gradual evolution of the social order.

In light of these classical considerations, one would expect the oldest generation to place more importance on values such as obedience and politeness, items comprising Deference. Progressively, the younger two generations may have appeared less concerned about protocol and, therefore, rated these items lower.

This study also found evidence for the nonexistence of a generation gap. This is consistent with the position of theorists who have claimed that although there have been some inevitable generational differences, the continuities in various aspects of living between one generation and the next have taken precedence over generational differences (Campbell, 1969; Feuer, 1969). No significant differences among generations occurred in mean rankings of the factors Conceptual and Concordance. Means for all groups were close in proximity, supporting the
conclusion that on some values, agreement among the generations occurred.

Continuity among generations was supported by the cohort analysis for the factors of Conceptual and Concordance. Items for these factors included individual values such as capable, imaginative, family security, happiness, and honesty. No statistically significant differences were identified among the generations as reflected in their ratings of these values.

Given these two sets of findings, i.e., evidence both for and against the existence of a generation gap, a selective continuity position (Aldous, 1965; Hill, 1970; Kandel & Lesser, 1972) was best supported by the findings of this study. This position has proposed that despite conflicts, continuity of values has been substantial across generational lines within the family and among cohort groups in the broader social order.

Particular findings from Conceptual, Discerning, and Nurturing indicated that Generation II from the female students' families was the specific subgroup of the overall parent cohort that rated the items in these factors the lowest. The female students were the next highest with the grandparents of the female students, the highest in means for all of these three factors. A similar finding of lower rating by the parents' cohort was reported by Kalish and Johnson (1972). A three generational sample of 53 young women, their mothers and grandmothers, responded to a Likert-type questionnaire on attitudes toward old people and death. Kalish and Johnson found that mothers had less regard for old people and more fear of aging than either grandmothers
or daughters.

It is unclear as to reasons for the parents' of the female students lower ratings on the factors of Conceptual, Discerning, and Nurturing. This researcher speculates that the parents may be asked to help meet the needs of both generations. They may be feeling inept at accomplishing this mediation function. Thus, with the value items comprising Nurturance (forgiving, helpful, loving), parents are recognizing their inability to meet others' needs. Therefore, they rated those items lower in importance.

Lineage analyses

Regarding lineage results, when significant differences occurred, they were within male students' lineages on the factors of Deference, Discerning, and Crossroads. Correlations for Deference, Discerning, and Crossroads depicted male students, their parents and grandparents having stronger, more positive relationships on those factors. Items comprising Discerning could be seen as "male-oriented;" in terms of achievement and capability, this perhaps attributing to the lineages of male students rating these values in a similar way.

Deference findings appeared more complicated in that the parents (Generation II) of female students were more likely to agree with their daughters (Generation I) than they did with their parents (Generation III). This was not true in the case of the parents of male students and their parents (Generation III). Since only the lineage effect with male students appeared statistically significant throughout, this may be
further grounds for the idea that gender considerations affected the socialization practices of parents and grandparents. Generations II and III expectations for Generation I may be more uniform with males and more complex for females, a supposition supported by the lineage analysis of this study.

One explanation for gender differences is that parents do socialize their female and male children differently around daily issues (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). The specific items comprising Discerning are wisdom, broad-minded, and courageous. Parents of the female students rated these items lower in importance than did the parents of male students. This reiterates the complexities of understanding lineage transmission of values (Bengtson et al., 1974).

Crossroads analysis

Crossroads was a unique factor conceived to be a behavioral measure of values rather than an attitudinal one. Crossroads was a nonprojective measure and asked individuals to respond to a forced-choice item under standardized conditions (Olson, 1975).

Overall lineage differences were indicated by analysis of Crossroads data. In addition, there were differences between lineages of male and female students on this factor. Male students were the most unique from the other cohorts. Male and female mean scores differed which may indicate peer group distinctions based upon gender. Therefore, with Crossroads, there was both evidence for a generation gap and the successful transmission of values with male students' lineages.
What accounted for the uniqueness of male students as a cohort on the Crossroads factor? A total of three items comprised the Crossroads factor. Self-control and honesty, two items that were a part of Crossroads, were rated similarly by the male and female students. However, item "7" (mature love) related to the acceptance of pre-marital sex by an unmarried female. As was reflected in the overall frequencies of men and women students on item "7" (Table 8), male students showed more approval of this item than did the female students. With correlations from Crossroads, on all items, male students, their parents and grandparents, showed stronger, positive relationships. Therefore, it appeared that significant findings with Crossroads were due partially to the manner in which male students rated an item regarding the approval of pre-marital sex for a single female. As such, Crossroads appeared to single out information about a gender difference, particularly with students, around a specific issue, that is, an unmarried woman's right to engage in pre-marital sex. Thus, this factor provided information on another substantive area, that of heterosexual permissiveness (Reiss, 1960).

In general, results from the correlational procedure produced few strong relationships between or among the generations. Where relationships of some magnitude did occur, the lineage effect often showed significance. Thus, correlations of some strength were an indication that some level of transmission had taken place among the generations.
Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to examine several questions concerning the similarities and/or differences in values for a sample of three blood-related generations. The first question asked whether or not a generation "gap" existed with this sample. The second asked if transmission of values was occurring among the three generations. A third question concerned the influence of family versus generational effects in explaining the variance in value stances of the sample individuals.

By examining the data from this three generational sample, the following conclusions were reached:

1. The evidence showed cohort agreement on some factors and disagreement with others contained in this study. Thus, the postulation of selective continuity among the generations was substantiated. It appeared that if there was a gap between generations, it depended upon the issue being examined. As the findings indicated, with the factors of Concordance and Conceptual, no differences among the generations were evident. With factors such as Deference and Commonweal, generational differences did present themselves.

2. The selective continuity finding dovetailed well with the next question of this study, i.e., whether or not transmission of values was occurring within families. Effective transmission of values seemed to vary on a factor-to-factor basis. Support for effective transmission of values was lacking for the factors of Concordance,
Conceptual, Nurturing, and Commonweal. The data for male students' lineages showed support for effective transmission of the values reflected in the factors Deference, Discerning, and Crossroads. Thus, differences in transmission of some values appeared to exist between the families of the male and female students.

A lingering question was whether or not transmission was best explained by the lineage effect, the cohort effect, or some other variable such as serendipitous personal experience. More rigorous qualitative studies would need to be undertaken to explore this more fully. However, evidence for transmission on a selective basis, and in varying degrees, existed as a research finding of this project.

3. Was the lineage effect generally a better indicator of influence than the cohort effect upon the values of three generations? On the basis of the amount of variance accounted for, a mixed pattern again emerged. For the factors Deference, Conceptual, and Discerning, the lineage effect often explained more of the total variation than did the cohort effect for the same factors. On the other hand, with factors such as Nurturing and Commonweal, the cohort effect explained a higher proportion of the variance than did the lineage effect.

A good deal of the total variance remained unexplained. The highest coefficient of variance was .38 from the male students' lineages on Deference. Most coefficients of variance were within a range of .20 to .001, so there was a small to moderate amount of total variance accounted for by either the main effects of cohort or lineage. Therefore, neither intergeneration differences nor intra-family similarity were variables
which consistently accounted for much of the variance from this sample of three generation families.

Yet, results did show a .38 variance coefficient estimate on the factor of Deference for male students' linages. That was the high for all findings. This figure supported the idea that some credence be given to family lineage as a predictor variable. Intuitively family theorists have suspected that the lineage effect was a reality. Yet, scientifically, as indicated by the findings of this study, the amount of variance explained by the lineage effect was limited.

Limitations and Recommendations

The sample for this research study was a select group of midwestern respondents, primarily located in Iowa. Randomness was not possible given the time and financial limits of this investigation. Therefore, generalizations made from the findings of this study need to be guarded.

On the other hand, this sample was unique in that it was a three generation study of specific values with respondents from each of the three generations. The people who replied were willing and thorough. More value studies with three generations need to be undertaken in various sections of the country to secure a more complete picture of the similarities and differences in values among generations and families.

The instrument could be more refined. The Rokeach Values Survey offered very positive items for rating. Differentiation was difficult. This was by design on Rokeach's part, but presents an inherent response bias.
If Rokeach's questionnaire contained more controversial issues reflecting evolving social mores, perhaps more respondent variance would occur. Some attempt was made to correct for this situation by the inclusion of Crossroads. It was interesting to note that one item of a more controversial nature, i.e., an unmarried female's right to engage in pre-marital sex, captured some of the variance present within the sample. Additional studies using instruments that measure both attitudes and behaviors around other groups of values might expand our understanding of the importance of content related issues in the study of values.

This sample was taken from one place at one point in time, and hence was cross-sectional limiting the potential developmental interpretations. However, one of the advantages of this sample was that it included respondents from three blood-related generations at one point in time. This gave a glimpse of what a family was, is, and could become.

Longitudinal studies with this same group of respondents would be helpful in assessing generational changes over time. As the oldest generation is replaced by the next generation, by comparing the results of a new study, a more accurate picture of generational differences would be available. Changes over time with the same population would be easier to appraise since a baseline would be established with the first study from a series.

Questions regarding the transmission of values were a primary part of this study. Examination of the lineage effect attempted to measure the influence of family membership upon the values of individuals.
Interpretation regarding the transmission of values must be approached with caution. One possible statistical problem was that one lineage member could have a low overall mean for his or her set of values, offset by a higher mean from another family member. This would neutralize the between lineage variance. Since overall family lineage means were used to calculate the ANOVAs, it would be helpful for further analysis to examine those individual means from each family member. That procedure would allow for a closer delineation of which variances were really occurring within any given lineage.

In this same vein, closer scrutiny of within cohort similarities and differences would be illuminating, especially with the parents' cohort of the female students. The parents of female students differed significantly from Generations I and III on several factors such as Discerning and Nurturing. Since the parents' group was made up of both men and women, comparing gender scores of this group would be worthwhile.

Given the preceding discussion, how is one then to understand the underlying structure of the generation gap? One method of understanding might be in the way we view the differences between content and process, or transitory and essential. An example of a content or transitory issue may be seen in the work of Mead (1970) and her views of the gap between generations. She concludes that the generation gap is real and around technologic considerations. She puts emphasis upon the fact that man is advancing in the area of science and technology. The young become adept at using the computer and all of the machinery
and concepts that arrive with it. This kind of technologic advancement separates the generations and is the basis for an ever-increasing gap between them. This kind of difference in the area of technologic progress is undeniable but is a focus on the external, transitory and topical aspects of human behavior.

In contrast, the gap is not so evident in the process orientation of the generations of families. Here, the gap may be much narrower if it exists at all. For instance, in this area of family process values, one might ask how do Generation I, II, and III males deal with protocol, a Deference concern. Some families place great emphasis upon politeness and other families do not. Then again, a person may be more like Emily Post in a social gathering but an outright boor at home. Or, one parent may value table manners and another not. All of these varieties of protocol may be in one family and are in their process of living as a family together. One would need to study the individual structure of the family to determine its exact rules about protocol: where the parents agree or disagree and how the children or grandparents shape or reshape the family’s attitudes and behavior on such Deference themes. In this way, family process concerns are more subtle and not so easy to decipher. Qualitative research is needed to tease out these family process matters.

Carrying this idea of content and process further, the cohort effect may explain more of the content or topical differences, and the lineage effect would account for the family process considerations. That is, cohort or peer interactions may be stronger in determining values around topical concerns such as pre-marital sex, nuclear energy or
Perhaps, institutional or social values are more likely to show generational differences than the more personal process values within family generations. The former are more likely to be connected with cohort considerations and the latter with lineage affairs. However, both may be influential in the values of any individual depending upon the issue at hand, be it topical or personal. That is part of the complexity of delineating the generation gap and the relationship of cohort and lineage effects upon it.

In summary, the social science field needs more studies conducted with three generations of families to further elucidate and comprehend the similarities and differences in the values of three generations of family members.
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My gratitude extends to many individuals who assumed various helpful roles during the course of this study. I appreciate the guidance I received from my committee members: Dr. Gordon Bivens, Dr. George Kizer, Dr. Richard Warren, Dr. Elmer Schwieder, Dr. Charles Kniker, and Dr. Rosalie Norem. In particular, Dr. Kniker was always there when I asked for his opinion. Dr. Warren is responsible for my grasp of the statistical aspects of this study. He and his assistant, Valerie, got me through the statistical quagmire I confronted.

Dr. Rosalie Norem deserves special thanks since she has been the anchor point in this whole process. Without her specific assistance, this Ph.D. would never have been accomplished.

I am most grateful to the sample of ISU students, their parents and grandparents, who were the cooperative subjects for this study.

The Iowa State University Committee on the Use of Human Subjects in Research reviewed this project and concluded that the rights and welfare of the human subjects were adequately protected, that risks were outweighed by the potential benefits and expected value of the knowledge sought, that confidentiality of data was assured and that informed consent was obtained by appropriate procedures.

The support of several students and friends was crucial to the completion of this project. Chait Singh, Mike Holstein, Scott VandeBerg, Mary Jo Fenemore, Shirley Gomes, Allen Galant, Pam Olson, and Dave Scott stand out as making themselves available. Too, the Ames Men's Support
Group, especially Larry Kaplan and Alan Zeppa, were there for additional encouragement.

My two brothers, Charles and Thomas, were most helpful in this process. Their constant reassurance carried me on when I felt like giving up. My maternal grandparents, the Wensings, aided me both emotionally and financially. Thank you.

I would also like to thank the College of Home Economics for the financial assistance that I received for data collection from the Home Economics Gift Fund. Too, my appreciation to Iowa State University for the assistance of their computer fund for graduate students.

I am excited and relieved that this goal of a Ph.D. has been fulfilled. Personally, I learned about endurance, perseverance, problem solving, how to be alone, to ask for what I need, and how to battle with fear and doubt when they tried to impede me. I see that I am a capable person and am proud of my achievement.
APPENDIX A. ANOVA NUMERICAL FIGURES FOR TEST FACTORS
Table 10. ANOVA numerical figures for test factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Grp.</th>
<th>Cohort</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deference</td>
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<td>2/170</td>
<td>889.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2/86</td>
<td>280.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>2/82</td>
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<td>Conceptual</td>
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<td>2/174</td>
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<td>Male</td>
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<td>11.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fem.</td>
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<td>Discerning</td>
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<td>2/174</td>
<td>38.74</td>
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<td>Tot.</td>
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<td>Concordance</td>
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<td>Fem.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nurturing</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>2/82</td>
<td>107.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^Tot. refers to all individuals comprising cohorts and/or lineages. Male refers to male students, their parents and grandparents. Fem. refers to female students, their parents and grandparents.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Grp.</th>
<th>Cohort</th>
<th></th>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th></th>
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<td>Commonweal</td>
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<td>2/174</td>
<td>460.07</td>
<td>28.82</td>
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<td>431.02</td>
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<td>Fem.</td>
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<td>24.75</td>
<td>41/82</td>
</tr>
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<td>Concordance/</td>
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<td>243.19</td>
<td>106.68</td>
<td>87/174</td>
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<td>249.14</td>
<td>129.94</td>
<td>45/90</td>
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<td>2/82</td>
<td>242.67</td>
<td>77.68</td>
<td>41/82</td>
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<td>Concordance/</td>
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<td>258.10</td>
<td>45/90</td>
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<td>Commonweal</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>2/82</td>
<td>763.39</td>
<td>159.11</td>
<td>41/82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crossroads</td>
<td>Tot.</td>
<td>2/174</td>
<td>58.89</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>87/174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2/90</td>
<td>85.36</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>45/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>2/82</td>
<td>8.03</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>41/82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B. CORRESPONDENCE AND QUESTIONNAIRES
Dear Parent/Grandparent of Iowa State Student:

I am a graduate student working towards my Ph.D. in Education & Family Environment at Iowa State University under the supervision of Dr. Rosalie H. Norem. I need a little of your help so that I can complete my studies here at the University.

There is a lot of talk about the "generation gap" but not much is known about how different the generations really are. I am doing a study of three family generations. I want to find out how similar grandparents, parents, and students from the same family are on some important values.

Your family is one that has been specially selected from all of the students cooperating. This is because you are a three generational family. Being this kind of family makes you distinctive and highly desirable for this study.

Your (son, daughter, grandson, granddaughter), a student at Iowa State, has already completed the enclosed questionnaire. He/she has volunteered for this study and is hoping you will too. This project needs information from all three generations, so it is very important that I hear from you.

Participation in this research is voluntary and your name is not needed on the forms. Be assured that all information gathered is strictly confidential and your right to privacy will be preserved.

Each of you are asked to complete the enclosed questionnaire as soon as you can. It has three separate parts: one to check some basic information about you, one to rate some values, and one to rate ten brief situations. After completing the forms, please return them in the enclosed pre-addressed and stamped envelope.

Because your answers are such a crucial part of this project, I certainly will appreciate your assistance. It is hoped that the information gathered will make a valuable contribution to the understanding of the values amongst three generations of families.

If you have any questions about the study or your participation, call or write at the numbers or addresses below.

Thank you for your cooperation in this effort.

Steven W. Roecklein
Room 166 LeBaron Hall
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011
(515) 294-8644

Dr. Rosalie H. Norem
Room 50 LeBaron Hall
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011
(515) 294-8608
**PARENT-GRANDPARENT QUESTIONNAIRE**

**General Instructions:** This questionnaire is in three parts.

*The first part is on this page and asks you to check the blanks that best describe you and your living situation.*

*On the second page are two lists of values. You are to rate how important each one is to you on a 1 to 11 scale.*

*On pages 3 and 4 is the last part of the questionnaire. Here ten brief situations are written. You are to rate each of them on a 1 to 5 scale showing how much you agree or disagree with the decision each ends with.*

---

**Instructions:** Check one blank under each heading that best describes you or your living situation. Write in your age and today’s date.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your age</th>
<th>Your Sex:</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Today’s date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**a) Relationship to Iowa State student:**
- 1 Grandfather (father’s side)
- 2 Grandmother (father’s side)
- 3 Grandfather (mother’s side)
- 4 Grandmother (mother’s side)
- 5 Father of student
- 6 Mother of student

**b) Residing:**
- 1 In Iowa
- 2 Do not live in Iowa

**c) Place of Residence:**
- 1 Farm or open country
- 2 Very small town (less than 1,000)
- 3 Small town or city (1,000 to 10,000)
- 4 Medium sized town (10,000 to 50,000)
- 5 Large city (50,000 to 100,000)
- 6 Very large city (100,000 and above)

**d) Race:**
- 1 Black
- 2 White
- 3 Latino
- 4 American Indian
- 5 Foreign

**e) Religious Preference:**
- 1 Protestant
- 2 Catholic
- 3 Jewish
- 4 Other
- 5 None

**f) Formal Education:**
- 1 K through 8th grade
- 2 Some high school
- 3 High school graduate
- 4 Some college/vocational
- 5 Baccalaureate Degree
- 6 Master’s Degree
- 7 Ph.D.

**g) Working Status:**
- 1 Self-employed/farm
- 2 Employed by other
- 3 Professional
- 4 Housewife
- 5 Retired (formerly self-employed)
- 6 Retired employee
- 7 Not employed

**h) Political Party Affiliation:**
- 1 Republican
- 2 Democrat
- 3 Independent
- 4 None
- 5 Other

---

*Go on to Next Page*
Below are two lists of values, each with a brief definition. How important is each of these values personally to you?

Pick a number from 1 to 11 and mark it in the space provided to the left of each value.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Average Importance</th>
<th>Extremely Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A COMFORTABLE LIFE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN EXCITING LIFE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A WORLD AT PEACE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A WORLD OF BEAUTY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQUALITY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY SECURITY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FREEDOM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAPPINESS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INNER HARMONY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATURITY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL SECURITY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLEASURE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALVATION</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>SELF-RESPECT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL RECOGNITION</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRUE FRIENDSHIP</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WISDOM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

... (List continues)
DIRECTIONS:  Below and on the following page are ten brief situations. Each one ends with a decision. Do you agree or disagree with the decision made at the end of each situation?

Using the following scale:

1  2  3  4  5
Disagree Neutral  Agree
strongly            strongly

pick a number from 1 to 5 that shows how much you agree or disagree. Mark that number in front of each situation in the space provided.

Example:  John is walking down the street and sees a billfold. Inside the wallet is the identification of the owner as well as $20.00 in cash. John takes the money and throws the billfold in a trash barrel. The above brief situation is about John finding a lost billfold. It ends in the underlined sentence that tells what decision John has made with the billfold. Do you agree with John keeping the money and throwing the wallet away or do you disagree with John's decision?

5  If you strongly agree, you would pick number 5 and mark it in front of the situation in the space provided.
1  If you strongly disagree, you would pick number 1 and mark it in front of the situation in the space provided.
3  If you are undecided, mark a three indicating a neutral position.

--------------------------------------------------------------------------------

1.  Jim is walking on a busy sidewalk and it is a windy day. Just in front of him a stranger's briefcase opens accidentally and papers fly in all directions. Jim could stop but he keeps on walking.

2.  Charles is the president of the local Chamber of Commerce. A developer wants to build a suburban mall on the outskirts of his city. A picturesque wildlife refuge will be destroyed in the project is ratified. He also knows the city needs the economic boost the mall will provide. Charles recommends approval of the mall.

Go on to Next Page
3. Jerry and Joan are saving their money for a down payment on a house. Jerry has a yearning to buy a motorcycle. One day, on impulse, he goes looking at motorcycles. One model is so splendid that he buys it and spends one-half of the money saved for the down payment on the home.

4. It is 7:00 p.m. Your best friend calls and needs your assistance immediately. You are the only one who can help him in this situation. But you were just about to leave to go to a musical concert that you have been planning on for the past two months. You cancel your plans for the evening and go to your friend’s aid.

5. The time has come for the Johnsons to decide what is to happen to Mr. Johnson’s widowed mother, Laura. Laura’s health has so deteriorated that she can no longer live on her own. The Johnsons debate whether or not Laura should live with them. The other choice is for her to go to a retirement home. They finally urge Laura to move into a retirement home.

6. Jane is copying from George in a test. George does not realize she is doing this. George suddenly turns toward Jane who quickly lowers her head to her own paper. The teacher sees George turn and calls his test in. Jane remains silent.

7. Pam is a 25 year old single woman. If after she sees a man a few times, and likes him she is willing to have sex with him. She does not have to be very committed to a person before she will go to bed with him. She has seen Phil several times the last three weeks and goes to bed with him.

8. Father Sims is a priest for 10 years. A few years after ordination, he became aware of a gnawing doubt about his calling. For the past 8 years he has lived with such a degree of unrest that he now feels resistance to performing his priestly duties in good conscience. Nevertheless, he decides to remain in the priesthood.

9. Dick and Diane are both 47 and have been married for 25 years. Their two children are out of the home. Dick is satisfied with the way the marriage is going and wants no major changes. Diane sees the relationship as dull and lifeless, but secure. Diane wants more from the relationship than Dick is willing to put in. Diane files for divorce.

10. Allen works at the local newspaper in the business office. He goes to a party on Tuesday night and stays out till early the next morning. When the alarm goes off at 7:00 a.m., he is still very tired. Allen decides to take a sick day from work.

--- Finish ---
STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

General Instructions: This questionnaire is in three parts. The first part is on this page and asks you to check the blanks that best describe you and your living situation.

On the second page are two lists of values. You are to rate how important each one is to you on a 1 to 11 scale.

On pages 3 and 4 is the last part of the questionnaire. Here ten brief situations are written. You are to rate each of them on a 1 to 5 scale showing how much you agree or disagree with the decision each ends with.

Instructions: Check one blank under each heading that best describes you or your living situation. Write in your age and today's date.

Your age   Your Sex: Male   Female   Today's date

a) Race:
   1 Black
   2 White
   3 Latino
   4 American Indian
   5 Foreign

b) Year in School:
   1 Freshman
   2 Sophomore
   3 Junior
   4 Senior

c) College Enrolled in:
   1 Agricultural
   2 Design
   3 Education
   4 Engineering
   5 Home Economics
   6 Science & Humanities
   7 Veterinary Medicine

d) Marital Status:
   1 Single
   2 Married

e) Home of Record:
   1 Iowa
   2 Outside Iowa

f) Religious Preference:
   1 Protestant
   2 Catholic
   3 Jewish
   4 Other
   5 None

g) Political Party Affiliation:
   1 Republican
   2 Democrat
   3 Independent
   4 None
   5 Other

h) Grade-Point Average:
   1 3.5 and over
   2 3.0 to 3.49
   3 2.5 to 2.99
   4 2.0 to 2.49
   5 Less than 2.0

i) Locality of Home of Record:
   1 Farm or open country
   2 Very small town (less than 1,000)
   3 Small town or city (1,000 to 10,000)
   4 Medium sized town (10,000 to 50,000)
   5 Large city (50,000 to 100,000)
   6 Very large city (100,000 and above)
Below are two lists of values, each with a brief definition. How important is each of these values personally to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A COMFORTABLE LIFE</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>AN EXCITING LIFE</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>A WORLD AT PEACE</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>A WORLD OF BEAUTY</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>FAMILY SECURITY</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>FREEDOM (independence, free choice)</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>HAPPINESS (contentedness)</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>PLEASURE (enjoyable, leisurely life)</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>SALVATION (heavenly, eternal life)</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>TRUE FRIENDSHIP (deep companionship)</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>WISDOM (mature understanding and life)</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>BROADMINDED (open-minded)</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>CAPABLE (competent, effective)</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>CHEERFUL (lighthearted, jovial)</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>CLEAN (neat, tidy)</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>HELPFUL (willing for the welfare of others)</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>HONEST (honest, truthful)</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>IMAGINATIVE (daring, creative)</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>LOGICAL (logical, rational)</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>LOVING (affectionate, tender)</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>OBEDIENT (docile, respectful)</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>POLITE (courteous, well-mannered)</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>SELF-CONTROLLED (inward, self-disciplined)</td>
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Pick a number from 1 to 11 and mark it in the space provided to the left of each value.
DIRECTIONS: Below and on the following page are ten brief situations. Each one ends with a decision. Do you agree or disagree with the decision made at the end of each situation?

Using the following scale:

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>strongly</td>
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pick a number from 1 to 5 that shows how much you agree or disagree. Mark that number in front of each situation in the space provided.

Example: John is walking down the street and sees a billfold. Inside the wallet is the identification of the owner as well as $20.00 in cash. John takes the money and throws the billfold in a trash barrel.

The above brief situation is about John finding a lost billfold. It ends in the underlined sentence that tells what decision John has made with the billfold.

Do you agree with John keeping the money and throwing the wallet away or do you disagree with John's decision?

5 If you strongly agree, you would pick number 5 and mark it in front of the situation in the space provided.

1 If you strongly disagree, you would pick number 1 and mark it in front of the situation in the space provided.

3 If you are undecided, mark a three indicating a neutral position.

-----------------------------

1. Jim is walking on a busy sidewalk and it is a windy day. Just in front of him a stranger's briefcase opens accidentally and papers fly in all directions. Jim could stop but he keeps on walking.

2. Charles is the president of the local Chamber of Commerce. A developer wants to build a suburban mall on the outskirts of his city. A picturesque wildlife refuge will be destroyed in the project is ratified. He also knows the city needs the economic boost the mall will provide. Charles recommends approval of the mall.

Go on to Next Page
3. Jerry and Joan are saving their money for a down payment on a home. Jerry has a yearning to buy a motorcycle. One day, on impulse, he goes looking at motorcycles. One model is so splendid that he buys it and spends one-half of the money saved for the down payment on the home.

4. It is 7:00 p.m. Your best friend calls and needs your assistance immediately. You are the only one who can help him in this situation. But you were just about to leave to go to a musical concert that you have been planning on for the past two months. You cancel your plans for the evening and go to your friend’s aid.

5. The time has come for the Johnsons to decide what is to happen to Mr. Johnson’s widowed mother, Laura. Laura’s health has so deteriorated that she can no longer live on her own. The Johnsons debate whether or not Laura should live with them. The other choice is for her to go to a retirement home. They finally urge Laura to move into a retirement home.

6. Jane is copying from George in a test. George does not realize she is doing this. George suddenly turns toward Jane who quickly lowers her head to her own paper. The teacher sees George turn and calls his test in. Jane remains silent.

7. Pam is a 25 year old single woman. If after she sees a man a few times, and likes him she is willing to have sex with him. She does not have to be very committed to a person before she will go to bed with him. She has seen Bill several times the past three weeks and goes to bed with him.

8. Father Sima is a priest for 10 years. A few years after ordination, he became aware of a growing doubt about his calling. For the past 8 years he has lived with such a degree of unrest that he now feels resistance to performing his priestly duties in good conscience. Nevertheless, he decides to remain in the priesthood.

9. Dick and Diane are both 47 and have been married for 25 years. Their two children are out of the home. Dick is satisfied with the way the marriage is going and wants no major changes. Diane sees the relationship as dull and lifeless, but secure. Diane wants more from the relationship than Dick is willing to put in. Diane files for divorce.

10. Allen works at the local newspaper in the business office. He goes to a party on Tuesday night and stays out till early the next morning. When the alarm goes off at 7:00 a.m., he is still very tired. Allen decides to take a sick day from work.

--- Finish ---