The socialization of hierarchic self-interest
Value socialization in the family

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Abstract
The article reports research on family socialization of dominance values among adolescents. Dominance values were studied as expressed in Hierarchic Self-Interest (HSI), a value pattern that is typical for highly competitive market-oriented societies and has negative behavioural consequences. In analyzing socialization, the study concentrates on authoritarian and achievement-focused parenting, as well as structural and ideological predictors thereof. The relevance of HSI for attitudes and behaviours is studied by considering xenophobia and delinquency as its consequences. Using panel data of 443 families (mothers, fathers, and adolescent offspring) from Berlin (Germany), a structural equation model is estimated. Results show that adolescent HSI can be traced back to social-structural variables and parenting modes, but also develops through intergenerational value transmission. It has assumed negative consequences.

P arental styles and family socialization typically aim at enhancing positive behaviours among children or adolescents. This article focuses on the family socialization of the value pattern of Hierarchic Self-Interest (HSI), first introduced by John Hagan et al. (1998), which is — although directed towards succeeding in highly competitive societies and therefore normatively positive in nature — linked to normatively negative outcomes, like xenophobia and delinquency. In light of the problematic consequences of an ideologically highly accepted value orientation of contemporary societies, it is worth studying the socialization of HSI, in order to find ways to prevent such negative attitudes and behaviours, in particular during adolescence as a core socialization period. As explicated later, HSI is a core value pattern of modern industrial societies, strongly tied to the logic of free-market capitalism. It encompasses the notion that success in all domains of life can only be reached by outperforming rivals. Conditions of the socialization of HSI as well as two of its possible consequences (xenophobia and delinquency) will be addressed in the present study of families and their adolescent children. Analyses concentrate on two parental styles, namely authoritarian parenting and achievement-focused parenting, themselves being predicted by the social status of a family and its degree of patriarchy. Parenting will be defined as rather intentional parental behaviour to induce orientations or behavioural patterns in children. Both authoritarian and achievement-focused parenting are related to hierarchy: whereas authoritarian parenting is characterized by a lack in children's opportunities to participate in family decisions and strong discipline, achievement-focused parenting aims at motivating children to outperform others and reach a good position. Patriarchy refers to a family structure that is characterized by strongly hierarchic relations and a leading role of the father. Value transmission, that is, the direct and mediated transfer of parents' values onto their children, will be considered as another important feature of the socialization of HSI. Transmission is understood to be largely non-intentional, as the rather intentional part of transmission is already included in the parenting factor (Hadjar et al., 2007). However, no strict line can be drawn to separate intentional and non-intentional parent-child links.

With, for example, Melvin Kohn (1969) we share the conviction that structural variables (such as profession, prestige, income) influence parenting styles, and that parenting styles play a distinct role in the socialization of values. Following the general ideas of Albert Bandura (1986), we assume model-learning-based parent-to-child value transmission to be another major agent of HSI development. Although other socialization agents like the peer group, school or mass media certainly play a role in the socialization and transmission of HSI values, this study singles out family socialization processes, thereby following Talcott Parsons (1964) classical, and in our view the still valid, assertion that the family is the most important socialization agent in the lives of children and adolescents.

Adolescence is often seen as a crucial period in life. Moral development (Kohlberg, 1984) as well as political and value socialization (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969) reach important stages that have lasting consequences. Turning to consequences of HSI, violence and xenophobia, conceptualized as hostility towards

foreigners, are more prevalent among youth than in other age groups. In Germany, about 80 per cent of serious xenophobic assaults are committed by people under the age of 25 years, and 35 per cent by people below 17 years (cf. Hadjar, 2004). Adolescence, thus, is a high-risk context, and families — parenting styles in particular — are of crucial importance.

Analyses reported here are based on a panel data set containing 443 core families (mothers, fathers and offspring). The socialization model estimated in a structural equation approach encompasses three pillars: first, structural variables (degree of patriarchy, social status of the family) will be analyzed in terms of their relation to specific parental styles. In a second step, the question will be addressed how these parental styles influence children's HSI values. Third, xenophobia and delinquency as behavioural outcomes of HSI will be considered.

CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

Analyses are based on a conceptual model that allows us to formulate a set of hypotheses. Central aim of this model is to explore the socialization of HSI values as part of moral education in the family. The HSI is assumed to be both induced by particular parental styles and transmitted from parents to children through model learning. These processes take place in a societal context that has certain structural and ideological properties. The HSI, in turn, has particular attitudinal and behavioural consequences.

The HSI is the individual expression of societal dominance ideologies (Hagan et al., 1998). It is characterized by the notion that success in all areas of life means to 'perform better than others', to outperform rivals. The HSI is an ideological pillar of modern industrial societies that tend to be highly competitive and strongly tied to the logic of free-market capitalism (Hadjar, 2004). Indications to the existence of such ideologies of free-market competition can be found in

Figure 1 Conceptual model
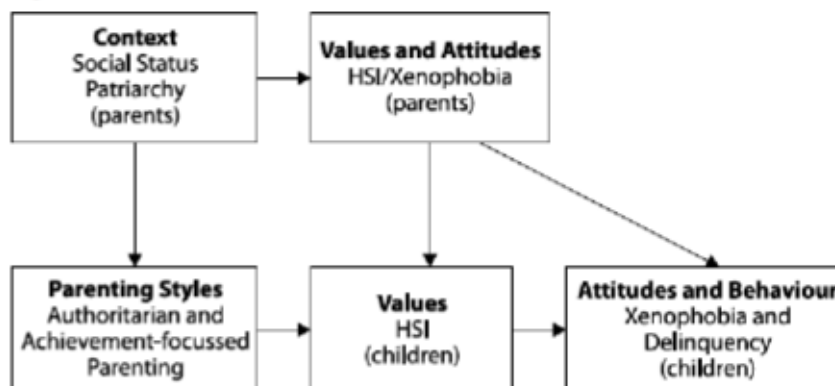
classical and contemporary sociology. In line with the works of Adam Smith (1776) and Max Weber (1920), capitalism and market economy must be seen as based on specific value systems of a rational lifestyle, de-emotionalization, competition, maximization of wealth, self-interest and self-love. Crawford Macpherson (1962) calls these mechanisms of capitalist societies 'possessive individualism'. In societies that are characterized by inequality, competition and isolation, the individual's striving for wealth is also central to his or her social relations: 'market society is necessarily ... a series of competitive and invasive relations' (Macpherson, 1962: 271).

On the individual level, HSI is measurable as a value construct (Hadjar, 2004; Hagan et al., 1998). Similar to the authoritarianism construct introduced by Theodor Adorno et al. (1950), HSI is a second-order construct that includes several first-order factors.

A second-order construct consists of unobserved variables as its indicators and therefore combines several related constructs into one single (higher-order) construct. An example is the authoritarianism construct of Adorno et al. (1950), which includes conventionalism, authoritarian aggression and authoritarian submission among other first-order factors. Numbers of first-order factors included in it may vary; novel factors can become part of it. For the following analyses, we confine measurement of HSI to three elements. The factor 'competitiveness' refers to the need to be better than others as asserted in Social Comparison Theory (Festinger, 1954). Leon Festinger emphasizes that individuals need to evaluate their abilities by social comparison with reference groups. An important aspect concerning the HSI construct is Festinger's assumption that people always try to gain better assessments while comparing. Here the moment of hierarchy comes in. This element of HSI is related to the hierarchic structure of society, perceived differences in success, status and wealth, and positional competition (Hirsch, 1977). 'Success orientation' refers to the urge for effectiveness in working or learning processes and the impulse to produce material values. This dimension is derived from the materialism/postmaterialism concept of Ronald Inglehart (1977). Aspects of materialism — like the urge for higher achievement and material wealth — are of special importance for the construct 'Hierarchic Self-Interest'. In sociology and political sciences, the term 'Machiavellism' refers to aspects of a mode of governing the state that was explored by Machiavelli in the 16th century (Machiavelli, 1532). Central to this concept is a ruling class that is characterized by hard labour, ambition, acumen, strong will, and self-confidence, but lacks altruism, morals and wisdom. To be Machiavellistic is to put through one's own goals against the interests of others. It is important to emphasize that HSI is only understood fully if conceptualized as a second-order construct. Earlier work with it has shown that the assumption of a second-order construct gives the concept more power in explaining certain attitudinal and behavioural consequences than if the three or more first-order factors that comprise HSI are treated as separate predictors (Hadjar, 2004; Hagan et al., 1998).

Consequences of HSI

Being competitive, achievement-centred and powerful, being a high-HSI person, is obviously a valuable tool to cope with competitive situations in school, at the workplace, and in society in general. However, HSI proved to have diverse normatively negative consequences on the individual level. Empirical evidence suggests that HSI is highly correlated with xenophobic attitudes (Hadjar, 2004; Hagan et al., 1998). HSI as a value pattern does structure the attitudinal system, since values as fundamental cognitive structures influence attitudes (cf. Rokeach, 1972). According to Cognitive Dissonance Theory (Festinger, 1957), consonance can be produced by expressing attitudes that fit into the given value system of an individual. HSI and xenophobia fit together because both are related to hierarchic structures. Similar empirical relationships have been reported for the link between a social dominance orientation and xenophobia (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999), and for the classical link between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism (Adorno et al., 1950). The paradox in the empirical HSI-xenophobia relation is that prima face HSI seems to be an important condition for individual prosperity as well as economic progress on the societal level, but that it actually leads to a rejection of the free market and free competition, largely the root of economic prosperity (Hadjar, 2004). Here HSI equals the *Verwertungslogik* (logic of utilization) of Wilhelm Heitmeyer et al. (1992). Though at first sight this logic seems to be essential for the stability of the capitalist society, a closer look reveals its close link to right-wing extremism.

Hierarchic Self-Interest (HSI) also proved to be a predictor of delinquency and mediates the influence of other variables on delinquency. People with a high HSI are more drawn to risky and delinquent behaviour than people who do not adhere to such values (Baier, 2005; Hagan et al., 2004). The reason for this seems to be that HSI en-courages outperforming others by all — even delinquent — means. In line with the modified version of Power-Control Theory (Hagan et al., 1987), HSI goes together with more risk-taking; the threshold for delinquent behaviours is much lower, if people adhere to dominance ideologies like HSI.

We assume that these earlier findings will be replicated in the present study, and, therefore, hypothesize that a higher HSI predicts higher xenophobia (H1) and higher scores in delinquency (H2) among German adolescents.

Social structure, parental styles, and HSI

In line with both the thinking of Karl Marx and the Weberian view of a stratified society with distinct stratum-specific values, it seems plausible to assume that the HSI value pattern has its roots in social-structural features of a society. But how HSI does get into the minds of young people must be analyzed in more detail by focusing on socialization and internalization processes as manifested in parenting styles.

Links between the structural context of a family (analyzed here as its socio-economic status and its degree of patriarchy) and parental styles can be derived

from several concepts (for example, Hagan, 1991; Lipset and Bendix, 1959). According to these theoretical approaches, parental styles are highly influenced by the conditions parents experience at their work places and through their status within the social structure. According to Seymour Lipset's Working Class Authoritarianism thesis (Lipset and Bendix, 1959), authoritarian parental styles and attitudes are more prevalent in lower-class contexts because in such contexts, economic insecurity, isolation and disintegration is higher, which calls for more strictness in the organization of family life. Eleanor Maccoby (1980) also reports empirical evidence that lower-status individuals (lower education, lower professional status) are more authoritarian and restrictive in their parenting behaviour. This is further backed by the complementary finding of Vonnie McLoyd (1990: 312) that 'poverty and economic loss diminish the capacity for supportive, consistent, and involved parenting'. Low-status parents at the same time subscribe to a more achievement-focused parenting style, because it generally is in their interest to improve the status of their children over the one they as parents have acquired. In line with the Theory of Social Production Functions by Siegwart Lindenberg, parents with lower socio-economic status are more interested in improving their physical well-being and their social approval situation than are higher-status parents (Ormel et al., 1999).

Considering patriarchy, Adorno et al. (1950) refer to the traditional patriarchal family where the father is the main 'bread-winner' as the germ of the authoritarian personality. Socio-economic status and patriarchy may be linked to each other: A higher socio-economic status of a family should go along with more modern views on gender differences and with egalitarian orientations, as higher-status families are typically on a higher educational level and thus cognitively more strongly mobilized to question traditional gender roles. This fits the value change concept of Inglehart (1977). People with a higher educational level and satisfied material needs are more likely to prefer postmaterialist values and egalitarian gender roles (Inglehart and Norris, 2003).

Hagan et al. (1987) focus on parental control behaviour, postulating that position and authority of the parents in the work sphere manifest themselves in gendered parenting styles in the family, in particular when looking at parental control behaviour. The more the hierarchical positions of mothers and fathers differ in the workplace and/or the more the degree of workforce participation differs between them, the higher is the prevalence of gendered, authoritarian and achievement-focused parenting in a family. Although structural patriarchy (as manifested, for example, in a differential participation of women and men in the job market) may have declined over the last decades (cf. Blossfeld, 1995), ideological patterns of patriarchy like a traditional gender role distribution have maintained their influence on everyday life and parental styles (cf. Hagan et al., 2004). The degree of hierarchy — in our case particularly gender hierarchy or patriarchy — in the family is reflected in parenting. This assumption is supported through qualitative evidence offered by Tommi Hoikkala (1998) showing that in 'traditional' hierarchic and ideologically patriarchal families, the parental style of the father is rather authoritarian and punishing — although Hoikkala's results

also suggest that culture may have a stronger impact on the degree of patriarchy than does social status. Hadjar et al. (2007) provide quantitative evidence that structural patriarchy is linked to patriarchal gender roles, and that structural patriarchy leads — although not in all cultures — to a stronger gender-specific parenting, and particularly to a gendered control behaviour.

Finally, a link between the socio-economic status and (authoritarian) parenting may also be drawn vis-à-vis social-environmental risk factors. If violence and rejection dominate a social environment, as is fairly typical for lower-class environments, both authoritarian parenting and aggressive behaviours of the children are more likely than in other settings (Garbarino et al., 2005).

In line with these earlier findings, we hypothesize that both (*a*) achievement-focused and (*b*) authoritarian parenting styles are more prevalent in families with a lower socio-economic status (H3a/b) and a higher degree of ideological patriarchy (H4a/b).

As Jacquiline Goodnow (1997) points out in her handbook article, parenting styles have a genuine influence on value socialization and value transmission. The parenting styles at stake here, that is, authoritarian and achievement-focused parenting, have certain characteristics that briefly need to be outlined. According to Diana Baumrind (1971) or Gerda Lederer (1983), an authoritarian parental style is characterized by punitive discipline, absence of an emotional parent-child relationship, a lack of participation opportunities for the child, and a lack of responsiveness from the parents. Such a parenting style is seen as the basis for the development of an authoritarian personality, which is characterized by anti-democratic, anti-social and prejudiced thinking in stereotypes. Christel Hopf (1993) provides empirical evidence that authoritarian young adults experienced authoritarian parental styles more frequently than non-authoritarian young adults. As Klaus Boehnke and Andreas Hadjar (2004) have pointed out in an encyclopedia entry on authoritarianism, HSI can be seen as a contemporary 'relative' of authoritarianism. It seems in place, therefore, to assume that authoritarian parenting not only breeds authoritarianism, but also HSI in adolescents. As ascertained in work guided by attachment theory (Bowlby, 1988), the absence of an emotional parent–child relationship and educational inconsistency — both characteristics of authoritarian parenting — are prone to rear insecure attachment, and eventually a lack of social competence, disintegration, and uncertainty in the child. Contemporary evidence shows that a lack in parental responsiveness — as implied in an authoritarian parental style — creates difficulties in adolescents' life-skill development regarding interpersonal communication, decision making, health maintenance and identity development (Slicker et al., 2005). A lack in such skills leads to a high probability of experiencing disintegration. Individuals who are disintegrated and uncertain about their status and resources are likely to have a stronger HSI than others, as they are prone to put a lot of effort into the maintenance or the improvement of their perceived social position.

An achievement-focused parental style refers to parenting which expresses high expectations and a high achievement aspiration vis-à-vis the child. In a categorization by Klaus Schneewind (1989), this parental style reflects a family

emphasis on developmental directions, goal orientation and personal growth. It does, however, often encompass an intentional induction of feelings of guilt in children, as reflected in sentences like 'Mother is very sad, because you did not get the best mark'. Such a parenting style expresses 'psychological control' in the sense of Laurence Steinberg (2005) and indicates to us an achievement-focused parenting rather than authoritarian parenting. Considering both authoritarian and achievement-focused parenting, the latter seems to fit the competitive nature of HSI to a larger extent. As HSI is an expression to outperform others, it can be suspected that a parental style supporting the notion of competitiveness will help generate values of HSI. Parents who urge their children to permanently be the best at school or in sports induce HSI values in their children, as they promote an extreme ambition to gain approval.

Drawing on the above-referenced earlier work, we hypothesize that both an achievement-focused (H5) and an authoritarian parental style (H6) support the socialization of HSI values among adolescents.

While parenting styles are seen as active forces in the socialization of HSI, a more in-passing mode of acquiring HSI values must also be taken into account, namely value transmission. Not only are children actively educated to develop certain values, they also learn the values cherished by their parents through observation, as postulated in Albert Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura, 1986). They observe conversations and arguments of their parents in everyday life. Although value transmission is certainly not a unidirectional process going from parents onto children only, a substantial body of empirical evidence has ascertained an influence of parental value orientations on offspring values as well as on actual offspring behaviour (cf. Schönpflug, 2001). Two simple value transmission hypotheses will be included into the following model on the socialization of HSI and the consequences of HSI. Concerning the socialization of HSI, we postulate that the more parents cherish HSI values, the more children also cherish HSI values (H7). Concerning xenophobia as a consequence of HSI, it is assumed that the more parents cherish xenophobic attitudes, the more their children will also adhere to xenophobic attitudes (H8).

DESIGN AND SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

Analyzing socialization effects always benefits strongly from a panel design because longitudinally designed studies make causal interpretations an option. The data set used for the analyses presented here originates from the cross-national project 'Dominance ideologies, gender roles and delinquency in the life of adolescents'[1]: data gathering questionnaire were obtained from 443 families in two waves. The study employed a full mother-father-plus-two-opposite-sex-siblings design, but here sibling data have not been analyzed. Adolescent participants came from 68 Berlin schools (our sampling points) and were around the age of 14 (German school grades VIII and IX) during the first wave of data

gathering in 1999. The second wave was conducted one year later in 2000. For the current analyses data from or about parents (see later) stem from the first wave of data gathering (t_1) while data pertaining to adolescent values, attitudes, and behaviours stem from the second wave (t_2).

The sample of 443 adolescents can be described as follows: The percentage of males in our sample was 41.1, while that of females was 58.9. About one-third of the families lived in the Eastern districts of Berlin, whereas two-thirds came from the Western part of the city. This fits with the actual distribution of East and West Berliners. The economic situation of the average family in our sample was rather good. Only 17.9 per cent of the families earned less than 2,000 Euros per month, 39.4 per cent earned between 2,000 and 3,000 Euros (overall family income after taxes; self-reported by parents), and 42.7 per cent earned more than 3,000 Euros. An above-average socio-economic situation seems plausible for a sample like ours, as parents of adolescent children are older and therefore more integrated into their careers and the stratification system than parents of younger children or single parent families.

INSTRUMENTS

Socio-economic status

This variable combines two aspects: profession prestige and family income. Profession prestige was measured by a magnitude prestige scale (MPS) (Wegener, 1988) that ranged from 20 (for example, unskilled workers) to 186 (for example, surgeons), based on parental information about their profession. Only the score of the parent with the higher profession prestige was integrated into the model. This strategy has become common in contemporary stratification and social mobility research (cf. Sørensen, 1986). Second, family income was measured by an item asking parents to classify the monthly income of the household on a rating scale from 'below 500 Euros' to 'above 4000 Euros'. Profession prestige and family income were dichotomized by median split — as the ranges of the variables had to be equalized for combination — and then averaged. Both variables are correlated ($r = 0.40$); '0' stands for low status and '1' for high status. As both MPS profession prestige and family income were highly correlated with other structural variables (for example, education), it seemed unnecessary to include further socio-economic variables in the model.

Patriarchy

To measure patriarchy, gender role orientations of both mothers and fathers were ascertained. As findings of other studies suggest (Blossfeld, 1995), structural patriarchy (difference in authority positions, income differences, etc.) has decreased during the last decades, while attitudinal patriarchy did not change much. Thus, traditional gender roles as representations of patriarchal structures and

ideologies were included into the model. Our measure for a traditional gender role orientation consisted of six items by Donna Brogan and Nancy Kunter (1976). Traditional gender roles are characterized by the acceptance of power differences, a positive attitude towards gender differences in familial authority and employment opportunities, and by a clear stereotype of what is male and what is female. Sample items read, 'It is more important for a woman to support her husband in his career than to pursue her own', or 'In a group of men and women, only a man should work in the leadership role'. The 6-item scale had a good internal consistency (fathers: Cronbach's α = 0.80; mothers: Cronbach's α = 0.71). Fathers' and mothers' gender role scores were averaged; low scores indicate families with more egalitarian gender role attitudes, high scores indicate families with more patriarchal gender role preferences.

Parental styles were assessed by the adolescents at Time 1, in line with the understanding that the perception of the parental styles by children is more important for their behaviour than the actual parental styles (according to the so-called Thomas theorem).

Authoritarian parenting

This scale consisted of three items by Gerda Lederer (1983) that measure daily parental styles within the family from the child's viewpoint: 'I was brought up under strict discipline', 'My family believes that a teenager should be allowed to decide most things for himself' and 'In my family when an important decision is to be made, the ideas of all the family members, including teenage children are taken into consideration.' The internal consistency of the three-item scale was rather low (Cronbach's α = 0.45), but following rules of thumb derived from Nunnally and Bernstein (1994), this is still reasonable for three-item scales.

Achievement-focused parenting

This aspect of parenting was measured by two items ('Does your mother urge you to be the best?' and 'Does your father urge you to be the best?') that form a highly consistent scale (Cronbach's α = 0.85). The interviewed adolescents had to answer these questions on a rating scale ranging from 1 for 'never' to 4 for 'always'.

Hierarchic self-interest

HSI — for these analyses — consisted of three first-order factors that are different but related expressions of the logic of highly competitive societies. The subscales were composed of well-studied items (cf. Boehnke et al., 2002; Hadjar, 2004) that had to be rated by parents and adolescents on a scale ranging from 1 for 'no agreement' to 5 for 'high agreement'. *Competitiveness* was measured by four items; sample item: 'For me, to have success in life means to be better than others'. This scale had a highly satisfactory internal consistency; the average α among adolescents, fathers and mothers was at α = 0.78. To operationalize

success orientation, we used three items; for example, a sample item read 'People who don't perform well won't be happy'. This three-item scale also had a highly satisfactory internal consistency (average Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.78$). To construct the Machiavellistic sub-dimension, four items were selected; for example, a sample item read, 'Winning is the most important thing in life, not how to win.' This four-item scale has a satisfactory internal consistency (average Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.65$). All three subscales (first-order factors) fit into the second-order factor 'Hierarchic Self-Interest'. The average consistency coefficient for the HSI meta-scale was at $\alpha = 0.70$ (three subscales scores constitute the HSI scales: success orientation, competitiveness, Machiavellism). A detailed exploration of the second-order structure of the HSI value pattern is provided in confirmatory factor analyses which have been reported elsewhere (Hagan et al., 1998; Hadjar, 2004).

Xenophobia

Three items from a scale by Ernst Liebhart and Gerda Liebhart (1971) were used to measure xenophobia, including 'It is not good to have many foreigners in the country because they are unpleasant and arrogant.' Adolescents and parents had to respond to the same items. Internal consistency of the three-item scale was high (adolescents: Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.81$, significant parent: Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.79$).

Delinquency

The delinquency scale was taken from work by Klaus Boehnke and Dagmar Bergs-Winkels (2002). It encompassed three items that deal with physical violence against people and things. Adolescents were asked how often they spank weaker people, destroy things or fight. Participants had to respond on a scale ranging from 1 for 'never' to 5 for 'always'. Internal consistency was very good; Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.75$.

While HSI and xenophobia of the adolescent at t_2 served as dependent variables of the model, HSI and xenophobia of the significant parent at t_1 served as explanatory variables, so that the transmission processes could be tested accurately. The significant parent is the parent with whom the adolescent identified more strongly, as determined by the adolescent's response to the item 'Would you like to be the kind of person your mother/father is?' In case the child identified with the mother as much as with the father, the mean of mother's and father's HSI was used. The value transmission effect was modelled by relating the values or attitudes of the significant parent to the values and attitudes of the adolescent. This procedure is different from most other socialization and value transmission studies. The strategy to integrate only HSI and xenophobia of the significant parent into the model goes back to the general notion of Mead (1934) who assumed that significant others are by far more important than other socialization agents. Similarly, Ariel Knafo and Shalom Schwartz (2003) suggest that

acceptance of parental values is greater among children who identify with their parents. For 31.6 per cent of the adolescents, the father was the more significant parent, for 21.8 per cent the mother was more significant; for the majority (46.6 per cent) of adolescents' mothers and fathers were of equal importance. There were significant gender differences that need to be reported. While for 40 per cent of the boys, the father was more significant, only 29.2 per cent of the girls reported their mother as being more significant. For only 11.1 per cent of the boys, the mother was more significant, whereas 25.8 per cent of the girls reported their father as being more significant. Percentages of adolescents reporting an equal significance of mother and father did not differ substantially between boys and girls.

FINDINGS

Before analyzing structural relations, descriptive evidence is reported for parental styles and HSI. As documented in Table 1, the parents in our sample were not overly authoritarian and achievement-focused. HSI exhibited average scores. All HSI dimensions and the meta-scale showed means close to the expected mean of 3. The parameters documented in Table 1 indicate generational differences. Adolescents were more Machiavellistic, more competitive, slightly more success-oriented, and eventually more hierarchically self-interested than their significant parent. Xenophobia scores were not overly high, but again adolescents showed higher levels of xenophobic attitudes than did their parents. This difference was highly significant. The delinquency variable was rather skewed with a low overall level of delinquency reported by adolescents. The fact that the young people hold stronger values than their parents may be explained considering the particular stage of adolescents in their life cycle. According to the concept of moral development by Lawrence Kohlberg (1984), the development of universal and societal world views lasts beyond adolescence. The same applies to value socialization in families and peer groups, through mass media, schools and training institutions.

To analyze the overall model and test all the aforementioned formulated hypotheses simultaneously, a structural equation model (SEM) was estimated using AMOS (see Figure 2). The model presented here is based on a correlation matrix and was estimated using maximum-likelihood estimation. Due to the complexity of the model, all scales were introduced as manifest variables into the model in order to optimize the ratio of number of cases (N) to number of variables. The path coefficients are to be interpreted like standardized regression weights; ranging from –1 for a perfect negative relationship through 0 for no relationship to +1 for a perfect positive relationship.

Following the modification indices offered by the programme, a few paths were added to the conceptual hypotheses, including correlations between the two structural variables and the two parental style variables, plus a path between parents' HSI values and child-perceived achievement-focused parenting. All of

Table 1 Descriptives: HSI and parental styles

		Mean	Standard Deviation	Difference Significant Parent/Adolescent
HSI: Machiavellism	Signif. parent (Time 1)	2.22	0.69	$F = 49.99$***
	Adolescent (Time 2)	2.52	0.77	
HSI: Competitiveness	Signif. parent (Time 1)	2.78	0.82	$F = 20.03$***
	Adolescent (Time 2)	3.03	0.88	
HSI: Success Orientation	Signif. parent (Time 1)	2.71	0.82	$F = 3.74$
	Adolescent (Time 2)	2.81	0.94	
Hierarchic Self-Interest (meta scale)	Signif. parent (Time 1)	2.57	0.60	$F = 32.86$***
	Adolescent (Time 2)	2.79	0.71	
Authoritarian parental style		2.23	0.63	–
Achievement-oriented parental style		1.79	0.82	–
Xenophobia	Signif. parent (Time 1)	2.16	0.90	$F = 27.85$***
	Adolescent (Time 2)	2.39	0.81	
Delinquency		1.45	0.58	–

Notes: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

Ranges (min ... max):
HSI: Machiavellism (1: low HSI, 5: high HSI).
HSI: Competitiveness (1: low HSI, 5: high HSI).
HSI: Success Orientation (1: low HSI, 5: high HSI).
Hierarchic Self-Interest (meta scale) (1: low HSI, 5: high HSI).
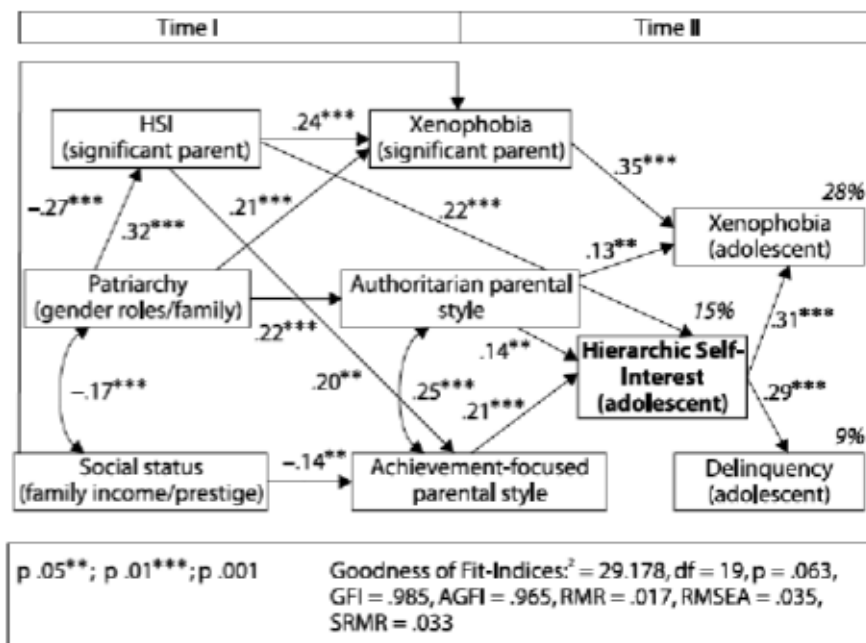Authoritarian parental style (1: non-authoritarian, 5: authoritarian parental style).
Achievement-oriented parental style (1: non-achievement-oriented, 4: achievement-oriented parental style).
Xenophobia (1: low xenophobia, 5: high xenophobia).
Delinquency (1: low delinquency, 5: high delinquency).

these additions seem meaningful, as the presentation of results and their discussion should show. Goodness-of-fit measures (i.e., indicators that evaluate to what extent the empirical data fit the conceptual model) show a good fit of the data to the hypothesized — slightly modified — conceptual model. The model does fit the data in light of the χ^2/df-Ratio of 1.54 ($\chi^2 = 29.178$, df = 19, p = 0.063). The other goodness-of-fit indices (GFI = 0.985, AGFI = 0.965, RMR = 0.017, RMSEA = 0.035, SRMR = 0.033) also indicate a very good fit, since GFI and AGFI are above their usual cut-off value of 0.90, and the inverse indices RMR, RMSEA and SRMR are below their typical cut-off values between 0.06 and 0.04.

We report results inward-out so to speak: Immediate predictors of the adolescents HSI are considered first. Second, we report the influence of more distal and structural predictors, and the consequences of HSI are considered at the end. Looking first at the socialization of HSI, the achievement-focused parental

Figure 2   Socialization of hierarchic self-interest (SEM-model)

style (β = 0.21) and the authoritarian parental style (β = 0.14) both turned out to be significant predictors of adolescents' HSI values (see Figure 2). The more authoritarian the way a child was raised, the higher his or her HSI was. The value transmission effect was of similar importance, HSI of the significant parent predicting the HSI of the adolescent (β = 0.22).

While an authoritarian parental style was predictable on the grounds of adherence to patriarchal gender roles of the parents (γ = 0.22), social status had no statistically significant influence on authoritarian parenting. The second parenting mode — the achievement-focused parental style — was also linked to parents' HSI, as the significant positive effect of β = 0.20 shows. A higher social status went along with a less achievement-focused parental style (γ = –0.14), whereas parents' patriarchy had no statistically significant impact on the achievement-focused parental style. Patriarchal gender roles and parents' HSI values were highly related (γ = 0.32), and more patriarchal gender roles went together with a lower social status (ϕ = –0.17), two paths originally not part of our conceptual model. There also was a significant correlation between authoritarian and achievement-focused parenting (ψ = 0.25). Apparently, parents who used a more achievement-focused parental style tended to also use authoritarian parenting. Over all, 15 per cent of the variance of the adolescents' HSI could be explained by direct and indirect effects modelled in Figure 2. It can be assumed that there are several other parental styles and external influences (mass media, school, peer group) that have to be considered when explaining HSI. However,

socialization variables of the family do have a share in the internalization of HSI values by the adolescents.

The relevance of HSI becomes obvious when considering the significant path coefficients for the HSI-xenophobia link ($\beta = 0.31$) and the HSI-delinquency link ($\beta = 0.29$). Adolescents' xenophobia was also directly transmitted by the significant parent; the path coefficient was $\beta = 0.35$. Additionally, adolescents' xenophobia was induced through authoritarian parenting ($\beta = 0.13$) without mediation through HSI. The degree of xenophobia of the significant parent correlated with social status ($\gamma = -0.27$) and patriarchy ($\gamma = 0.21$): A lower social status and more patriarchy predicted a higher degree of xenophobia among the parents.

Table 2 summarizes our results vis-à-vis our eight hypotheses.

Table 2 Confirmation of hypotheses

#	Hypothesis	Confirmed (+)/ Disconfirmed (−)
1	HSI (adolescent) → Xenophobia (adolescent)	+
2	HSI (adolescent) → Delinquency (adolescent)	+
3a	Social Status → Achievement-focused parental style	+
3b	Patriarchy → Achievement-focused parental style	−
4a	Social Status → Authoritarian parental style	−
4b	Patriarchy → Authoritarian parental style	+
5	Achievement-focused parental style → HSI (adolescent)	+
6	Authoritarianism → HSI (adolescent)	+
7	HSI (parent) → HSI (adolescent)	+
8	Xenophobia (parent) → Xenophobia (adolescent)	+

DISCUSSION

This study provided insight into certain mechanisms of socialization within the family. The core question was whether it indeed can be shown that a positively evaluated central element of the ideology of market-oriented economies, namely outperforming the other, labelled here as Hierarchic Self-Interest (HSI), must be seen as a precursor of normatively negative attitudes and behaviours, like xenophobia or delinquency, among adolescents, and if so, to what degree HSI is forged in the family.

Results show that, on the one hand, the internalization of HSI values is supported by particular parenting styles, namely authoritarian and achievement-focused parenting. On the other hand, HSI is transmitted from parents to their adolescent offspring directly (value transmission). Patriarchy, that is, whether or not a family builds upon traditional patriarchal gender roles, and the social status of the family — as variables of the societal context — play a substantial role in the socialization of HSI, although no direct influence was incurred. The

negative impact of HSI on adolescent lifestyles is emphasized by its effects on xenophobia and delinquency.

Results support the classical Weberian view that the individual position in the social structure and its ideological patterns both influence the socialization of different lifestyles through different styles of parenting, as Melvin Kohn (1969) had suggested. The degree of patriarchy 'lived' in a family, as measured by the endorsement of a patriarchal gender role distribution — an attitudinal variable — turned out to predict an authoritarian parental style, but had no influence on whether parents employed achievement-focused parenting. On the other hand, the social status of a family was inversely related to achievement-focused parenting, but unrelated to an authoritarian parental style. The assumption of Maccoby (1980) that had earlier already been formulated by Lipset and Bendix (1959) and is implied in Adorno's work, namely that authoritarian parenting should be higher in the lower classes, did not receive support from the findings. The classical picture of the patriarchal family, however, where children are raised in rather an authoritarian way (cf. Adorno et al., 1950) is reflected in the data. The reverse was true for achievement-focused parenting. This style was found more frequently in lower-class families, as hypothesized, but had no connection to the degree of patriarchy endorsed in a family.

In line with the general socialization paradigm (Goodnow, 1997) both parental styles had an influence on the values of the adolescents. The more authoritarian and, in particular, achievement-focused parenting the adolescents reported at Time 1, the more they endorsed HSI values at Time 2. The significant direct link between the parental HSI and the HSI of the adolescents indicates that there also is a value transmission effect as recently described by Ute Schönpflug (2001) or Ariel Knafo (2003). Findings suggest that both overt parenting effects and transmission effects in the sense of model learning (Bandura, 1986) are at work in the socialization of HSI.

However, parental styles strongly depend on the values cherished by parents. The link between parents' HSI and authoritarian parental style may be interpreted considering both patterns. As HSI stands for a positive attitude towards hierarchy, differences and inequality, high HSI parents will raise their children under the premise that children are on a lower level of the hierarchy and therefore can be excluded from participation in family decisions. The link between parents' HSI and achievement-focused parenting shows that parents actually induce their own values in their children by certain parental styles, so that a high HSI parent, for example, is strongly inclined to urge offspring to be the best in all possible instances.

The fact that parental HSI values are influenced by the endorsement of a patriarchal gender role distribution in the family seems plausible prima face; both HSI and patriarchy can be seen as dominance ideologies. Someone who is very concerned with his or her status in the social stratification system and has an ultimate drive to improve this status will, in all likelihood, also accept a gender hierarchy as expressed in traditional patriarchal gender roles (Hagan et al., 2004). This applies to both women and men because patriarchy is maintained

not only through men's efforts, but also through the acceptance of patriarchal patterns by women.[2]

Coming to the consequences of HSI, theoretical assumptions — derived from previous findings and theoretical work on the development of xenophobia (Boehnke et al., 1998; Hagan et al., 1998) and on the development of delinquency (Baier, 2005; Hagan et al., 2004) — receive support from the findings of this study. The higher the level of adolescent HSI, the higher is the level of xenophobia and delinquency. This finding matches the link between the social dominance orientation and xenophobia that Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto (1999) report. The HSI-delinquency relation may also be interpreted in the sense of Merton's anomie theory (cf. Featherstone and Deflem, 2003). Presumably, HSI is an expression of a high aspiration level that cannot be satisfied by legal means, it seems to be obvious that high HSI individuals try to compensate this through delinquent behaviour. HSI obviously serves as a mechanism that mediates the connection between parenting and child behaviour. Steinberg et al. (1994), for example, found a strong relation between an authoritarian parental style and violence among male adolescents. This relation should probably be seen as mediated by HSI.

The socialization of HSI resembles the way authoritarianism researchers have described the development of the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950; Hopf, 1993). The family appears as a catalyst and mediator of societal dominance ideologies and values of HSI on the individual level. Our model suggests that HSI socialization has two pillars: (unintentional) value transmission and (intentional) parenting practices.

Practical implications for moral education in families and school may be derived from the results. Some suggestions — although seemingly well-known and attached with a certain degree of naïveté — can be made for preventing the spread of HSI as an important precursor of delinquency and xenophobia. The central crux of HSI is that it is evaluated positively in public discourse, especially when individual and collective economic behaviours are discussed ('Our country must retain/regain the competitive edge…'), but if internalized, it clearly has negative consequences for individuals and for the cohesion of a community. In the practice of family education, it seems advisable to foster child behaviours that do not contain an achievement that outperforms the other, but that outperforms own earlier achievements, as pointed out by Evert van de Vliert and Onne Janssen (2002). Education needs to emphasize that not achievement in and by itself is good, but that achievement needs a socially beneficial purpose. And education has to stress that power without empathy is not acceptable in a modern state, as historian-sociologist Daniel Lerner already pointed out in 1958. Regarding the authoritarian parental style that is also linked to HSI, it may be derived from the findings that participation opportunities for young people and to give reasons for (parental) actions are most important elements of a successful moral education and a functioning parent–child or practitioner–child relationship.

The presented results must be considered against the background of certain methodological limitations of this research. Although value transmission and

socialization can be analyzed based on a panel data set encompassing two-time follow-up measurement, a longitudinal sample comprising three or even four waves of data gathering would provide much more accuracy to the analytic process. Such data are meanwhile available from a continuation of the presented study, but cannot yet be presented. Although the sample used here is of a rare character, as it comprises both parents and children, findings may only be generalized to metropolitan 'intact' families. Two-parent families differ from single-parent families. While the first are characterized by a more hierarchic structure, children in 'a single-parent family tend to be more like junior partners; they have additional rights and authority as well as more responsibilities and duties' (Thornton, 1991: 872). One should also emphasize the limited range of authoritarian parenting reported in the present study, which is in all likelihood due to the fact that the population of 'intact' two-child families are in general better off than others and therefore can be expected to have fewer problems in their family lives and thus 'need' less authoritarian guidance of their children.

The short scales that were used in these analyses are far from what would be desirable, even as in most cases internal consistencies were acceptable; in particular the parental style scales do need improvement. Most of the limitations are due to scarce questionnaire space — lengthening the scales is necessary. Results surely would have been more powerful, if the authoritarian parenting scale had consisted of items that are more typical to authoritarian parenting than the items used. Future research should be based on more comprehensive parental style scales that include authoritative, authoritarian and neglectful ('laissez-faire' or 'permissive') parenting according to the concept of Baumrind (1991). Such extended taxonomy of parental styles could lead to a more objective framework, since the authoritarianism concept is often criticized for its ideological background. New measures of achievement-focused parenting might best be developed by adding additional — but similar — items. And, as recent research findings suggest, parental styles should be understood as multi-dimensional. Instead of separating participants into discrete parental styles, parenting characteristics may rather be conceptualized as continuous scales that are not opposites of each other. Such multi-dimensionality may centre on responsiveness, demandingness, psychological control and psychological autonomy (cf. Steinberg, 2005).

Value transmission effects, that is, direct paths between parents' values/attitudes and adolescents' values/attitudes, turned out to be comparatively low. This could be an indication that there are other socialization agents (for example, school, peers, mass media) that — at least additionally — also shape the adolescents' value and attitude systems. The 14-year-old adolescents in our study probably are already more peer-centred than younger children for whom parents are the primary source of value socialization. According to Wendy Grolnick et al. (1997), the more children are geared to peers, the weaker are the parent–child value transmission processes.

At least three questions remain for further research:

1. Which other parental styles and social structure variables have an impact on the HSI socialization?
2. Which situational conditions predestine HSI to have the observed negative consequences?
3. Does gendered parenting have a separate effect on the development of HSI?

The latter question has already been dealt with in part in a paper by Hagan et al. (2004) that utilizes parts of the same data set. The gender question has been left out here to reduce the complexity of the analyses.

Notes

1 The study was funded through grants from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) to the third author and to Hans Merkens from the Free University of Berlin, and was conducted as a cooperation project with John Hagan, then at the University of Toronto, Canada.

2 The model was additionally calculated for girls and boys separately, but there were no significant differences in path coefficients.

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