

THE ROLE OF PARENTING STYLE IN CULTURAL TRANSITION

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THE ROLE OF PARENTING STYLE IN CULTURAL TRANSITION

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ABSTRACT

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This study presents a dynamic view of change in parenting style and emancipatory values over time and across diverse cultural regions within the United States. Focusing on the parent and their relation to culture rather than on the parent and their relation to child outcome allows exploration of the potential of parenting style as an agent of cultural change. Normative parenting within Baumrind's typology reproduces instrumental competence in a capitalist, patriarchal society. Anomalous parents are in a unique position to challenge norms and reform the culture that produces them. The model used here extends Baumrind's framework to redefine *control*, and distinguish the concept of *tolerance and respect*, to develop a Parenting Style Index (PSI) calculated for respondents in each of six survey years of the WVS and GSS. A descriptive analysis produced national and regional estimates on mean PSI and identification of Harmonious and Authoritarian parenting outliers from the 1970s to 2010s. Overall, there was a general trend toward increases in harmonious parenting from 1981 to the present, although this trend appears to have subsided in the most recent years. There are considerable fluctuations in the PSI across regions and birth cohorts. The association between independent variables and PSI was measured through multiple linear regression which indicated the strongest predictor on parenting style is the parent's emancipative values and religiosity. Despite the appearance of national homogeneity, the evolution of parenting style is best understood in specific and diverse regional contexts. Patterns

suggest the failure to advance emancipatory values in parenting style coincides with stunted economic and human development.

Key Words: Parenting style, Cultural change, Emancipatory values, Inequality, Patriarchy, Harmonious parents, SDT, Religiosity, Regional culture

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

What parents want from and for their children varies; however, most parents share the common goal of raising their children to be competent, successful members of society. Cultural normative theory suggests the best child outcomes will result from parents behaving in a manner that is normative within their culture (Deater-Deckard & Dodge 1997). Cultures consist of society's collective customs and values which cascade across family, education, religion, politics and economics. The reflective parent is faced with a choice of fitting into the culture to seek its definition of success, or challenging arbitrary societal rules and norms and redefining success. Alexander and Welzel (2015) found that the power of bottom-up changes in cultural values exceeds that of changes in cultural values through institutions.

Our society uses hierarchies to form a top-down ranking of its people and institutions, which are maintained by psychological, economic and/or physical control. Human nature does not demand of us hierarchies of power such as racism, inequality or sexism. Hierarchies of power are a social construct (Durkheim 1887) and a fundamental element in their reproduction is the parent/child relationship wherein the child is taught the moral states required by society. Education begins with the parent, who is obliged to iteratively examine and evaluate morals prior to transmittal to their most precious legacy and parenting provides the individual, interactional framework of the social structure and cultural forces which reflexively legitimate inequality (West and Zimmerman 1987).

This study examines cultural changes in emancipative values through analysis of parenting style, assuming that parenting style both initiates and is reflective of cultural

change. Emancipative values are the very basis of the American Dream—freedom of choice and equality of opportunity (Welzel2013). Emancipation means to exist free from domination. These values embrace both practicing and tolerating freedoms, a combination that points to issues of social justice. Emancipative values are tolerant of nonthreatening norm disparities, and intolerant of behaviors that violate other people’s sovereignty; hence, they are orthogonally situated to systems of dominance and oppression.

Consideration of the parent/child dynamic and changes in parenting style over time provides a meaningful lens to analyze cultural values. This micro-view has family as the core of any community, modelling for its government and associated institutions, and from this bottom-up perspective it is reasonable to assume the primary influence of parenting style and family organization, such as patriarchal hierarchy or egalitarianism, contributes to the structural levels of organization as the society evolves (Szoltysek and Poniak 2018). A patriarchy is a social system structured on the premise that males are the standard of what is normal, are uniquely qualified to exercise power and authority, and should be the focal point of all activity (Johnson 2014). Such a social construct necessarily establishes males as superior and non-males as unequal.

Consider the circumstances under which you would find it appropriate to demand submission and obedience from another human being. Perhaps from student to a teacher, or an aged parent who is in your care, or from a toddler to an adult, or female to male? The concepts of submission and obedience extend from assumptions of superiority. In justice, relationships are reciprocal. Even in business, most models have concluded that

the most effective employer-employee relationship is one of reciprocity rather than power and submission.

Patriarchal practice is nurtured in the most basic unit of society: the family (Alexander and Welzel 2015). Human reproduction and patriarchy are intimately related. Following the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) during the mid-20th century which brought extended female employment and the availability of birth control, plus a move from valuing conformity to valuing self-actualization, there was a perceived decline of the patriarchal family (McLanahan 2004). Patriarchal norms of gendered labor divisions within family structures were challenged, particularly in urban areas, where focus moved from reproduction to education (Welzel et al. 2017). However, the early 21st century has been a time of regression to patriarchal hierarchy with trends toward nationalism, accumulation of wealth, and a fundamentalist emphasis on a patriarchal family with subordinate women and children providing free labor to the economy. Patriarchal structures hobble women's ability to provide education, emancipative values such as freedom of choice and equality of opportunity, and critical cognitive skills to their children (Kambhampati and Rajan 2008; Grogan 2007), with effects that accumulate over time, cementing the structure of inequality. These are silent messages from the patriarchy transmitted to children.

Progress toward the dissolution of that first hierarchy and cultural transformation can be observed through the basic parent/child relationship because within the protected domain of family and its household division of labor lurks the fundamentals of patriarchal organization. This study focuses on the principal reproduction of society and its culture through the individual acts of parenting rather than macrostructural factors.

This reframing allows us to focus on the parent and their relation to culture rather than on the parent and their relation to the child outcome of success within the culture. By contrasting U.S. regional cultural differences and their evolution over the last 40 years with the occurrence of outlier parenting style in each region, I explore the relationship between two opposing parenting styles and value orientations. These parenting styles will be defined in the next section. Progress in economic and human development, and investment in human capital (i.e. education) will further the evaluation of regional differences.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

Patriarchal Power as Culture

Deep roots of patriarchal hierarchy underlie the growing inequality in society (Szoltysek et al. 2017). Power is central to explanations for how a culture based on race, class and sex hierarchies evolved and perpetuates. The costs of patriarchal hierarchies of power are enormous, with the highest cost being paid in human suffering and inequality. Yet, in the context of securing equality and justice, little attention has been paid to the cultural impact of the fundamental reproduction of society through parenting.

Across the United States, parental homes embrace a wide range of lifestyles, from fundamentalist Christian to urban millennial. Parents, as primary agents of socialization, teach their children the values they live, and children acquire the values and skills to navigate the culture from their parents and their peers. Psychology and neuroscience have established that the experiences of and observations made by children, even before their brains are fully formed, teach them what is considered possible or impossible, right or wrong, desirable or undesirable. This becomes their model for all the relationships to follow (Damasio 1994). Recent cultural neuroscience studies are suggesting that routine engagement over an extended period of time in cultural or educational tasks, such as navigating through a complex city or arithmetic computation, likely causes analogous changes in brain pathways, *actually altering the biology of the brain* (Kitayama and Park 2010). Cultural values expressed in routine tasks repeated continuously operate on biology to modify our brain networks across our lifetimes.

Cultural maintenance relies on producing and controlling appropriate behavior. This social reproduction transmits social inequality from one generation to the next

(Doob 2016). However, parents can choose antinomian values (values that have been examined and challenged) to transmit to their children.

There is a disconnect between the revered values of our national culture, such as the basic human right to equality and justice, and the reality of our society. Patriarchy is not heralded as an admirable value we should aspire to. Yet, we live in a patriarchal hierarchy which subordinates people based on race, sex, age and physical ability. Inequality seems like the only possible organization simply because we live in a patriarchal hierarchy (Kleinman and Copp 2009). This domination model permeates our institutions, government, economy and families to different degrees depending on the regional subculture.

Ranked differences with prescribed roles and identities, limitations and opportunities are the hierarchal reality. This habitus is transmitted and acquired almost without our knowing it, as fundamental to us as breathing, being repeated and affirmed every day through our stories and what people say and do, as though it had always existed, undeniable and obvious, and brain molding. It is seen as “natural” and its true character as a social construct is hidden (West and Zimmerman 1987). Parents impart to their offspring a social competence consistent with adaptation to their culture because the path of least resistance to success (as defined by the culture) lies in achieving instrumental competence within that culture.

Parenting Styles in a Cultural Framework

Working in the parenting environment of the mid-twentieth century as a child-rearing debate was raging over strict biblical methods versus permissive methods of parenting, Diana Baumrind (Baumrind and Black 1967) identified three types of parents:

Authoritarian, Authoritative, and Permissive. The biblical Authoritarian camp saw a Hobbesian child who is selfish, undisciplined and harsh. Based in religious patriarchy and biblical teaching, this is the earliest and most persevering parental style. Strict discipline and punishment are employed to restrict autonomy and ensure an obedient, socially-acceptable child. These parents are high on control and low on warmth and affection (Baumrind 1978).

The Permissive camp saw a noble savage who embodies humanity's innate goodness and simply needs to be left alone to blossom into a productive adult. Permissive parents believe that the child will learn to conform to societal norms when and if she chooses and that limiting the child's self-expression would be making her less of a person. These parents are low on control and high on warmth and affection (Baumrind 1978).

Ascendant psychologists of the day conducted a very public debate over the damage to children from both parenting styles and caused a great deal of angst among parents. Between these two extreme styles, Baumrind's research found a middle-ground to guide anxious parents, and she called it the Authoritative parent. It was a blend of control and warmth which effectively produced instrumental competence in children; that is, the ability to navigate cultural norms toward that culture's definition of success.

Baumrind noted from that research an interesting anomaly constituting a fourth parenting style which she termed Harmonious parenting. This style was exhibited in only eight of the families in an early childhood study of approximately 238, and was found again later in an adolescent sample (Baumrind 1991). In each case, the observer for the family could not rate the parent construct of "firm enforcement" on at least two of five

items operationally defining it. Baumrind defined Harmonious parents as neither exercising control nor avoiding exercising control, but instead focusing on harmony, honesty, justice and rationality over power, achievement, control and order. This anomalous parenting style is the focus of this study in order to track its frequency over time and across U.S. regions, and to examine its relationship to cultural value change.

Baumrind (2013) differentiated between two types of power assertion or control. The kind of power asserted by Authoritarian parents is coercive which is arbitrary, domineering and concerned with status. The prescribed behavior is enforced through punitive, sometimes violent, measures. Authoritative parents, on the other hand, exhibit confrontive power which is reasoned, negotiable, and concerned with regulating behavior. Harmonious parents focus on harmony, rather than power assertion, and reciprocal principles for resolving differences which is why they were identified as an anomalous parent.

Baumrind's research model used a two-factor measure of parenting style: "control" and "warmth", which has come under scrutiny both for the limitations inherent in only two dimensions and for the two measures selected. Lewis's (1981) analysis suggested that the existence of the Harmonious parenting pattern raises the possibility that control is not an essential factor in the development of responsible, mature children. In an analysis of Baumrind's data, Lewis determined that Harmonious parents differed from Authoritative parents only by the measure of firm enforcement. When firm control/enforcement is subtracted from the Authoritative parenting model, producing Harmonious parenting, the same child behavior results on every measure (Lewis 1981). Harmonious parents "focused upon achieving a quality of harmony in the home, and

upon developing principles for resolving differences and for right living” (Baumrind 1971).

Other researchers (Becker 1964; Greenspan 2006; Steinberg et al. 1991) have also argued against the two-dimensional model of control and warmth, maintaining that respect, tolerance and parental stress also play important roles in identifying parental style. Warmth is exhibited through nurturing and respect, and control becomes an extraneous variable. Greenspan (2006) argued that a third dimension should be measured which allows for parents’ determination that behaviors need not be controlled, but can be tolerated or discussed instead. This tolerance dimension better explains the Harmonious parenting style of enabling child autonomy and sustaining family harmony. Although Becker (1964) described parental discipline using a two-factor model, he too acknowledged a third factor which he termed “anxious involvement versus calm detachment.” Others have also found that respecting the needs of the child for autonomy and self-determination are critical in analysis of parenting styles (Steinberg et al. 1991; Grolnick 2003). This respect manifests as tolerance and reciprocity while parents daily make decisions about whether or not to intervene in their children’s behavior. Greenspan (2006) suggested that some indicators of tolerance as a third dimension may have been misapplied to the broad warmth factor in Baumrind’s original model.

The reciprocal nature of compliance was revealed in Lytton’s (1977) research and expanded by Baumrind (1978). The norm of reciprocity in parenting manifests in a balance between the rights and duties of children and the rights and duties of parents, or to summarize, the equal rights of people to respect and dignity. Lytton found that the mother’s compliance to the child significantly contributed to the probability of the child’s

compliance to the mother, and there was evidence that the father's compliance showed an even stronger association. Baumrind (1978) found that Harmonious parents saw the parental rights and duties as reciprocal to the rights and duties of the child. Authoritarian parents emphasized the *responsibilities* of children as similar to adults, and Permissive parents emphasized the *rights* of the child as similar to adults. Both Authoritative and Harmonious parents acknowledge the interdependent status of living in a social world and the importance of reciprocity therein. Respect and tolerance are necessary elements of an egalitarian social world and are best taught by reciprocity. Imitation is a fundamental human learning tool and is associated with empathic capacity.

A person, whether child or adult, is more likely to internalize values and norms when there is a sense of cooperation; compliance by choice rather than coercion (Maccoby and Martin 1981). The hierarchy of firm control is a detriment to consideration and internalization of values of equality and justice. Children of Harmonious parents are reasoned with and use reason successfully to alter their environment. Baumrind and Black (1967) found indications that firm control in Authoritative parenting produced sociable and competent behavior in boys and affably dependent girls, grooming them to fit into the patriarchal society. Harmonious parenting, in this small sample, produced competent, achievement-oriented, friendly, independent girls and an effeminate orientation in boys (Baumrind 1971), a result more suited to an egalitarian society. (Effeminate means qualities of a female and is only a pejorative culturally.)

In this study I extend Baumrind's two-dimensional framework in order to better examine the Harmonious parents she identified as a newly developing form of parenting based on antinomian values. Here the concept of *tolerant warmth* is included for parents

who set boundaries and maintain family harmony through mutual respect and democratic dialogue.

Parenting as an Indicator of Social Change

The identification of the Harmonious parent coincides with the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) in the U.S. Starting in the 1960s a series of multifaceted behavioral and ideological changes swept the U.S. beginning with effective, reliable contraception which resulted in a shift in family size and composition (Lesthaeghe 2014). The cultural shift was simultaneous with the dynamics of recursive value shifting and cohort succession. The patriarchal Fordist model of a male-breadwinner household and gendered division of labor was challenged. An entire generation questioned authority and asserted autonomy with new antinomian values. The second wave feminist movement challenged patriarchal authority and asserted reproductive choice. The resulting declines in marriage and increases in nonmarital childbearing, divorce, and increased maternal employment amplified disparities in the social class hierarchy through availability of resources to parents investing in fewer children (McLanahan 2004). Women with income of their own shifted the balance of power in relationships, and attitudes toward gender roles were temporarily revolutionized.

Inglehart (2018) notes a turn toward Postmaterialist values and away from the patriarchal model when the most pressing of people's needs, material sustenance and physical security, are met. However, the path to security is not unidirectional and folds back upon itself as conditions fluctuate. Period effects are frequently responsible for attitude conversion over the Life Course (Silverstein and Giarrusso 2011). Over the last three decades, period effects such as declining real income and job security for a large

share of the population coupled with an influx of immigrants and refugees have stimulated an Authoritarian Reflex (Inglehart 2018) characterized by survival insecurity, driving people to close ranks behind tribal-type leaders and to resist cultural change. Consequently we witness a fresh challenge to assumptions of which adult roles parents are preparing their children for. Alwin (2001) suggests that parents tend to adapt their values to their views of what qualities the future world will demand of their children. Through this prism, parenting styles are an important indicator and precursor of social change.

The demographic profile of Harmonious parents may support Lareau's (2011) finding that middle-class and working-class families operate with different approaches to childrearing, which both reflect and contribute to the transmission of inequality. From this starting point, identifying larger samples of Harmonious parents and understanding their demographics and values may provide evidence of Lareau's concerted cultivation (opportunities parents provide to children which give them a social advantage later in life) as a luxury of middle class, as well as indications of a cultural transformation and its direction. With the shrinking middle class, and the widening separation of the wealthy from other classes, it's possible concerted cultivation becomes a privilege of the wealthy, and the working class values of compliance and caution in children identified by Lareau will minimize the growth of Harmonious parenting.

Considering the historical regional differences within the United States, it is intuitively plausible to expect that parenting style is related to the stark differences in value orientations and subsequent human and economic capital outcomes between these regions (Spolaore and Wacziarg 2013). Definitions and understandings regarding the

measure of social and instrumental competence will vary across the individual cultures of U.S. regions. The coastal regions and large urban areas embraced the power shifts of the SDT over the past several decades, but they were largely rejected in the South and Midwest (Lesthaeghe and Neidert 2006) in favor of strong religious beliefs and limited education.

CHAPTER III

CURRENT STUDY

As sociologists, it is incumbent upon us to explore the processes which create hierarchies and establish dominance, and to establish social accountability in these processes (Sjoberg 1999). Examining both the change in the fundamental relationship of parent/child through Parenting Style and the change in emancipatory values in each cultural region of the U.S. over a 40 year period will be useful in assessing cultural transformation. This study is the first to take a dynamic view of change in parenting style and emancipatory values over time and across diverse cultural regions within the United States.

I hypothesize that regions with high scores on Harmonious Parenting will also have high levels of emancipative values. Theory, as discussed earlier, leads me to hypothesize that historical parenting style in any region will be associated with disparities in values, and economic and human development in that region, such that patriarchal values of an Authoritarian parenting style would lead to lower levels of economic and human development. I also hypothesize that a prevalence of higher education is associated with greater change toward an egalitarian parenting style because education dilutes the historical regional influence of parental values.

Then, after discussing broad shifts in parenting, I consider the sociodemographic factors that most readily predict parenting values and provide profiles of the Harmonious parent and its Authoritarian foil.

The Harmonious parents identified by Baumrind in her very small, homogenous sample were highly educated, white, married and financially secure. Accordingly, I

hypothesize that Harmonious parents to be well-educated, white, and liberal with above-average income.

CHAPTER IV

DATA AND ANALYTIC SAMPLES

The World Values Survey (WVS) provided an excellent secondary data source for tracking parental values to determine parenting style trends from 1981 to 2011, and it included the Emancipatory Value Index.¹ These parenting style changes and their direction and implications are the focus of this study. Longer time spans provide better understanding of trends, so two General Social Survey (GSS) years were appended (1975 and 2016) to the core WVS data extending our view to 41 years. Both databases are nationally representative, allow tracking of trends over time and regions, provide demographic characteristics of respondents, and pose questions regarding parenting attitudes and cultural values.

The GSS is a computer-assisted interview administered annually between 1972 and 1994, and biannually since, to a full probability sample of non-institutionalized, English-speaking U.S. adults 18 years and older. Sample size varies from approximately 1600 respondents to approximately 2800 respondents.

The WVS is administered by face-to-face interviews conducted on a stratified random sample of the 18 year and older population in each country. The U.S. sample size is approximately 2000 in each of the six completed waves.

For purposes of this study, parents between the ages of 18 and 50 are selected in order to restrict analyses to active parents and to allow for generational separation.

¹ Waves 3 (1995), 4 (1999), and 6 (2011) of the World Values Study are used to track parenting style by region. Data from Wave 1 (1981) are included in summary statistics, but didn't include a regional breakdown. Wave 5 (2006) was excluded from this study because parents were not identified in the data. Wave 2 (1990) has not been published with specific U.S. data analysis.

National trend analysis across all years was based on a sample of 3975. The sample size for 1975 was 564; 1981 was 928; 1995 was 669; 1999 was 499; 2011 was 727; and 2016 was 588.

Questions used for this study regarding desirable child qualities were asked in identical form across the waves of the WVS, and in similar form in the GSS, with some variation in the choices offered. Selection of which qualities to include in the calculation of the Parenting Style Index (PSI) followed theory and characteristics defined by Baumrind, as presented earlier in this paper, and are defended in subsequent factorial analysis. See Appendix A for a detailed explanation of this process and slight variations across survey years.

This project is deemed IRB exempt by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects, Sam Houston State University (Appendix D).

CHAPTER V MEASUREMENT

The Parenting Style Index

The dependent variable is the Parenting Style Index (PSI) which is based on research by Baumrind and Black (1967) that used a two-factor model to identify parents by control and warmth exhibited in relations with their children. I extend Baumrind's framework in order to examine Harmonious parents who were identified in Baumrind's analyses as a newly developing form of parenting based on antinomian values, but could not accurately be scored on traditional indicators of control. These parents, while very similar to Authoritative parents, exhibited a higher level of tolerance with their children and less overt control, using democratic methods to avoid parent-child conflict and develop principles for resolving differences. Drawing on recent scholarship (Baumrind 2013; Greenspan 2006), I distinguish the concept *tolerant warmth* for parents who set boundaries and maintain family harmony through mutual respect and democratic dialogue. These parents are contrasted with Authoritarian parents who exercise higher levels of hierarchal control.

Using variables characterizing desirable qualities in a child, the PSI was computed to place parents on a six-point scale where higher values indicate more harmonious parenting and lower values align with more authoritarian parenting. Five of these variables were drawn from eight possible answers, depending on variations in survey years, to a survey question about child qualities respondent deemed most important: Religious Faith, Obedience, Manners, Works Hard, Interest in how things Work, Independence, Thinks for Self, Imagination, and Tolerance. I consider the first four values indicative of Authoritarian parenting, or those who believe a child is

subordinate and should not question authority. In contrast, the last five are values aligned with Harmonious parenting characterized by its emphasis on reciprocity, harmony, justice and independence (Baumrind 1971). Imagination is required to see things as they might be, which would be valued in Harmonious parenting and not in Authoritarian parenting, which values tradition and fears ideas that could cause institutional change. Five to six of these eight factors in combinations dictated by variations across seven survey years and two survey instruments are considered as a single scale with loadings ranging from .20 (Interest in things) to .96 (Religiosity).

The sixth component in the Index was either Respect, Trust or Tolerance drawn from one of three additional survey questions (once again slight inconsistencies exist in survey questions from year to year; for more details, see Appendix A). The first rates the response to a question on the duty to love and respect parents where calling it a duty is indicative of Authoritarian parenting while Harmonious parenting would require it be earned. Another rates the response to a question on whether people can generally be trusted. General trust is the basis of reciprocity, tolerance and gender equality values (Helliwell and Putnam 2004; Delhey et al. 2011). The third rates response to a statement that “men are better suited to politics than women” in order to provide a measure of Tolerance. These factor loadings (across survey years) ranged from .50 to .81 for Trust, .14 to .57 for Respect, and .27 to .34 for Tolerance.

[Table 5.1 here]

Table 5.1 presents findings from confirmatory analyses that establish the defensibility of using these items to develop a singular indicator for PSI. Factor loadings for each item appear reasonable. Although some, like *Interest in How Things Work* in

1975 (0.20), and *Tolerance* in 1975 and 2016 (0.34 and 0.27) are admittedly marginal, most factors fall within a comfortable loading range (0.35 or higher) in one or more of the survey years. Moreover, indicators of model fit suggest this measurement model is defensible. Traditionally accepted benchmarks for the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test are 0.50 or higher and a significant Bartlett's X^2 further strengthens support for this model. Cronbach's alpha numbers are predictably low given the binary nature of the survey questions.

The traditional benchmark to defend a construct is any eigenvalue greater than or equal to 1.0. By this standard, Table 5.1 suggests two constructs may exist among these survey items. This is not surprising as I have previously illustrated that two types of survey questions (e.g. child qualities and duty to respect parents or trust) were taken from survey instruments. However, I have retained a single scale as my approach is carefully rooted in comprehensive theoretical literature and remains statistically defensible. Making a distinction between items about desirable child qualities and traditional value positions may be statistically superior (based on patterns in covariance) but it is decidedly inferior from a theoretical perspective in the context of this study's guiding questions.

Geographic Region

The survey data is divided into U.S. Census regions and is used to situate parenting style within these cultures (See Appendix B). New England includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. Mid Atlantic includes New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. South Atlantic covers Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and the Washington D.C. East South Central region includes Alabama,

Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee. West South Central includes Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. East North Central contains Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. West North Central encompasses Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota. Rocky Mountain includes Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. Finally, the Pacific region covers Alaska, Hawaii, Oregon, Washington, and California.

The Emancipative Values Index

A focal independent variable is the Emancipatory Value Index (EVI), a 12-item index developed by Welzel in his book *Freedom Rising* (2013), and is calculated by World Value Survey (WVS) staff and published with each Wave of the WVS. It measures respondents' values relating to equality, reproductive choice, autonomy and voice. All items are recoded to the same polarity and scale ranging from 0 (least emancipative) to 1 (most emancipative) with fractions for intermediate positions. The four subindices are then averaged into the EVI (Appendix C). The EVI measure is intrinsically related to women's emancipation, tying it closely to the patriarchal values defining Authoritarian parenting and the antinomian values defining Harmonious parenting. The EVI is used here to track emancipatory and individualistic values by U.S. regions.

Demographics and Other Attitudinal Indicators

Other independent variables are used to explore demographics and correlations to the Parenting Style, such as religiosity, race, sex, age, education, number of children, political affiliation, and geographic location. Religiosity is operationalized by frequency of attendance at religious services. Due to limitations in early survey data, racial status is

tracked as “white”, “black”, and “other”. Sex data was collected as male or female and will be used to determine Parenting Style tendencies of the mother and father. Age (18 to 50) provides an indication of Parenting Style in younger and older parents for comparison.

Education is operationalized into four categories: Less than high school, high school diploma, some college and college degree. The way this operationalization is used appears in a couple of ways based on the analysis I am presenting. For “over-time” contrasting of regions I focused on “less than high school” and “college degree”. Education is used at an individual level in descriptive analysis (Table 7.8), while Table 7.7 uses education as a continuous variable.

Number of children is categorized as 1-2 or 3+ children. Political affiliation is identified as Republican, Democrat or Other. The regionally-based cultural differences in the U.S. are well-documented. The survey data is divided into U.S. census regions and is used to situate Parenting Style within these cultures.

Indicators from Other Sources

The Human Development Index (HDI) compiles data on life expectancy, education, and per capita income to calculate rankings on human development. It is published annually since 1990 for all countries by the United Nations Development Program. Its value is that it measures both social and economic dimensions of development, and is used here to contrast regions.

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is an economic measure of development and growth rate representing the monetary value of the goods and services made during a

period of time. It is drawn from the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Economic Analysis and is used here to contrast regions' economic progress and livability.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

After calculating the PSI for respondents in each of the six survey years, a descriptive analysis produced national and regional trends² with regard to the mean PSI and prevalence of Harmonious and Authoritarian parenting style outliers. Next, I link PSI to aggregate level indicators of health and well-being to consider the link between PSI and a culture of oppression. I do so by considering national and regional Emancipatory Value Index (EVI), Human Development Index (HDI), Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, and education data with mean PSI. Changes in PSI over 20 year periods were calculated to consider cohort replacement and time-lag education effects on regional mean PSI, cultural values, and prosperity.

The next analytic step measured the strength of association between independent variables of interest when predicting the PSI through multiple linear regression for the survey years where appropriate data was available. Then pooled data from all selected respondents in all years were used to identify demographics of Harmonious and Authoritarian parents. This provided a window into which parents are most likely to function as Harmonious and the factors in their background which could influence that choice. Finally, using expanded data to include parents older than 50, I conducted analysis of the effects of birth cohorts on the mean PSI. This step provided data on whether parenting values remain static over the life course or are subject to effects from age, period or cohorts. Cohort effect consists of the unique experiences members of a birth cohort (i.e. Baby Boomers, Millennials, etc.) share. Age effects are those biological

² Regional breakout was not supplied in WVS 1981 data.

and physiological changes that occur as a result of advancing age. Period effects are historical events experienced by the entire society but seen through individual perspectives. Period effects are frequently responsible for attitude conversion, but definitively distinguishing between these three effects poses a research challenge.

CHAPTER VII

RESULTS

Parenting Style Index

Recall that the PSI is constructed from 6 variables, ranges from -3 to +3, and measures parental values associated with Baumrind's categories. Negative values correspond to Authoritarian parenting and positive values to Harmonious parenting. Effectively, Authoritarian and Harmonious parents are outliers on a normal parenting curve.

[Figure 7.1 here]

Figure 7.1 shows the mean Parenting Style Index over time, documenting changes in parental values over the past 40 years. In 1975 the mean PSI was .04, dropping to a low of -.38 in 1981. 1995 and 1999 both saw increases in the PSI to -.16 and -.04, respectively. By 2011 the mean PSI had reached a high point of .16, only to fall in 2016 to .13. The 2016 value, even though on a slight downward slope, stands in sharp contrast to the lowest value in 1981 of -.38. This trend presents evidence of a broad, national shift toward more harmonious parenting in recent history.

Regional Variation

[Figure 7.2 here]

Yet, Figure 7.2 demonstrates this broad pattern is not uniform. Specifically, that the southern regions from Florida to Texas are resisting, or unable to, change as quickly as the rest of the country. East South Central and West South Central never make it out of negative PSI range, although the South Atlantic area does consistently increase its PSI across all survey years. The mean PSI for all years in the U.S. is .02 while the mean for

the three southern regions (South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central) is -.25.

In stark contrast, the regions lining both coasts (Pacific, Mid Atlantic and New England) exhibit higher PSI values, although not moving steadily in one direction. New England appears to be the most volatile of these; however, the spike in 1975 could be due to a sample size of <30. The PSI for these three coast regions also dropped from 1975 to 1995 before showing solid gains in 2011. The mean PSI of all years for these three regions is .22. For the first 25 years the middle regions (Rocky Mountain, West North Central and East North Central) moved independently. However, over the last 15 years they have tended to cluster together and move as a group with consistently increasing PSI values. (The extreme spikes in Rocky Mountain in 1995 and 2016 could be influenced by small sample sizes of <30.)

Across a period of 20 years, a new generation becomes parents. For each region, the mean PSI of 1975 was subtracted from the mean PSI from 1995, and again from 1995 to 2016 to reveal the generational change. These changes in PSI in each region are shown in Figure 7.3.

[Figure 7.3 here]

In all regions except the Rocky Mountain and Mid Atlantic, the PSI change was negative between 1975 and 1995 which indicates a generational move in values toward Authoritarian parenting. Between 1995 and 2016 all regions experienced a positive change in PSI, except the Rocky Mountain region. The Mid Atlantic region maintained the most constant PSI with the least change between generations followed by the West South Central region.

[Table 7.2 here]

Regions with high scores on Harmonious parenting tend to have high levels of emancipative values. Table 7.2 demonstrates identifiable patterns between parenting style and emancipative values in the survey years that EVI data was available by region. Rocky Mountain has the highest PSI number at .66 in 1995 and New England has the highest EVI at .63 in 2011. The lowest PSI (-.82) occurs in 1999 in East South Central and the lowest EVI occurs in the same year in the same region at .46. In most cases, low PSI levels and low EVI levels meet in the same regions. The pattern is clear. The patriarchal orientation of Authoritarian parenting is consistent with oppressive norms and practices that are antithetical to emancipative values.

The Human Development Index (HDI) ranks both social and economic dimensions of development worldwide. The U.S. ranks in the top tier routinely at above .80, and consequently none of the U.S. regions are expected to rank at the lowest end of the HDI measure. The years with regional data that coincided with my survey years were 1995 and 2011 and were used to build Table 7.3. The HDI scale ranges from 0 (least development) to 1 (most development).

[Table 7.3 here]

The U.S. mean is .88 in 1995 and .91 in 2011. The highest regional HDI is .94 which is achieved in 2011 by the New England, Mid Atlantic, and Pacific regions. The highest PSI is earned by Rocky Mountain at .66 followed by New England at .49 (both on sample sizes of less than 30). The next highest PSI was in the Mid Atlantic region at .47 followed by Pacific at .40.

The lowest regional HDI is .78 in West North Central followed by the South Atlantic and East South Central at .83 and .84 respectively. The lowest PSI is earned by East South Central at -.48 followed by West South Central at -.43. West North Central had a PSI of -.16 and South Atlantic of -.41.

The regional PSI tends to track with the HDI linking lower levels of human development with lower PSIs, and higher levels of human development with higher PSIs, which provided support for the hypothesis that developmental and value disparities among regions are associated with historical parenting style. Exceptions occurred in 1995 in the Pacific region and in 2011 in the West South Central region.

[Table 7.4 here]

Table 7.4 relates the Parenting Style Index to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in each region. Once again the PSI links to GDP in individual regions where a lower GDP is associated with a lower PSI. Based on data available, I was restricted to comparing the link between PSI and GDP in any single year rather than across years because the GDP dollars are not uniformly adjusted for inflation across the time span shown here. However, trends are clear. The lowest GDP for 1975 is in the East South Central region followed closely by the West North Central. The lowest 1975 PSI levels post to South Atlantic followed by West South Central. The highest 1975 GDP per capita is found in the Pacific region followed by Mid Atlantic. The highest 1975 PSI levels are achieved by New England followed by Pacific. In all subsequent years, the lowest GDP and lowest PSI occurred in East South Central and West South Central (tied for lowest GDP with Mid Atlantic in 2016). The highest GDP *and* PSI in 2011 was in Pacific and Mid Atlantic, and in 2016 was in Pacific and West North Central.

[Table 7.5 here]

The association of education and PSI can only be viewed through a time lag. Working within the survey data limitations, I have contrasted two 20-year periods regionally in Table 7.5. I predicted regions with high numbers of less-than-high-school educated and low numbers of college-educated would have the smallest change in PSI over time. Regional levels of college educated populations show some association with PSI changes between 1975 and 1995, and 1995 and 2016, although it is not consistent across all regions. Obviously, there is a lot of other variation in these regions that would influence this variable. Regions with the consistently lowest PSI are regions traditionally associated with the lowest rate of education, e.g. West South Central and East South Central.

An example of the diverse variation in education among regions is Rocky Mountain which in 1995 had both the highest percent of high school dropouts and the highest percent of college degrees while logging the fourth largest PSI change (-0.34) between 1995 and 2016. The Pacific, South Atlantic and East North Central regions all increased education while decreasing PSI from 1975-1995. Then between 1995 and 2016 each logged a PSI increase of .53, .61 and .18, respectively. Conversely, the Mid Atlantic and Rocky Mountain regions increased both their PSI and education levels in the first 20 year span. In the second 21 years Mid Atlantic continued to increase PSI (.22) while Rocky Mountain decreased substantially (-.34). East South Central, New England and West North Central all experienced decreases in both PSI and education levels during the first 20 years. East South Central saw a continued drop in college educated populace in the second 20 years while the PSI stalled, and New England saw substantial increases in

both PSI and education levels. This data does not generally support the expected association between education and parenting style evolution.

[Table 7.6 here]

The PSI reports most parents falling on a normal curve with values near 0. The curve is broad at its highest point and has very narrow tails on each side. Recall that parents who score +3 are rated as Harmonious parents, and parents who score a -3 are Authoritarian parents and both are represented in these short tails. Table 7.6 provides the percent of parents in each region who were rated as Harmonious or Authoritarian. Although a higher mean PSI will frequently indicate a higher percentage of Harmonious parents, sometimes even a high mean PSI will still result in few Harmonious parents. For example, in the New England region in 1995 there were no parents who were rated at either end of the scale. Instead, these numbers reveal that in that region and year all the parents were clustered on the center with a gentle lean (.03) toward the Harmonious end, or a negative skew. As previously discussed, the South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central tend to have small percentages of Harmonious parents and larger percentages of Authoritarian parents, even in 2016 when most regions had no parents at either end. The 2016 national mean PSI was .13 even though most regions logged no outliers at either end, and the four regions with outliers experienced them all on the Authoritarian side. This means the normal curve is very broad at its highest point which will occur on the Harmonious side of the scale median of 0.

In her 1978 study Baumrind identified Harmonious parents as 3.3% of a sample of 238 upper middle class parents in Berkeley, California. Table 7.6 charts the national and regional occurrence of Harmonious parents from that benchmark through 2016

alongside Authoritarian parents. Beginning with 1975 data from the GSS, I found 1.9% Harmonious parents in a random sample of 656. The variation from Baumrind's 3.3% could be due to different survey years and/or the difference between this national random sample and her non-random local sample.

Nationally only 1.1% of parents were Harmonious in 1981, 1.4% in 1995, 3.6% in 1999, 1.5% in 2011, and 0% in 2016. In general, as one parenting style ascends, the other declines indicating more parents willing to be outliers in the direction that value norms trend. In 1999 the percent of both parenting styles rose. This would indicate a mean centered on the normal curve and conditions stable enough to empower parents to examine their values and parent accordingly even in contravention of cultural norms. The mean PSI for 1999 was $-.04$, very near a perfectly balanced norm. Both Authoritarian and Harmonious parents occur as outliers on a normal curve of parents clustered closely at the mean. The numbers in Table 6 indicate that parents largely do not tend to fan out inventing their own parenting style. Instead they cluster toward a center of values shared by all but a few. That center of values appears to be regional, however.

PSI Predictors

[Table 7.7 here]

The Regression Model in Table 7.7 accounts for approximately 46% of the variability in the PSI. This model included only those survey years which included an EVI calculation (1995, 1999, and 2011). The strongest and most significant standardized coefficient was for EVI at $.591$ followed by Religiosity at $-.190$. This means that, on average, the style of parenting one adopts will be more strongly influenced by values on equality, reproductive choice and autonomy rather than sociodemographic characteristics

(e.g. age, sex, etc.). These are the same values traditionally dictated by one's church which explains why religiosity is negative (decreases PSI) and is the second highest coefficient of the PSI. Based on Tables 7.5 and 7.7, religion and adherence to "traditional" values appears to be more strongly associated with one's parenting style than education, contrary to hypotheses.

Being Black showed a significant correlation and toward a lower PSI (-.053). Sex, age and number of children were not significant predictors of PSI, although the number of children showed a significant (.000) correlation to PSI (-.088). Higher PSIs accrued to parents of 1-2 children.

Profile of Harmonious Parents

[Table 7.8 here]

Identification of Harmonious parents has provided a window into their shared characteristics. Harmonious parents identified as less religious than the general population and vastly less than Authoritarian parents (22% versus 94.8%). Harmonious parents had much higher levels of college education than the general population and Authoritarian parents, and much lower rates with less than a high school diploma. While 58% of the national sample was female, 59% of the Harmonious parents and 67% of the Authoritarian were female. This is startling because females are the most oppressed group in Authoritarian parenting's patriarchal tradition.

Harmonious parents also tend to be older and have fewer children as shown in Table 7.8. Ninety percent of Harmonious parents were White compared with 71% in the general population. The fact that 23.3% of Authoritarian parents are Black compared with only 4.3% of Harmonious parents highlights another dimension of cultural impact on

parenting style. Baumrind (1978) also noted the variation in different racial subcultures' values and definition of social competence, and its effect on parenting style.

Predictably, Harmonious parents appear to report less conservative and more liberal views than the general population, and conversely, conservative political views are favored by Authoritarian parents who tend to favor patriarchal tradition.

As hypothesized, Harmonious parents tend to be more well-educated, white, politically liberal, and less religious than the general population.

Birth Cohorts and PSI

One might expect that the slow trend moving toward less Authoritarian parenting is a product of intergenerational replacement. As older, tradition-bound generations die, new generations bring value change. This is known as a cohort replacement. However, examining the cohort PSIs over 40 years reveals a different story shown in Figure 7.4.

[Figure 7.4 here]

The Life Course approach recognizes cohort, age, and period effects on human development. Age effects are those biological and physiological changes that occur as a result of advancing age. Period effects are historical events experienced by the entire society but seen through individual prisms. Period effects are frequently responsible for attitude conversion.

The parenting birth cohort of 1945 and earlier dramatically increased its Authoritarian parenting style from 1975 to 1981 (-.44 Δ) and then reversed direction making another dramatic change between 1995 and 1999 (+.41 Δ). Although Boomers began in positive territory, they also made a dramatic shift between 1975 and 1981 (-.43 Δ), suggesting a period effect in that six year period. Certainly, value change occurs

through intergenerational replacement; however, value change is also evident through diffusion as older cohorts become tolerant of new social norms by way of continuing education, experience, and exposure to media.

Shifting values are occurring in each birth cohort and the cohorts are all moving in the same positive direction until 2016 when the <1945 group moves -.04, the Boomers move +.05, GenX remains static, and Millennials, the youngest and largest cohort, drop a stunning -.60.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION

Parenting style, like values, is not a static entity being passed from parent to child. It evolves—likely responding to various factors, such as changing norms, economic conditions and demographics. Parents evolve as individuals too, conditioned on their age at childbearing, the number and age of their children, life stress, and changing worldview. As demonstrated by the regional element of this research, if norms, economic conditions and demographics remain reasonably constant, so does the parenting style within and between generations. This study has provided a dynamic view of change in parenting style and emancipatory values over time and across diverse cultural units within the United States.

The Second Demographic Transition (SDT) has linked cultural shifts to cohort succession and individual value reorientation in response to period effects. These value reorientations impact fertility decisions and family structure, territory long claimed by the patriarchal hierarchy. Eisler (2018) asserts that movement away from dominance models and toward reciprocity, trust, and harmony is fundamental to transforming a patriarchal culture. These are qualities of a Postmaterialist society and are shared by Harmonious parents. Materialist values emphasize economic and physical security and are characteristic of Authoritarian parenting and patriarchal culture. My findings support Eisler's argument as the Emancipatory Values Index (EVI) and Parenting Style Index (PSI) move in tandem over the survey years, with the PSI being somewhat more volatile. This volatility could just be a reflection of the difference between *holding* philosophic positions (EVI) and actually *living* values (PSI) which are challenged daily by a 3-year-old or a teenager. However, the correlation between these variables is significant and

substantial, and this means steps taken by parents toward reciprocity, trust and equality in attitudes toward their children have the potential to effect cultural change away from the patriarchal hierarchy. Regional variations documented here indicate this process is not linear and can fold back on itself, but it does respond to period and cohort effects and regional cultural legacy.

Economic factors and cycles of boom and bust may be important period effects that impact the PSI. If people tend to resort to survival values when their financial and personal security are threatened (Inglehart 2018) then the substantial drop in mean PSI between 1975 and 1981 shown in Figure 7.1 could be due in part to the recession of 1980. During the 1970s the U.S. experienced widespread inflation followed by a recession with high unemployment in 1981. Elevated crime rates, increased drug use, and rapidly changing sexual mores were enough to challenge the existential security coincident with a very large population of parents (Boomers) who spent their early years in the most secure period the U.S. has ever experienced. As prosperity returned, parenting style trended again toward Postmaterialist emancipatory values. Economic development has an emancipatory effect (Welzel 2013). But if economic security were the sole driver, this logic would predict a drop in PSI in 2011 to reflect the 2008 recession. In fact, there was such a drop revealed in 2006 data (not reported here). 2006 showed a substantial increase (+.25) in PSI from 1999. Viewed in this light, the 2011 PSI did drop to reflect the recession, and continued to drop in 2016.

Political climate could also serve as an important period effect. The variables used to construct the PSI are intrinsic measures of mainstream character and values which have been shaped in the U.S. for the past 250 years. Most Americans share a vision of the

American Dream and a strong preference for individualist freedoms. Recent political and social trends toward intolerance, violence, and renewed enforcement of hierarchies in the name of “American values” may be harbingers of strengthening patriarchal values and a continuation of the recent trend toward Authoritarian PSI numbers.

Dramatic cultural change, such as the election of an African-American President and selection of a female candidate by a major political party, can provoke a backlash amidst declining existential security. Since the turn of the century, strong period effects saw massive segments of the population experience declining income and job security, an influx of immigrants seeking political asylum, and an increased inability to build wealth by all but the elite. As economic and physical security was tested, populist authoritarian responses became common, and the 2016 PSI results indicated the norm was moving toward Authoritarian parenting with parents conforming more closely to the center norm, with few parents confident enough to be outliers. Existential insecurity led a backlash that placed a homophobic, traditional nationalist on the leadership stage where a female and a black male had impudently tread.

Analyses also indicate that the evolution of PSI might best be understood in specific geographic contexts. Recognizing that there is an element of cultural pride marking distinct areas of the U.S., that certain geographic regions hold different positions in the U.S. economic system, and that population characteristics (like education) differ considerably across regions, provides a helpful lens to explain some of these patterns. Definitions and understandings regarding the measure of social and instrumental competence will vary across the individual cultures of U.S. regions. The urban regions lining both coasts (Pacific, Mid Atlantic and New England) exhibit higher levels of

Postmaterialist values, but do not move steadily in one direction nor in unison. The South, having lost its once fiercely hierarchal lifestyle only through war, still clings to many of the values and traditions that were that lifestyle's genesis. Placing control of fertility with women has been a hallmark of the SDT with the introduction of reliable birth control and the legalization of abortion, but that control has been exercised in widely varying degrees. For example, abortion rates in coastal states is much higher (New York 23/1000 and Florida 19/1000) than in the South or Midwest (South Dakota 3/1000 and Kentucky 4/1000).³

According to Lesthaeghe and Neidert (2006) the SDT has been less significant in the South and the Midwest largely because of less secularization and education. Over the last 20 years the politics of a Red State/Blue State divide has created a chasm between the coasts and rural America. This cultural chasm belies the national normal curve which suggests a parenting style sameness with few outliers. Instead, this study establishes regional cultures producing vastly different parenting styles in their populations and conflicting intensities in their embrace of patriarchal hierarchy. As others have found (Kitayama 2010), culture has the appearance of uniformity nationally, while maintaining a contentious diversity across regions.

In all of the measures used in this study (PSI, EVI, HDI, etc.) the South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central were standouts in their extreme embrace of traditional patriarchal values. Their education and earning capacity have been stunted in relation to the rest of the country. Tradition begets tradition and there is the least variation in PSI from one generation to another in these regions. The dominant source of cultural

³ 2015 data taken from Kaiser Family Foundation website, kff.org.

information is the parent unless it is mediated by education and outside contact. Cohort replacement alone, without other variables, will not necessarily bring about value change. Although, it is worth noting that the South Atlantic region showed substantial positive change in PSI between 1995 and 2016 in Figure 7.3. And the Rocky Mountain and New England regions experienced very small changes in PSI over the last 20 years in spite of relatively high education, GDP and HDI rates. If it is true that very small changes in PSI over time indicate close value alignment from parents to their children's values, could this be a harbinger of arrested value changes in those regions?

Findings also presented important insight into understanding what characteristics and values were more strongly tied to parenting values. Education did not turn out to be the catalyst to change that I expected. It was not a significant predictor of PSI in the regression model, and in regional data there was no clear relationship between levels of education and PSI. There was, however, a significant (.04) but weak correlation (-.04) in the aggregate data between less than high school education and PSI, and Harmonious parents reported higher levels of education than both the general population and Authoritarian parents.

It is not surprising, though, that religiosity is much lower in Harmonious parents since religion is the standard-bearer for traditional patriarchy. While I did not attempt to measure religiosity by region, the southern regions are generally known as the Bible belt in reference to their religiosity. This could be an important factor in the resistance to change found there. Moves toward tolerance and equality make society more productive by every measure, as demonstrated in analyses of emancipatory values, human development index, and gross domestic product.

The millennial cohort experienced a stunning drop in PSI (-.60) between 2011 and 2016, coinciding with an overall drop in PSI nationally. Even though millennials are more liberal politically (up 10% from Gen X) and are older when becoming parents, they are also the most diverse generation, comprised of 44% minority race (census.gov). As noted by Baumrind and evidenced in this study, instrumental competence in this culture is measured by 250 years of White standards. Regrettably the PSI and even the survey instruments are products of a White habitus, fundamental like breathing, unexamined. Being Black showed a significant correlation to a lower PSI. Ethnic variations in values and economic status increasingly constitute our shared culture which may be reversing the 40 year trend toward Harmonious parenting.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Parenting is both a product of culture and producer of culture. That production can be a mirror of the past or some modified version created by thoughtful evaluation of social, political, economic, and religious institutions and their messages. This study presents a dynamic view of change in parenting style and emancipatory values over time and across diverse cultural units within the United States. Looking closely at the fundamental relationship of parent/child and the potential of Parenting Style as an agent of social change is useful in assessing progress toward cultural transformation.

Culture produces and reproduces inequality. Normative parenting within Baumrind's typology reproduces instrumental competence in a capitalist, patriarchal society. Anomalous parents are in a unique position to challenge norms and reform the culture that produces them. This study focuses on fundamental reproduction of society and cultural change through the individual acts of parenting rather than macrostructural factors. The model used here redefines control, a typical measurement of parental style, and includes tolerance and respect, which is normally unconsidered. This reframing allows us to focus on the parent and their relation to culture rather than on the parent and their relation to child outcome.

If Durkheim got it right, human behavior is manifested through social facts, such as families, not individual consciousness (Durkheim 1887), and the moral states required by society are taught through education provided by parents and schools. If education is the instrument for transmitting the culture, it might explain why education is not significantly correlated to Harmonious parenting. Education began as an extension of the church. But, according to Durkheim, autonomy surfaces only with the decline of religious

systems designed to demand discipline and encourage dependence. Autonomy is characterized by a sense of individual responsibility for our actions. Schools are the institution which provides the intellectual and moral tools for instrumental competence in our society concurrent with parents. Both operate within a defined geographic area with a *sui generis* culture as demonstrated in this study, and where the strongest predictor of parenting style derives from emancipative values and religiosity.

CHAPTER X

STUDY LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The complexity of human subjects and the capture of their responses at discrete times is a key limitation to many sociological studies. It is unlikely that an individual parent would be 100% Authoritarian or 100% Harmonious in behavior. This study is based on surveys where respondents tell of their beliefs and values, which do not translate 1:1 with behavior. The results may be viewed more of an indication of the parent which respondents aspire to be than the parent they are. Further ambiguity could lie in different interpretation of questions. This study was also limited by imperfect secondary data sources which did not provide identical questions for parenting style analysis. Broader, more comprehensive responses from parents could supplant the binary choices available in this data.

Covering 40 years at uneven intervals was challenging. Some data years could be used only for aggregate data, lacking breakouts used in more granular analysis. Gaps between data years can mask the direction of changes, the appearance of trends, and make it difficult to assess period effects. Other factors, cultural and institutional, which are not easily measured in surveys certainly contribute to predicting the PSI, and require further research most effectively executed with original data gathered by mixed methods and specific to the question of evolving parenting styles and their relation to cultural values.

There are several areas for expanded research indicated by this study. First, exploration of ethnic variations in values which define instrumental competence within a culture could expose options for expanded competencies and values in a shared culture. Second, further study could contrast college-educated parents from sacred and secular

universities on their PSIs and EVIs to explore the endurance of tradition and the effect of sponsored values in higher education. Third, results that weren't presented indicate that Harmonious parents report in the middle and lower categories of income at a rate much higher than the general population, and report in the top income category at a rate much lower than both the general population and Authoritarian parents. Future research should explore the class-based differences in the parenting styles defined here contrasted with Laureau's findings. Fourth, a focus on the evolution of Parenting Style through childrearing years as it relates to age of parent, number of children, and historical events could illuminate the process of value change. And finally, the current study could be extended to measure the influence of additional relevant variables on the evolution of parenting style, such as cultural icons and the degree to which social media reinforces hierarchal relations by presenting them as normal, moral, and even entertaining. Locating cultural equilibrium points in the tension between parenting, peer, and media influence could be instructive.

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TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 5.1. Confirmatory Factor Analyses Defending PSI as a Singular Construct

1975 (n = 569)	
Manners	Factor Loading .44
Religiosity	.72
Obedience	.35
Interest	.20
Trust	.49
Tolerance	.34
Top 3 Eigenvalues	Eigenvalue
Component 1	1.50
Component 2	1.04
Component 3	0.97
KMO Statistic	0.595
Cronbach's Alpha	.37
Bartlett's X^2	87.417***

1981 (n = 928)	
Respect	.39
Religiosity	.50
Obedience	.32
Independence	.42
Imagination	.41
Tolerance	.47
Top 3 Eigenvalues	Eigenvalue
Component 1	1.45
Component 2	1.06
Component 3	0.98
KMO Statistic	0.597
Cronbach's Alpha	.33
Bartlett's X^2	118.651***

1995 (n = 669)	
Respect	.14
Religiosity	.40
Obedience	.48
Independence	.43
Imagination	.31
Tolerance	.65
Top 3 Eigenvalues	Eigenvalue
Component 1	1.40

Component 2	1.00
Component 3	0.98
KMO Statistic	0.575
Cronbach's Alpha	.28
Bartlett's X^2	66.746***

Table 5.1 (continued). Confirmatory Factor Analyses
Defending PSI as a Singular Construct

1999 (n = 499)	Factor Loading
Respect	.57
Religiosity	.54
Obedience	.48
Independence	.68
Imagination	.65
Tolerance	.88
Top 3 Eigenvalues	Eigenvalue
Component 1	1.67
Component 2	1.10
Component 3	1.03
KMO Statistic	0.493
Cronbach's Alpha	.44
Bartlett's X^2	186.813***
<hr/>	
2011 (n =727)	
Work hard	.50
Religiosity	.56
Obedience	.72
Independence	.46
Imagination	.69
Tolerance	.85
Top 3 Eigenvalues	Eigenvalue
Component 1	1.50
Component 2	1.23
Component 3	1.04
KMO Statistic	0.502
Cronbach's Alpha	.27
Bartlett's X^2	200.914***
<hr/>	
2016 (n = 904)	
Work hard	.82
Religiosity	.96
Obedience	.59
Trust	.81
Think for self	.75
Tolerance	.27
Top 3 Eigenvalues	Eigenvalue
Component 1	3.17
Component 2	1.03
Component 3	0.80
KMO Statistic	0.807
Cronbach's Alpha	.36
Bartlett's X^2	2406.871***
***p<.001	

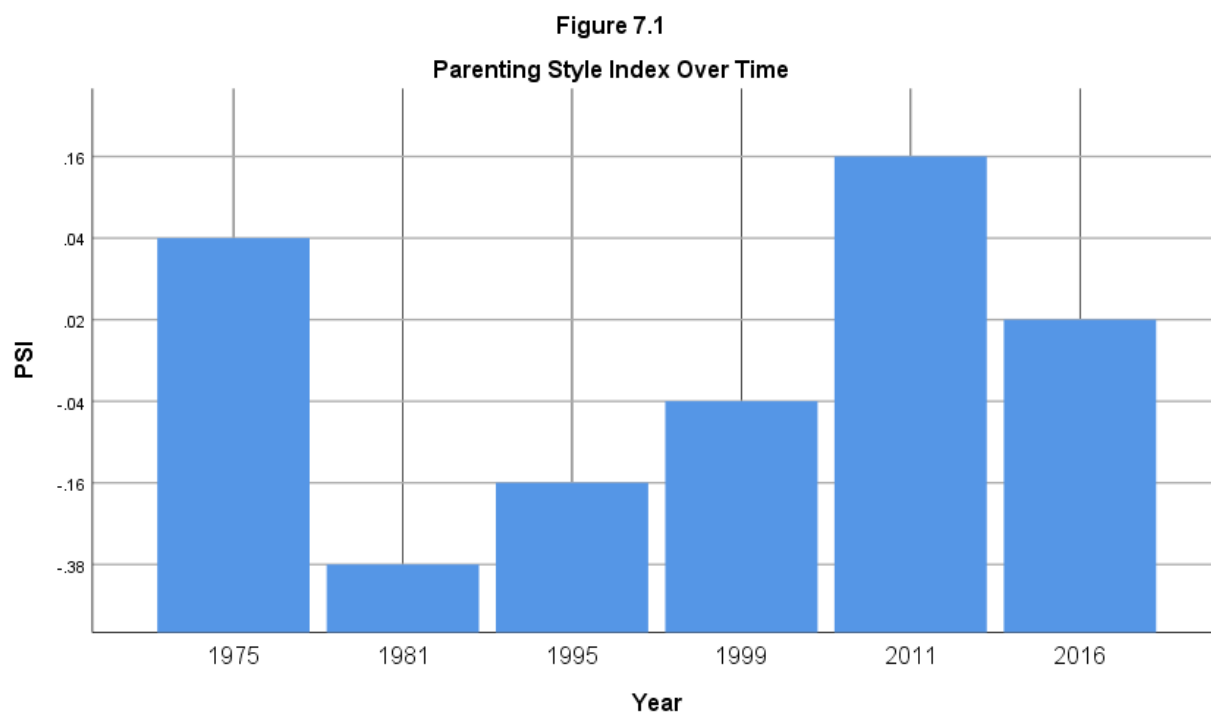


Figure 7.1 Parenting Style Index Over Time

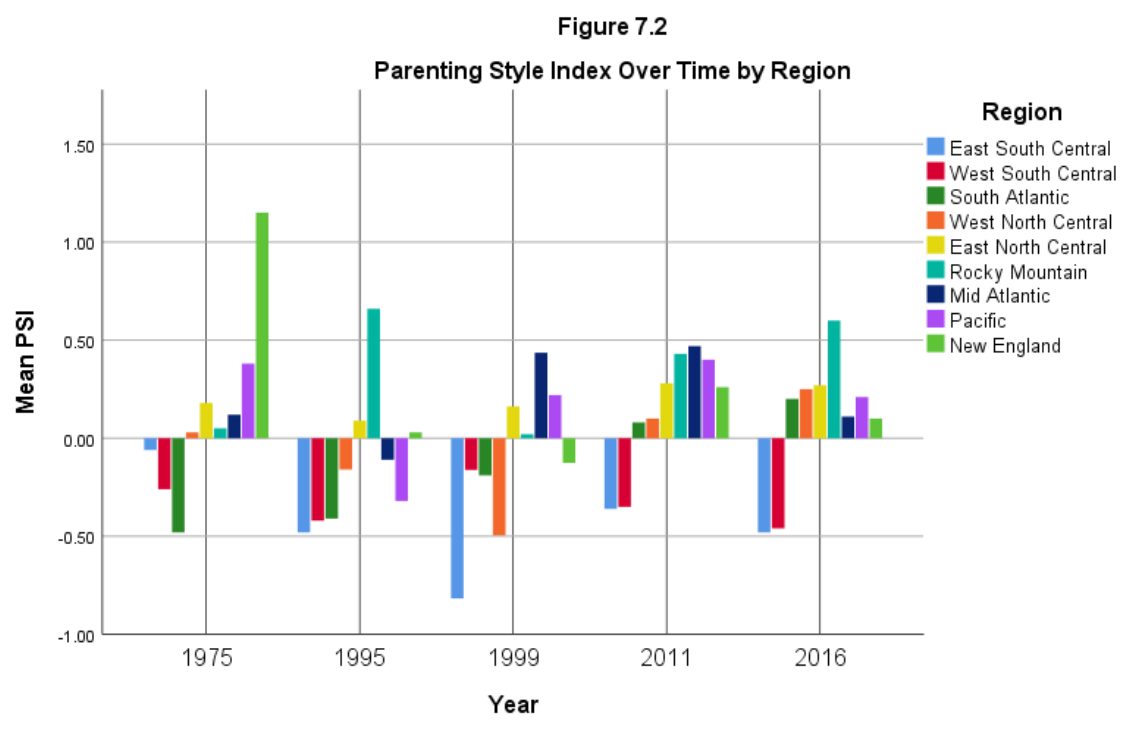


Figure 7.2 Parenting Style Index Over Time by Region

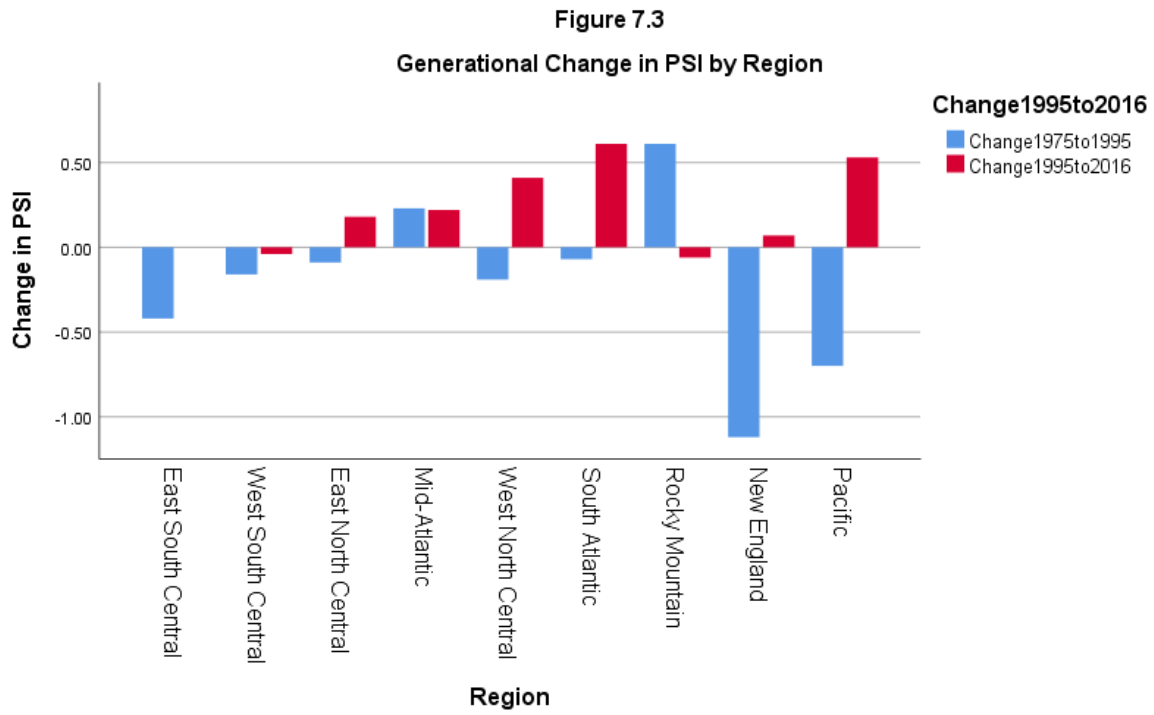


Figure 7.3 Generational Change in PSI by Region

Table 7.2. PSI Relative to EVI by Region and Year*

	1995	1999	2011
U.S. Mean PSI	-0.16	-0.04	0.16
U.S. Mean EVI	0.49	0.55	0.53
<i>New England</i>			
PSI	0.03	-0.13	0.26
EVI	0.59	0.58	0.63
<i>Mid Atlantic</i>			
PSI	-0.11	0.44	0.47
EVI	0.51	0.58	0.53
<i>South Atlantic</i>			
PSI	-0.41	-0.19	0.08
EVI	0.51	0.54	0.54
<i>East South Central</i>			
PSI	-0.48	-0.82	-0.36
EVI	0.51	0.46	0.48
<i>West South Central</i>			
PSI	-0.42	-0.16	-0.35
EVI	0.48	0.53	0.47
<i>East North Central</i>			
PSI	0.09	0.16	0.28
EVI	0.54	0.57	0.54
<i>West North Central</i>			
PSI	-0.16	-0.50	0.10
EVI	0.50	0.50	0.52
<i>Rocky Mountain</i>			
PSI	0.66	0.02	0.43
EVI	0.58	0.59	0.56
<i>Pacific</i>			
PSI	-0.32	0.22	0.40
EVI	0.51	0.57	0.55

*No EVI data available for 1975 and 2016. No regional data available for 1981.

Table 7.3. PSI Relative to HDI by Region across 16 Years*

	1995	2011
U.S. Mean PSI	-0.16	0.16
U.S. Mean HDI	0.88	0.91
<i>New England</i>		
PSI	0.03	0.26
HDI	0.89	0.94
<i>Mid Atlantic</i>		
PSI	-0.11	0.47
HDI	0.89	0.94
<i>South Atlantic</i>		
PSI	-0.41	0.08
HDI	0.87	0.83
<i>East South Central</i>		
PSI	-0.48	-0.36
HDI	0.84	0.88
<i>West South Central</i>		
PSI	-0.42	-0.35
HDI	0.85	0.90
<i>East North Central</i>		
PSI	0.09	0.28
HDI	0.88	0.92
<i>West North Central</i>		
PSI	-0.16	0.10
HDI	0.78	0.93
<i>Rocky Mountain</i>		
PSI	0.66	0.43
HDI	0.88	0.92
<i>Pacific</i>		
PSI	-0.32	0.40
HDI	0.90	0.94

*The HDI was available for only 2 of the survey years used in this study.

Table 7.4. PSI Relative to GDP per capita, by Region and Year

	1975*	1995*	2011**	2016**
U.S. Mean PSI	0.04	-0.16	0.16	0.13
U.S. Mean GDP	\$20,586	\$28,313	\$46,680	\$49,253
<i>New England</i>				
PSI	1.15	0.03	0.26	0.10
GDP	\$18,561	\$28,849	\$49,343	\$50,824
<i>Mid Atlantic</i>				
PSI	0.12	-0.11	0.47	0.11
GDP	\$21,290	\$30,959	\$53,286	\$42,052
<i>South Atlantic</i>				
PSI	-0.48	-0.41	0.08	0.20
GDP	\$18,685	\$27,851	\$45,205	\$45,702
<i>East South Central</i>				
PSI	-0.06	-0.48	-0.36	-0.48
-0.48 GDP	\$15,902	\$23,564	\$35,584	\$37,046
<i>West South Central</i>				
PSI	-0.26	-0.43	-0.35	-0.46
GDP	\$19,892	\$24,957	\$41,615	\$44,625
<i>East North Central</i>				
PSI	0.18	0.09	0.28	0.27
GDP	\$20,286	\$27,724	\$42,383	\$46,322
<i>West North Central</i>				
PSI	0.03	-0.16	0.10	0.41
GDP	\$18,386	\$26,490	\$46,021	\$51,657
<i>Rocky Mountain</i>				
PSI	0.05	0.66	0.43	-0.06
GDP	\$20,635	\$26,656	\$44,077	\$44,126
<i>Pacific</i>				
PSI	0.38	-0.32	0.40	0.53
GDP	\$27,011	\$32,670	\$54,456	\$55,125

*chained 1997 dollars.

**chained 2009 dollars.

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, bea.gov/regional/gdp

Table 7.5. Regional Education and PSI Change

	1975	1995	2016	PSI Change 1975 -95	PSI Change 1995-2016
<i>National</i>					
PSI Δ				-0.20	0.29
< High school/GED	28.7	18.5	13.3		
College graduate	14.1	21.5	26.2		
<i>New England</i>					
PSI Δ				-1.12	0.07
< High school/GED	16.1	15.7	7.7		
College graduate	29.0	20.3	35.9		
<i>Mid Atlantic</i>					
PSI Δ				0.23	0.22
< High school/GED	35.3	18.4	11.6		
College graduate	11.8	22.9	25.6		
<i>South Atlantic</i>					
PSI Δ				-0.07	0.61
< High school/GED	33.6	19.8	9.1		
College graduate	11.5	22.1	32.4		
<i>East South Central</i>					
PSI Δ				-0.42	0.00
< High school/GED	33.3	1.5	9.1		
College graduate	28.2	25.3	16.7		
<i>West South Central</i>					
PSI Δ				-0.16	-0.04
< High school/GED	33.3	16.2	20.6		
College graduate	28.2	16.2	18.6		
<i>East North Central</i>					
PSI Δ				-0.09	0.18
< High school/GED	24.6	21.1	10.3		
College graduate	12.7	25.0	29.1		
<i>West North Central</i>					
PSI Δ				-0.19	0.41
< High school/GED	18.6	12.0	15.0		
College graduate	16.3	14.6	15.0		
<i>Rocky Mountain</i>					
PSI Δ				1.49	-0.34
< High school/GED	8.3	28.1	13.8		
College graduate	16.7	25.5	25.3		
<i>Pacific</i>					
PSI Δ				-0.70	0.53
< High school/GED	28.2	20.6	21.3		
College graduate	12.9	19.2	28.7		

Table 7.6. Regional Variation in the Prevalence of Harmonious and Authoritarian Parents

	<i>National</i>	<i>New England</i>	<i>Mid Atlantic</i>	<i>South Atlantic</i>	<i>East South Central</i>	<i>West South Central</i>	<i>East North Central</i>	<i>West North. Central</i>	<i>Rock Mountains</i>	<i>Pacific</i>
1975										
% Harmonious	1.9	7.4*	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.8	5.1	9.5*	3.2
% Authoritarian	2.5	0.0*	4.0	5.1	0.0	2.1	0.8	2.6	0.0*	1.6
1995										
% Harmonious	1.4	0.0	3.9	0.0	1.2	1.7	1.3	0.0	0.0*	4.3
% Authoritarian	3.2	0.0	2.2	1.0	7.2	4.0	2.5	3.7	0.0*	4.9
1999										
% Harmonious	3.6	0.0	2.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	5.2	0.0	4.7	11.8
% Authoritarian	3.4	0.0	0.0	1.8	8.9	3.5	2.3	14.8	3.5	3.0
2011										
% Harmonious	1.7	7.2*	2.5	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0*	0.5	2.3
% Authoritarian	2.1	0.0*	0.0	4.3	1.4	5.0	4.0	1.8*	0.9	1.9
2016										
% Harmonious	0.4	0.0*	0.0*	0.0	0.0*	0.0*	0.0	0.0*	0.0*	0.0*
% Authoritarian	2.6	0.0*	5.3*	0.0	14.3*	8.3*	0.0	0.0*	0.0*	3.4*

*sample size <30

Table 7.7. PSI Regression Model (pooled data from 1995, 1999, and 2011)

	Standardized <i>B</i>	Standard Error
EVI	0.597***	0.16
Religiosity	-0.178***	0.01
<i>Education</i>		
(Bachelor's degree)		
Some College	-0.005	0.07
High school/GED	-0.005	0.07
No degree	0.017	0.07
Female	-0.016	0.50
Age	0.008	0.00
Number of children	0.007	0.02
<i>Race</i>		
(White)		
Black	-0.053**	0.08
Other	-0.005	0.08
<i>Political Affiliation</i>		
(Conservative)		
Liberal	-0.002	0.05
Other	-0.001	0.11
<i>Model Fit</i>		
F Statistic	106.723***	
Adjusted R ²	0.460	
n	1,739	

*p<.05

**p<.01

***p<.001

Table note: Analysis controlled for survey year (1995 ref.)

Table 7.8. Sociodemographic Characteristics of Harmonious and Authoritarian Parents—Aggregate 1975, 1981, 1995, 1999, 2011, 2016

	Parents under 50	Harmonious	Authoritarian
N	3975	71	120
Prevalence percent		2.0	3.5
PSI μ	-.12	3	-3
PSI s	1.34		
PSI skew	0.01		
PSI kurtosis	-0.45		
EVI μ	.53	.78	.33
<i>Religiosity</i>			
Attends >1 per month	55.1	22.0	94.8
<i>Education</i>			
College degree	25.7	45.0	25.8
Some college	13.7	18.3	15.0
High school/GED	35.8	25.4	23.3
No diploma	24.7	11.3	35.8
<i>Female</i>	58.4	59.2	67.5
<i>Age</i>			
41-50	35.6	47.7	31.6
31-40	38.1	26.6	40.7
18-30	26.2	25.4	27.5
<i>Number of Children</i>			
3 or more	37.0	30.0	45.8
1 or 2	63.0	70.0	54.2
<i>Race</i>			
White	71.0	90.0	57.5
Black	18.0	4.3	23.3
Other	11.1	5.7	19.2
<i>Political Affiliation</i>			
Conservative	29.4	16.2	43.8
Liberal	33.0	44.1	22.3
Other	30.6	20.6	29.5

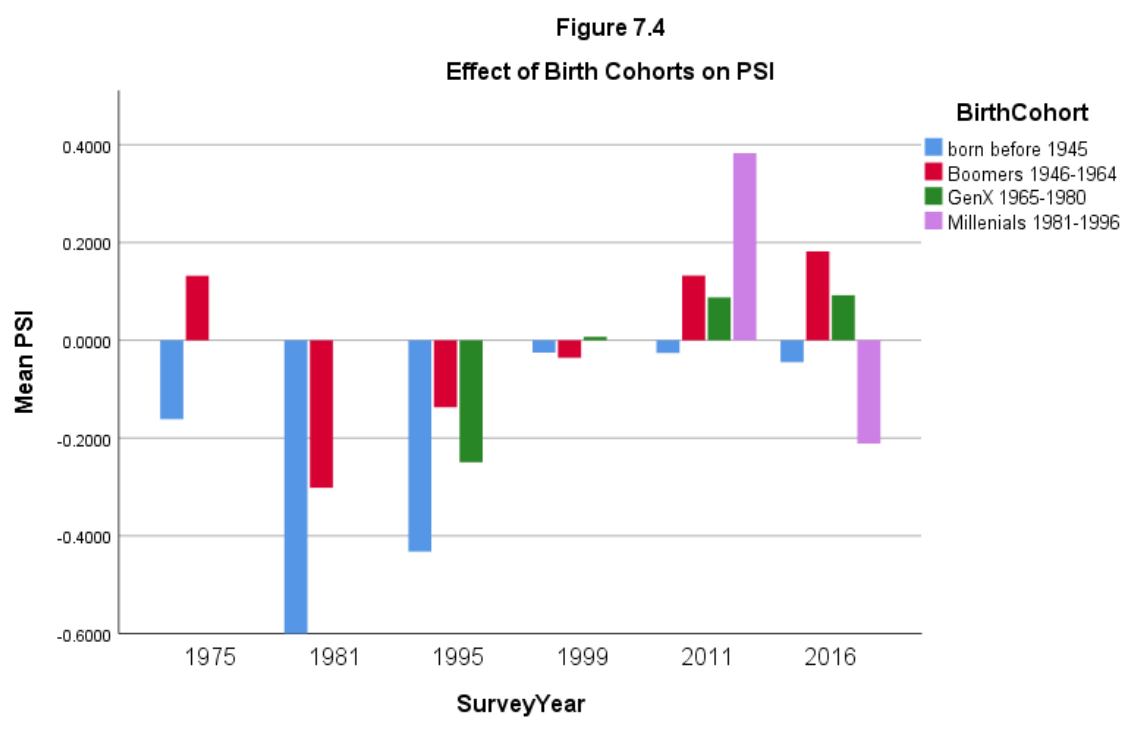


Figure 7.4 Effects of Birth Cohorts on PSI

APPENDIX A

Constructing the Parenting Style Index

The Parenting Style Index was developed to measure qualities that identify Harmonious Parents contrasted with Authoritarian Parents. The two are considered theoretical opposites in terms of values. The Authoritarian parent stresses obedience, restricts autonomy and keeps the child in a subordinate role through measures intended to enforce the prescribed behavior. The Harmonious Parent stresses respect, tolerance, harmony and reciprocity and the need for enforcement is mitigated through involvement of the child in development of rules and flexibility in their alteration (Baumrind 1978).

With this theoretical base, questions from seven surveys from 1975 to 2016 were selected from the GSS and the WVS. The World Values Survey was conducted in Waves in 1981, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2006, and 2011. The second wave in 1990 has no specific U.S. data posted, so it wasn't included here. 1975 and 2016 data were taken from GSS.

Most of the six factors used in each year's PSI calculation were drawn from the question:

“Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to five. NOT MENTIONED – 2, MENTIONED-1. Good manners, Independence, Hard work, Feeling of responsibility, Imagination, Tolerance and respect for other people, Thrift- saving money and things, Determination, perseverance, Religious faith, Unselfishness, Obedience.

“This battery was asked in 1981 WVS, using a format that had the interviewer ‘code all mentions.’ In the 1990 and 1995 surveys, the ‘Important/Not mentioned’ format shown above was used. The 1990-1995 format elicited a substantially higher proportion of mentions than did the 1981 format; but the relative rankings of given items within given countries seems to be comparable over time.”

Of the child qualities offered in the survey, I selected *Obedience* and *Religious Faith* as distinctively representing the Authoritarian parenting style based on its emphasis on obedience and Bible-based hierarchies. I selected *Independence*, *Imagination*, and *Tolerance and Respect* based on the antinomian nature of Harmonious parenting stressing autonomy, rationality, and harmony. *Imagination and Tolerance* are two values reverse correlated (.62 and .62) to the Authoritarian parent by Inglehart (2018).

The survey questions in the WVS changed slightly between 1999 and 2006. *Respect for parents as a duty* was dropped. I substituted another Child Qualities value *Works Hard* because it is an element of instrumental competence in the American hierarchal social norms and values of competitive achievements in a capitalist society (Baumrind 1978).

Between 1975 and 2016 the GSS reduced the number of child qualities in the survey to only five and those five did not track closely to the earlier versions. In 1975 I used *Good Manners* as the Authoritarian proxy for external locus of control and lack of *Independence*. *Interest in How and Why things Happen* was used as a proxy for *Imagination*. Independent self-expression values derive from an environment of trust and tolerance which is absent in a patriarchal hierarchy. This is why I selected the *People Cannot be Trusted* question for the 1975 and 2016 GSS years. For those two years the

gender question was selected to represent the *Tolerance* characteristic of the WVS years.

While not ideal, the six factors comprising the PSI taken from two sources of secondary data maintained a substantially similar fit with theoretical definitions.

1. The survey questions in years 1999, 1995 and 1981:

	Harmonious	Authoritarian
Child Qualities		
<i>Qualities valued in a child</i> (Important=1; Not Mentioned=2)		
Obedience	2	1
Religious faith	2	1
Imagination	1	2
Independence	1	2
Tolerance and Respect for others	1	2
Traditional Hierarchal Values		
Respect and Love for Parents is a duty (1), or it is earned (2)	2	1

2. The survey questions in years 2006 and 2011:

	Harmonious	Authoritarian
Child Qualities		
<i>Qualities valued in a child</i> (Important=1; Not Mentioned=2)		
Obedience	2	1
Religious faith	2	1
Imagination	1	2
Independence	1	2
Tolerance and Respect for others	1	2
Works hard	2	1

3. The survey questions from 1975 GSS:

	Harmonious	Authoritarian
Child Qualities		
<i>Qualities valued in a child</i> (Important=1; Not Mentioned=2)		
Obedience	2	1
Good manners	2	1
Interested in how and why things happen	1	2
Traditional Hierarchal Values		
Religious attendance	2	1
People cannot be trusted (reverse coded)	1	2

Men better suited for politics than women		
(reverse coded)	1	2

4. The survey questions from 2016 GSS:

	Harmonious	Authoritarian
Child Qualities		
<i>Qualities valued in a child</i> (Important=1; Not Mentioned=2)		
Obedience	2	1
Works hard	2	1
Thinks for one's self	1	2
Traditional Hierarchal Values		
Religious attendance	2	1
People cannot be trusted (reverse coded)	1	2
Men better suited for politics than women		
(reverse coded)	1	2

The Parenting Style Index calculation:

1975:

PSI= (Obedience + Religiosity + Manners) - (Interest + Trust + Tolerance)

1981 through 1999:

PSI = (Obedience + Religiosity + Duty to Parents) – (Independence + Imagination + Tolerance)

2006 and 2011:

PSI= (Obedience + Religiosity + Works Hard) - (Independence + Imagination + Tolerance)

2016:

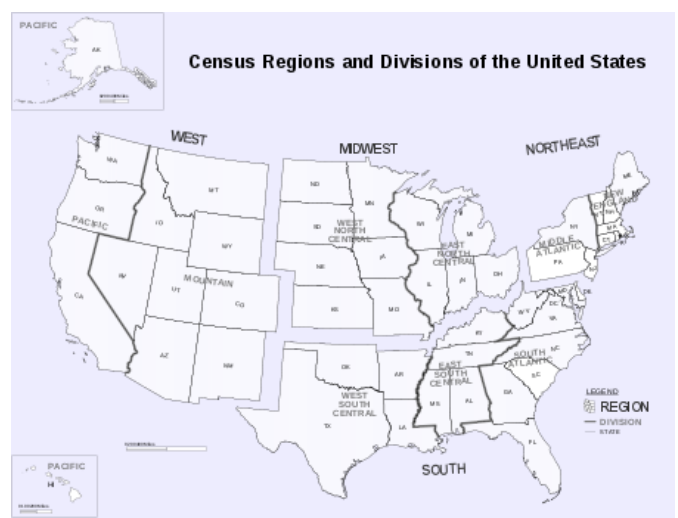
PSI= (Obedience + Religiosity + Works Hard) - (Thinks for self + Trust + Tolerance)

The PSI will fall on a scale of +3 at Harmonious to -3 at Authoritarian. For example, a Harmonious Parent's response in 2016 would code in the following manner:

$$\text{PSI} = (2+2+2) - (1+1+1) = 3$$

APPENDIX B

Census Map of U.S. Regions



APPENDIX C

Constructing the Emancipatory Values Index

1. The Survey questions:

Equality

Agree strongly to Disagree Strongly (Range 1-4)

When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.

On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.

A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl.

Reproductive Choice

Never Justifiable to Always Justifiable (range 1-10)

Homosexuality

Abortion

Divorce

Autonomy

Qualities valued in a child (selected = 1, not selected = 2)

Imagination

Non-Obedience

Independence

Voice

Priority of goals (range: 1st, 2nd, or no)

Protecting freedom of speech

Giving people more say in important government decisions

Giving people more say about how things are done at their jobs and
in their communities

2. The Emancipative Values Index calculation:

Equality = (jobs + politics + education)/3

Reproductive choice = (homosexuality + abortion + divorce)/3

Autonomy = (imagination + non-obedience + independence)/3

Voice = (free speech + national say + local say)/3

EVI = (Equality + Reproductive Choice + Autonomy + Voice)/4

where the higher the number the greater respondent's emancipatory values.

APPENDIX D
IRB Exemption

Date: May 14, 2019 3:05 PM CDT

TO: Shauna Thomas James Stykes
FROM: SHSU IRB

PROJECT TITLE: The Role of Harmonious Parenting Style in Cultural
Transition

PROTOCOL #: IRB-2019-152

SUBMISSION TYPE: Initial

ACTION: No Human Subjects Research

DECISION DATE: May 14, 2019

This letter is provided in response to your IRB request regarding human subjects involvement in your proposed research titled, “The Role of Harmonious Parenting Style in Cultural Transition (IRB #IRB-2019-152).”

This study does not appear to fit the regulatory definition of human subjects research. The Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) regulations 45 CFR 46.102(D), defines research as “a systematic investigation, including research development, testing and evaluation, designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge.” Thus, this study does not require IRB oversight as specified in DHHS regulations 45 CFR 46, subpart A.

This determination means that there are no restrictions on your research and you may proceed with your study without IRB oversight. If I need to provide further information, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Donna M. Desforges, Ph.D.
Chair, Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects
PHSC-IRB

VITA

Shauna Thomas obtained her Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Carroll College in Helena, Montana. As a businessperson she was President and CEO of a legal publishing company. She has served on numerous corporate Boards and other professional and community organizations. Shauna is the proud mother of three and a devoted grandmother.

Shauna recently earned a Master's Degree in Sociology from Sam Houston State University. Currently, she is retired from business and continues to fundraise and consult for local non-profits. She resides in Helena, Montana.