
Parenting Style of mothers across generations: a qualitative analysis

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Abstract

Little is known about the transfer of parental beliefs in India, despite the critical relevance of comparing and contrasting generations to follow societal development. This article delves at the process of passing values down across generations, with a particular emphasis on parenting. The so-called "transition to motherhood," or the experience of having a child for the first time, is widely recognized as a watershed moment in a woman's life. Having a family is a major life milestone that affects many other choices, such as where to live or what career path to choose, and it also marks the beginning of maturity. There is also a dearth of studies that show how the changeover happens in India. In particular, the function of the social setting remains largely unknown. To rephrase, the idea that becoming a mother is both an anticipated and difficult experience is often overlooked, despite the fact that it "takes place" at a particular biographic and historical period. In this study, we aimed to trace the evolution of motherhood across three generations of Indian women and the ways in which this evolution has shaped their conceptions of motherhood. Following a semi-structured script, narrative interviews were conducted in casual conversational contexts. Qualitative methods based on the categorical and holistic models were used to examine the interviews.

This research aims to provide light on the public and private dimensions of long-term socialization effects in Indian families, specifically how these effects are shaped by shifting values and the dynamics across generations.

Keywords: parenting, transmission, values, socialisation, generations, mothers.

Introduction

One definition of intergenerational transmission is "the degree to which characteristics shared by one generation of a family are maintained by subsequent generations" (Bertaux & Thompson, 1993). Academics are primarily curious in the dynamics of generational norms and values because the answers to questions like "do fundamentals stay intergenerationally congruent or begin to diverge?" are crucial to sociological theories of social change and the development of sound family policies (Belsky, 1984). This paper examines parenting as an aspect of the process of passing values from one generation to the next. It recognizes that parenting is a value in and of itself, but also that it reflects the complex relationship between parents as private actors and the public, state-driven viewpoint on socialization and policy that renders them producers of "citizens" (Cano & Hofmeister, 2023). Parents and their adult children's shared beliefs about the importance of family and their views on the specifics of their experienced and desired parent-role are examined here, with an eye toward parenting as a specific value, in light of the inherent tensions between public and private values (Schönpflug, 2001).

Parents' preferred methods of childrearing are represented by a psychological concept known as their parenting style. Essentially, different combinations of tactics determine parenting style: How many hours a day does a parent typically spend with their kids? How rigidly the parent enforces rules and regulations in order to keep their children in a controlled environment? The frequency of the parent's interactions with their offspring. What kind of communication does the parent have with their children? A parenting style is defined, in essence, by all of these tactics. Much of the discussion about parenting styles is based on Baumrind's (1967) thesis, who has done substantial study in this area. While creating her model, she took into account some of the issues raised before. Responsiveness vs. unresponsiveness and demanding vs. undemanding were the four pillars she discovered that may mold good parenting. Her analysis of these factors led her to conclude that most parents fall into one of three categories: authoritarian, permissive, or authoritative. The uninvolved parenting style was proposed as a fourth parenting style in further study by Maccoby and Martin (1983). Authoritative parents "direct the child's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner, use reasoning, and try to understand his/her objections when he/she refuses to conform," while authoritarian parents "are obedience- and status-oriented, and expect their orders to be obeyed without explanation" (Baumrind, 1967). "Behave in an accepting, positive and non-punitive attitude towards the child's preferences and actions" is the definition of a permissive parent. Results vary according to the three types of parenting (Bhargava and Aurora, 2001). A lack of engagement on the part of parents is often referred to as "dismissive parenting" or "indifferent parenting" (Bowman, 2007). Parents who choose this style of parenting do not engage with their children. Furthermore, they do not make any demands, which is the polar opposite of being an engaged parent. As a parenting approach, it verges on being negligent (Luyckx et al., 2011).

The term "parenting competence" describes the most effective ways of raising a kid in line with what is considered to be valid and suitable information within a certain body of knowledge (Hecht, 2001). In the context of maternal transitions, it is especially important to have clarity on the "correct" sources of knowledge since first-time parents sometimes feel scrutinized and suffer uncertainty when it comes to the prevailing rhetoric of "good parenting" (Pedersen, 2016). Becoming a mother is an ephemeral process since it necessitates redefining motherhood, life, and one's own identity in the process of birthing a child. Bruner(2002) argues that in order to reimagine one's identity, one must separate oneself from one's past and rearrange one's views on oneself and others. Over time, a more complete picture of who you are becomes apparent as you adapt to this new setup; this, in turn, opens up more avenues for action and fresh perspectives on reality and the increasing variety of your living circumstances.

In 1970, middle-class and upper-class women in India often had children in their twenties. These days, however, they're putting off parenting until their thirties, when they're more established financially and professionally. Conversely, the number of children produced by women from low-income backgrounds has declined significantly, despite the fact that they continue to have children at a younger age, throughout their teenage years. These days, low-income women are having fewer children—one or two—rather than the typical four. It may be a relatively new phenomena, but it has already had an impact on how society views motherhood and how studies of psychology and other social sciences look at mothers' self-perception have far-reaching consequences.

Rationale of the study

A more recent longitudinal study by Kerr, Capaldi, Pears, and Owen (2009) used a multi-agent and multi-method approach to constructive parenting, including monitoring, punishment, warmth, and engagement, to assess the transfer of fathering from one generation to the next. The first generation of dads' parenting styles were studied while their children were between the ages of 9 and 12, while the second generation's fathers' ways were evaluated at two and a half to three years old, then again between the ages of 5 and seven. Overall, the key finding is that patterns of parenting are partly passed down through generations, regardless of methodological properties related to the study's design (cross-sectional or longitudinal), the instruments used (self-report questionnaires, observations, or a combination of the two), the number of respondents (single or multiple), and the types of parenting behaviors studied (positive, like warmth, or negative, like aggression). According to Bandura (1977), these patterns might be passed down through generations via social learning, which includes observation, modeling, and reinforcement.

It is believed that kids take their parents' approach to parenting at face value since they don't have any other models to look up to. The consistency shown in empirical investigations has been attributed to such a direct effect mechanism (Putallaz et al., 1998). According to Putalaz et al.

(1998), one component that explains the continuity of parenting behavior over generations is a mediational model that includes interpersonal style, parenting ideas, psychological state, and social engagement. Epigenetic effects have only lately been proposed as a possible mechanism for the passing on of parenting styles from parents to children. Over the course of three generations, Indian women's views on motherhood evolved, and this study aims to trace those changes. This is significant because we need to know how women and society have changed as a result of the changes happening in Indian society, particularly within the Indian family and the Indian mother.

Family value transmission in an Indian setting is the subject of the research gap that this study fills. This theory proposes that the views and decisions made by young adults should be viewed as an attempt to reconcile the private sphere influences of family transmission across generations with the public sphere discourses about values, particularly parenting. Further, the study takes into consideration the transgenerational nature of socialization by acknowledging that the transmission of parental skills cannot be investigated until children reach adulthood and are either mature enough to contemplate reproduction on their own or have children of their own (Manlove, 1997).

Review of Literature

“Socialisation and intergenerational transmission”

At the intersection of individual and societal spheres is the notion of socialization, which is seen as the duty of parents to ensure their children are socially equipped to live in the community. Parents' personal beliefs and how they show up in their daily lives have a significant impact on their children's development of civic virtue, while societal expectations have a larger role (Cano & Hofmeister, 2023). There is a great deal of interdependence between the "private" and "public" spheres, as well as between the socially acceptable values advocated by institutions and those that are handed down through the generations (Vedder et al., 2009). The extent to which members of the same family maintain consistent views, norms, and practices from one generation to the next is known as intergenerational transmission (Bertaux & Thompson, 1993). To varying degrees, this transmission mirrors the societal axiomatic value-system (Rohan & Zanna, 1996) and the current mood and style of life (Vedder et al., 2009).

In addition, parents' daily activities, shared meals, ancestral tales, incentives, and punishments are the most common ways for children to learn and retain values (Bertaux & Thompson, 1993). The hazy borders between the mutually influencing public and private value domains are explained by the fact that these private behaviors could not be considered value transmission. According to Yi and colleagues (2004, p. 526), while the idea of transmission between parents and children is widely believed, researchers have not conducted thorough analyses of this process. Put simply,

studies have shown time and time again that parents and their children have strong values that align. The degree to which generations are alike or different may, however, depend on other factors including societal ideals. In contrast to the positive effects of strong family bonds on intergenerational transmission (Bengtson et al., 2002), disputes and structural upheaval (e.g., social mobility) may lead to parents and children holding different views and values (Lawler, 2002).

“Genetic and Environmental Interaction”

Another theory suggests that the same habits and routines passed down from one generation to the next are really the product of genetic inheritance. Since the exact mechanisms responsible for any continuity are still poorly understood, Rutter (1998) cautions against drawing definitive conclusions and calls for more research in this area due to the lack of clarity surrounding the evidence and the possibility that genetic and social factors contribute just as much, if not more, than psychological influences. Some have postulated that environmental circumstances and the genes passed down from parents have a major role in determining how our bodies and minds work. Indeed, research has shown that certain parenting styles, in conjunction with genetic variances, impact children's emotional and behavioral development. This, in turn, may cause behavior issues and antisocial tendencies, for instance (Caspi et al., 2002; Sheese et al., 2007).

Fearon et al. (2006) and Neiderhiser et al. (2004) found less evidence of a genetic impact when parenting behaviors are seen, despite the fact that other studies have shown a modest genetic influence on various elements of parenting based on participant reports (Spinath and O'Connor, 2003). Some have argued that studies investigating the transmission of parenting styles from one generation to the next may vastly over-or under-estimate the extent to which parenting styles are passed down through the generations, based on the Gene X Environment theory's premise that children will differ in their sensitivity to environmental factors, particularly the quality of their parents' parenting. Overestimation of continuities for those less sensitive to environmental effects and underestimation of continuities for those more susceptible may result from these disparities in developmental plasticity (Pluess and Belsky, 2009). Conger et al. (2009) found that genes do not always lead to certain behaviors or parenting styles, even if the data is not conclusive in this area. Rather, they claimed that intergenerational transmission of parenting styles and human development are products of the intricate interplay between genes and the environment.

In a similar vein, Serbin and Karp (2003) drew on an increasing body of empirical evidence to argue that shared parenting approaches across generations are likely the result of both hereditary and environmental factors. Although heredity has a role in how people are shaped and how they react to their physical and social surroundings, it is also true that environmental circumstances may impact how parenting is passed down through the generations. One could argue that when generations raise children in similar physical and social environments, these factors shape

parenting styles and attitudes rather than the previous generation's direct psychological influence (Quinton and Rutter, 1984). The importance of studying these contextual elements and their effects on the transmission of parenting from one generation to another is highlighted once again.

van Ijzendoorn Review

In response to rising interest in the subject, van Ijzendoorn (1992) conducted a specially commissioned study that looked at the evidence supporting parenting styles being passed down across generations, specifically in groups that aren't clinical. Intergenerational transmission of parenting was described as "the process through which purposively or unintendedly an earlier generation psychologically influences parenting attitudes and behaviour of the next generation" (van Ijzendoorn, 1992, p.76), and this formative review sought to establish the evidence to-date and explore ways of advancing knowledge in this area. Thus, the process of socialization includes the passing of parenting skills from one generation to the next, and more especially, the "socialization of the socializer," in which grandparents socialize their grandchildren, who in turn socialize their own children (Feldman and Goldsmith, 1986). According to van Ijzendoorn, there are three generations involved in the process of passing a tradition from one generation to another: grandparents, parents, and children.

While it's true that grandparents can shape their grandkids' social development, this practice is more accurately described as "grand-parenting" since grandparents rarely, if ever, take an active role in raising their grandchildren as main caregivers (van Ijzendoorn, 1992). That is to say, according to his model of intergenerational transmission, the only things that matter are the psychological effects of one generation on the next, the method by which the grandparents of one generation socialize their grandchildren, and so on. This is how van Ijzendoorn (1992) tries to frame intergenerational transmission; he wants to draw attention to the psychological effects that parents have on their children while also separating this from the role that genes and environment play in passing their parenting skills down through the generations.

This narrowly defined concept of intergenerational transmission is further limited to studying how parenting styles and attitudes change over time, as shown by people of similar social or chronological age. This allows van Ijzendoorn's (1992) approach to account for the reality that parental attitudes and behaviors are inevitably impacted by a child's developmental stage and other environmental influences (Conger et al., 2009). Van Ijzendoorn (1992) believes that this helps us differentiate between grandparenting and true intergenerational transmission, which is different from childrearing and grandparenting in general.

Empirical review

Do different generations adopt different parenting approaches, or do they stay relatively constant? Contrary to popular belief, there is evidence that parenting techniques do in fact vary between generations (Campbell & Gilmore, 2007). Adopting different parenting approaches by parents also varies among generations. There is substantial evidence from studies conducted over the last 75 years on the transmission of parenting styles, behaviors, and beliefs from one generation to the next showing parenting styles do, in fact, vary with time, even within families (Littlewood, 2009). As According to Driscoll, Russell, and Crockett (2008), permissive parenting has been more popular over the course of generations while more traditional approaches have become less popular.

The emotional and psychological advantages of parenting were highlighted by older parents, according to Sachdev and Misra (2008), whereas the younger generation of parents stressed the benefits to the family group.

Families and children are vulnerable to a wide range of social, behavioral, and health issues due to intergenerational dynamics, according to Serbin and Karp (2003). The results of several studies conducted on different populations in different nations all point to the same conclusion: bad parenting habits are passed down through generations of children.

It was found in a cross-sectional study by Kitamura, Ohashi, Murakami, and Goto (2014) that grandparents' perceived parenting styles were more correlated with parents' current parenting styles than with spouses' current parenting styles. This correlation was greater for both fathers and mothers.

Laboratory studies on rodents have shown that maternal care is passed down through generations. This is because early interactional experiences affect gene expression in offspring, specifically the level of neuropeptide receptors in the hypothalamus (Champagne & Meaney, 2007). According to Bailey et al. (2009), there is a certain discontinuity between generations, as shown by the small to moderate coefficients obtained in the studies that were examined.

What happens when one generation passes on worries about parenting to the next, whether that's on purpose or not (van IJzendoorn, 1992). According to Serbin and Karp (2003), parenting styles and qualities are inherited because subsequent generations mimic one another's parenting styles and experiences. Bowlby (1973) first put this out there, arguing that parents who reject their children are more likely to have had negative relationships as children, which may lead to patterns of parenting that are passed down through the generations. A large body of evidence points to the perpetuation of parenting styles from one generation to the next (Conger et al., 2009). Recent research have shown that good and secure parenting practices may continue from one generation

to the next, in contrast to the vast bulk of literature that focuses on the transmission of negative parenting styles, such as neglect or abuse (Belsky, 1978).

This is shown in a research conducted by Belsky (2005) that followed 200 individuals from New Zealand and evaluated them at different points in their lives. The results of a study that recorded parents interacting with their 3-year-old children verified the hypothesis that prior reproductive experiences predict caring and nurturing parenting. Intergenerational transmissions were shown by individuals who had freely communicative and good connection in their teens, as well as by expressing comparable degrees of care to which they were received. Finding patterns in growth is made possible by the study's high validity, which is a result of its longitudinal design. The results are confined to New Zealand and cannot be applied to the broader population owing to cultural bias. For example, parenting approaches that are considered "warm and compassionate" in New Zealand can differ from those in the UK.

Constructive parenting skills are passed down through the generations, as shown by Chen and Kaplan (2001). This makes sense in light of the research by De Wolff et al. (1997), which found that children whose mothers exhibited secure attachment style were more likely to form a favorable mental image of attachment because their mothers were more attentive, protective, and responsive throughout their parenting.

Methodology

Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of the paper is “to study parenting Style of mothers across generations qualitatively in India.”

The paper aims to do the following:

- To learn about the experiences of Indian mothers from different generations on parenting
- To investigate the passing of values from one generation to the next, with an emphasis on parenting.
- To study the modern and older socio-historical contexts of motherhood in India during the last fifty years.

Research Design and scope

The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of mothers from three different generations in order to determine if there are any generational patterns in parenting. These objectives led to the formulation of the following research question: "Do parents' patterns of behavior transfer from one generation to the next?"

The chosen topic called for a qualitative research approach, so that's what was used. This study follows the premise that this interpretive approach can be useful when little is known about the participants (Field and Morse, 1985). According to HesseBiber and Leavy (2011), the study employs an inductive approach, which involves developing theory directly from data. The information gathered was based on the participants' first-person narratives, particularly those pertaining to their upbringing and parenting experiences. According to Geertz (1973), the goal of qualitative research is to provide detailed descriptions of the subjects studied (Smith, 2015). To better understand the participant's perspective and the social significance of their experiences, qualitative researchers conduct in-depth interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). A semi-structured interview was chosen as the appropriate method because one-on-one interviews provide rich and detailed data while also allowing for the exploration of individual experience. George et al. (1985) developed the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI), which served as an inspiration for this particular interview.

In the present study the following hypothesis was formulated:

“The mothers of three generations in the same household differ in their parenting styles.”

Sampling

This study uses a cross-temporal research approach and is qualitative in nature. This study is an integral component of a larger initiative examining family transitions in India. In this study, 18 women ranging in age and socioeconomic level were interviewed using a semi-structured interview format. In this section, three interviews are selected to demonstrate the study findings. A middle-class school teacher with four children who is 80 years old, a widow, and a retired individual is selected as the oldest participant. The second subject is a middle-class working lady, 53 years old, who has a husband and two kids. She has a bachelor's degree and works. The third subject is a married 23-year-old undergraduate who is a first-time mother. She has a kid who is two months old. Note that the three instances given here are not representative of the whole; rather, the conclusions and discussion will be based on the examination of all 18 cases. The purpose of presenting these is only to illustrate the results. There are three main age categories that the participants fall into: moms aged 30-49, mothers aged 50-69, and mothers aged 69+. The parallels and contrasts in the events described by each age group were used to develop these groups.

Age group	No. of participants
30-49 [A]	6 women
50-69 [B]	6 women
70+ [C]	6 women

Measurement Scale and Interview guide

The interview questions are as follows:

1. Please tell me a little bit about your early life, including your family's circumstances, where you lived, and other details. It would mean a lot to me if you could fill me in on the following details: your birthplace, your residence, your family's occupation, how often you moved, and how long you stayed there.
2. If you could begin at the beginning of your memory, I would want you to attempt to paint a picture of your connection with your parents when you were a little kid.
3. If you could go back to whenever you can in your memory to early childhood (anything from five to twelve years old would work), I would want you to choose five adjectives that best represent your bond with your mother. Allow yourself some time to reflect about this; once you have, I would want to inquire as to your rationale for selecting them. I will make note of each one as you hand them to me.
4. Now I want you to choose five words that sum up your relationship with your dad when you were a kid. You may start thinking about it whenever you prefer, but if you have trouble remembering specific dates, consider any time between the ages of five and twelve. Do yourself a favor and give it some more thought; I'll wait. Then I'd want to hear why you choose them. I will make note of each one as you hand them to me.
5. I was wondering if you could tell me whether you had a stronger bond with either parent. What did you do when you were a kid and you were angry?
6. At what age did you first experience feelings of rejection? My point is to inquire as to whether you recall ever experiencing rejection as a youngster, even if in hindsight you may see that it wasn't actually rejection.
(A) When did you first experience this emotion, and how old were you?

- (B) Have you ever discussed these issues with your parents? If so, do you believe they understood they were rejecting you?
7. Recall the first time you were separated from your parents; could you tell me about it?
 8. When you were a kid, did you ever feel threatened, whether it was for real or in jest?
 9. What impact do you believe your parents' influence has had on who you are now as an adult? Does anything from your childhood stand out to you as anything that may have stunted your growth or impacted your personality negatively?
 10. Besides your parents, were there any other grownups you had a close relationship with when you were a kid?
 11. Please allow me to inquire more about your dynamic with your parents. What kind of changes did you notice in your connection with your parents (or remaining parent) as you grew up? Here I mean modifications that occur approximately between your youth and your adulthood? We'll get to the current instant later.
 12. Alright, let's go back to the here and now. Could you fill me in on your current situation? What your living and working situation is like, the number of children you have, and how old they are.
 13. I have a question for you: how would you describe your current adult relationship with your parents or remaining parent? My question pertains to the relationship you are in right now.
 14. Now I'd want to ask you a question that isn't related to your parents' relationship, but rather focuses on a part of your connection with your kid or children right now. When you are apart from your kid or children, how do you now emotionally react?
 15. In the future, when your kid is an adult, what three things would you most like them to have? Your hopes and dreams for your child's future are on my mind. Allow me a little moment for you to consider this.
 16. Do you have a favorite memory or takeaway from your own childhood that you treasure most? Here I'm trying to put my finger on what it is that you may have learned from your upbringing.

17. Tell me about your parenting style and how you see yourself as a mother. How you handle things like supervision, encouragement, punishment, etc. -Tell me what you think prevents you from becoming the kind of parent you aspire to be.
18. How did your parents' upbringing shape your perspective on parenting? How so, exactly? What are some instances you can provide?
19. We've spent much of this interview dwelling on the past, but I'd want to close by casting my eye far into the future. Just as we've discussed what you may have gleaned from your own upbringing, what do you believe your own kid might have taken away from your parenting style?

Analysis

Using the theme of family generation as a foundation, we purposefully and comparatively examine intergenerational transmission by selecting transcripts from the projects (Bengtson et al., 2002). The transcripts of the interviews will be analyzed thematically.

Critical analysis, Themes and Findings

Pregnancy, child-birth and postpartum

Considering all 18 instances, we found a significant difference in the chosen categories among the three generations. Within the context of the pregnancy theme, we saw a difference in the way the mother and child interacted. Pregnant women in the second age group said that they used to touch the baby while it was still inside of them. The moms in the youngest age bracket all said that they had conversations with their infants. When asked whether they had any prenatal interactions with their infants, moms in the oldest age bracket indicated that, "during those times," it was not typical; everyone would have thought they were insane if they had. Contrary to modern belief, the ability of the fetus to respond to stimuli outside the womb, including the mother's voice, was not recognized. The fact that people of various ages had diverse impressions of the pregnant body is intriguing to note. Anxieties about her pregnant physique plagued one of the oldest participants (80 years old) in the previously described age group.

It wasn't that having kids was awful for me; it was just that we were embarrassed to admit we were expecting. These days, more and more women aren't shy about showing off their bellies. So that no one would see, I would roll myself into a ball and squeeze myself.

"Oh, you discovered it behind the door," A. [her mother-in-law] commented when she heard I was expecting. I thought this was a phrase. By "behind the door" she implied a sexually suggestive location, so I said, "See?"

On the other hand, a 63-year-old second-generation mother was excited to flaunt her growing belly:

"When I was in my second month of pregnancy, I felt it was amazing." People would comment, "Boy, you really want your belly to show!" when I arrived at university wearing those outfits designed for pregnant women, even though my tummy wasn't visible yet.

Among the mothers here, the youngest at 33 years old, expressed frustration that she was unable to dress more stylishly throughout her pregnancy:

"... there were certain days, when I wanted to go out, I was going to hang out with some of his [her husband's female acquaintances] pals." I was a little frustrated because I wanted to dress more attractively, you know... Plus, not having to wear clothes designed for pregnant women is a huge relief since that extra weight can be so restrictive... There were moments when I just wanted to get rid of my tummy.

Mothers in the first two age brackets said they were not given a choice in the Type of Childbirth category. Their research indicates that this option was not even considered or popular at that time. Only in cases of serious problems during delivery was a cesarean section done. When given the option, the youngest woman chose a cesarean section—not because of any health problems, but because she was terrified of the agony of labor—saying,

"(...) I'd rather have a scar than labor pain." This is greatly different from the current scenario.

"There weren't all these anxieties about prenatal," says the mother of the second age group, referring to the category of prenatal. There was prenatal care, but our physicians didn't put a lot of pressure on us to alter our eating habits or anything. Even though we put on weight, no one ever told us we were overweight. Such a thing did not exist. Size of the newborn, whether the baby was healthy, and similar matters used to get greater attention."

For the mother, who was 43 years old, this prenatal was completely different:

"It's the A. (hospital) prenatal class that I signed up for. Although I did not enroll in the course myself, I am acquainted with several who did. I heard about it from them. According to their account, the course covered a wide range of topics, including prenatal care, labor, postpartum, and nursing. "Are you receiving prenatal care?" I asked my dietitian."

The frequent equating of the concepts of "family" and "having children" in this data pattern sheds light on their irreversibility. People who participated in the interviews firmly believe that being married is the first step toward starting a family, and comments about childless couples not being considered "genuine families" surfaced in this setting. Elsa, a grandmother and mother of five, is 64 years old. Below, her 39-year-old daughter Martyna's story, who is expecting her second child, is presented next to excerpts from interviews with Elsa. Both the mother and daughter long for the day when they may have children of their own, and they share many thoughts and feelings on parenting and their hopes for having a family.

Mother, B1, 64 Having a large family has always been our goal. I don't feel the need to justify my existence to anybody, even with twins (since I had five). A period Martyna was sobbing one Christmas; I'll never forget that. I responded, "Baby, why are you crying?" and she said, "Mom, when you meet your siblings, there are so many of you and there are just three of us." In response, I cried. I found out after a while that I was expecting twins [.....].

A1, 39, the matriarch My lifelong goal has always been to have a family [.....]. Having only a mother, father, and kid in such a household seems lacking. I always wanted to have three children—I was the third of three—because I had two older brothers and I never believed that having just one would be enough. This desire persisted even before my twin brothers were born. Everyone warned me that my kid, an only child in a large family, would struggle greatly with the nature of his situation. The idea that souls without siblings are doomed to misery has stayed with me. I would want three.

The echoes of broader principles are especially intriguing in this mother-daughter duo. B1, the mother, a devoted Catholic (e.g., we are a Christian family, we believe), had to find a way to reconcile her faith with some of her children's personal decisions, particularly when they had children outside of marriage or lived with their partners without being married. The A1 daughter avoids talking about these issues on purpose, but she says it's because of the problems with secular current society and not her upbringing; she maintains that she was always taught the appropriate principles. However, she remains steadfast in her belief that children are the most important thing in her family and is willing to overlook value violations so long as her children continue the tradition. As Martyna says, her brother should have been married, but everyone had to put their attention where it really belongs: on the unborn child's safety. In this case, we can see how society as a whole interacts with the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. In particular, multi-perspective reports show that parenting is a value and a prerequisite for a happy and worthwhile existence that has been successfully passed down through generations.

There was also age-related variation in the category of pain experienced after childbirth, the second main topic. Already shown in the story of the youngest mother is that she chose to undergo a

caesarean section because she was terrified of the agony. Both first- and second-generation women's accounts note that it was taboo for women to talk about how they were hurting. As discomfort was inherent with becoming a mother, they felt some remorse for not doing it. The experience of giving birth was marked by the presence of labor pains. But this isn't the case for younger moms, who often avoid the agony of labor by opting for cesarean sections instead. There were also notable variations among age groups of mothers in the third subject, Postpartum, particularly in the area of Partner Participation. Only among the youngest moms did the partner's or husband's involvement in child care become apparent. In the story of the elderly mother, for example, there was a humorous scene when she asked her husband for assistance with the baby:

"It occurred like this." This kind of thing happened even among older generations. "G, please lend me a hand; the baby is yours as well," I pleaded, and he said, "Rock your portion of the cradle while I let mine cry [laughs]." (...)

"Despite my fears that the baby would fall, I proceeded to make his milk and completely forgot about him on the bed. (The infant) quickly got to his feet after grabbing onto something. The boy's father seemed completely unconcerned as he continued to scream uncontrollably. Laying down next to her, G did nothing while keeping his lips shut. Not only did he not grumble, he also remained still."

Regarding this matter, a mother from the second age group made the following observation:

"One thing that I notice a lot in my daughters' generation is that the participation of the father of the child is very different. I...the mother didn't have [her husband's help], and I was like my mother, since D. was like... a very affectionate father, but he wasn't a 'caring father.'"

He cradled the kids in his arms, but he quickly felt awkward and decided to depart; go for it, M! As long as they were spotless, he was happy with little infants. While I was resting in the middle of the night after giving birth, he never woke up. I transferred him to another room so he wouldn't be disturbed and could sleep through the night. When looking at the category of Social Institutions that Influence the moms' Practices, we saw that the youngest moms spoke a lot about medicine. Discussed here are best practices for childcare, as well as postpartum care for mother and baby, with a focus on nursing. In the form of stringent regulations and prescriptions, doctors have a significant say in the concerns of the mothers.

"If I had had my children now, I would have realized I should have nursed the girls a lot longer," the middle-aged woman says, displaying elements of medical discourse in her tale. However, we did not have the kind of orientation that is available now, you know. Thus, I weaned from nursing at a young age."

In fact, it is plausible to conclude from the moms' accounts that doctors did not yet track parenthood at those periods. I find it intriguing that she believes her girls may have been hurt because she did not use modern methods of child care; after all, her daughters are healthy adults, exactly as they were when they were little. This youngest mother's story is heavily reliant on medical terminology:

"Pediatricians suggest that in the beginning it is good you, you, you do things for the baby..." "You should be the one to give her the bottle and wash her if you do that," she advised. Due to the interaction with the mother... I was informed by the doctor twice that it's good that I bathe her, even if my mom used to do it. And sometimes I think, "wow." She needs a bath, but I hate giving her baths. Your whole focus should be on the baby, they say. The pediatrician's wish is that you nurse exclusively for at least six months, or until the kid is two years old. She wants you to give it your all when you're nursing.

Here, we see how a shift in the conversation around postpartum childcare methods sparked differing opinions. Doctors do not advise first-time moms to listen to their mothers, mothers-in-law, or other more seasoned women, according to most interviewers. It would seem that only doctors with advanced training have the authority to impart wisdom to expectant moms in this setting. In response, the 43-year-old said: "What's amusing is that we, I knew you were gonna ask, but we (she and her mother) have arguments over it all the time. Because her pediatrician says one thing, and so does the doctor, but my mother says a totally other thing."

In these accounts, we see what seems to be a shift in power away from women and toward experts, physicians, and pediatricians in the field of knowledge. Because it involves the distribution of power and the protection of private information, this might be a sign of a profound societal shift. The formation of knowledge about motherhood shifted from being mostly a female domain to being primarily a doctor's domain in India throughout the last half-century, along with significant changes in attitudes and behaviors connected to the categories mentioned. The field of pediatrics supposedly came into being in the nineteenth century (Martins, 2008). As our seasoned participant recalls, *"It was a midwife."* Midwives had long been an integral component of supporting women as they made the transition to parenthood. J., her fourth son, was also born by the midwife's hands. She went to visit the infant, examined him, and scheduled appointments for him. It was her expertise. None of her official education was formal. One major point that came up in the story of the youngest mother is that she had no idea how much labor and care a baby would need.

According to McVeigh (1997), many first-time moms feel unprepared for the challenges of parenting and child care, despite the fact that prenatal courses may have helped them prepare for labor and delivery. In spite of the fact that medical culture frowns upon women discussing their experiences as mothers and how they handle childcare after giving birth, McVeigh (1997) argues that, given the widespread belief in a "secret conspiracy about the difficulties of motherhood,"

expecting mothers-to-be would benefit from hearing from more seasoned mothers. Pregnant women and new moms in the first few weeks of life would benefit greatly from the guidance of more seasoned women, says the author. This may not be the ideal time to help women get ready for parenting, but it may be the only time they'll ever ask for assistance.

Warmth, nurturance, and communication style

There are three subthemes that make up the first main topic, which is elements affecting parenting style. These include the sort of family the parents come from (nuclear vs. extended), the level of schooling the parents have, and the parents' personal upbringing and other formative experiences. Family dynamics impact parenting approaches, which in turn affects how other family members, such in-laws, are involved. According to Durrant (1996), parenting styles may be influenced by changes in family dynamics. The elderly were unable to advise their children because of their mothers' heavy workloads, and their husbands and in-laws made all the important choices for them, and the mother blindly followed their lead. Almost half of all moms in a nationwide Zero to Three (2010) survey stated they often consult their mother or mother-in-law for advice on child development and parenting, which is consistent with this theory. Husbands in the extended family structure have strong relationships with their moms and other relatives, and they consult with their moms before making major life choices (Babalola, 1991).

According to research by Roopnarine and Hossain (1992), children's social development is significantly impacted by the mixed family arrangement. Fapohunda and Todaro (1988) and Isiugo-Abanihe (1991) were among the study that found that extended families are supportive of certain child-rearing techniques. Because the research took place in Pune, Maharashtra, a city where blended families are still common, the current finding is consistent with the participants' lived experiences. The parenting approaches of the young moms were also influenced by their own childhood experiences, including their upbringing. One member of the current generation of parents has "*blamed her moms for bringing her up in a very rigid atmosphere,*" but this mother really allows her children complete autonomy and backs them up in all areas of life. The results of Zero to Three (2010) contradict this subtheme, since 53% of mothers claim that their moms' parenting style is greatly influenced by how they were raised.

Parents tend to mimic their moms' methods of raising children, according to research by Barnhart, Raval, Jansari, and Rval (2013). Many things, including education, the impact of Western society, and differences in family structure, contribute to women of different generations using parenting approaches that vary from their own. Social learning theory's vicarious learning principles provide an explanation (Bandura, 1971). As a result of seeing their own mothers' parenting styles in action and dealing with the fallout from those methods, some moms may choose to adopt alternative approaches to raising their own children. It seems that modern moms are more impacted by

Western society, which means they could also lean toward more authoritarian or permissive parenting approaches.

The traditional nuclear family has given way to more modern arrangements in India, where many working moms may find they have less time to devote to their children than their mothers' generation did. As a result, new moms should aim to be more sensitive and less demanding so that they may spend quality time with their children, rather than enforcing rigid rules or punishing them. Our results corroborate those of several other research showing a correlation between parental education and the quality of their childrearing. *"Whatever my spouse chose, I agreed with him,"* one elderly responder said, *"I was not literate and I don't typically participate in my daughter's business."* Parents' levels of education have an effect on their parenting style, according to Durrant (1996). Mothers with lower levels of education are more likely to resort to corporal punishment. Mothers who were older, less educated, and male had greater levels of acceptance when it came to physically punishing their children, according to a research that surveyed 14 nations (Gracia and Herrero, 2008). But there isn't always a direct correlation between parental instruction and discipline (Dietz, 2000). *"She is not highly educated but she very well understands how to bring up her children,"* one respondent from the older age said.

Discipline tactics, the second overarching topic, are broken down into four subthemes: the use and avoidance of punishment, rules and regulations pertaining to desired conduct, logic, and rules and regulations. Mothers use a variety of disciplinary tactics to help their children learn to conform to societal norms and expectations and to improve their own parenting skills. According to Wissow (2002), children learn societal norms and values via their mothers' disciplinary actions. Mothers' disciplinary strategies might range from outright punishment to the use of reasoning—an inductive disciplinary strategy—or the avoidance of punishment altogether.

"If her children are disobeying or misbehaving, she punishes them and punishment is necessary for children," one interviewee from the older generation said, while two from the younger generation said, *"I used to punish children if it is necessary to punish them"* and *"she uses verbal punishment."* A few mothers choose not to punish their children at all. Among the newer generation, four people said they try to avoid getting in trouble. *"I don't believe in giving punishment to children"; "mothers should not enforce punishment on children"; "punishment is not the right way to show children the right path"; "at times when the child is not obeying I make her understand and avoid physical punishment"; "I don't believe in giving punishment to children";* and *"she doesn't mostly prefer punishment,"* the only response from an older interviewee who was against punishment.

It is reasonable to assume that parenting styles are evolving in relation to punishment based on this disparity. Older moms employ discipline more often than younger mothers, according to a

consistent trend. More individualistic ideals are fostered in Indian children as a result of changes in parenting styles brought about by modernity (Amin and Power, 2002). Parents who responded strongly to their children's physical punishments were less inclined to do the same (Park, 2001). Researchers have shown that women who experienced physical punishment as children or teenagers are more prone to physically discipline their own children. Although there were mixed findings from several research, the general trend was that younger moms used less punishment than their older counterparts. The second subtheme that came out of this research is that of strict controls and guidelines for desirable conduct. As a form of discipline, the mothers of the two generations surveyed in this research reported using rigid regulations.

According to one interviewee from the younger generation, *"I give proper warnings and instruction,"* while two interviewees from the older generation mentioned that *"they practiced very strict rules and regulation to bring up their daughter"* and that *"one of them believed that it is necessary to impose strict rules and regulation on the children."* The results of a longitudinal twin research that spanned many generations and was conducted by Kendler (1996) revealed that parental views are shaped by their own familial background. According to Bugental and Happaney (2002), a parent's approach to punishment may differ depending on their own childhood experiences. In contrast to Western parenting styles, India and Asia place a premium on firm discipline. Several studies have shown that Asian Indian moms stress the significance of elders' compliance and discourage autonomy.

The study by Jambunathan and Counselman (2002) indicated that women from India were more prone to use authoritarian parenting styles and physical punishment, in contrast to moms from India who immigrated to the US and reported being the most authoritative parents. Asian American moms tend to be more authoritarian than white American mothers. Their notion that severe parenting is fundamental in the Asian culture is reflected in their parenting style (Russell, Crockett & Chao, 2010). Mothers may help their children grasp their decision-making process by engaging in reasoning, an inductive discipline. According to Kerr et al. (2004), inductive discipline helps kids internalize moral and social ideals. *"I make them understand everything politely and tell happenings and miss happenings of everything to my children"; "at times when the child is not obeying she makes her understand"* are two quotes from interviewees of the younger generation who supported the use of reasoning as a disciplinary strategy in this study. *"She makes her daughters comprehend very sweetly with reasoning"; "she makes her children understand by reasoning them"; and "she makes her children understand by offering suitable explanations"* were the comments of three members of the older generation. It follows that logic as a parenting strategy is shared by moms of both generations.

This contradicts earlier studies that found authoritarian parenting to be more prevalent in eastern cultures (collectivist), and authoritative parenting to be more prevalent in western cultures

(individualistic) (Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002). Because more research is needed to fully understand authoritative parenting, which includes logic. The current research also found a theme of warmth and nurturing, and Within its overarching themes were concepts of support, liberty, logic, empathy, and comprehension. Mothers' warmth and nurturing is associated with their showing their children love, care, support, understanding, approbation, and safeguarding their emotional and physical health. A defining feature of both authoritarian and permissive parenting styles is a lack of warmth and nurturing, argues Baumrind (1991).

Four interviewees from the younger generation shared their thoughts on the topic: *"I gave full support and help to them"; "I am always with them"; "I allowed my daughter to do whatever she wants to do and I support her"; "she gives her children full freedom and supports them";* and furthermore, they all believe in their children becoming independent adults. One possible comparison is that not a single mother from the previous generation brought this up. Having empathy is trying to see things from another person's perspective. Mothers from both generations demonstrate compassion and understanding in this scene. *"We should endeavor to understand our children," "we too understand our children," "she understands her children," and "she lived through those phases" were all said by two interviewers from each generation.*

The final overarching topic is that of communication style, which has three subthemes: responsive, demanding yet unresponsive, and reasoning. Mothers speak to their children in a unique way. *"I believed that mothers should allow their children to take their decision to some extent and do not enforce punishment on them," one mother said of the millennial generation, "I gave full freedom to her children and supports them in every aspect of life." Another mother said, "I make them understand everything politely."* Lastly, another mother said, *"I gave full support and help to them."* All of these things point to a more accommodating and less demanding parenting style between the millennial and previous generations. Two older interviewees also mentioned that *"she practiced very strict rules and regulation to bring up her daughter" and "she believed that it is necessary to impose strict rules and regulation for children,"* indicating that they were less accommodating and more demanding when it came to raising their children. The interview snippets also made it quite obvious that moms of a more senior age communicate with greater logic and reason than mothers of a younger generation. *"She makes her children comprehend by reasoning them"; "make youngsters understand by supplying proper explanations"; and "she makes her daughter understand very pleasantly with reasoning" were all statements made by three members of the older generation.*

Discussion

Within the realm of family and parenting, the concept of transmission can be utilized to trace conflicts and reconciliations between two opposing viewpoints: first, the "traditional" view of

parenting as an innate and impersonal process; and second, the increasing agency that young people demonstrate in their efforts to break free from the mold set by their elders. When compared side by side, the stories told by parents' generation and those told by their young adult offspring often reveal quite different values. There is an implied hierarchy of family roles (particularly that of mother) and hierarchical connections within parenting and family for the parents' generation. A child's parents provide a solid foundation for their axio-normative value system and a significant source of identity-valuation.

In contrast, there is a wide range of opinions and experiences among young people's narratives, from those who fully embrace parenting as a value to others who are ambivalent or even deny its importance. By looking at family trees from different generations, we may learn a lot about three different matrices of transmission. In a broader sense, parenting is best understood and researched as one of the values passed down in a "lagged" fashion, meaning that the transition into adult responsibilities might awaken dormant tendencies towards or opposition to parenting.

Intergenerational socialisation and previous family moves may, via a qualitative lens, explain them to some degree. The study concludes that future studies should investigate the relationship between societal change and intergenerational transmission in order to determine the direction of changes and the likelihood of (non)transferring parenting styles and hopes for procreation in different intergenerational contexts. As a cornerstone of socialization, studying the limits of intergenerational transmission over time may also be a starting point for investigating disputes, tensions, and solidarity between generations.

Conclusion

This research used a qualitative technique to show that parenting styles do vary over time and do transmit from one generation to the next. Because there are certain shared and unique traits among the parents of the three generations shown by the qualitative data. The moms of both generations have spoken about how they discipline their children, how they set clear boundaries, how they reason with them, and how they try to understand them. In contrast to the older generation's parents, who are more likely to resort to punishment, impose rigid rules and regulations, be demanding, and be unresponsive, the mothers of the current generation are seen as more responsive, supportive, and helpful in helping their children become independent.

Even while modern moms get a tonne of advice on how to take care of themselves and their baby, they don't just "digest" it. Their accounts of motherhood's reality reveal novel and unexpected circumstances, which they call the "conspiracy of silence." When fact and opinion collide, it sets in motion the process of creating new understandings of motherhood, understandings that may or may not have been held by earlier generations. Becoming a mother no longer involves going

through labor pains, which were formerly an integral aspect of the process. For moms of a bygone period, parenthood was like a secretive female-only club where all the ladies (nurses, aunts, midwives, and mothers-in-law) looked out for one other. According to the records of the first survivor, it was a world where mankind either lacked the courage or desire to set foot. Conversely, this female-dominated cosmos has only just expanded into the medical field, and partners and spouses are showing signs of wanting in as well.

This societal shift began at this turning point, which allowed for individual variance throughout generations. As pointed out by Badinter (2010), the way motherhood is understood in Indian society and, perhaps, in western society, has been profoundly affected by changes in who has knowledge about motherhood issues, who advises, who participates, and in childbirth and childcare practices. Since Indian culture seems to have altered its approach to mothers, how it engages with them, and how it defines their proper behavior over the course of three generations, new meanings have arisen and canons are at risk. There are good and bad elements of parenthood, and they shift from generation to generation, even though young first-time moms have a hard time adjusting to the reality of motherhood. The good aspect must be highlighted: Concepts involving the inherent dualities of all events may be understood, says Valsiner (2001).

Limitations and Future Scope

There are pros and cons to becoming a mother, and this is likely to remain true throughout generations. The small sample size of moms from low-income families is a weakness of the research. Possible areas for future study include the effects of competing medical and traditional knowledge on new moms, the ways in which traditional and medical practices might coexist, and the prospects for dialogue between the two. By interviewing more women from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, future research may provide a more comprehensive picture of societal change in relation to the transition to parenthood.

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