The Decline of Deference Revisited: Evidence after 25 Years

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ABSTRACT

The Decline of Deference made the case that people learn authority orientations in the family and generalize those orientations towards other domains such as the workplace and the polity. Further, these outlooks are consequential for how people evaluate authoritative institutions and for their political behaviour. These expectations were originally tested with data from the 1981-1990 rounds of the WVS in 12 advanced industrial states. This paper moves that analysis forward in three directions. The first empirically re-examines the theory with 25 years worth of WVS data and asks: Does the theory still hold up? We then turn to investigate whether there are detectable traces of generational learning. Exploiting the longer time span of the WVS data, we ask: Do those authority oriented values that parents aimed to teach their children in 1981 leave any statistical footprint in what might be "the children" of that older generation 25 years later? The third empirical section turns to a multilevel analysis, and takes advantage of the broadened number of countries, to investigate an institutional question: Are the individual level orientations towards authority consequential for aggregate institutional country level characteristics? Here authority outlooks are tracked against measures of regime openness in 45 countries.

For presentation at "Mapping and Tracking Global Value Change: A Festschrift Conference for Ronald Inglehart," University of California, Irvine, March 11 2011.

Introduction

The World Values Surveys typically begin by listing six domains: family, friends, leisure time, politics, work, and religion. Respondents are asked to judge "how important" are each of these domains "in your life." Two striking findings emerge from the responses to these questions. First, a huge majority of each public nearly always identify "the family" as "very important" in their lives. That finding holds across all countries at every time point for which we have data. Second, most people nearly always think of "politics" as "not at all important" in their lives. That finding also holds across all countries at nearly every time point. In the statistical sense, these results may be considered as not very interesting: they lack variance. In the substantive sense, these results are heartening to sociologists: they underscore the salience of the family. For political scientists, the message is more bracing: the world is not occupied by people who care a lot about politics.

The Decline of Deference was an effort to build a theoretical bridge between "the family" and politics, one that turned to the concept of authority. That project began with the premise that authority orientations are profoundly political and that they permeate primary relations, society and the economy. The aim, first, was to jointly lever two lines of theorizing — one coming from political socialization theory and the other primarily from the insights of Eckstein (1966, 1969), Eckstein and Gurr (1975), and Pateman (1970). That theoretical re-orientation carried empirical expectations and the subsequent goal was to test those conjectures empirically using data from the first and second waves of the World Values Surveys.

The re-visitation that earlier project begins with a brief summary of the theory driving *The Decline of Deference.* It then turns to empirically examine three questions. The first is,

perhaps, the anticipated focus of this contribution: Do the findings coming from the original project, based on 1981-1990 data, still hold up when the temporal scope of the analysis is extended to include the 1981 to 2005/2006 interlude?

1981 to 1990 is a relatively short time span for evaluating value change. The twenty five year interlude now captured by the WVS opens up more expansive possibilities to explore more comprehensively that initial set of hunches. Furthermore, these data provide a more robust platform for examining what impacts population replacement and generational turnover might have on authority orientations. Thus, the second part of the analysis exploits this longer time span and examines the question: Do the authority orientations "taught" by adults in the 1980s produce any discernable statistical imprint on "the children" of that earlier cohort? Socialization theory certainly leads to that expectation. At issue is whether there is any evidence to support that speculation. The third part of the analysis exploits the increasingly broad cross-national scope of the WVS. This section returns to some of Eckstein's earlier speculations to ask: Do internalized patterns of authority have consequences for institutional performance? That part of the analysis moves beyond the data from the nine advanced industrial states used in the first two sections of the presentation to encompass data from some 45 countries. It links aggregate indicators of political rights and civil liberties to measures of domestic authority patterns: How, if at all, are authority orientations related to the performance of democratic institutions?

Socialization, Authority Orientations, and Structural Change in Family Life

Political socialization occupies a central place in theories of political culture (Inglehart 1990).[i] Cultural predispositions vary from one society to the next and they reflect processes of what Eckstein calls "culturally determined learning; early learning conditions later learning."

And learning, he adds, "involves a process of seeking coherence in dispositions" (Eckstein 1988, 792). The initial investigations of political socialization might have overstated the effects of this process (Cook 1985; Marsh 1971; Niemi and Hepburn 1995). Nonetheless, there is an impressive body of research demonstrating the primacy of the family and the importance of pre-adult socialization in the formation of core political orientations (Galston 2001; Jennings and Stoker 2005; Jennings 2002; Campbell 2006; Miller and Sears 1986). Precisely when political attitudes are internalized, and the extent to which those values are subject to later modification, remains a matter of some debate, but most acknowledge that the formative years of pre-adulthood are particularly important in understanding political attitudes.

One of the enduring contributions of the early research on political socialization was a demonstration that the family is a primary site of this process (Niemi and Sobieszek 1977). The focus on the family (and particularly on the parents) as key agents of socialization was justified on the grounds of children's prolonged exposure to parents in early life, coupled with the relatively high degree of stability observed in political cultures (Jennings 2007: 38). Subsequent research has underscored the centrality of the family to the process of political learning (Miller and Sears 1986; Verba et al 2005). The conjecture that basic political orientations, in this case attitudes towards authority, would have their roots in early family life is intuitively reasonable. As Burns et al (2001) point out, the primary family is an institution that is based on "treatment" rather than "selection." The self-selection issue, one that plagues so many studies of institutional socialization, is circumvented in this case. And it is reasonable to suppose that the effects that do exist would be the result of treatment, and would represent a plausible causal association as a consequence of one, or some combination, of the following mechanisms. These effects may be rooted in aspects of social learning theory – cue-giving and reinforcement processes within the

family, or on the effect of the socio-economic characteristics of the family (Jennings 2007), the "social milieu" pathway of parental socialization (Dalton 1982).

Another line of theorizing that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s takes as its starting point the patterns of authority in society, and the extension of those orientations across domains. The early investigations of Pateman, Eckstein, and Kohn, taken together, argue for congruence between authority orientations across domains. But those initial formulations were, perhaps, somewhat fragmentary, and they lacked a compelling empirical foundation. Eckstein's line of theorizing places emphasis on the relationship between authority orientations in the family and the polity (1966, 1969).[ii] Focusing on the family is consistent with the political socialization perspective in the sense that social and political orientations are inculcated in that setting. Thus, the expectation is that these authority orientations would be generalized *from* the family *to* other contexts rather than the other way around. In a parallel fashion, Pateman theorizes that workplace and political orientations are connected. More particularly, changes in participation in the workplace, she suggests, are connected to changes in political participation (1970). As the workplace became more egalitarian, related attitudinal changes occurred in political arenas more narrowly construed.[iii] Kohn (1959) and Kohn and Schooler (1969) in a parallel fashion argue that authority orientations in the workplace and in the family are connected. They find that middle-class people, and in particular those whose occupations allow for a degree of self-direction, are more likely to encourage autonomy in their children than do those with occupations that do not make, or reward, these demands.

The first goal of *The Decline of Deference* aimed to build on those insights of those earlier studies by re-conceptualizing authority orientations in the family, polity, and workplace in a more unified way, as a triangulated set of relations. Rather than evaluating authority

orientations between discrete dyads, such as the workplace and the polity (Pateman 1970), or the family and the polity (Eckstein 1966, 1969), evaluating orientations in these three domains in a unified way opens up possibilities for a more expansive outlook towards change. The second goal of the earlier project, then, was to investigate first what were the empirical bases of those triangulated linkages, and second to determine whether there were any indications of systematic change in these orientations. And once the direction and scope of those changes were revealed, the third goal was to investigate empirically what were the consequences of these shifts for political behaviour.

[Figure 1 about here]

If authority orientations have their roots in parental socialization, then the expectation is that changes in the structure of the primary family, particularly in the hierarchy that characterizes this institution, might have political consequences. There is clear evidence that the family has experienced quite striking structural transformations over the past twenty five years. Divorce rates have risen, single-parent families are increasingly common, marriage rates have decreased, and co-habitation has increased. Women have entered post-secondary education in unprecedented numbers; they now outnumber men in college enrolments in nearly every advanced industrial state. Relatedly, women have entered the paid workforce to an unprecedented degree. Consequently, fertility rates have plunged. Indeed, fertility rates in some advanced industrial states have fallen below the rate required for population replacement (OECD data). Women are not only having fewer children, they are having them later in the life-cycle. There are good reasons to suppose that these changes in the structural standing of women in post-secondary education and the workplace would reverberate on the family. Together, the collective impact of these changes has been a shift away from paternal authority in the family

towards a more egalitarian family environment. All advanced industrial states have experienced these shifts to a greater or lesser extent. One question then to consider is: Have these structural changes been reflected in the values that parents attempt to teach their children? And given the schema stylized in Figure 1, what effects might these changes be having on general authority orientations and on political attitudes? The following sections investigate these questions empirically.

Concepts, Measurement, and Data

This exploration relies on data from four rounds of the World Values Survey (1981-2006) for nine advanced industrial states: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. For comparisons drawn from 1981 to the present, only West German data are used.[iv] Missing data are listwise deleted for each component of the analysis. The variable codings are reported in the appendix, and national data weights are used throughout.

The analysis relies primarily on ordinary least squares regression, as well as maximum likelihood estimation of a hierarchical linear model. That model uses data from all countries (n=7,374). Significance levels are indicated to the $p = 0.1$ level so that readers can judge for themselves the uncertainty associated with the inferences drawn. The cohort analysis follows the strategy suggested by Abramson (1983; Abramson and Inglehart 2007). Because data from all countries are used, and because the relative size of the samples varies from one survey wave to the next, background analysis has been conducted for each country, and the means of these values has been used. That strategy minimizes the possibility that variations in national sample sizes account for any of the longitudinal variation.

Throughout the investigation, deference is operationalized using responses to the question: Is "greater respect for authority" in the future a "good thing"? The question taps the respondents' level of respect for authority, and their willingness to defer decisions to those occupying positions of authority. Arguably, that judgement may entail evaluations of the contemporary level of deference to authority in their own social context. Questions about what values respondents identify as "important to teach children" include the response options of "independence" and "obedience"; these projective questions also seem to tap orientations towards authority.[v] A closer analysis of these particular relationships indicates that responses capture slightly different aspects of authority orientations.

These conceptual distinctions are justified by the initial aggregate take on the data. The tetrachoric *rho* between obedience and independence is 0.37 in nine advanced industrial states. A closer look at these data reveal that a number of respondents identify both independence and obedience as "important qualities to teach children." The three variables taken together load onto a common factor at 0.43 for obedience, 0.41 for independence, and 0.37 for general deference. The significant substantive point is that these three variables all tap aspects of authority orientations that are related across domains. That initial empirical finding is summarized in Figure 2.

Findings I: Does the Decline Theory Hold Up?

Do the patterns of authority orientations identified by Eckstein (1966, 1969) and Pateman (1970), and confirmed by subsequent empirical analyses (Nevitte 1996) still hold up? As Figure 2 indicates, there is evidence of an enduring congruence between attitudes towards authority in political, economic, and social domains. Some relationships have weakened slightly and some

others have become slightly stronger. But the data show a generally consistent pattern: authority orientations are strongly related to both each other and to the general principle that greater respect for authority in the future is "a good thing" (labelled here as "general deference").

[Figure 2 about here]

Note also that the empirical connection between authority orientations in each domain and the concept of general deference is stronger than the connection between any of the two domains. That finding clearly supports the conjecture that these patterns exhibit conceptual overlap; they put empirical flesh on the bones of the schema summarized in Figure 1. Given that finding, the central question now becomes: Have there been aggregate changes in levels of deference across the entire twenty five year time span for which we have data?

The evidence needs to be interpreted cautiously. In aggregate, there have been modest changes in general deference among these publics between 1981 and 2006, and there is evidence of some cross-national variations. There were substantial declines in Canada, Sweden, Italy, and the United States. The decline has been sharpest (a 26 point drop) and most consistent in the United States.

What about the other two dimensions under consideration? Unlike the general measure for deference, the "obedience" and "independence" indicators explicitly probe authority orientations in the context of the family. The data in Figure 3 reveal what might be regarded as somewhat counter-intuitive findings. The percentage of publics identifying independence as important increased in every country in the analysis, and all by substantial margins. Indeed, the scale of the net change is quite striking; it is in the order of over 30% over the 25 year interlude. And as one would expect, there is some evidence of cross-national variation once again.

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

The shift was most modest in Spain, an increase of some 7%. Sweden, by contrast, experienced a very substantial 60% increase in the proportion of the population identifying independence as important to teach children. Such a massive transformation in the values which parents attempt to inculcate raises intriguing questions about what impact such a shift might have on the political dynamics of these countries in the future.

The somewhat more puzzling finding concerns the rising proportion of publics identifying obedience as important to teach children. That shift was relatively modest, about seven percentage points across the period. The sharpest increase was in France.[vi] The precise reason for that shift is not entirely clear, but one possibility to consider is that these twin shifts might signify a greater salience of, and perhaps *polarization around*, issues relating to authority.[vii]

Given the empirical evidence of both coherent connections across different authority domains, and evidence of shifts in general orientations towards authority, the next question to explore, then, is: Are these shifts politically consequential? Do these changes have effects on inclinations towards protest behaviour, or for public confidence in authoritative institutions (the police, the army, the civil service, and Parliament)?

Protest potential is captured by the political action indicators: by respondents' willingness to engage in lawful protest, to sign a petition, and to join in a boycott (Barnes et al 1979). The basic finding is that protest potential has increased in every country included in the analysis by an average of some 17%. At the same time, confidence in governmental institutions has fallen, albeit more modestly, by an average of 4% over this period. These patterns of change, which are explored in greater detail by others, are fairly systematic.[viii]

As Figures 4 and 5 show, general deference is systematically related to both confidence in government and to protest potential. In every country, those who identify more respect for authority as a "good thing" score lower on the protest potential index than do those who say greater respect for authority is a "bad thing." The inverse holds for confidence in government. In every country, those who say more respect for authority is a "good thing" report higher confidence in governmental institutions than those who do not.

[Insert Figures 4 and 5 about here]

One question to explore is whether the effects are the same or different when the other measures of authority outlooks are considered? The short answer is "yes"; they seem to operate in the same way. In every country, identifying independence as important to teach children is associated with lower protest potential. The single exception is the case of the United States. And in every country except the United States and Sweden, those who assign independence a high priority also express lower confidence in governmental institutions. A similar pattern emerges with respect to obedience as an important value to teach children. Those who identify obedience as important quality for children tend to be less inclined to protest behaviour and more confident in government.

What factors drive this decline and polarization? One possibility is that these shifts attributable to life-cycle effects, with generational replacement fuelling an aggregate trend. Another possibility to consider is that these findings are related to inter-generational value change. Then again, one cannot rule out the possibility that they are attributable to some exogenous historical event. Given the Age, Period, Cohort (APC) problem, which means that any two of these effects will be a perfect linear predictor of the other, it is difficult to conclusively rule out any two of these explanations in a multivariate set-up with cross-sectional

data (Blalock 1966, Glenn 2005). One strategy is to follow Paul Abramson's advice (1983), and to estimate the effects of population replacement on the overall trend. That approach can reveal what proportion of change cannot be attributed to generational turnover.

[Figure 6 and Figure 7 about here]

Figure 6 schematically summarizes the observed trend in the sample, as well as two estimates of the effects of generational replacement. The first estimate excludes newer cohorts, people who could not have been interviewed in 1981, while maintaining the age composition of the 1981 sample. That strategy corrects for differential death rates. In that estimate, the older cohorts that go "off-line" in the later waves of the surveys are assigned the values of the next oldest surviving cohort. The approach produces a conservative estimate of the effects of generational replacement (Abramson and Inglehart 2007). The second estimate follows the same procedure, but instead of assigning the values of the next oldest surviving cohort to cohorts that go off line, these cohorts are assigned instead the score that they received the last time they were sampled. This estimate may overstate the effects of generational replacement, because there is evidence that changes are occurring in authority orientations across all cohorts with the passage of time (see Figure 7). That said, these two estimates can nonetheless be thought of as establishing upper and lower bounds for a single estimate of the effects of population turnover.

As Figure 6 shows, the entry of new cohorts into the population enhanced the trend toward a decline in deference, but it did *not* create it. The decline between 1981 and 1990 would have occurred anyway. But that decline was enhanced by the entry of new cohorts into the population. The essential point is underscored by the data summarized in Figure 7. Notice that the decline that occurred between 1981 and 1990 was equally steep across all age cohorts, as was the "rebound" between 1990 and 2006. Support for the principle of deference is, quite clearly,

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stratified by cohort. Those born in earlier time periods are consistently more likely than their younger counterparts to think that greater respect for authority is a good thing. But these cohorts also consistently react to contextual factors a very similar way. In effect, the most plausible interpretation of these data is that they capture both generation and period effects.

[Figure 8 and 9 about here]

The findings concerning the related "authority variable," independence as an important value to teach children, are somewhat different. In this case, there is a consistent, indeed quite dramatic, increase in the priority assigned to independence over the 1981 to 2006 period. The evidence presented in Figure 8 indicates that population turnover played a significant role in this change. Once again, population replacement enhanced a trend affecting all cohorts. Put somewhat differently, if there had there been no generational replacement during this period, the increase would have been about 30% less steep than it actually was. And as before, responses on this item seem to be stratified according to cohort.[ix]

The notion that life-cycle effects would be at play seems less plausible here than with respect to general deference, however. As people age, and they themselves begin to occupy positions of authority, it is plausible that they might have an interest in saying that greater respect for authority in the future is a "good thing." It is less plausible to suppose that as people age, they would increasingly identify "independence" as an important value to teach children. Thus, the implication is that the aging of these cohorts may be capturing period rather than life-cycle effects. And that effect is augmented by intergenerational value change.

Given that changes in support for "independence" are more pronounced, and more strongly associated with population turnover than general deference, it is worth contemplating what impact this shift might have on the prospects for future change. Is there any evidence to

indicate, for example, that responses to these answers could be related to shifting views about general deference at a later point in time? It is to this question that we now turn.

Findings II: Primary Socialization and Authority Orientations

The notion that authority relations taught within the family could have substantial political effects is hardly new. At the turn of the nineteenth century, John Adams speculated that, "the source of the revolution" against Britain was "the systematic dissolution of the true family authority" (Wood 147).[x] Wood more recently makes a strong case that shifting parent child relations were related to the more consensual relationship that developed in the early modern period between rulers and subjects (Wood 145-168). Contemporary political socialization theorists argue that family experiences are crucial to the development of political attitudes. The relevant implication to explore here concerns the question of whether the values people intended to teach their children in 1981 had any discernable impact on orientations towards authority in 2006.

The 1981 WVS included a question item aimed at measuring parental strictness, which provides a way of exploring the plausibility of such an effect. The expectation consistent with socialization theory is that parental strictness should be related to authority orientations learned in the family. The data show that, with the exceptions of the UK and Sweden, parental strictness has a substantial effect on general deference at the 0.05 significance level. The effects are also consistent with expectations: those socialized in settings with stricter parents are more likely to think that more respect for authority in the future is a "good thing."

[Table 1 about here]

The longer interlude now captured by the WVS facilitates an evaluation of that question using a different method, as well. Did the values that adults identified as important to teach

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children in 1981 have an impact on general deference in 2006? That question is probed using a multilevel regression approach, and the results, reported in Table 2, suggest that the answer is "yes." Living in a country in which obedience was emphasized in 1981 is significantly related to support for general deference in 2006. This effect is statistically significant and substantively quite large. These findings are entirely consistent with the hypothesis with which we began: children internalize values, authority values, projected by their parents in the family. Even so, and somewhat intriguingly, the evidence also seems to suggest that different values are internalized with more or less efficiency. Parents who want to teach their children the value of independence have less success, somewhat ironically, in inculcating that value than do those who attempt to teach obedience. Given that the model includes SES controls, other interpretations can be ruled out.

[Table 2 about here]

Notice that postmaterialism is a statistically significant and substantively important predictor of general deference. That finding holds across nearly all time points and for all countries under consideration. One possibility is that general deference is simply a proxy for postmaterialism. But that interpretation does not hold up under closer scrutiny. The Pearson's r correlation coefficient between general deference and postmaterialism quite modest (0.19). Nor, as is clear from Figure 2, does postmaterialism account for all of the variation in general deference. Each variable, it seems, taps different dimensions of the syndrome of emancipative orientations that have been systematically documented in advanced industrial societies in the postwar period (Inglehart 1977).

What about the effects of other controls? Arguably, people who are more trusting might be more likely to defer to authority. To the extent that trust reflects a optimistic orientation

towards others (Uslaner 2002), the expectation is that those exhibiting higher levels of trust may also express greater respect towards those occupying positions of power as well. The effects of interpersonal trust across different countries, however, tend to be less consistent and weaker. Personal religiosity, though, does emerge as a significant predictor. The effects are consistent, but weaker than those of postmaterialism. The effects of ideological self-placement are somewhat asymmetrical. Left self-placement is a relatively strong predictor of disagreement with the idea that greater respect for authority is a "good thing," whereas the effects of right self-placement are weak and inconsistent. Satisfaction with one's life and finances are also predictors of deferential attitudes, albeit relatively weak ones.

The effects of education and age, however, are large, consistent, statistically significant, and operate in the expected direction. Those with higher levels of formal education, and those who are younger, tend to be less deferential towards authority than their less well educated and older counterparts. These findings suggest that structural changes play a significant role in these shifts.

Findings III: Deference and Institutional Performance

From Tocqueville (1835) to Almond and Verba (1963) to Inglehart (1977), there is a long and honourable scholarly preoccupation with the question of how values are connected to institutions. There are good reasons to suppose, then, that orientations towards authority may also be related to the performance of democratic institutions.

[Figure 10 about here]

That plausibility probe turns to aggregate data from the Economist Intelligence Unit's democracy index.[xi] These index scores are based on 60 indicators across five categories of democratic performance, including: electoral process, civil liberties, functioning of government,

political participation and political culture. A high score on this scale, which ranges from zero to ten, indicates a greater degree of democracy. Figure 10 plots countries' ranking on this index against their aggregate scores on general deference, independence, and obedience for 45 countries.[xii] What emerges is a portrait of a positive relationship between freedom and independence, and a negative relationship between freedom and deference and freedom and obedience. There is substantial cross-national variation, and the findings do not qualify as a tight linear fit, but the directions of these relationships are clear.

Publics that are more participatory, that act as an active check on government, and that have as their social base high interpersonal trust rather than intimidation nurture more accountable and stable democratic institutions. The data in Figure 10 show that authority orientations are indeed related to democratic performance, a finding about which Eckstein speculated but was not in a position to empirically test. The roots of these authority orientations, it seems, lie in the family.

Concluding Discussion

This investigation has revisited an earlier line of investigation and asked: Do the findings from that earlier project hold up when the scope of the analysis is extended to encompass WVS data from a twenty five year period?

The answer seems to be "yes" in three respects. First, there is now more evidence indicating that authority orientations are indeed coherent and that they operate across domains. There are theoretical reasons to suppose that authority orientations originate in the family setting, and there are some additional empirical data that support that claim. Second, the patterns of change, more particularly, the shifts in authority orientations, have indeed continued along the trajectory that could have been predicted from the patterns evident between 1981 and 1990.

Third, these shifts are also consistent in another respect; they are associated with public evaluations of confidence in political institutions and with shifts in protest behaviour.

The availability of more WVS data from successive rounds of the surveys has also presented the opportunity to extend the investigation in other ways. In one respect, the additional data strengthen the analysis of the impact of population replacement. Here, the evidence turns out to be consistent with the patterns of change identified by both Inglehart (1990) and Abramson and Inglehart (2007). In another respect, the data also allow for a plausibility probe concerning the long run effects of familial socialization concerning authority orientations. And in this respect, the findings correspond to the conjecture that authority orientations "taught" at one point in time leave imprints in the same populations twenty five years hence. These findings do not constitute conclusive proof that these outlooks are transferred in precisely those ways. Short of panel data, the best can be said is that these findings are consistent with that interpretation. That said, there remains an unresolved puzzle: Why is it that the relationships between "independence" and "obedience" do not operate in symmetrical ways? One possibility is that this is just statistical noise in the data. Another is that these orientations are not precisely the polar opposites of the same conceptual dimension. Yet another possibility is that there are operational thresholds, or upper and lower limits, that are conditioned by dynamics that are specific to particular moments in particular national contexts. A more definitive interpretation calls for further investigation.

It is useful, by way of conclusion, to contemplate how these findings relate to Ron Inglehart's body of work that has been so influential during the last forty years. Indeed, it would be impolite not to consider that question. One challenging response would be that the thesis proposed here is but another way of describing the same kinds of transformations that Inglehart
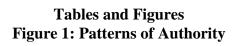
has so artfully elaborated before. Certainly, there is considerable common ground. Some of that common ground, first, is in the shared view that structural change must matter, and that any persuasive explanation of value change cannot begin and end only with a discussion of values. Second, there is also common ground in the sense that any persuasive account of value change has to take into account how values are transferred from one generation to the next and so to the issue of population replacement. Third, to move beyond description there must be agency. In addition to structural change, the agency suggested here is political socialization and the specific role of the family. This analysis, in other words, falls squarely within the tradition that Inglehart has done so much to pioneer.
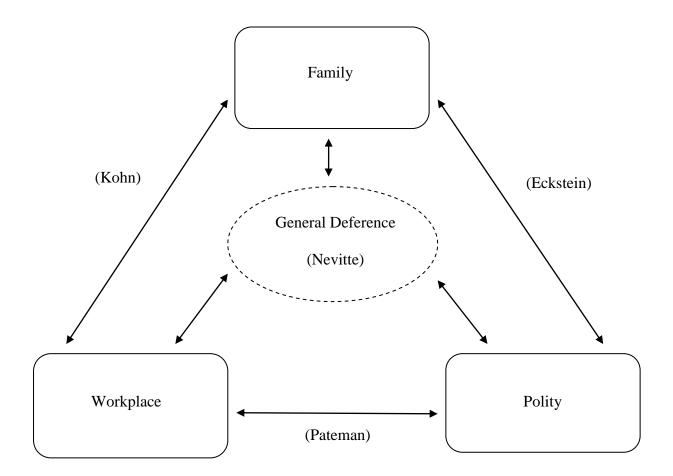
The final point to make is that the earlier project (Nevitte 1996) and this re-thinking are entirely consistent with the theory and findings that Inglehart has so productively established over the course of his career. That said, our respective foci are not entirely identical. The goal of the earlier project was to dig somewhat deeper into a narrower set of intuitions that have stalked comparative politics for well over five decades. It is only relatively recently that the empirical data have become available to allow us to explore those intuitions more systematically. Inglehart's project has been to bring a sharper and clearer understanding to the large question of how the dynamics of value change work. The scope of this project is more modest: it has been to rehabilitate the importance of authority orientations, and to understand better the mechanisms and consequences of shifting orientations towards authority. That project would not have been possible without Inglehart's intellectual guidance driving the WVS.

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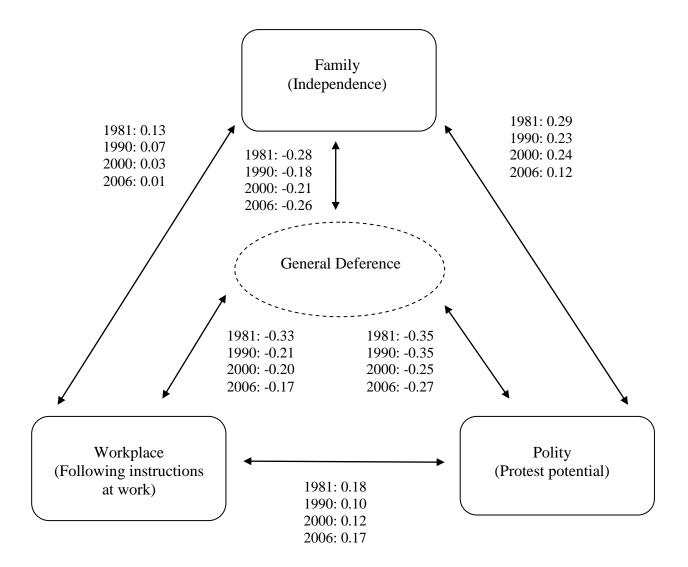
Tables and Figures
Figure 1: Patterns of Authority

Family

(Kohn)

(Eckstein)

General Deference

(Nevitte)

Workplace

Polity

(Pateman)

Figure 2: Stability and Change in Patterns of Authority

Family
(Independence)

1981: 0.13
1990: 0.07
2000: 0.03
2006: 0.01

1981: -0.28
1990: -0.18
2000: -0.21
2006: -0.26

1981: 0.29
1990: 0.23
2000: 0.24
2006: 0.12

General Deference

1981: -0.33
1990: -0.21
2000: -0.20
2006: -0.17

1981: -0.35
1990: -0.35
2000: -0.25
2006: -0.27

Workplace
(Following instructions
at work)

Polity
(Protest potential)

1981: 0.18
1990: 0.10
2000: 0.12
2006: 0.17

Source: World Values Surveys 1981, 1990, 2000, and 2006.

Note: (1) The above are tetrachoric *rho* estimates, based on nine country aggregated data.
(2) The workplace authority question was only asked in Canada in 2005/2006.
Question wordings: (1) **General deference:** *"I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? Greater respect for authority."*
(2) **Independence/obedience:** *"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...independence."*
(3) **Workplace obedience:** *"People have different ideas about following instructions at work. Some say that one should follow one's superior's instructions even when one does not fully agree with them. Others say that one should follow one's superior's instructions only when one is convinced that they are right. With which of these two opinions do you agree? Follow instructions/must be convinced first/depends."*
(4) **Protest potential:** The protest potential index is based on whether one has done or would do all of the following activities: attending a lawful demonstration, joining in a boycott, and signing a petition.
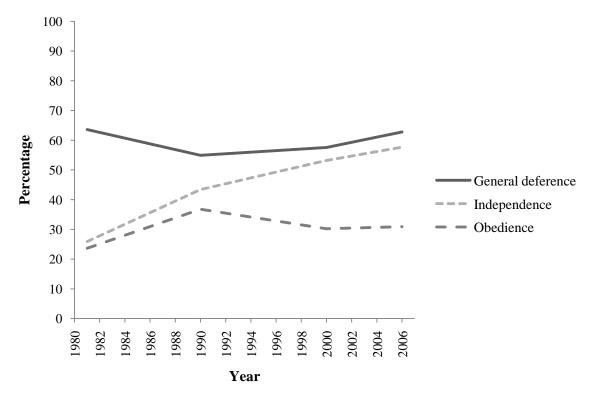
Figure 3: General Deference and Qualities Important to Teach Children, 1981-2006

Source: World Values Surveys 1981, 1990, 2000, and 2006.

Note: Nine country data. All countries are given equal weight.
Question wordings: (1) **General deference:** *"I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? Greater respect for authority."*
(2) **Independence/obedience:** *"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."*
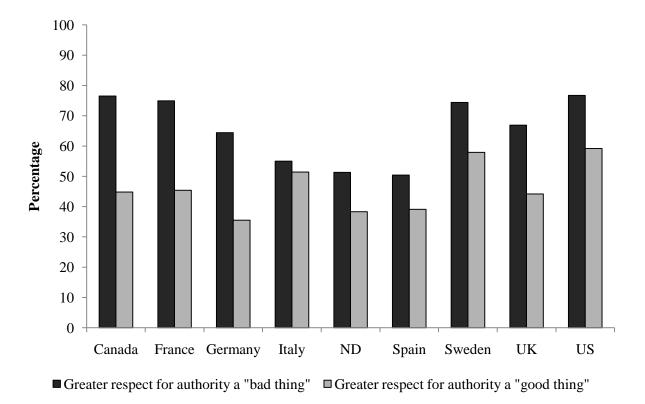
Figure 4: Protest Potential by General Deference

■ Greater respect for authority a "bad thing"   □ Greater respect for authority a "good thing"

Source: World Values Surveys 2005/2006.

Question wordings: (1) **General deference:** *"I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? Greater respect for authority."*
(2) **Protest potential:** The protest potential index is based on whether one has done or would do all of the following activities: *"attending a lawful demonstration," "joining in a boycott,"* and *"signing a petition."*
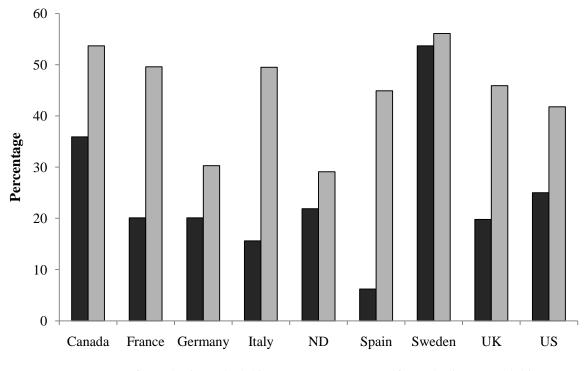
Figure 5: Confidence in Government by General Deference

Source: World Values Surveys 2005/2006.

Question wordings: (1) **General deference:** "*I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? Greater respect for authority.*"
(2) **Confidence in government:** The confidence in government index is on the level of confidence in the following institutions: "*parliament,*" "*the army,*" "*the police*" and "*the civil service.*"
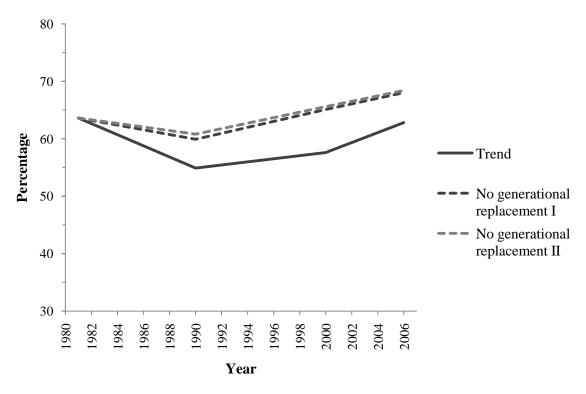
Figure 6: General Deference, 1981-2006

Source: World Values Surveys 1981, 1990, 2000, 2006.

Question wordings: (1) *"I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? Greater respect for authority."*
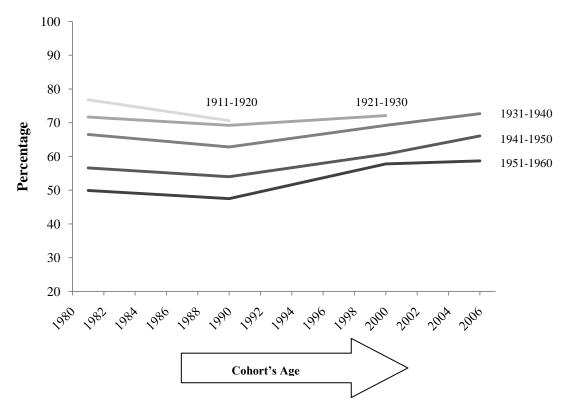
Figure 7: General Deference by Cohort, 1981-2006

Source: World Values Surveys 1981, 1990, 2000, 2006.

Question wording: (1) *"I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? Greater respect for authority."*
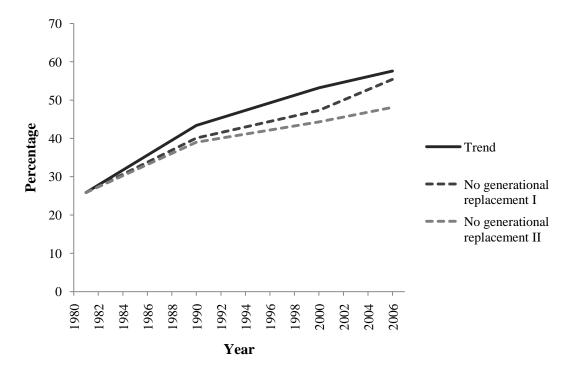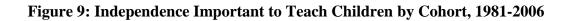
Figure 8: Independence Important to Teach Children, 1981-2006

Source: World Values Surveys 1981, 1990, 2000, 2006.

Question wording: (1) *"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...independence."*

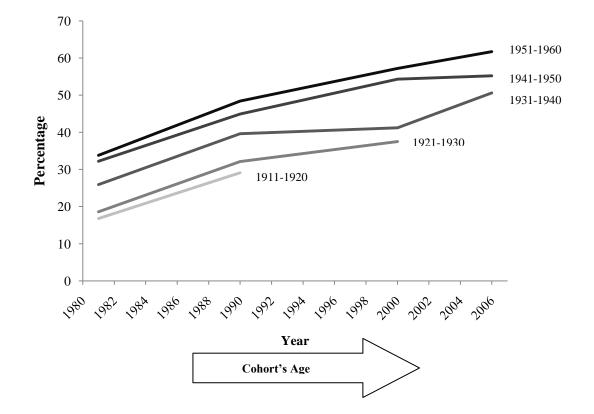**Figure 9: Independence Important to Teach Children by Cohort, 1981-2006**

Source: World Values Surveys 1981, 1990, 2000, 2006.

Question wording: (1) *"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...independence."*

Table 1: Determinants of General Deference, 1981

	Canada	France	BRD	Italy	Netherlands	Spain	Sweden	UK	US
Family socialization:									
Parental strictness	0.14*** (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	0.11** (0.04)	0.06* (0.02)	0.06 (0.06)	0.07 # (0.04)	0.05* (0.02)
SES Controls:									
Age	0.15*** (0.03)	0.21*** (0.04)	0.38*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.02)	0.16** (0.05)	0.18*** (0.03)	0.05*** (0.01)
Income	0.03 (0.03)	0.10** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.07* (0.03)	0.10** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.02)	-0.09 # (0.05)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.01)
Male	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03* (0.01)	0.04 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)
Education	-0.07** (0.02)	-0.30*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.06*** (0.01)
N	1007	849	1269	1045	840	1999	838	834	2152
R^2	0.06	0.16	0.13	0.08	0.12	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.03

Source: World Values Survey, 1981.
Method: Ordinary least squares regression.

Question wording: (1) **General deference:** *"I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? Greater respect for authority."*

Table 2: Determinants of General Deference, 2006

	Est. (S.E.)
Postmaterialism	-0.15***
	(0.01)
Interpersonal trust	0.03***
	(0.00)
Religiosity	0.06***
	(0.01)
Ideological self-placement:	
Left	-0.07***
	(0.01)
Right	0.02#
	(0.01)
Satisfaction:	
Life satisfaction	0.04***
	(0.01)
Financial satisfaction	0.03**
	(0.01)
Community involvement:	
Active associational membership	0.01
	(0.01)
1981 child values index scores:	
Independence	-0.06
	(0.50)
Obedience	1.31*
	(0.57)
SES controls:	
Age	0.04***
	(0.01)
Education	-0.09***
	(0.01)
Income	-0.02
	(0.01)
Male	-0.00
	(0.01)
Country-Level controls:	
GDP	-0.50
	(1.01)
No. of respondents	7374
No. of countries	9
Wald chi^2	694.93***
Log likelihood	-1644.022

Source: World Values Survey, 2006.
Method: Mixed-effects maximum likelihood regression.

Notes: (1) # p <1.0, * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.
      (2) Nine country aggregated data.
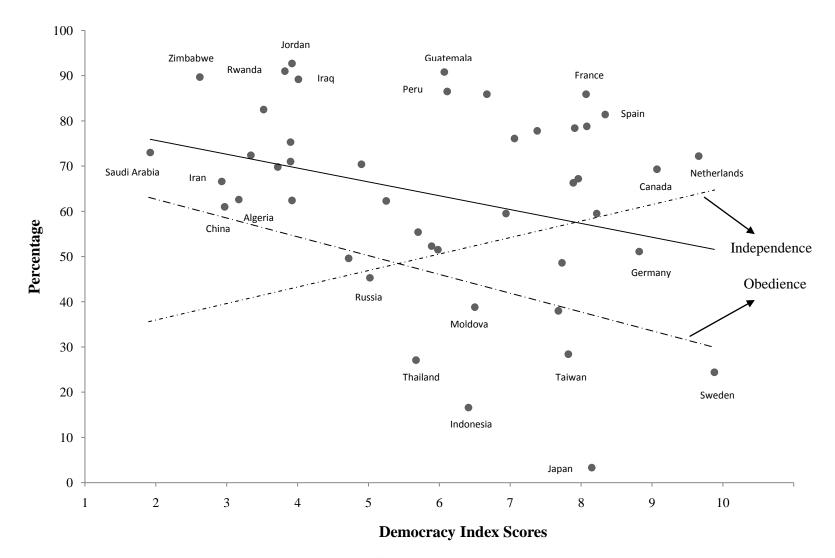   (3) GDP is per head of population, extracted from OECD databank 15 Feb 2011.

Figure 10: General Deference, Values to Teach Children, and Institutional Performance

Democracy Index Scores

Sources: World Values Survey (2000 and 2006) and Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy aggregate index scores (2006).
Question wording: (1) **General deference:** *"I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind? Greater respect for authority."*

Endnotes

[i] As Inglehart puts it: "the political culture approach is distinctive in arguing that (1) people's responses to their situations are shaped by subjective orientations, which vary cross-culturally and within subcultures; *and* (2) these variations in subjective orientations reflect differences in one's socialization experience, with early learning conditioning later learning, making the former more difficult to undo." (Culture Shift, 19).

[ii] In later work, Eckstein and Gurr (1975) emphasize the importance of viewing all political phenomena through the lens of authority patterns. They advocate this as a paradigm shift within political science.

[iii] Pateman emphasizes that the workplace itself constitutes a political arena.

[iv] There were no data from East Germany in 1981. The selection of the nine countries is driven by practical considerations including the uniformity of the questions asked and participation in the four rounds under consideration.

[v] Respondents were required to pick at most 5 of 10 qualities on a list.

[vi] The 24% *increase* in this measure in France is mirrored by a 26% *increase* in support for the notion of general deference.

[vii] A closer investigation of the relationship between "independence" and "obedience" indicates that the proportion of respondents identifying one or both of these qualities as "important" to teach children has risen substantially over this interlude (from 47.8% in 1981 to 75.8% in 2006). This indicates the increased salience of authority orientations.

[viii] See papers by Russell Dalton and Doh Chull Shin, "Confidence in Institutions and Support for Democracy around the World"; Hans-Dieter Klingemann, "Dissatisfied Democrats: A Growing Species?"; and Ola Listhaug and Tor Georg Jakobsen, "Values and the Politics of Protest," at presented at this conference.

[ix] Note that in both Figure 7 and Figure 9, the wider divide between those born before and after 1940. The clustering indicates that a value divide between members of these generations along these dimensions.

[x] "There can never be any regular government of a nation" he told one of his sons in 1799 "without a marked subordination of mother and children to the father."

[xi] These data are more comprehensive than such indicators as the Freedom House Index. However, using the Freedom House statistics yields similar results.

[xii] In order to increase the sample size on the low end of the index, five countries that were only sampled in 2000 were included in the analysis.