

Hovering at the Polls: Do Helicopter Parents Prefer Paternalistic Political Policies?

Christian Lindke¹

University of California, Riverside

Department of Political Science

clind006@ucr.edu

Daniel M Oppenheimer

Carnegie Mellon University

Department of Social and Decision Sciences

doppenh1@andrew.cmu.edu

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¹ Please address all correspondence to Christian Lindke.

Abstract

According to George Lakoff (2002), political parties can influence voters by activating parental metaphors. Republicans tend to activate voters' underlying Strict Father metaphor and Democrats tend to activate voters' Nurturing Parent metaphor through their use of campaign rhetoric and policy platforms. There has been some preliminary empirical work that seems to confirm this phenomenon (Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, and Sheikh 2014). Building on research in the psychology literature regarding authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting styles (Baumrind 1971) and recent research on helicopter parenting (Padilla-Walker and Nelson 2012), we argue that Lakoff's metaphor analysis captures only one dimension of voter preferences. We find that a preference for paternalistic policy preferences can be partially explained by support for helicopter parenting and that this is a better explanation of support for such policies than traditional measures used to reflect Strict Father and Nurturant Parent metaphors.

Keywords: helicopter parenting, political parties, political ideology, political metaphors, political attitudes.

Metaphors are everywhere in our day to day conversations of politics and in the statements of our politicians. During the 2016 presidential election Hillary Clinton frequently used metaphors of motion like “join me on this journey”, using “Forward” as the theme of one of her campaign videos , or her use of an arrow pointing forward to the future in her campaign logo. Similarly, Donald Trump repeatedly used repeated construction metaphors, among others, such as “build a wall” and “make” America great. One might argue that these metaphors are mere rhetorical flourish, but according to conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), metaphors provide the primary means by which our mind understand the world. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphors extend beyond the language we use and that “human thought processes are largely metaphorical” (p.4).

George Lakoff (Lakoff, 2002; Lakoff, 2008) argues that the American political system has two distinct family based moral systems, each representative of a different underlying parental metaphor. According to Lakoff (2002), in American politics the nation is not merely family but the political parties represent two different kinds of parents. Conservatives have a moral politics that is grounded in the “Strict Father²” metaphor, while political liberals have a conceptual moral framework that fits with the “Nurturant Parent” caregiver metaphor.

Adherents to the Strict Father view of parenting view the world as a dangerous place where survival is difficult and competition is everywhere. Strict Father frameworks are accepted in order to help children become more self-reliant in order to survive as adults. This model focuses on punishing those who “misbehave” and praises obedience to authority.

Conversely, the Nurturant Parent model is one that focuses most strongly on empathy, “the primal experience behind this model is being cared for and cared about...and deriving

² It should be noted that Lakoff makes it clear that the “Strict Father” need not be male, but given this metaphor’s typical association with patriarchal family structure he calls it Strict Father.

meaning from mutual interaction and care” (Lakoff 2002, p. 108). Children learn morality and how to empathically work with others in the world through a loving attachment to their parents (p. 110). Self-reliance in a Nurturant Parent home is done by emulating the behavior of parents you respect, rather than as a fearful response to punishment.

In this paper, we examine whether George Lakoff’s use of a single dimension in analyzing political metaphor is a sufficient description of American politics. We argue that his single dimensional description is at odds with the psychology literature on modes of parenting and present an alternative metaphorical interpretation where parenting consists of at least two orthogonal dimensions, one of which is Helicopter vs. Submarine parenting. Helicopter Parenting doesn’t fit nicely under either of Lakoff’s metaphors and has increasingly become a topic for academic research ((Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012) with some of that research extending into the realm of how Helicopter Parenting influences political behavior (Manaf, Omar, & Orthman, 2014). We specifically examine to see if a preference for Helicopter Parenting norms correlates with a preference for paternalistic political policies. In addition, we perform three experiments that attempt to manipulate respondent’s levels of support for Helicopter Parenting or paternalistic political policies by giving them news stories that discuss various parenting scenarios.

The Psychology of Parenting

In building his unidimensional model of parental metaphors, George Lakoff build upon the existing psychology literature on parenting styles. Psychologists have long been aware of the various challenges and pressures that parents face when raising children (Rasmussen, 2014), and examining how parents respond to these challenges led to the creation of models of parenting styles. One of the most influential models of parenting styles was developed by Diana Baumrind

(1971) who categorized parents as either 1) authoritative, 2) authoritarian, or 3) permissive. This list was later expanded to include 4) neglectful as Baumrind (2012) explored the various means parents used to assert their power. In response to Baumrind's work, psychologists developed scales like the Child Rearing Practices Report to measure the dimensions of parenting behavior (Rickel, Williams, & Loigman, 1988; Rickel & Biasatti, 1982). Where the Baumrind taxonomy provides four distinct parenting styles, and is useful for a lot of analysis, current models of parenting include more than two dimensions. These models are multi-dimensional and are measured using scales that frequently fall along the lines of 1) acceptance/rejection, 2) psychological autonomy/psychological control, and 3) firm control/lax control (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012).

Of particular interest to modern psychologists is the phenomenon of Helicopter Parenting because its behavior is controlling, but distinct from authoritarian parenting techniques (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). Helicopter parents, like authoritative parents, exhibit significant controlling behaviors with regard to their children's lives, but where authoritarian parents tend to be confrontational, helicopter parents tend to be coercive in their behaviors (Liga, et al., 2017)..

Early interpretations of Helicopter Parenting viewed it as a behavior where parents attempted to protect their children due to nurturing sentiments (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012), but it has been demonstrated that parental anxiety is one of the root causes (Segrin, Woszidlo, Givertz, & Montgomery, 2013; Segrin, Givertz, Swaitkowski, & Montgomery, 2015). Where helicopter parenting behavior was once viewed as being an expression of parental warmth, it is now viewed primarily as a controlling behavior (Nelson, Padilla-Walker, & Nielson, 2015). The research demonstrates that Helicopter Parenting is a form of parenting distinct from other forms

of parenting, one distinct from either of Lakoff's parental metaphors, and one that influences other aspects of parents and children's lives.

Parenting, Political Science, and Lakoff

The role of parents in the transmission of political partisanship is a well-studied phenomenon in political science and we know that parents are the primary influencers of an individual's party attachment (Beck & Jennings, 1991; Dawson & Prewitt, 1969; Jennings & Niemi, 1974; Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954). Recently, we have seen an increase in the political science research regarding how parenthood affects the individual political behavior of the parents (Elder & Greene, 2012a).

Elder and Greene (Elder & Greene, 2012a; Elder & Greene, 2012b; Elder & Greene, 2006) have done an extensive analysis of how being a parent influences an individual's political views. They found, for example, that women with children tend to be significantly more liberal than women without children on social welfare issues (Elder & Greene, 2006), that they are more likely to hold anti-war positions than women without children (Elder & Greene, 2012a), but that these findings do not apply to men with children..

However Lakoff's analysis does have its critics. Some argue that the model is *post hoc* analysis that behaves more like a "just so" story than a meaningful predictive model. For example, Musolff (2016) reminds us that "the empirical evidence Lakoff presents for his two-model theory in *Moral Politics* is very small. It is almost completely listed in one paragraph that refers to idioms, sayings and a couple of prominent arguments" (p.28). Musolff further goes on to state that attempts that have been made to empirically analyze Lakoff's claims have had mixed success. While there is firm evidence that the Nation as Family metaphor is used in American politics, (e.g. Strict Father metaphors are common in speeches etc.), the use of these metaphors

has not been confined to conservatives and little support has been found for liberals using Nurturant Parent metaphors (Musolff, 2016). One of the reasons for a lack of empirical support for Lakoff's claims is due to the challenges one faces when coding political speeches as data and attempting to find references that specifically fit either Strict Father or Nurturant Parent. When these obstacles are overcome the evidence tends to find these references to be relatively scarce (Cienki, 2005). Other researchers have found that conservative politicians used both Strict Father and Nurturant Parent metaphors while liberals only used Nurturant Parent metaphors (Deason & Gonzales, 2012)³. Iyengar (2005) suggests that this may be due to the fact that it is the media, and not candidates and parties, who generate the majority of metaphorical framing that voters are exposed to on a regular basis.

It is important to note that according to conceptual metaphor theory, that metaphor use isn't limited to the elites and media as a means of framing and interpreting politics. Voters generate their own frames and use them as a foundation for their political understanding (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphors being used by elites may reinforce them in our cognitive processes, but they pre-exist elite uses. There are other means to test the legitimacy of Lakoff's claims, and the best is to test to see if voters who advocate for a particular parenting philosophy (Strict Father vs. Nurturant Parent) do in fact favor particular policies.

Feldman and Stenner (Feldman & Stenner, 1997) were among the first researchers to include measures for authoritarian parenting styles that could be used to examine political preferences, and there is some evidence that authoritarian parenting correlates with conservatism (Fraleigh, Griffin, Belsky, & Roisman, 2012). Other researchers have looked outside of the

³ It should be noted that Deason and Gonzales' research covered convention speeches given subsequent to the publication of Lakoff's research and may reflect attempts by Democratic politicians to implement Lakoff's recommendations.

authoritarianism literature, and into the parenting literature, to see if there is a connection. Utilizing Rickel and Biasatti's (1982) Child Rearing Practices Report (CRPR), which assesses parental restrictiveness and nurturing, Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, and Sheikh (2014) found some evidence that parental restrictiveness was associated with conservatism, but found no link between parental nurturance and political liberalism among American voters. Manaf et al. (2014), found similar results among Malaysian students. Indeed, though Lakoff has written books advising Democrats to learn the power of metaphorical framing, his books on politics discuss how to frame individual issues. This suggests that the power of the metaphor is at the issue level and would best be analyzed at that level.

Questions

In arguing for the descriptive power of his parental metaphors, George Lakoff (2002) expressly associates his Nurturing Parent metaphor with the authoritative parent and the Strict Father with the model of authoritarian parent. However, If one examines Lakoff's description of Nurturant Parent, there are elements that might equally fit under Helicopter Parenting more easily than under the model of authoritative parenting. For example, "Protection is a form of caring, and protection from external dangers takes up a significant part to the nurturant parent's attention. The world is filled with evils that can harm a child and it is the nurturant parent's duty to ward them off. Crime and drugs, are of course, significant, but so are less obvious dangers: cigarettes, cars without seat belts, dangerous toys, inflammable clothing, pollution, asbestos, lead paint, pesticides in food, diseases, unscrupulous business men, and so on" (Lakoff, 2002, p. 109). While the list of items includes many dangerous things, one is struck by Lakoff's description signals parental anxiety more than loving kindness.

In other words, Lakoff's parental metaphors were rooted in the psychological conceptual frameworks of parenting styles, but left out two of the main archetypes (permissive and neglectful), as and his Nurturant Parent model seemed to contain elements of behavior that could apply to both authoritative parents and helicopter parents.

Research Studies

In making our argument for a need to examine parental metaphors as a multidimensional model, we draw on data from four different studies conducted using American respondents recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk..

Study 1a (Helicopter Parenting and Paternalist Policy Preferences): Approximately 100 respondents were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk during the second week of September, 2016, and they answered questions about Helicopter Parenting Norms and Paternalistic Policies.

Study 1b: (Strict Parenting and Paternalistic Policy Preference): A second group of approximately 100 respondents were recruited during the second week of September, 2016 and they answered questions about Strict Parenting Norms and Paternalistic Policies.

Study 2a(1)(Manipulating Support for Helicopter Parenting Norms using Sports Stories): A group of 150 respondents was recruited in December, 2016 and divided into three groups, one control group and two treatment groups. They were exposed to a stimulus and answered questions about Helicopter Parenting Norms.

Study 2a(2)(Manipulating Support for Helicopter Parenting Norms using Workplace Interference Stories): A separate group of 150 respondents was recruited in December, 2016 and divided into three groups, one control group and two treatment groups. They were exposed to a stimulus and answered questions about Helicopter Parenting Norms.

Study 2b (Manipulating Support for Paternalistic Policies Using Workplace Interference Stories): A group of 300 respondents was recruited in February, 2017 and was divided into three groups, one control group and two treatment groups. They were exposed to a stimulus and answered questions about Paternalistic Political Policies.

Study Participants

The characteristics of the respondents in all five studies are presented on Table 1. As is common in M-Turk samples, the groups are consistently disproportionately Democratic, White, and Educated. Without targeting parents in our M-Turk recruitment, we were able to get decent numbers of respondents with children which aided us in our analysis.

[Insert Table 1]

Table 1: Sample Characteristics for All Studies					
	Study 1a	Study 1b	Study 2a Sports Frame	Study 2a Mom to... Frame	Study 2b Mom to... Frame
Democrats	49	45	60	72	139
Republicans	24	22	34	30	60
Independents/Leaners	33	28	49	37	84
No Preference	4	4	7	9	18
White	73	78	121	108	217
Black	9	6	11	12	25
Hispanic	9	3	3	5	15
Asian/Pacific Islander	5	9	9	13	28
Mixed Race/Other	3	3	6	9	16
Male	50	52	89	76	159
Average Age (Years)	36.5	35.48	36.16	36.15	36.11
Have Children	44	36	67	61	113
Associate's Degree +	60	71	92	104	182
N	99	99	150	147	301

Measures

Lindke/Oppenheimer Helicopter Parenting Scale

Respondents were provided with 19 examples of parenting activity and asked to evaluate how acceptable they find the behavior to be (see Appendix). They were allowed to rate the items on a scale of 1 (completely appropriate) to 9 (completely inappropriate). Examples of the statements the respondents evaluated include: “filling out a child’s college applications for him/her to ensure s/he has the best chance to attend a good school,” “forcing a child to attend class on a day when s/he will encounter offensive material,” and “hiring a professional editor for a child’s college research papers to improve his/her grade.” We had the scale reviewed by graduate students in UCLA’s Psychology program to determine face validity and the scale had good statistical reliability ($\alpha = .7848$).

Lindke/Oppenheimer Age Norms

Due to the fact that parents might modify their parenting style based upon the age of the child being raised, we designed a 23 item scale asking respondents at what age they believed it was appropriate for children to engage in a variety of activities (see Appendix). Examples of the questions we provided in this section include: “at what age is it okay to allow a child to ride a bicycle alone to a friend’s house more than two blocks away,” “at what age is it okay to allow a child to cross the street without holding hands with an adult,” and “at what age is it okay for a child to go on a romantic date without adult supervision?” Once again, we submitted the scale to students in UCLA’s Psychology program to review for face validity and the scale had excellent reliability ($\alpha = .9031$)

Padilla-Walker/Nelson Parenting Scale

In their study evaluating helicopter parenting as a distinct behavior from other forms of parental control, Laura M. Padilla-Walker and Larry J. Nelson (2012) designed a 14 item scale measuring three different elements of parental behavior. These elements were helicopter parenting,

behavioral controls, and psychological controls. The scale's questions asked young respondents to evaluate whether a certain behavior sounded like something their parents would do, with distinct questions for maternal and paternal behavior. The scale was also given to parents of the students asking if a particular behavior sounded like that parent or not. For the purposes of our study, which is less concerned with the differences in parent vs. child reporting in helicopter parenting at this stage, we modified the Padilla-Walker/Nelson scale by merely asking our respondents whether it sounded like something "their parents" have done. The overall scale has excellent statistical reliability ($\alpha = .8729$), as do the *helicopter parenting* ($\alpha = .8006$), behavioral control ($\alpha = .8137$), and psychological control ($\alpha = .8192$) factors when evaluated individually. Statements on this scale include statements like "My parents intervened in settling disputes with my roommates or friends" for helicopter parenting, "My parents tried to set rules about what I did with my free time" for behavioral control, and "If I hurt my parents' feelings, they stopped talking to me until I pleased them" for psychological control. Our analysis will include evaluation of the parenting scale as a whole and using subsections of the scale.

Child Rearing Authoritarianism Scale

Stanley Feldman and Karen Stenner (1997) designed a scale to measure authoritarianism in a manner that accounted for how external or social threat could activate authoritarian tendencies among individuals. In order to measure evaluation, they designed a series of questions relating to child rearing styles which predicted authoritarian tendencies. In their study, the scale had an estimated reliability of $\alpha = .66$ and our samples had similar reliability scores (1a: $\alpha = .6663$, 1b: $\alpha = .653$). This scale gives respondents paired qualities and asks them to select the one they most agree with in the pair. For example, "students must be encouraged to question established authorities and criticize the customs and traditions of society" would be paired with "one of the

major aims of education should be to give students a few simple rules of behavior to make them better citizens.” Respondents giving the more authoritarian answer are given a score of 1 for the item and those giving the less authoritarian answer are given a score of 0. This provides an authoritarianism scale of 0 to 5.

Political Attitudes

To measure political attitudes questions, we used two questions which have been standard on the ANES since its inception. These are a simple Likert scale question asking respondents where they would place themselves on a scale of 1 (extremely liberal) to 7 (extremely conservative). Given that ideology and party are correlated, but distinct constructs (Aldrich, 2011; Green, Palmquist, & Schickler, 2002) we asked respondents whether they were a Republican, Democrat, and Independent, or something else. We then asked for the strength of their political attachment, strong or not very strong, and whether they were closer to a party if they considered themselves to be an independent. This information was used to create a scale ranging from 1 (strong Democrat) to 7 (Strong Republican) with those reporting independent and being closer to neither party scored as a 4.

Rickel and Biasatti (1982) Child Rearing Practices Report (CRPR)

The CRPR is a multi-item scale that is frequently used in research to assess parenting styles and is divided into two sections one of which measure restrictive parenting and the other which measures nurturing parental behavior. These styles correspond very nicely with the poles in Lakoff’s (2002) parental metaphor analysis. Following Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, and Sheikh,(2014 we used a modified scale that asked respondents use the scale to describe their parents’ behavior and not their own. The scale contains 40 items and no items were excluded from our study.

The first 22 items constitute the Restrictiveness scale and include items such as: “Thought a child should be seen and not heard,” “children should be aware of how much their parents sacrifice for them,” “believed that scolding and criticism make a child improve.” The restrictiveness portion of the scale had excellent statistical reliability ($\alpha = .8997$).

The last 18 items on the scale measure Nurturance and include statements like: “encourage their children to be curious, to explore, and question things,” “find some of their greatest satisfaction in their children,” and “respect their children’s opinions and encourage them to express them.” The Nurturance scale had a similarly statistically significant reliability ($\alpha = .952$). All questions used a 7-point Likert scale with 1 being “not at all” like my parents and 7 being “very much so” like my parents.

Lindke and Oppenheimer Paternalistic Policy Preference Scale

In order to best measure our central hypothesis that individuals who tend to favor Helicopter Parenting techniques will also tend to favor Paternalistic Political Policies, we designed a 32 item scale asking respondents how they feel on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree/oppose) to 7 (strongly agree/support) about a particular policy statement. The scale included statements such as: “I believe it is the government’s job to protect its citizens from engaging in unhealthy eating behaviors,” “I support laws that require homeowners to install carbon monoxide detectors in their personal residence,” and “I support laws that prevent people from being exposed to dangerous or hurtful ideas and speech.” The Paternalistic Policy Preference scale had a very high level of statistical reliability ($\alpha = .9130$) and this reliability was consistently high across all studies. During the experimental phase, this was the primary dependent variable to determine if giving a respondent a treatment describing a kind of parenting would shift a respondent’s preference for these kinds of policies.

Study 1a – Examining the Connection between Helicopter Parenting and a Preference for Paternalistic Political Policies

Study 1 attempted to establish whether or not preference for helicopter parenting predicts preference for paternalistic policy.

Procedure:

After filling out a consent form, respondents were given a 111 item survey which contained five different behavioral scales and two political attitude questions. Of the scales, one measured respondents' tendency to prefer helicopter parenting techniques (the Lindke/Oppenheimer Helicopter Norms Scale), one measured the age at which individuals believed certain behaviors were appropriate for children to engage in (Lindke/Oppenheimer Age Norms), one measured how much the respondent believed their parents engaged in helicopter parenting as well as behavioral and psychologically controlling activities (Padilla-Walker/Nelson Scale), one measured authoritarianism using Feldman and Stenner's (1997) child rearing values questions, finally we measured respondent's preference for paternalistic political policies using a scale asking questions regarding the role of government on a variety of issues (Lindke/Oppenheimer Paternalistic Policy Scale). In addition to these multi-item scales, we asked two standard political attitude questions. We used the political party question from the ANES to determine respondent's political affiliation and asked respondents to evaluate their political ideology (liberal to conservative) on a Likert Scale.

Results

Based upon our initial hypothesis that an individual who scored high on the Lindke and Oppenheimer Helicopter Norms scale would also score high on Paternalism, we examined how strongly the two scales were correlated and found a strong positive correlation of .354 significant

at a p-value of .01 (Table 2). This demonstrated to us that there is a clear relationship between favoring Helicopter Parenting behavior and paternalistic government policies. Our scale was also strongly correlated with the Padilla-Walker and Nelson parenting styles scales in both its Helicopter and Behavior factors, though not with its Psychological control factor. Given the strong correlation between those two factors with each other among our respondents, this is not surprising. Consistent with prior research, we found that both Party and Ideology were significantly correlated with Feldman and Stenner’s Authoritarian Scale. Interestingly, we found that the Lindke and Oppenheimer Helicopter Norms Scale was significantly correlated with conservatism in Ideology, but it was not significantly correlated with political Party preference or Authoritarianism. This is consistent with the Political Science literature which finds that Party and Ideology, while strongly correlated, are distinct. Additionally, this suggests that Helicopter Parenting represents another dimension of parenting which may influence political choices in a different direction than Lakoff’s Strict Disciplinarian and Nurturing Parent provides.

Table 2

	Helicopter Norms	Age Norms	Authoritarianism	Paternalism	Padilla Helicopter	Padilla Behavior	Padilla Psychological	Party	Ideology
Helicopter Norms	1								
Age Norms	0.342**	1							
Authoritarianism	0.204	0.22	1						
Paternalism	0.354**	0.301**	0.197	1					
Padilla Helicopter	0.577***	0.329**	-0.0343	0.460***	1				
Padilla Behavior	0.446***	0.358**	0.214	0.299**	0.489***	1			
Padilla Psychological	0.2	0.0146	-0.0168	0.19	0.272*	0.514***	1		
Party	0.0239	0.0911	0.282*	-0.374***	-0.228*	-0.0104	-0.107	1	
Ideology	0.223*	0.347**	0.476***	-0.165	-0.00307	0.116	-0.0163	0.812***	1

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

After examining whether the correlations between the variables in our study, we regressed our respondent’s preference for Helicopter Parenting styles against their preference for Paternalistic Policies (Table 3). When examined without any control variables, the coefficient for Helicopter Parenting’s contribution to preference for Paternalistic Policies was .413 (p-value < .001) signaling a statistically significant relationship. We then controlled for Party, Ideology,

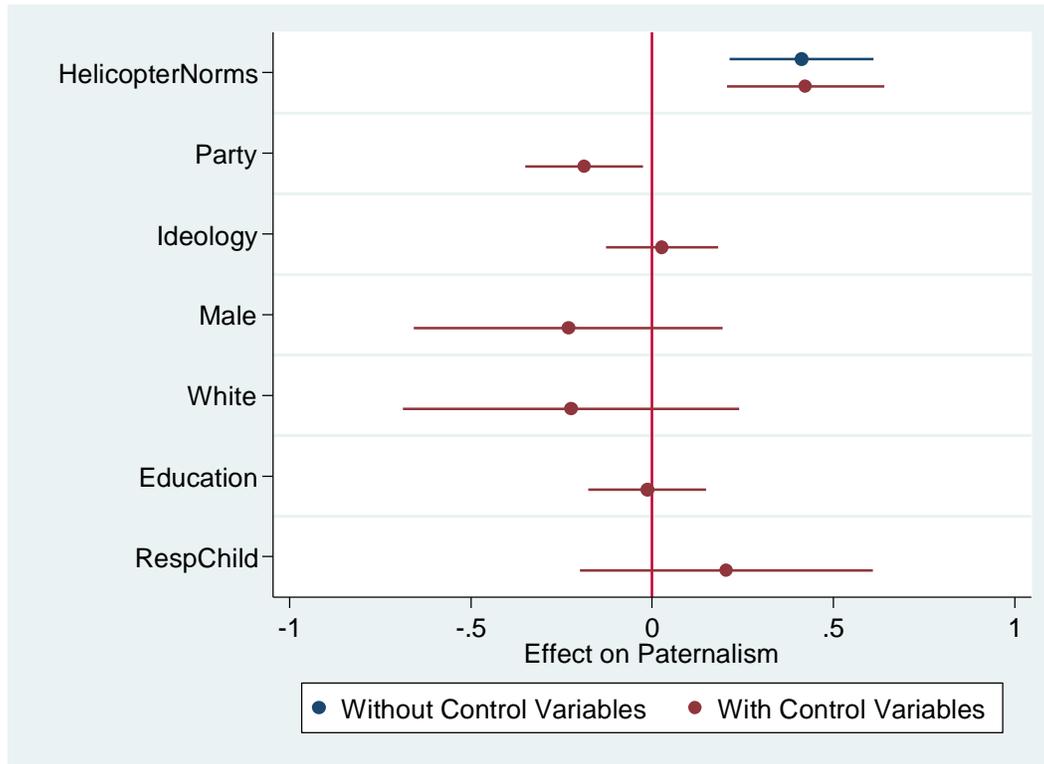
Gender, White Race, Education, and whether the respondent had children. This increased the explanatory power of our model and slightly increased the contribution of Helicopter Parenting. Party was also a significant contributor, but Ideology was not. Given the low VIF (VIF of Party was 3.46 and the VIF of ideology was 3.33), and the different ways Party and Ideology correlated with the other variables, we believe that they are interacting discreetly with our Paternalistic Policy Preferences measure.

Table 3: Influence of Variables in Determining Preference for Paternalism

Independent Variables	Paternalism (Model 1)	Paternalism (Model 2)
Helicopter Norms	.413 (.100)***	.423 (.109)***
Party		-.187 (.082)*
Ideology		.027 (.078)
Male		-.231 (.213)
White		-.224 (.233)
Education		-.013 (.082)
Has Child(ren)		.205 (.203)
Constant	2.12 (.379)***	2.87 (.530) ***
Adjusted R ²	.160	.273
Mean VIF		1.86

Note: Entries are regression coefficients with standard errors in parantheses. * = p <.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001

Figure 1



Study 1b – Examining the Connection between Having Strict Disciplinarian Parents and a Preference for Paternalistic Political Policies

In their 2014 study, Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, and Sheikh found that there was a connection between being raised by restrictive parents and self-reported political conservatism. Their findings were consistent with Lakoff’s (2002) contention that the Strict Disciplinarian and Nurturant Parent metaphors influenced individual’s political ideologies and affected their vote because voters associate the political parties with different parental metaphors.

As mentioned in our introduction, we hypothesized that Lakoff’s analysis represented parental metaphors on a single dimension and that in addition to the Strict Disciplinarian and Nurturant

Parent metaphors there were also underlying metaphors for Helicopter and Submarine parenting styles. In particular, we believe that people who rate high in Helicopter Parenting would favor political policies that were paternalistic in nature and that this correlation would be stronger than the influence of Strict Disciplinarian metaphors.

Procedure:

Study 1b was identical to Study 1a with one notable exception: we replaced the Lindke and Oppenheimer Helicopter Parenting and Age Norms scales with Rickel and Biasatti's (1982) Child Rearing Practices Report (CRPR). The CRPR was used by Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, and Sheikh (2014) in their examination of the link between having strict parents and political conservatism.

Results

In examining the data in study 1b, we wanted to explore the relationship between the CRPR factors for Restrictiveness and Nurturing and see if it correlated with a preference for Paternalistic Political Policies and to see how it correlated with Party and Ideology. Unlike Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, and Sheikh (2014) we measured Party and Ideology separately because of our finding in study 1a that Party and Ideology correlated in different ways with our Helicopter Norms measurement.

Upon a closer examination of the relationship between Restrictiveness and Paternalism on Table 4, we did find that they were correlated (0.179) at a p-value of .135. The lack of statistically significant correlation may be a Power issue and that in a larger sample the relationship may be significant, however less strong than the correlation we saw between Helicopter Norms and Paternalism in Study 1a.

As in Study 1a, we ran two regression models to see if a having high ratings in either restrictive parenting preferences or nurturing parenting preferences contributed to how much a respondent supported paternalistic policies. In this case, we found no significant relationships between parenting style and policy preference at the .05 level, though Party was a significant factor. We did find that a Restrictiveness was marginally significant at p-value < .10 when we added our control variables. This suggests that there might be a power issue and that with a larger sample Restrictiveness might correspond with a higher preference for Paternalistic Policies. However, the relationship between restrictiveness and paternalistic policies would be much weaker than the relationship between helicoptering and paternalistic policies that we found in Study 1a. There was no relationship between Nurturing and preference for paternalism.

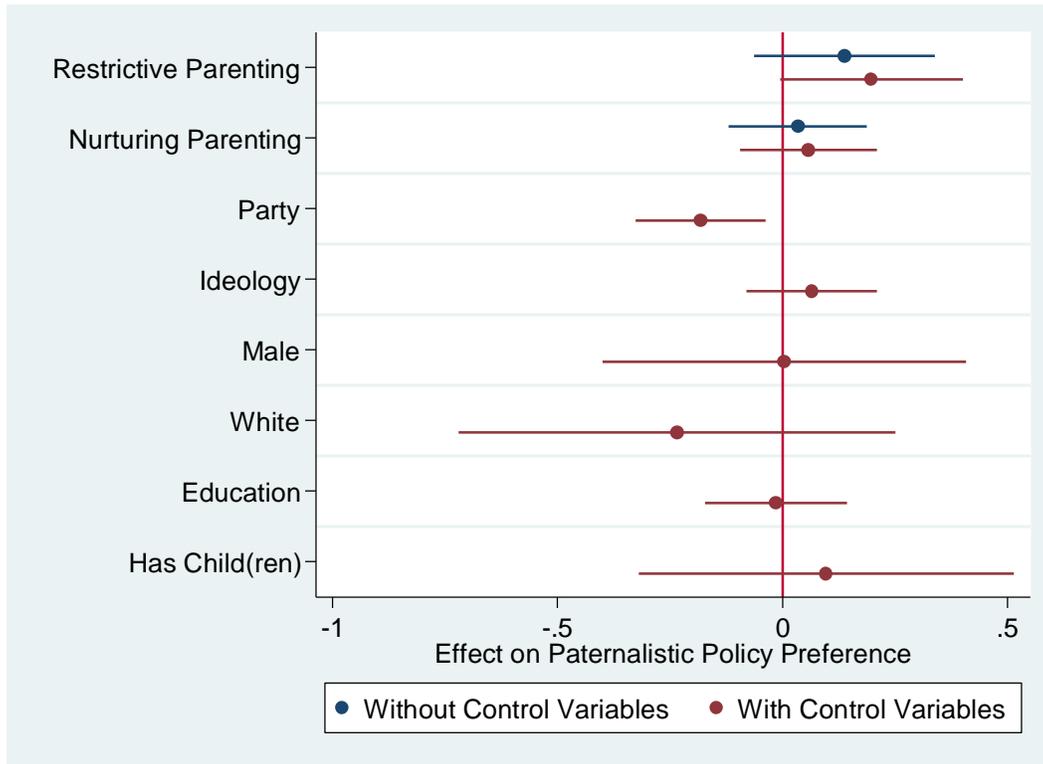
Table 5: Influence of Variables in Determining Preference for Paternalism

Independent Variables	Paternalism (Model 1)	Paternalism (Model 2)
Restrictiveness	.138 (.101)	.198 (.102)+
Nurturing	.034 (.077)	.058 (.077)
Party		-.182 (.072)*
Ideology		.065 (.073)
Male		.004 (.202)
White		-.235 (.243)
Education		-.014 (.079)
Has Child(ren)		.097 (.209)
Constant	3.05 (.553)***	3.39 (.209)***
Adjusted R ²	-.001	.082
Mean VIF	1.19	1.54

Note: Entries are regression coefficients with standard errors in parantheses.

+ = p < .10, * = p < .05, ** = p < .01, *** = p < .001

Figure 2



Study 2a(1): Examining if we could Manipulate Support for Helicopter Parenting Norms using Sports Stories

In Study 1a we identified that preference for helicopter parenting style predicts paternalistic policy preferences, and in fact does so more effectively than more standard political variable such as party or ideology. However according to Lakoff's model, parenting metaphor is not merely predictive of political attitude, but rather causal. Thus, to the extent that an intervention changes people's parenting preferences, it should also influence their policy preferences. However, to test this logic we first needed to establish the extent to which preferences for helicopter parenting styles are, in fact, malleable. If parenting preferences are stable and resistant to manipulation, then interventions to test the causality of the system may not

be possible. Thus, Study 2 developed and assessed an intervention to influence attitudes towards helicopter parenting.

To do this, we used newspaper articles to prime respondents to shift their support of Helicopter Parenting behaviors. We theorized that respondents who were exposed to an article highlighting Helicopter Parenting techniques in a negative light would be less supportive of Helicopter Parenting behaviors even when controlling for such factors as party identification, political ideology, gender, race, education, and whether the respondent had any children. If our treatment had an effect regarding their support for Helicopter Parenting norms, especially when controlling for party and political ideology, this would suggest that this construct represented another dimension to parenting not accounted for in Lakoff's (2002) metaphor model. We also hypothesized that respondents being exposed to an article highlighting Submarine Parenting techniques in a negative light would become more supportive of Helicopter Parenting behaviors. The articles used to prime respondents in Study 2a(1) can be found in the Appendix.

H₁: Respondents exposed to an article discussing Helicopter Parenting behaviors in a negative light would be less likely to support Helicopter Parenting behaviors than the control group who was exposed to an article with a neutral valence.

H₂: Respondents exposed to an article discussing Submarine Parenting in a negative light would be more likely to support Helicopter Parenting behaviors than the control group who was exposed to an article with a neutral valence.

Procedure:

We recruited 150 respondents using Amazon's Mechanical Turk service. These respondents were then randomly assigned one of three different conditions. The first group was given an article about parents not participating in their children's sports activities and how coaches were

concerned regarding how this would affect the children's performance. There were 30 respondents in this condition. The second group of respondents was assigned an article about how parents were participating too much in their children's sports activities, to the point of becoming overbearing. There were 50 respondents assigned to this treatment. Due to a programming error, our final (control) ended up having 61 respondents. This group was given an article about the generic benefits of participating in athletic activities to read. This article was intentionally neutral in order to maximize the influence of the two treatment articles.

As with the earlier studies examining connections between various independent variables and a preference for Helicopter Parenting attitudes, this experiment included the Lindke and Oppenheimer Helicopter Norms and Age Norms scales as well as the Feldman and Stenner Authoritarian scale, the Padilla-Walker and Nelson Parenting Styles scales, questions about Political Party identification and Political Ideology, and basic demographic information such as age, gender, level of education, and whether or not the respondent had any children. For the purposes of our analysis, we focused on the effect that our treatment had on respondents' preference for Helicopter Parenting behavior as measured by the *Lindke and Oppenheimer Helicopter Norms Scale*.

Results:

We ran regressions of our various treatments in order to examine the treatment effects of our primes both with and without control variables. This regression analysis demonstrated that those who read the Helicopter Parenting article were less likely to support Helicopter Parenting behaviors at a level that approached significance without controls (coefficient: $-.333$ $p=.054$). The effect of the treatment became stronger (coefficient: $-.398$ $p=.019$) after we included controls for Party ID, political ideology, gender, race, education, and whether the respondent

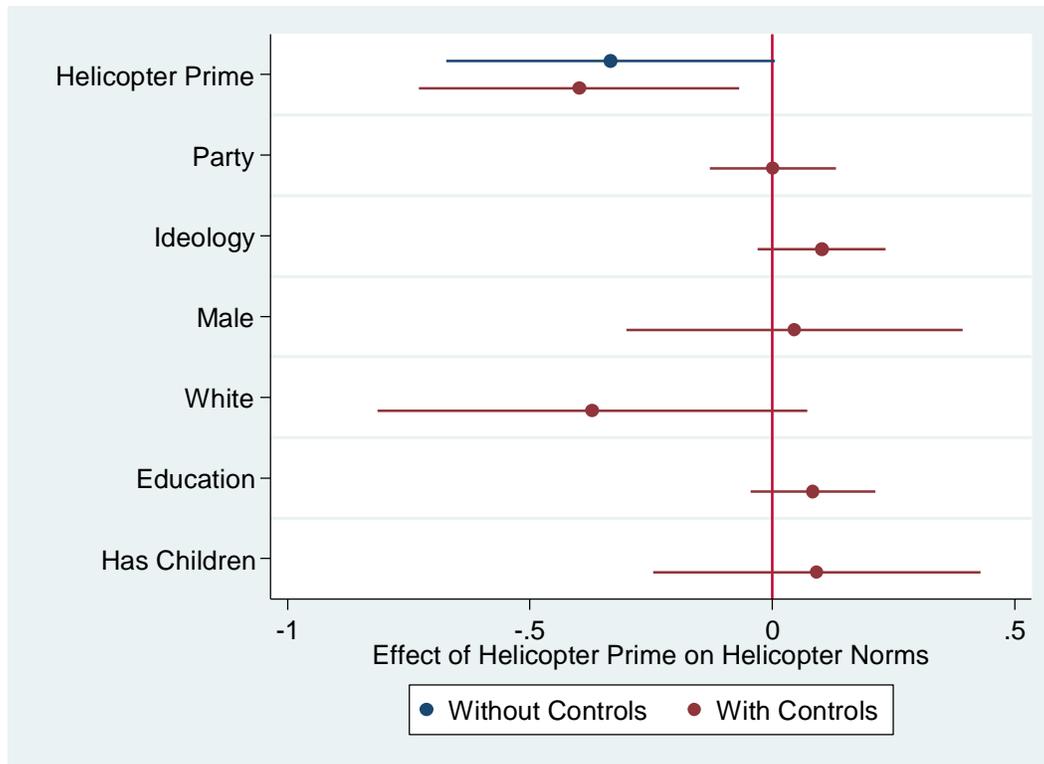
was a parent or not. Though some may express concern about multicollinearity between Party ID and political ideology, we would point out that in our earlier studies our Helicopter Norms scale correlated differently with these variables even though Party ID and political ideology are highly correlated. The full rundown of our regression analysis can be seen on Table 8 and an illustration of our model with controls is featured in Figure 1.

Table 8: Effect of Experiment on Attitude Toward Helicopter Norms (Sports Articles)

Independent Variables	<u>Submarine Prime</u>		<u>Helicopter Prime</u>	
	Helicopter Norms	Helicopter Norms	Helicopter Norms	Helicopter Norms
Helicopter Prime			-.333 (.170)	-.398 (.166)*
Submarine Prime	-.100 (.182)	-.140 (.186)		
Party		-.004 (.066)		.002 (.066)
Ideology		.083 (.069)		.102 (.067)
Male		.036 (.198)		.046 (.174)
White		-.277 (.247)		-.371 (.223)
Education		.073 (.074)		.084 (.064)
Has Child(ren)		-.130 (.189)		.092 (.170)
Constant	3.64 (.114)***	3.35 (.437) ***	3.64 (.113)***	3.19 (.396)***
Adjusted R ²	-.007	-.018	.03	.07
Mean VIF		1.43		1.50

Note: Entries are regression coefficients with standard errors in parantheses. * = p <.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001

Figure 3



Study 2a(2): Examining if we could Manipulate Support for Helicopter Parenting Norms using Articles of Parental Interference in the Workplace

Procedure:

We recruited 150 respondents using Amazon’s Mechanical Turk service. These respondents were then randomly assigned one of three different conditions. 49 respondents received treatment 1, the “Mom to Employer” treatment about parents asking to participate in their child’s job interview. This treatment was intended to activate negative sentiment toward Helicopter Parenting. 49 respondents received the “Mom to Mom” treatment where one parent criticizes another for inattentive parenting. This treatment was intended to activate negative sentiment toward Submarine Parenting (hands off parenting). 52 individuals were assigned to the control group and read an article about lack of professional attire at job interviews.

Results:

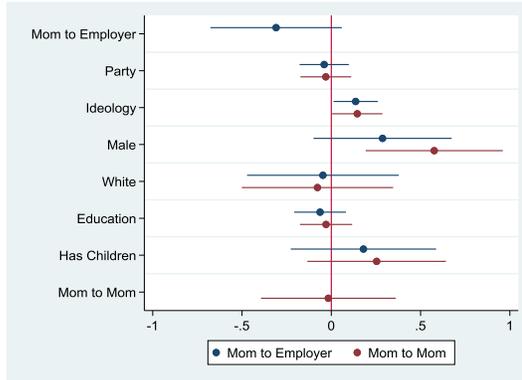
We once again regressions of treatments and examined effects of our primes both with and without control variables. Unlike with the sports articles, we found that none of our treatments influenced support toward Helicopter Norms at a statistically significant level. We were concerned by the fact that the Helicopter Prime was only significant at the level of $p < .10$. We had more movement from the sports prompt than from the parent and employer prompt. This suggested to us that the power of the metaphor might be affected by the fit of the frame used to activate it. Ideology and Party were still pulling in the same directions as in the past, but in this sample it was Ideology that was the significant contributor to preference for Helicopter Parenting Norms.

Table 9 Effect of Experiment on Attitude Toward Helicopter Norms (Mom to ... Articles)

Independent Variables	Treatment 1 (Submarine Prime)		Helicopter Prime	
	Helicopter Norms	Helicopter Norms	Helicopter Norms	Helicopter Norms
Helicopter Prime			-.327 (.187) ⁺	-.309 (.185) ⁺
Submarine Prime	.080 (.197)	-.166 (.190)		
Party		-.031 (.072)		-.040 (.069)
Ideology		.146 (.071)*		.136 (.062)*
Male		.576 (.193)**		.287 (.184)
White		-.077 (.213)		-.047 (.214)
Education		-.030 (.073)		-.063 (.073)
Has Child(ren)		.254 (.195)		.180 (.205)
Constant	3.72 (.139)***	3.21 (.441)***	3.72 (.130)***	3.57 (.418)***
Adjusted R ²	-.009	.13	.020	.092
Mean VIF		1.49		1.35

Note: Entries are regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. + = $p < .10$, * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Figure 4



Study 2b: Attempting to Manipulate Support for Paternalistic Policies Using Workplace

Interference Stories

Procedure:

For our final study, we wanted to ensure that we could avoid any near significance findings and expanded our experimental pool from 150 total respondents to 300. Of these, 101 participants were assigned to the “Mom to Employer” negative Helicopter Norms treatment, 101 were assigned to the “Mom to Mom” negative Submarine Parenting treatment, and 99 were assigned to the control group. All respondents were also asked to answer questions on the Lindke and Oppenheimer Paternalistic Policy Preference Scale to determine if preference for Paternalistic Political Policies could be shifted by activating the Helicopter Parenting metaphor.

Given that there was a relationship between Helicopter Parenting and Paternalistic Policies, and that we were able to get movement on support for Helicopter Parenting styles when manipulating respondents with Helicopter Parenting primes, we hoped to see some influence on support for Paternalistic Political Policies.

Results:

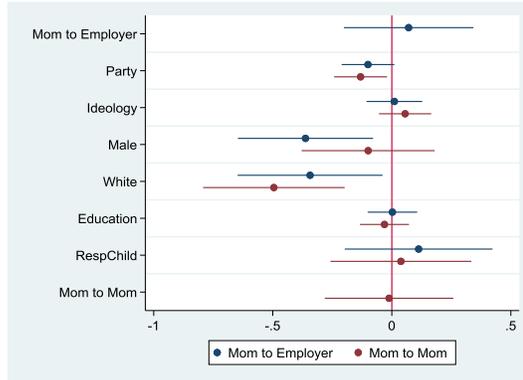
After running regressions to determine treatment effects, we found that there was no significant differences between the control group and those who received either the “Mom to Employer” or “Mom to Mom” treatments, whether or not we controlled for other variables. Consistent with earlier research on parenting (Elder & Greene, 2012a), whether or not the respondent was Male was significant. Overall, the findings were disappointing as they suggested that it was more difficult to manipulate short term support for Paternalistic Policies than our earlier studies had suggested.

Table 10: Effect of Experiment on Attitude Toward Paternalistic Policies

Independent Variables	Paternalism (Model 1)	Paternalism (Model 2)	Paternalism (Model 3)	Paternalism (Model 4)
Mom to Employer	0.031 (.139)	.071 (.137)		
Mom to Mom			-.100 (.182)	
Party		-.100 (.056)		-.131 (.056)*
Ideology		.011 (.059)		.056 (.056)
Male		-.363 (.143)*		-.099 (.141)
White		-.343 (.154)*		-.495 (.151)***
Education		.003 (.053)		-.031 (.052)
Has Child(ren)		.113 (.157)		.038 (.149)
Constant	3.71 (.010)***	4.37 (.290)***	3.64 (.114)***	4.45 (.297)***
Adjusted R ²	-.005	.07	-.007	.08
Mean VIF		1.52		1.54

Note: Entries are regression coefficients with standard errors in parantheses. * = p <.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001

Figure 5



Conclusions

Based upon Studies (1a and 1b), there appears to be sufficient evidence to argue that the study of parenting metaphors in politics should be expanded to include a multi-dimensional model. We found evidence of a significant relationship between support for Helicopter Parenting styles and Paternalistic Political Policies, and these relationships were demonstrated to be stronger than that of the traditional Restrictiveness and Nurturing measures on the CRPR scale that have been used in past empirical examinations of Lakoff's metaphor model, as well as other common constructs in political science such as ideology and party affiliation. Given that those past empirical examinations were often only able to support that the Strict Father metaphor appeared to have any significant influence, we believe that our research has expanded upon past research in a meaningful way.

However, we were unable to directly manipulate support for Paternalistic Policy Preferences by manipulating attitudes towards helicopter parenting. Of course, it is always possible that in Study 2a the prime did not actually move people's preferences for helicoptering, but rather created task demands that led them to report different preferences than they actually held. The primes were not particularly subtle and participants might have discerned the purpose of the experiment and responded accordingly. Whereas in Study 2b the link between the primes and the dependent measures was not as obvious, thus creating fewer task demands, leading to an artificial dissociation between preferences for paternalism and helicoptering. While we do not deny the possibility of this, or other experimentally induced artefactual explanations for the findings, it is worth noting that despite a large literature on the government as parents metaphor, there is currently a paucity of experimental manipulations demonstrating that influencing one influences the other; the literature consists almost entirely of correlational analyses. While there is ample evidence that manipulating the metaphors that people use can change how people think about various issues (e.g. Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2017), for metaphors relating parenting and politics such evidence is notably lacking.

As a result, while both our studies and previous studies show that preferences about parenting styles can predict policy preferences, it would be premature to argue that the parenting metaphor causes political preference. It may be that there are other stable individual differences (third variables) which lead to both political and parenting preferences. To the extent that this is true, changing societal norms about parenting might indicate a shift in this latent third variable, which would then predict shifts in policy preferences of the electorate. .

The study of how parenting interacts with political preferences is a relatively unexplored area in political science. This is concerning when one considers how often party and media elites

make claims about the political behavior of parents in ways that shape the public's understanding. While our findings here are mixed, they are demonstrative of the need for further exploration in this topic area.

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Appendix 1: Measurement Scales

Lindke and Oppenheimer Helicopter Norms Scale

Please answer the following questions indicating how acceptable you consider certain parental behaviors to be. There are no right or wrong answers; we are just trying to get a sense of how norms of parental behaviors vary across different groups of people.

Scale 1 = Completely Inappropriate, 7 = Completely Appropriate

- 1) Filling out a child's college applications for him/her to ensure s/he has the best chance to attend a good school.
- 2) Writing a book report for a child because s/he is sick and cannot complete it him/herself.
- 3) Allow a child unmonitored access to Facebook and/or other social media.
- 4) Forcing a child to attend class on a day when s/he will encounter offensive material.
- 5) Discreetly follow a child on a romantic date to make sure s/he is safe.
- 6) Putting tracking software on a child's phone to check to make sure that s/he is where s/he is supposed to be.
- 7) Allowing a child to play at a friend's house without first meeting the friend's parents.
- 8) Allowing a child to turn in homework that the child's parents have not reviewed first for accuracy and quality.
- 9) Giving a child an allowance with no restrictions on how s/he spends that money.
- 10) Insisting that a child deal with being teased or bullied himself/herself, rather than intervening with the school, or with the aggressor's parents.
- 11) Allowing a child to watch television before his/her homework for the evening is finished
- 12) Enrolling a child in music lessons that s/he doesn't like in order to improve his/her list of extra-curricular activities on college applications.
- 13) Hiring a professional editor for a child's college research papers to improve his/her grade
- 14) Forbidding a child from going to a social event wearing clothes that are revealing, sexually suggestive, or immodest.
- 15) Picking college classes or a major for a child.
- 16) Forbidding your child from studying literature or history in college.
- 17) Calling a college professor to ask about a child's performance in class.
- 18) Allowing your child to skip religious services if they don't want to go
- 19) Allowing a child to attend parties where there may be alcohol and there is unlikely to be adult supervision.

Paternalistic Policy Scale

General items.

Please rate how much you agree with the following statements on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 means strongly disagree and 7 means strongly agree. There are no right or wrong answers.

- 1) I believe it is the government's job to protect its citizens from engaging in unhealthy eating behaviors.
- 2) I believe it is the government's job to protect its citizens from engaging in risky sexual behaviors.
- 3) I believe it is the government's job to protect its citizens from being exposed to offensive ideas or hurtful speech.
- 4) I believe it is the government's job to protect its citizens from partaking in addictive substances.

Specific items.

Please rate how much you support or oppose the following proposals on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 means strongly oppose and 7 means strongly support. There are no right or wrong answers.

- 5) Laws that require drivers and passengers to wear seatbelts in moving vehicles.
- 6) Laws that restrict the amount of soda that a person can purchase at restaurants and convenience stores.
- 7) Laws that require people to purchase health insurance.
- 8) Laws that prevent people from taking out credit cards with interest rates greater 20% per year.
- 9) Laws that require children to be in car seats until they are 4'9" tall.
- 10) Laws that require homeowners to install carbon monoxide detectors in their personal residence.
- 11) Laws that limit people's use of tobacco or vaping products.
- 12) Laws that prohibit counter-normative sexual acts between consenting adults in private.
- 13) Laws that require televisions to contain 'v-chips' or other parental controls.

- 14) Laws that prevent people from taking out pay-day loans.
- 15) Laws that require motorcyclists to wear helmets.
- 16) Laws that require teenagers to attend school.
- 17) Laws that prevent people from taking jobs below a minimum salary.
- 18) Laws that prevent people from being exposed to dangerous or hurtful ideas and speech.
- 19) Laws that restrict the timing or amount of alcohol purchases.
- 20) Laws that require food packages to prominently display calorie and/or sugar content.
- 21) Laws that forbid swimming on public beaches during off hours (when no lifeguards are present).
- 22) Laws that limit the speed at which people can drive on the interstate to below 60 mph.
- 23) Laws that prevent people from taking on mortgages if their income is low enough to create a significant risk of default.
- 24) Laws that require all high school students to take college admission exams (e.g. the SAT or ACT).
- 25) Laws that prohibit the use of highly addictive drugs such as heroin.
- 26) Laws that prevent people from engaging in prostitution.
- 27) Laws that require people to put aside a percentage of their income towards retirement.
- 28) Laws that prevent people from gambling.
- 29) Laws that allow the government to collect and monitor citizens' online activity.
- 30) Laws that prohibit the sale of medications with potentially harmful side effects to consumers even if those consumers are aware of those side effects.
- 31) Laws that prevent citizens from building homes in flood planes or fire zones.
- 32) Laws that guarantee employment to all citizens.

Appendix 2: Primes for Study 2a(1)

Experimental Condition: Indifferent Parenting

Do mom and dad always give support to their children, when the children are playing sports? Not always, new research by the Society of Youth Athletics suggests. More than one in three (35 percent) of coaches interviewed say they find it annoying that parents are not sufficiently involved with their children's athletics. Another one-third (34 percent) of coaches would prefer more parental involvement, but would let it slide. Only 29 percent said that lack of parental involvement was not a problem.

Coaches were also asked to share the most unusual or surprising behavior they've heard of or seen from parents of youth athletes. Here are some of their responses:

“One of my athletes takes Uber to games because his parents don't want to drive him.”

“One girl arrived to a soccer game with sandals instead of cleats because she didn't think cleats were stylish. When I called parents to warn them of the injury risks, they told me ‘if that's what she wants, then that's what she wants.’”

“One kid showed up to practice with a six-pack of Coke for hydration, because that's what he asked his parents to get him. The kid is 7 years old.”

“A student came completely unprepared to practice – he hadn't even reviewed the playbook. When I complained to the parents, they just didn't care at all.”

“When refereeing the games, one parent refused to call any penalties which totally disrupted the flow of the game. He said, ‘it's kids just being kids’ and ‘it's up to them to police themselves.’”

“Parents want the best for their kids, but letting them do whatever they want can cause more harm than good,” said Terry Lee, a regional president for the Society of Youth Athletics. “It's positive for mom and dad to give kids some independence. However, ultimately, kids rely on structure and guidance.”

Experimental Condition: Helicopter Parenting

Do mom and dad always give enough independence to their children, when the children are playing sports? Not always, new research by the Society of Youth Athletics suggests. More than one in three (35 percent) of coaches interviewed say they find it annoying that parents are overly involved with their children's athletics. Another one-third (34 percent) of coaches would prefer less parental involvement, but would let it slide. Only 29 percent said that parental involvement was not a problem.

Coaches were also asked to share the most unusual or surprising behavior they've heard of or seen from parents of youth athletes. Here are some of their responses:

“One of my parents refuses to let anyone other than her drive her son to games, even to the point of following our team bus on long road trips.”

“One girl's parents refused to let their kid wear cleats provided by our sponsor because they didn't think the cleats were stylish. When I told the parents these cleats reduce the risk of injury, they told me ‘we know what's best for our daughter and this is what we want.’”

“This one dad insists on monitoring and controlling everything his son drinks during practice to ‘ensure that he's hydrated enough to play at his best’. The kid is 7 years old.”

“A parent came to complain about our strategies – he'd memorized our entire playbook. He'd even drafted several replacement plays he said would work better for his son.”

“When refereeing the games, one parent called nearly three penalties a minute which totally disrupted the flow of the game. He said ‘kids don't know how to play safely’ and ‘it's my job to police the kids.’”

“When refereeing the games, there was this one parent who refused to call any penalties because “it's kids just being kids” and “it's up to them to police themselves”

“Parents want the best for their kids, but giving them too little independence can cause more harm than good,” said Terry Lee, a regional president for the Society of Youth Athletics. “It's positive for mom and dad to give kids structure and guidance. However, ultimately, kids need to be given freedom to explore.”

Experimental Condition: Control Article

Regular physical activity benefits health in many ways, including helping build and maintain healthy bones, muscles, and joints; helping control weight and reduce fat; and preventing or delaying the development of high blood pressure. Exercise is one of the least expensive ways to stay healthy, with one study finding that exercise can prevent chronic diseases as effectively as medication.

Sports participation is a significant predictor of young adults' participation in sports and physical fitness activities. Adolescents who play sports are eight times as likely to be active at age 24 as adolescents who do not play sports. Three-in-four (77%) of adults aged 30+ who play sports today played sports as school-aged children. Only 3% of adults who play sports currently did not play when they were young

Organized sports activity helps children develop and improve cognitive skills. Physical activity in general is associated with improved academic achievement, including grades and standardized test scores. Further, such activity can affect attitudes and academic behavior, including enhanced concentration, attention, and improved classroom behavior.

High school athletes are more likely than non-athletes to attend college and get degrees; team captains, MVPs achieve in school at even higher rates. The benefits extend to the workplace. A survey of 400 female corporate executives found 94% played a sport and that 61% say that has contributed to their career success.

Appendix 3: Primes for Study 2a and Study 2b

Experimental Condition: Job Search Errors Related to Parenting

Mom To Employer: "Do You Mind If I Sit In On My Son's Interview?"

More Than One-Third of Managers Annoyed When Job Seekers Get Help from Parents

MENLO PARK, Calif., Aug. 16, 2016 /PRNewswire/ -- Do mom and dad know best when their children are looking for jobs? Not always, new research from staffing firm OfficeTeam suggests. More than one in three (35 percent) senior managers interviewed said they find it annoying when parents are involved in their kids' search for work. Another one-third (34 percent) of respondents prefer mom and dad stay out of the job hunt, but would let it slide. Only 29 percent said this parental guidance is not a problem.

Managers were also asked to recount the most unusual or surprising behavior they've heard of or seen from parents of job seekers. Here are some of their responses:

"The candidate opened his laptop and had his mother Skype in for the interview."

"A woman brought a cake to try to convince us to hire her daughter."

"One parent asked if she could do the interview for her child because he had somewhere else to be."

"One mom knocked on the office door during an interview and asked if she could sit in."

"A job seeker was texting his parent the questions I was asking during the interview and waiting for a response."

"Once a father called us pretending he was from the candidate's previous company and offered praise for his son."

"A father started filling out a job application on behalf of his kid."

"Parents want the best for their kids, but being overly involved in their child's job search can cause more harm than good," said Brandi Britton, a district president for OfficeTeam. "It's a positive for mom and dad to help behind the scenes by reviewing resumes, conducting mock interviews and offering networking contacts. However, ultimately, companies seek employees who display self-sufficiency and maturity."

Control Condition 1: job search errors unrelated to parenting

Applicant To Employer: "Do you mind if I take off my shoes?"

More Than One-Third of Managers Annoyed When Job Seekers Dress Unprofessionally in Interviews.

MENLO PARK, Calif., Aug. 16, 2016 /PRNewswire/ -- Do job seekers know best when it comes to professional attire when looking for work? Not always, new research from staffing firm OfficeTeam suggests. More than one in three (35 percent) senior managers interviewed said they regularly encounter job seekers who are inappropriately dressed while interviewing for a job. Another one-third (34 percent) of respondents suggested that they occasionally come across job seekers who are too informally dressed, but it is rare. Only 29 percent said that they have never had a problem with candidates clothing choices during interviews.

Managers were also asked to recount the most unusual or surprising fashion choices they've heard of or seen from job seekers. Here are some of their responses:

"The candidate was wearing a transparent shirt. Not an "Oops, I didn't know the light would do that" kind of shirt, but a clubbing/lingerie kind of see through shirt where you could see every detail of the applicant's bra"

"I once had a guy show up to an interview in gym clothes *post* workout. It was really easy to tell he had worked up a sweat, especially in the teeny tiny interview room"

"I had a candidate come in with glitter all over her face."

"One Candidate asked about policy on piercings, and is told they're not a big deal. He then proceeds to re-insert all of his piercings *while in the interview*."

"A candidate who showed up in full cowboy regalia, including spurs"

"We had a candidate for a department head job come in dressed like she was going clubbing – low cut dress, spiked heels, over the top makeup and jewelry."

"We will never, ever forget Flip Flop Guy. He came in in flip flops, bermuda shorts, and a t-shirt, arrived late, and we're also pretty sure he was stoned."

"Wearing unusual or unprofessional clothing can cause more harm than good," said Brandi Britton, a district president for OfficeTeam. "It's a positive for candidates to display their personalities during a job interview. However, ultimately, companies seek employees who display professionalism and maturity in their dress and mannerisms."

Experimental Condition: Non Job Search Errors related to parenting

Mom To Mom: "Do You Mind Raising Your Kid Well?"

More Than One-Third of Parents Annoyed by Observing Others Engaging in Poor Parenting

MENLO PARK, Calif., Aug. 16, 2016 /PRNewswire/ -- Do mom and dad know best when it comes to raising their children? Not always, new research from ParentTeam suggests. More than one in three (35 percent) parents interviewed said they are frequently annoyed at other parents' lack of parenting skills. Another one-third (34 percent) of respondents say they've observed moms and dads who could do better, but would let it slide. Only 29 percent said that others' parenting skills are not a problem.

Parents were also asked to recount the most unusual or surprising behavior they've heard of or seen from other parents. Here are some of their responses:

"At a restaurant, a young girl orders milk. Her mom says "no, just give her a coke - there are no free refills on the milk."

"I was sitting on a bus and this 5 year old kept tugging on my hair. I asked the mother to please get him to stop in a very polite manner. What does she do? Absolutely nothing."

"I saw a woman defended her 13 year old son after he punched a 2 year-old by saying "He's got anger control issues, it's not his fault!"

"We once had five saves within 30 minutes at the wave pool of a water park I worked at, all from the same family, all kids who couldn't swim, and whose parents wouldn't take the FREE lifejackets."

"This little girl, like 4 or 5 brings this book to her mom to ask if she can get it. Her mom says

"Why would you want that? You have a perfectly good TV back home".

"I watched two parents with their son pay for their cigarettes by emptying out his piggy bank on the counter in front of them."

"I saw a father shove a gallon jug of milk in his daughter's arms and she almost toppled over. She said, "it's heavy and I can't" to which her father said "You want to drink milk, you have to earn it".

"Parents want the best for their kids, but sometimes they don't know what to do to be good parents, or they don't realize their behaviors are harmful," said Brandi Britton, a district president for ParentTeam. "It's a positive for mom and dad to try to help their kids build self-sufficiency. However, they need to realize that kids are need more than that from their parents."