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The impact of religiosity on parenting behaviors in latter-day saint families

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THE IMPACT OF RELIGIOSITY ON PARENTING
BEHAVIORS IN LATTER-DAY SAINT FAMILIES

A Dissertation

Presented in

Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

BY

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SEPTEMBER 2010

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VITA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dissertation Committee	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Vita.....	iv
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Global Approaches to Parenting Research	1
Baumrind’s Parenting Styles.....	5
Psychological Control.....	9
The Impact of Parenting Practices on Child Development.....	12
The Impact of Parenting Practices During Childhood.....	12
The Impact of Parenting Practices During Adolescence	17
Factors Affecting Parenting Practices.....	20
Ethnicity.....	23
Socioeconomic Status	24
Gender.....	26
The Impact of Religion on Parenting Practices	28
Measurement of Religiosity.....	29
Diversity and Religiosity	32
Religiosity, Parenting Attitudes, and Practices.....	33
Parental Religiosity and Child Development.....	40
Parenting and Family within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.....	42

Historical Context of the Church	42
Fundamental Precepts and Organization of the Church	45
Behavioral Expectations for Members of the Church.....	48
The Influence of Latter-day Saint Ideals and Practices on Family and Parenting ..	50
Research on Latter-day Saint Families	54
Rationale	59
Statement of Hypotheses.....	61
CHAPTER II. METHOD.....	63
Participants.....	63
Recruitment.....	66
Procedure	69
Measures	70
Demographics Questionnaire.....	70
Chadwick & Top Religiosity Scales	70
Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire	74
Psychological Control.....	79
CHAPTER III. RESULTS	82
Preliminary Analyses	82
Hypothesis Testing.....	90
CHAPTER IV. DISCUSSION.....	108
CHAPTER V. SUMMARY	118
References.....	121
Appendix A. An Invitation to Participate in a Research Study of LDS Parents.....	141

Appendix B. Demographics Questionnaire	142
Appendix C. Chadwick & Top Religiosity Scales.....	144
Appendix D. Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire	146
Appendix E. Psychological Control Measure	148

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Additional Demographic Characteristics of Sample.....	65
Table 2. Correlations Between Subscales of Religiosity Measure.....	84
Table 3. Eigenvalues, Internal Consistency, and Factor Loadings for Subscales of Religiosity Measure.....	86
Table 4. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Global Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Parenting Style.....	95
Table 5. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Dimensions of Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Dimensions of Authoritative Parenting.....	99
Table 6. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Dimensions of Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Dimensions of Authoritarian Parenting.....	103
Table 7. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Dimensions of Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Indulgence.....	106
Table 8. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Dimensions of Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Psychological Control.....	107

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The Relationship Between Global Religiosity and Authoritative Parenting for Mothers and Fathers.....92

Figure 2. The Relationship Between Global Religiosity and Authoritarian Parenting for Mothers and Fathers.....94

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

Of the many ways in which researchers categorize various parenting behaviors, one of the most carefully studied is Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles. The review of the literature below outlines not only Baumrind's trait approach, but several others as well. This introduction also explores the many factors that can influence parenting, including a parent's gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, or religious beliefs and behaviors. Of these factors, religion will be given the largest consideration in the review below, with particular emphasis on a group of religious individuals that has largely been underrepresented in the research literature: members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This introduction concludes with a brief review of Latter-day Saint history, beliefs, practices, and a summary of prominent ecclesiastical teachings and research on the role of the family within the Latter-day Saint community.

Global Approaches to Parenting Research

Published research on the topic of parenting is voluminous, particularly within the field of psychology. A comprehensive review of parenting literature by Holden (1997) develops a foundation of understanding through examining six major approaches known as momentary process, child effects, social learning, parental beliefs, social address, and the trait approach. Each approach is briefly described in the paragraphs below, followed by a more in-depth exploration of the constructs to be examined in the current study, namely Baumrind's (1971)

parenting styles (informed by the trait approach) and psychological control (Barber, 1996).

The momentary process approach to studying parenting practices attempts to identify factors that shape parenting “in the moment” (e.g., facial expressions, attentiveness to the child’s needs; Holden, 1997). Studies within the momentary process framework consist of in-vivo observations of parents by researchers, with a focus on the interplay between parent and child, and are usually conducted during the early years of a child’s life. Sameroff (1967), a pioneer in momentary process research, has used the approach to study the types and levels of auditory and visual stimulation necessary to promote sucking behavior in infants. A subsequent study by Sameroff, Seifer, and Zax (1982) used the momentary process approach to explore the impact of parent-child interactions (e.g., proximity of mother to infant, level of responsiveness to her infant’s needs) on various aspects of early development for children born to mothers diagnosed with schizophrenia.

The child effects framework of parenting research explores the various characteristics of children that may shape parental behavior (Holden, 1997). Early research on this approach classified child characteristics into three groups: physical (e.g., attractiveness), behavioral (e.g., activity level, temperament), and general (e.g., age, gender; Rothbart & Maccoby, 1966). Advocates of the child effects approach found that in one study, adults charged with engaging a child in a task were more likely to use reasoning and praise to motivate children who demonstrated adequate social skills (in this case, paying attention to the adult

speaking instead of the objects around them) and had a tendency to use material rewards to motivate children who appeared disengaged (Keller & Bell, 1979). Likewise, a review of the literature on the child effects approach found a significant difference between parental responses to children, such that children who exhibited tendencies toward independence were more likely to be granted autonomy by parents, with those appearing more dependent on parents receiving more explicit, controlling directives from their caregivers (Bell & Chapman, 1986). Similar effects were also true for hyperactivity, namely that parents with children displaying higher levels of activity developed a higher tolerance for such behavior. These studies highlight the impact characteristics of a child can have on parenting behavior.

Informed by the work of fundamental behaviorists such as Watson, Skinner, and Bandura, the social learning approach characterizes parenting practices as dependent upon parental modeling of the desired behavior, which can then be reinforced when exhibited by the child (Holden, 1997). Another important aspect of the social learning approach is social attention (both positive and negative) in response to desired and undesired child behavior. Application of this approach is demonstrated in the parenting practices of time out (Eyberg, 1988) and behavioral reward charts (Barkley, 1997). A key contributor to the body of social learning research is Patterson, who is most known for his exploration of the development of adolescent aggression and delinquency through harsh parental discipline and poor monitoring of the adolescent (Patterson, Dishion, & Bank, 1984; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984).

The parental beliefs approach focuses on the cognitive aspects of parenting as the source of parenting behavior (Holden, 1997). Encompassed in this approach are research studies on parenting attitudes, beliefs, perceptions (both of the child and of the self), and processes involved in decision-making. A review of the parental beliefs literature by Sigel and McGillicuddy-De Lisi (2002) highlights the myriad ways parenting beliefs affect parenting behavior, including gender socialization (e.g., a mother endorsing traditional beliefs about gender roles is more likely to raise her children to adhere to such standards), academic support (e.g., if a father believes education is important, he is more likely to take an active role in his child's schooling), and achievement (e.g., a parental belief that a child excels at math can mediate the relationship between the child's ability and performance on standard achievement tests). Sigel and McGillicuddy-De Lisi also cite numerous examples of how parental beliefs can shape both the disciplinary practices of parents and the health behaviors of children (e.g., eating healthy foods and exercising). Key to the parental beliefs approach is an understanding of the role culture and other systemic influences (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) have on the development, transmission, and maintenance of parental cognitions.

The social address approach posits that different "addresses" (e.g., cultures, geographic locations, levels of income) shape parenting behavior in different ways (Holden, 1997). Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model examines the impact of these social addresses across four interconnected systems: the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. Microsystemic

influences occur when the individual has face-to-face contact with another person or object (e.g., when a mother disciplines her child). Mesosystems consist of interactions between microsystems or micro- and exosystems that have an impact on the individual (e.g., although a son may not directly interact with his mother's employer, a poor relationship between his mother and her employer can adversely affect the parent-child relationship). The exosystem is comprised of factors and groups from the larger community that have a more distal influence on the family (e.g., the amount of violence in the neighborhood may impact the degree to which a father grants his child autonomy). Macrosystems affect the family through indirect mechanisms such as cultural values and social structures (e.g., corporal punishment may be viewed as an appropriate response to misbehavior by one cultural group and yet eschewed by another). Together, these interconnected "social addresses" can impact parenting practices.

According to Holden (1997), the trait approach divides parents into groups depending on the traits (e.g., rejecting, overindulgent, democratic) that inform their parenting styles. Perhaps the best known trait theorist is Baumrind (1971), whose research classified parenting styles based on varying levels of warmth and control. As Baumrind's model is a core component of the proposed study, the following section of this review provides additional insight into the foundations and implications of her research.

Baumrind's Parenting Styles

As noted by Darling and Steinberg (1993), Baumrind's early research on the dimensions of parenting behavior was informed by the view that two

components of parenting were necessary for proper socialization of children, namely teaching a child to conform to the “necessary” demands of others and to maintain a “personal sense of integrity” while doing so (pp. 489). To examine the various parenting processes necessary to facilitate optimal child socialization, Baumrind’s (1971) seminal work on classification of parenting traits measured parenting behaviors on several continua, including: (1) expect vs. do not expect participation in household chores, (2) enrichment vs. impoverishment of child’s environment, (3) directive vs. nondirective, (4) discourage vs. encourage emotional dependency on parents, (5) discourage vs. encourage infantile behavior, (6) flexibility and clarity vs. inflexibility and lack of clarity of the parent’s views, (7) firm vs. lax enforcement policy, (8) obedience as a salient positive value vs. obedience as a nonsalient or negative value, (9) promotes respect for established authority vs. seeks to develop a cooperative working relationship with child, (10) confidence vs. lack of confidence in self as a parent, (11) encourages vs. discourages independence, (12) encourages vs. discourages verbal exchange and use of reason, (13) reluctant vs. willing to express anger or displeasure to child, (14) promotes individuality vs. social acceptability, and (15) expresses punitive vs. nurturant behavior. From both observation and self-report measures of these behaviors emerged four distinct parenting styles: (1) authoritarian, characterized by little warmth and an insistence on strict obedience to parental requests, disobedience to which was followed by punishment; (2) authoritative, consisting of a warm but firm approach with clear behavioral expectations and an emphasis on granting autonomy to the child; (3) permissive, typified by rare punishment or

restriction of behavior and high levels of child autonomy; and (4) rejecting-neglecting, described as low on the domains of warmth, control, and promotion of autonomous behavior. Although the majority of parents included in the Baumrind study fit neatly into one of the categories above, approximately one-fourth of her sample displayed trait patterns not clearly defined as authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, or rejecting-neglecting. Baumrind's initial findings suggested that for White, middle- to upper-class families, authoritative parenting was associated with optimal social and intellectual development in preschool-aged children, the specifics of which are covered in an upcoming section on the impact of parenting practices on child development.

Subsequent research by Maccoby and Martin (1983) led to a refinement of Baumrind's (1971) trait dimensions, such that her styles of parenting are now often conceptualized as falling on the high or low end of demandingness (as opposed to control) and responsiveness (instead of warmth). Maccoby and Martin also further explored the fourth dimension of parenting initially identified by but not examined in depth by Baumrind (1971): rejecting-neglecting (referred to as uninvolved parents by Maccoby and Martin). As the moniker assigned by Maccoby and Martin implies, uninvolved parents' level of involvement in their children's lives is much lower than that displayed by parents from other groups, with the possibility of bordering on neglect. Maccoby and Martin suggest that this style of parenting is motivated by a desire to avoid the inconveniences of childrearing; child demands are responded to quickly and dismissively. Given the distinct nature of this parenting style from the other three (which all include

parental involvement, though the content and goals of such involvement varies from style to style), uninvolved parents will not be examined in the proposed study.

The sample for Baumrind's (1971) early work was composed of White, middle- to upper-class parents of preschool-aged children. Subsequent research by Baumrind and others has established the presence and impact of her styles in ethnically (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Petit, 1996; Querido, Warner, & Eyberg, 2002), economically (Armistead, Forehand, Brody, & Maguen, 2002; Hoff, Laursen, & Tardif, 2002), and religiously (Gunnore, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999) diverse samples. With respect to the autonomy and conformity dimensions of Baumrind's (1971) styles, a review of the literature on SES and parenting by Hoff and colleagues (2002) states that higher-SES mothers report a preference for granting their children higher levels of autonomy than lower-SES mothers. Hoff and colleagues also state that higher-SES mothers are more verbal with their children, whereas low-SES mothers are more likely to value conformity, differences that often persist regardless of the mother's ethnicity.

Parental level of education, one determinant within SES, has also been examined in relationship to Baumrind's classifications. In a study by Querido et al. (2002), African American female caregivers in their sample with higher levels of education were more likely to endorse an authoritative style and caregivers with lower levels of education were more likely to endorse an authoritarian approach. These findings are supported by studies with ethnic groups other than African Americans. For example, a study with European American families

found that higher levels of parental education (and thus a higher SES) were associated with increased parental warmth characteristic of an authoritative style (Pinderhughes, Nix, Foster, & Jones, 2001). Another study with Finnish parents (Aunola, Nurmi, Onatsu-Arvilommi, & Pulkkinen, 1999) also found a direct relationship between low levels of education and an authoritarian style. With respect to Baumrind's (1971) permissive parenting style, Querido and colleagues found that it was most often adopted by caregivers with low levels of both education and income.

The influence of gender on authoritative and authoritarian parenting has also been explored in the literature. A study by Dwairy and colleagues (2006) that asked adolescents from a variety of Arab communities to rate 30 parenting behaviors on a Likert-type scale found that the adolescents were significantly more likely to perceive paternal behavior patterns as characteristic of the authoritarian approach. Conversely, these same adolescents endorsed maternal behavior patterns as representative of the authoritative style. The latter finding was also supported in a study with Finnish and Australian parents, namely that the pattern of parenting behaviors endorsed by mothers (but not fathers) best fit the authoritative approach (Aunola et al., 1999; Russell, Hart, Robinson, & Olsen, 2003).

Psychological Control

Initially explored by Schaefer (1965) and other early researchers in the field, the concept of psychological control was most recently brought to the forefront of parenting literature by Barber (1996). Barber separates parental

attempts to control children's behavior into two categories: behavioral and psychological, the latter of which is defined as "control attempts that intrude into the psychological and emotional development of the child (e.g., thinking processes, self-expression, emotion, and attachment to parents)" (p. 3296).

According to Barber's treatise on the topic, psychological control was largely ignored (or given a passing mention) by researchers until the 1990s, at which time Baumrind (1991) and Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling (1992) began to characterize it as infringing on the autonomy (key to the authoritative style) necessary for children to achieve healthy socioemotional development. Largely obtained by parental tactics such as withdrawing love, making critical comments, and overprotectiveness, psychological control has been connected to iatrogenic effects on the development of children and adolescents (Barber, Stolz, & Olsen, 2005).

The parenting cognitions associated with occurrence of psychological control were examined by Walling, Mills, and Freeman (2007) in their study of middle-class families living in Canada. For both mothers and fathers, Walling and colleagues found that those who endorsed more sensitivity to hurtful comments from their children and disapproval of their child expressing negative emotions (e.g., sadness) were more likely to self-report use of psychological control. Child temperament was also a significant predictor of the use of psychological control, such that those children who displayed a negative temperament (e.g., difficult to soothe) were more likely to have a parent who self-reported use of psychological control.

The four dimensions of psychological control measured by the questionnaire selected for the proposed study are personal attack, erratic emotional behavior, guilt induction, and love withdrawal (Olsen, Yang, Hart, Robinson, Wu, Nelson, et al., 2002). According to Barber (1996), personal attacks occur when a parent exhibits such behaviors as bringing up a child's previous mistakes, blaming him/her for another's problems, and questioning the child's loyalty to the family. Erratic emotional behavior consists of alternating episodes of caring and attacking behavior, which can send mixed messages to the child with respect to his/her worth or place in the family. Guilt induction attempts to elicit feelings of sorrow by impressing upon the child that he/she has caused another family member to suffer in some way, often painting the offended individual as a martyr who suffers for the sake of the child. Love withdrawal, the final element of Barber's psychological control to be examined in the current study, takes the form of clear communication of displeasure toward the child (often through removing attention or making an unpleasant face) when the child acts in a manner contrary to the parent's desires.

Although all of the approaches identified above by Holden (1997) have borne fruitful insights in the field of parenting research, the proposed study will focus on further investigation of Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles and Barber's (1996) psychological control within a religious context. Specifically, participants will be reporting on dimensions of religiosity as well as the frequency of their parenting behaviors within the authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and psychologically controlling spectra. The impact of Baumrind's parenting styles

and psychological control on the developmental processes of children and adolescence is reviewed below.

The Impact of Parenting Practices on Child Development

In a summary of the literature on parenting practices and their impact on child development, Kotchick and Forehand (2002) state that supportive parenting practices, combined with consistent (but not excessively harsh) discipline and adequate parental monitoring have been linked with multiple child outcomes, including academic success, self-confidence, and appropriate, healthy peer relationships. They also cite examples of how supportive and consistent parenting is particularly necessary during times of difficulty, such as divorce, parent illness, or times of economic difficulty. However, not all parenting behaviors build healthy children; some have iatrogenic results. The following section explores the varied influences parenting can have on human development during early childhood and adolescence, with a special emphasis on Baumrind's (1971) dimensions of parenting and Barber's (1996) conceptualization of psychological control.

The Impact of Parenting Practices During Childhood

Prior research has demonstrated that Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles impact child development in a variety of ways. An early study by Baumrind examined the impact of her parenting styles on child behaviors along several continua, including hostile – friendly, resistive – cooperative, domineering – tractable, dominant – submissive, purposive – aimless, achievement oriented – not achievement oriented, and independent – suggestible. Baumrind's analyses

revealed that, compared to other children, children of authoritarian parents lacked independence. Relative to the behaviors of children whose parents exhibited an authoritative approach, sons of authoritarian parents were less socially responsible and daughters less achievement oriented. Similarly, sons of permissive parents were less socially responsible and had low achievement orientation when compared to sons of authoritative parents. Also, both sons and daughters of permissive parents were less independent than children of authoritative parents. In contrast, sons and daughters of authoritative parents were more socially responsible than children of either authoritarian or permissive parents. Given the small number of parents whose behaviors were characteristic of the rejecting-neglecting approach, analyses were not conducted for children of such parents.

A subsequent treatise by Baumrind (1995) further summarizes her research on the impact of parenting on child development. She states that, based on several of her studies, parents who demonstrated demanding and responsive behavior (characteristic of the authoritative style) were more likely to produce socially responsible children when compared to parents who were either responsive or demanding (not both), or who displayed neither behavior. Parents low on both of these dimensions (i.e., rejecting-neglecting) were more likely to have children low on social responsibility and social assertiveness. Parents who were highly demanding of their children but not responsive to their needs (characteristic of the authoritarian approach) were likely to have socially assertive (but not socially responsible) daughters. Conversely, daughters of parents with high responsiveness but low demandingness (i.e., permissive) showed the

opposite; they were not likely to be socially assertive, but did display a moderate amount of social responsibility. Thus, Baumrind's subsequent research not only replicates the findings from earlier studies (Baumrind, 1971) but sheds light on other areas in which demandingness and responsiveness impact a child's social development.

A comprehensive review of the research on Baumrind's (1971) parenting types and their effects on child development states that children of authoritative parents also endorse a more positive mood, are self-reliant, confident, and display advanced socioemotional skills when compared to children whose parents endorse other styles (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Maccoby and Martin report that the literature has demonstrated a connection between authoritarian parenting and anxiety, withdrawal, lack of spontaneity, and reduced intellectual curiosity for children of these parents. With regard to children of permissive parents, these same authors state that such tend to lack creativity, have poor impulse control, difficulty with independent actions, and display aggressive behaviors. They also report that children of uninvolved (or rejecting-neglecting) parents are prone to noncompliance and demandingness toward others.

With respect to the applicability of Baumrind's (1971) styles to ethnicities other than European Americans, Baumrind (1972) states that for African American families, the authoritative approach might not be the best option. Instead, she has suggested that although authoritarian parenting generally results in poor outcomes for European American children, it may also lead to the healthiest outcomes for African American children. Baumrind's claim is

supported in a study by Deater-Deckard et al. (1996), who found that across varying levels of socioeconomic status (SES), high levels of physical punishment were linked to elevated levels of externalizing and aggressive behavior (as rated by teachers and peers) in European American children. By contrast, the relationship between physical discipline and behavioral problems was missing (and in some cases negatively correlated) in African American children.

Support for the relationship between authoritarian parenting and optimal child outcomes in African American families has not been found across all studies. An inquiry into this connection by Querido and colleagues (2002) with a sample of African American female caregivers and children ages 3 to 6 found that an authoritative parenting style negatively correlated with incidence of child misbehavior, whereas authoritarian and permissive approaches were positively correlated with child misbehavior. Similarly, Armistead and colleagues (2002) found that among African American low-income mothers, a warm and supportive parent-child relationship was associated with fewer internalizing and externalizing problems in 11-year old children.

An examination of the literature on the impact of Baumrind's (1971) styles cross-culturally concluded that authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles have less of an impact on child development than other parenting factors (Sorkhabi, 2005). Specifically, negative family dynamics, parental psychological distress, negative affect, and arbitrary or unreasonable demands were more predictive of poor outcomes for children across cultures than the amount of demandingness or responsiveness characteristic of an authoritative or

authoritarian parenting style. Instead, Sorkhabi concludes that the true impact of an authoritarian or authoritative parenting style results from a dynamic interaction between culture, parent, and child. Sorkhabi also states that the child's perception of the parent's behavior in relation to cultural values influences the impact of parenting behaviors, a sentiment espoused earlier by Korbin (1981) in her cross-cultural review of child abuse and neglect. For example, a child living in a collectivist culture may view his/her parent's emphasis on strict obedience as representative of healthy parental concern necessary to raise responsible citizens. However, the child may also view this parenting approach as hostile, rejecting, excessively controlling, and unhelpful in achieving cultural values. According to Sorkhabi, these polar perceptions may explain the likelihood of a poorer outcome for the latter child and a positive outcome for the former.

Although much of the literature on the impact of psychological control focuses on adolescence, a study by Olsen and colleagues (2002) sheds some light on this relationship for children of younger ages. Olsen and colleagues' sample of caregivers and preschool-aged children in China, Russia, and the U.S. found that the impact of psychological control varied across ethnicity and gender. Specifically, girls in the U.S. exposed to elevated levels of psychological control were more likely to exhibit internalizing and externalizing behavior problems; however, no such relationship was found for U.S. boys. In the Chinese sample, psychological control was linked to internalizing behavior in girls and emerged as influential on the level of externalizing behavior in boys. In Russia, girls exposed to psychological control were more likely to demonstrate externalizing behaviors,

whereas boys responded with both internalizing and externalizing behaviors. Based on Olsen et al.'s findings, it appears that ethnicity and child gender can influence the impact of psychological control on externalizing and internalizing behaviors in children.

The Impact of Parenting Practices During Adolescence

The impact of parenting practices extends beyond childhood into adolescence. In a summary of the impact of Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles on adolescents, Baumrind (1991; 1995) states that for White, middle- to upper-class families, adolescent children of authoritarian parents had more internalizing behavior problems (e.g., anxiety) and were more likely to be heavy drug users than children of authoritative parents. In contrast, authoritative parents were more likely to produce competent (e.g., mature and optimistic) and achievement oriented adolescents who did not struggle with drug use issues. With regard to self esteem, a study by Buri (1989) with White, middle class, adolescents from intact families (i.e., no parental separation or divorce) who perceived their parents as nurturing (i.e., providing warmth, support, and concern) had higher self-esteem than those who perceived their parents as low in nurturing behaviors. In terms of Baumrind's (1971) styles, Buri found that authoritative parenting style positively correlated with adolescent self-esteem, whereas authoritarian parenting negatively correlated with adolescent self-esteem.

In a study of ethnically and economically diverse adolescents, Steinberg and colleagues (1992) found that, across groups, authoritative parenting was positively associated with engagement in school and academic performance.

However, this relationship was mediated by parental involvement in schooling, indicating that other factors may also impact the relationship between parenting style and adolescent academic performance. Also, ethnicity was found to moderate this relationship, such that authoritative parenting was not a significant predictor of academic success for African American adolescents. For the Hispanic American portion of his sample, academic engagement (i.e., effort and concentration on classroom performance) was facilitated by parental encouragement and authoritativeness; likewise, Asian American parents who provided encouragement were likely to have adolescent children demonstrating strong academic performance.

A follow-up study by Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, and Dornbusch (1994) found that the academic performance of adolescents from authoritative families either maintained or increased over time. Also, adolescents from authoritative families were more self-reliant, work-oriented (i.e., determined to stay with a task until it has been completed), and exhibited fewer (or no) behavior problems when compared to children of authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful homes. Steinberg et al. also found that adolescents with authoritarian parents were more likely to endorse somatic symptoms characteristic of internalized distress. As was the case their earlier studies, Steinberg and colleagues found ethnic differences for their participants, such that authoritarian parenting had a negative impact on self-reliance for European American adolescents. In addition, authoritative parenting was related to academic competence for European and Hispanic American participants, with authoritarian

more advantageous for Asian American participants. As with the first study (Sternberg et al., 1992), no significant relationship was found between parenting style and academic competence for African American youth. These studies by Sternberg and colleagues further highlight the various outcomes Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles can have on the socioemotional and academic development of adolescents.

With respect to psychological control, a series of studies on adolescents across the United States demonstrated a significant link between the level of parental psychological control (e.g., nagging, critical comments, and inducing guilt) and both depression and delinquency in adolescents, such that high control was linked with increased rates of depression and antisocial behavior (Barber, 1996). This relationship may be more pronounced in this stage of life given the adolescent's search for autonomy and deindividuation from his or her family of origin. In a later study, Barber and colleagues (2005) found that this relationship between high levels of psychological control and delinquent/depressive symptoms was strengthened by equally high levels of perceived parental support. They explain this finding by suggesting that, from the adolescent's perspective, the parents send an inconsistent message by being both supportive and manipulative.

With regard to ethnic differences in parental effects, Barber (1996) demonstrated that for Black mother-son dyads, high levels of behavioral control were linked to lower rates of delinquency as compared to the White portion of his sample. A longitudinal investigation by Smith and Krohn (1995) with Hispanic, African American, and White male adolescents found that family socialization

(e.g., communication with family members, time spent with family inside and outside of the home) had a significant positive impact on delinquent behaviors (such that higher levels of socialization were associated with lower delinquency) for only the Hispanic portion of their sample. Conversely, parental control did not have a significant impact on rates of delinquency for the Hispanic participants. Attachment (measured by such questions exploring issues such as pride in and enjoyment of the child, feelings about the child's demandingness, etc.) did exert a significant impact on the amount of delinquency for African American and White participants in the Smith and Krohn sample, suggesting that various aspects of family life may affect adolescents differently depending on ethnic contexts.

In summary, research is mixed with regard to the applicability of Baumrind's (1971) styles on child and adolescent development across ethnic groups. Factors that may contribute to the interplay between parent, child, and environment include the child's interpretation of the parent's behavior (especially in relation to cultural values) as well as characteristics of the neighborhood in which the family lives. These factors and many others are explored in the following section.

Factors Affecting Parenting Practices

Although it is difficult to isolate the factors contributing to parenting practices given their interrelatedness with one another (Bradley, 2002; Hoff et al., 2002), a variety of such factors have been identified in the literature at the parent, child, and environmental levels (Korbin, 2002; Kotchick & Forehand, 2002). At

the parent level, studies have shown a relationship between parenting behaviors and parental age (Pinderhughes et al., 2001), self-esteem (Aunola et al., 1999), and a history of being physically abused as a child (Maker, Shah, & Agha, 2005). At the child level, some of the factors include the age of the child (Grogan-Kaylor & Otis, 2007), type of problem behaviors exhibited by the child (Kim, Arnold, Fisher, & Zeljo, 2005), temperament (Neitzel & Stright, 2004), and number of children in the home (Solís-Cámara & Fox, 1995).

One of the most multifaceted and dynamic influences on parenting is culture. Based on a review of research from the fields of anthropology and cross-cultural psychology, Rohner (1984) defines culture as “highly variable systems of meanings” that are “learned” and “shared by a people or an identifiable segment of the population” representing “designs and ways of life...transmitted from one generation to another” (pp. 119-120). Culture is expressed through a myriad of material and immaterial entities, including food, clothing, housing, economy, government, religion, technology, and sexual practices, as well as beliefs and behaviors at the individual, family, and community levels (Matsumoto & Juang, 2004). At the family level, culture can shape the roles of parents in many ways, including the socialization of children, transmission of cultural values, amount of structure provided, and degree of emotional comfort given (Harkness & Super, 2002).

For immigrant families, identification with a specific culture is related to level of acculturation (i.e., carrying over parenting practices from a parent’s former country of residence, adopting practices of the new host culture, or a

combination of the two). The family acculturation process can become increasingly complicated once children have contact with the host culture and possibly begin to differ from the parent in terms of acculturation level (García Coll & Pachter, 2002). As illustrated in a study by Buriel, Mercado, Rodriguez, and Chavez (1991), acculturation can influence attitudes toward parenting. Buriel and colleagues found that second generation Mexican-American mothers were significantly less likely than mothers of Mexican descent born outside the U.S. to endorse the use of spanking and verbal reasoning when disciplining a child. A subsequent study by Buriel (1993) of first-, second-, and third-generation Mexican Americans found that first- and second-generation adolescents were more likely to report experiencing a responsibility-oriented (i.e., a preference for child autonomy, productive use of time, an expectation for obedience to rules, and a lack of harsh discipline) parenting style as compared to third-generation adolescents, who were most likely to perceive their parents as having a concern-oriented (i.e., offering comfort, stressing high expectations at home and school, and implementation of parent-child dialogue) style.

Many attempts to study culture have focused solely on race (classification individuals based on phenotypes) and ethnicity (people who share the same language or national origin) as indices of culture (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). Several studies discussed below provide important insight on how these two components of culture impact parenting practices. However, examining race and ethnicity alone provides insufficient information about the role of culture, which is composed of multiple entities as discussed above (Matsumoto & Juang, 2004).

Several additional factors contributing to culture are also explored below, including SES, gender, and religion.

Ethnicity

Diverse examples of ethnic differences in parenting can be found in the work of Gray and Cosgrove (1985), who interviewed members of various minority groups to explore specific parenting behaviors that might be misunderstood by outsiders. For example, the Mexican American parents in their sample reported giving their children nicknames based on physical appearance (e.g., “gordito” for a fat child) that might be seen as demeaning by outsiders. However, the Mexican American parents explained that such nicknames are given in the spirit of affection, not in the spirit of malice. Vietnamese Americans reported a similar use of nicknames as the Mexican American parents. They also endorsed a moderate approach to physical discipline that was prescribed solely for the purposes of teaching, not to relieve the parent’s anger. In contrast to the Vietnamese American participants, Samoan American parents endorsed physical discipline as a readily-used technique for all ages of children. In fact, according to their report, “beatings that fall just short of medical attention are acceptable and appropriate behaviors within the Samoan lifestyle” (p.393). Filipino Americans endorsed behaviors that might be seen by those outside their culture as overprotective (e.g., not allowing the child to get frustrated or engage in physical exertion without assistance). Similarly, Japanese Americans reported an inclination to limit children’s autonomy until they grow into adults and leave home. Lastly, Blackfeet respondents reported that physical affection is not shown

to children after ages 6-7. They also reported a preference for children to learn from experience rather than parental punishment or direction. Together, these examples highlight how differences in norms and ideologies can shape parenting behaviors across ethnic groups.

According to a review of the literature by Yasui and Dishion (2007), in Asian-American families, expectations of the parents that their child will be obedient to parental requests, however demanding such requests may be, is couched within the value of filial piety. Parents endorsing these beliefs are expected to provide constant monitoring and correcting of child misbehavior in order to properly “train” a child, and to meet the child’s psychological and physical needs (Chao, 1994). Through this cultural lens, granting the level of autonomy suggested by Baumrind as optimal (within the authoritative style) may be seen as negligent by Asian-American parents.

Socioeconomic Status

Although a variety of methods exist for determining an individual’s socioeconomic status (SES), most involve measurement of household income, parental education, or occupational status (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Placement in a particular SES and the opportunities and access to resources gained (or lost) as a result can influence parenting in a variety of ways (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; McAdoo, 2002). In a comprehensive review of ethnicity and parenting, García Coll and Pachter (2002) suggest that differing parenting practices within ethnic groups can be seen as adaptive responses to systemic stressors such as poverty and racism. This observation highlights the reciprocal, cyclical influence

one factor may have on another; racism can impact education and employment opportunities, thereby creating the potential for poverty and shaping a system of parenting beliefs and behaviors to respond to these stressors.

One major SES-related impact on parenting is the elevated level of community violence often present in urban areas populated by low-income families (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002). A study by Armistead et al. (2002) found that, although there were no differences between the amount of warmth and supportiveness displayed by low-income African American mothers in urban vs. rural settings, participants living in urban areas reported an increased levels of parental monitoring. High levels of parental monitoring and other restrictive parenting behaviors are often in response to dangers in the environment (e.g., gang activity, homicide, drug-related incidents) present in the low-income urban neighborhoods, making the environment unsafe for children (Pinderhughes et al., 2001).

Additional research further highlights differences in parenting among individuals of varying SES. An examination of home environments in the United States found that across ethnic groups, poor (living at or below poverty level) mothers were not only less likely than non-poor mothers to show affection toward their children, they were also less likely to communicate effectively with them and more likely to use physical discipline as compared to their non-poor counterparts (Bradley, Corwyn, McAdoo, & García Coll, 2001). This tendency for low-income parents to use corporal punishment more severely and frequently has been supported in multiple studies (Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995;

Hoff et al., 2002). Also, Magnuson and Duncan (2002) report that low-income parents are less likely to provide stimulating learning experiences in the home (largely due to the time and cost of such provisions) and are less likely to reward positive behaviors.

Adapting one's parenting to fit the needs of individual children may also be impacted by SES and other factors. Through observing parent-child interactions during a series of four problem solving tasks, Neitzel and Stright (2004) found that mothers with higher levels of education were more attentive to the needs of overactive, hesitant, and/or easily frustrated children. This attentiveness to the child's needs was demonstrated through provision of encouragement, strategies, and other assistance, such as step-by-step instructions. Although mothers with lower levels of education generally did not provide encouragement or strategies, those high on the personality dimension of openness (i.e., creative, flexible, attentive to emotions) were similar to more educated mothers with regard to the amount of step-by-step instructions they provided to their child.

Gender

Another factor that can impact parenting style is the gender of the parent. A review of gender-based differences in parenting by Thompson and Walker (1989) states that as children age, paternal behavior focuses more on providing direction and instruction to the children than maternal behavior, which traditionally consists of sympathetic, responsive, and nurturing behaviors. They suggest that this gender split likely results from the expectation that in two-parent

heterosexual households, the mother assumes the bulk of the responsibility for raising the children, regardless of whether she is also employed, whereas the father's role is viewed as "helping" to parent the children. Further investigation into gender roles and ideologies suggests that fathers in egalitarian households engage in more cognitive stimulation of their children than fathers in "traditional" households (Rossi, 1984). Rossi also reports that single fathers tend to be more democratic in their parenting style, meaning that they give children more of a voice in decisions pertaining to the family.

A study conducted by Borrego, Ibanez, Spendlove, and Pemberton (2007) highlights additional gender differences in parenting. In their sample, Mexican American mothers were significantly more likely than fathers to endorse a token economy approach to managing child misbehavior, whereas fathers were more likely to approve of responding with a open-hand spanking. Taking acculturation into account, highly acculturated Mexican American fathers in their sample most often endorsed a token economy approach, even when controlling for income, suggesting that both gender and level of acculturation can shape parenting approaches.

As discussed above, a variety of factors, including acculturation, ethnicity, SES, education, gender, and other parent- or child-specific variables can work independently or together to shape parenting in a variety of ways. Unfortunately, inclusion of all these variables, as well as those identified in the literature but not addressed here, is beyond the scope of the current project. For the purposes of the present study, the influence of parental gender and education on parenting

behaviors will be examined via single-item questions (e.g., “What is the highest number of years of schooling you have completed?”). The factor of greatest interest in the proposed study, and the variable that will be explored most thoroughly, is the relationship between religion and parenting practices.

The Impact of Religion on Parenting Practices

In addition to the factors discussed above, one understudied contributor to parenting practices that has the potential to cross ethnic, socioeconomic, educational, and gender boundaries, is religion (Grasmick, Bursik, & Kimpel, 1991; Gunnoe et al., 1999; Mahoney, Pargament, Tarakeshwar, & Swank, 2001; Sherkat & Ellison, 1999). Recent surveys of U.S. households show that religion and spirituality continue to be salient for many families. According to a 2003 survey, 87.2% of respondents living in the U.S. stated they had never doubted the existence of God and 82.4% agreed that prayer was an important part of their lives (Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 2003). In a 2004 study of religious and political factors in the U.S., 76.8% of respondents considered religion to be an important part of their lives, and 81.8% believed the Bible to be the actual word of God (American National Election Studies, 2004). Of those who report believing the Bible to be the word of God, 43.9% stated that the Bible should be taken literally, word for word.

The influence of religion on parenting attitudes and beliefs prompted Mahoney and colleagues (2001) to conduct several meta-analyses exploring the relationship between these variables. Of the 48 studies included in the analyses, the most common finding was that Christian conservatism (particularly within

Protestantism) and literal beliefs about Biblical teachings were correlated with authoritarian parenting styles and endorsement of corporal parenting practices. They also found emerging evidence for the beneficial role religion can play in parenting, including greater satisfaction with parent-child relationships, increased parental affection and consistency, and lower risk for child maladjustment and adolescent substance use. Specific studies illustrating these findings, as well as the impact of religion on diverse samples and measurement issues in religiosity, are discussed below.

Measurement of Religiosity

Accurately defining religiosity, let alone measuring it, is a monumental task given the myriad approaches to religious worship and spirituality available to those who seek it. A treatise by Cannon (1995) categorizes such approaches into six “ways of being religious,” namely (1) the way of sacred rite, (2) the way of right action, (3) the way of devotion, (4) the way of shamanic meditation, (5) the way of mystical quest, and (6) the way of reasoned inquiry. The first of these, the way of sacred rite, is comprised of prescribed language or behavior that may include sacred objects, might occur in holy places, and often coincides with significant life events. Marriage, sacramental rituals (e.g., baptism), and annual religious events such as Passover are just a few examples of sacred rite.

According to Cannon (1995), the way of right action provides a series of guidelines for conduct beyond the situations in which sacred rites occur by fostering piety in day-to-day life. Perceived as living in accordance with the will of a higher power, the way of right action is often dictated by a religious or moral

leader. Examples of right actions include respecting one's neighbor (i.e., treating others as you would like to be treated), abstaining from or seeking out certain foods and/or beverages, and eschewing idolatry.

Whereas sacred rite and right actions involve outward, observable behaviors, the way of devotion brings communion with deity inward. As defined by Cannon (1995), devotion extends beyond mere loyalty to a cause or being; rather, it occurs when "personal affection becomes a principal way of drawing near to and coming into right relationship with ultimate reality" (ultimate reality being defined as the person's ultimate source of meaning and purpose; p. 57). This type of devotion has the potential to create an intimate relationship with deity and provide spiritual enlightenment. An example of devotion from Evangelical Christianity is the notion of being "born again" (i.e., by accepting Jesus Christ as one's personal Savior and devoting your life to Him, you can receive eternal salvation).

Shamanic mediation posits that supernatural resources such as healing or hidden knowledge exist, and that a shaman [i.e., a person able to mediate between this world and the other world(s)] can help an individual access such resources (Cannon, 1995). Perhaps the most misunderstood and misrepresented (at least in popular media) of the "six ways," shamanic mediation is present in most religious traditions. However, it tends to be more prevalent in communities where traditional, worldly resources are either scarce or insufficient to address the difficulties experienced in that region.

The way of mystical quest encourages the devout to make deliberate, direct connections with “ultimate reality” under the guidance of a spiritual master or director. Not content with receiving information or experience second hand (as what tends to occur in shamanic mediation), the individual on a mystical quest takes a more active role in discovering the mysteries of the unknown for him/herself. The quest is facilitated by eschewing the fetters of everyday life, leading some to relocate to a monastic or remote, isolated setting. Present in a variety of religions, Cannon (1995) states that mystical quest is emphasized most strongly in Buddhist traditions.

The final of Cannon’s (1995) “six ways of being religious” is the way of reasoned inquiry (i.e., theology). Informed by study of scripture and other human accounts, reasoned inquiry seeks less to find simple answers and more to acquire the “ultimate truth” that can transcend the subjective limitations of humankind or the constraints of a particular religion. Perhaps the most paradoxical component of this journey is the discovery that ultimate truth often defies reason.

As the majority of research on religion and psychological constructs has been limited to American Protestant populations, scales measuring concepts of interest to these religious individuals are widely available (Hill & Hood, 1999). Unfortunately, established measures of non-Western spiritual and religious constructs (many of which are seen as essential to religiosity by Cannon (1995)) are virtually non-existent. Furthermore, Hill and Wood note that although many measures of religiosity have been assessed for reliability, relatively few have undergone validity trials.

Historically, measurement of religiousness in parenting research has been limited to single-item or dichotomous assessment (Boyatzis, 2006). The focus is often placed on such factors as denominational affiliation, personal religious behaviors (e.g., private prayer or scripture study), public religious behaviors (e.g., attendance at church meetings), and items specific to conservative Christian beliefs (e.g., “I believe the Bible to be the literal word of God;” Mahoney et al., 2001). Only a few studies (Duriez & Soenens, 2004; Grasmick et al., 1991; Gunnoe et al., 1999) have used Likert-type items that provide a more thorough investigation of religious beliefs and practices. Mahoney et al. argue that comprehensive measurement for such a complex phenomenon is necessary in order to adequately assess its impact on parenting and other issues pertaining to the family.

Diversity and Religiosity

The importance of spirituality and/or religion in childrearing extends across diverse ethnic and geographical populations of parents. In one study, parents from 27 different countries living in inner-city New York identified religion and spirituality as one of the top three factors influencing their parenting philosophies (McEvoy et al., 2005). Also, several studies of marital and parenting processes within African American families identified religiosity as a major factor in mediating these relationships (Brody, Stoneman, & Flor, 1996; Brody, Stoneman, Flor, & McCrary, 1994; Wiley, Warren, & Montanelli, 2002).

Although the majority of studies examining the relationship between religiosity and parenting has focused on Christian religions (and of those,

Protestantism tops the list), one study by Shor (1998) examined this relationship within an ultra-orthodox Jewish community in Jerusalem. Using a mixed methods approach, parents were asked to rate the acceptability of child and parent behaviors presented via vignettes, explain their rationale for each answer, and give their opinion about the use of corporal punishment in general. Participants strongly endorsed the use of corporal punishment, particularly in the form of slapping, for both boys and girls. In cases where the child violated Halachic rules (i.e., strict moral behaviors based on interpretation of the Torah), several respondents advocated the use of a belt in the punishment process. Conversely, parents strongly disapproved of verbal abuse (e.g., swearing at a child) due to the emphasis placed on the role of language in the Jewish Orthodox community as “a vehicle for transcendence and edification” (p. 405). Shor concludes that in the Jewish Orthodox community, where moral values strictly influence an array of private and public behavior, the impact of religion also extends deeply into parenting beliefs and practices.

Religiosity, Parenting Attitudes, and Practices

The Shor (1998) study described above highlights the impact religious beliefs can have on parenting attitudes and practices. In their meta-analysis on research in parenting and religion over the past two decades, Mahoney et al. (2001) found both supportive and detrimental associations between the two variables. Of particular interest to many researchers is the connection between fundamentalist Christian attitudes and corporal punishment (Danso, Hunsberger, & Pratt, 1997; Ellison, 1996; Ellison & Sherkat, 1993a; Giles-Sims et al., 1995;

Grasmick et al., 1991; Wiehe, 1990). This relationship, as well as more beneficial connections between religiosity, parenting beliefs, and practices, is explored below.

Religiosity and parenting attitudes. A study by Grasmick and colleagues (1991) explored the relationship between conservative Christian beliefs and endorsement of corporal punishment. In an attempt to tease apart such issues as degree of religiosity, affiliation with a specific denomination, Biblical literalness, and images of God as either punitive or nurturing, 394 adults belonging to various Christian sects were surveyed. Controlling for gender, race, age, and years of education, only Biblical literalness emerged as significantly related to attitudes endorsing the use of corporal punishment in the home and school settings. Grasmick et al. suggest that these findings have social and political implications given the impact messages from the pulpit, especially those related to Biblical literalism, have on voter support/rejection of policies against corporal punishment in the United States.

A subsequent study by Ellison and Sherkat (1993a) with nearly 1,000 religiously diverse adults across the U.S. also found support for the relationship between Biblical literalness and corporal punishment in members of Conservative Protestant denominations. In addition, Ellison and Sherkat found that a view of human nature as fundamentally corrupt and the belief that sin demands punishment were both influential in predicting support for corporal punishment. A separate study by the same authors found that Conservative Protestants (as well as Catholics) valued child obedience more than other participants (Ellison &

Sherkat, 1993b). In reflecting on these findings, Ellison and Bartkowski (1997) argue that the tendency for Conservative Protestant parents to use corporal punishment in an attempt to teach obedience may inadvertently also teach children to legitimize violence at both a familial and societal level.

Not all studies maintain the relationship between fundamental religious beliefs and support for corporal punishment. Danso et al. (1997) examined the relationship between parental religious fundamentalism, authoritarian parenting, and child-rearing attitudes in a sample of college students and their parents. Although initial correlation analyses demonstrated a significant relationship between fundamentalism and support of corporal punishment, regression analyses identified an authoritarian parenting style as more influential than religious beliefs. Danso and colleagues suggest that additional studies are necessary to more accurately represent the influence of religiosity on parental support for corporal punishment, accounting for authoritarian parenting attitudes in the process.

Some beneficial relationships have been found between religiosity and parenting attitudes. A study by Wiley and colleagues (2002) found a significant negative correlation between religiosity (as measured by church attendance and self-report of the role of faith in the participant's life) and attitudes supporting the use of violence in handling parent-child conflict. Furthermore, a high degree of faith in religious principles was associated with lower endorsement of verbally aggressive tactics for dealing with problematic child behaviors.

The findings above suggest that interpretation of religious texts by pastors, priests, and other individuals responsible for religious education, as well as by members of the congregation, is important in understanding how religion influences parenting attitudes. For example, use of the word “rod” is interpreted by many Biblical literalists as an actual rod or stick used for beating submission into or sin out of the child (see Proverbs 13:24 and 23:13-14). Others may perceive the rod as more of a guiding, comforting influence, similar to a handrail providing stability down a dark, uncertain path (see Psalms 23:4 and 110:2). Wilcox (1998) suggests that positive admonitions in the Bible (e.g., children are created in the image of God, treating others with the same respect and love you would give to God) are often overlooked by researchers exploring conservative Protestantism and parenting practices. He also claims that although some religious individuals may stress the sinful nature of children and the corresponding need for discipline, the majority balance such teachings with fostering love for self, family, and God.

Religiosity and parenting behaviors. Self-report of one’s parenting attitudes or beliefs may not measure parenting behavior as accurately as direct observation of parent-child interactions; however, for purposes of convenience or otherwise, many researchers choose to use the self-report method. The research studies discussed below explore the impact of parental religiosity on parent behavior both from a self-report and observational process. With respect to self-report research on parenting behavior, a study by Duriez and Soenens (2004) assessed level of transcendence (exclusion vs. inclusion, with a high inclusion

scores meaning the participant defines him/herself as religious) and interpretation (literal vs. symbolic, with a high symbolic score indicative of approaching religion in a personal, open way) of religious teachings in 311 Flemish-speaking Belgian parents. Participants in their study were also assessed on self-reported parenting style (i.e., responsiveness, psychological/behavioral control, and support of autonomous behavior). Results revealed that viewing messages from the Bible in a symbolic (e.g., “The Bible holds a deeper truth which can only be revealed by personal reflection”) rather than literal way was linked to lower reported levels of parental psychological control and higher support of autonomy.

A self-report-based study by Murray-Swank, Mahoney, and Pargament (2006) found a variety of connections between religiosity and parenting, all of which were based on the religious belief of sanctification, or “perceptions of one’s parenting role as having divine character and significance” (p. 274). In their study, participants who endorsed a sanctified view of parenting were less likely to be verbally aggressive toward their children and more likely to provide a consistent parenting style. Further examination revealed that the role of parental sanctification was moderated by biblical literalism, such that mothers who strongly endorsed both sanctification of parenting and biblical literalism were more likely to report an increased use of corporal punishment. In contrast, mothers who strongly endorsed sanctification but also took a more liberal stance on biblical interpretation were less likely to use corporal punishment. In addition, sanctification moderated the relationship between biblical literalness and positive parenting behaviors (e.g., nurturing), such that for mothers who interpreted the

Bible literally, their frequency of positive parenting behaviors was influenced by their views of the sanctification of parenting; as the latter increased, so did the former. This study highlights the importance viewing one's parental role as in line with or supported by a higher power can have on both nurturing and punitive parenting behaviors.

In a study conducted by Gunnoe and colleagues (1999), trained coders assessed the parenting style of a group of middle-class, Caucasian parent-adolescent dyads during a problem-solving activity. Religious groups represented in the study included Protestant (64%), Catholic (20%), atheist/agnostic (8%), Latter-day Saint (6%), and Jewish (1%). In addition to being observed, participants completed self-report measures of parent-child conflict and parental religiosity. Results showed a significant association between parental religiosity and parenting style, such that a higher level of religiosity was associated with more authoritative (as opposed to authoritarian) parenting behaviors. This link remained significant even after controlling for gender, education, income, and family type. Also, for mothers, a significant negative association was found between religiosity and authoritarian parenting behavior.

A study of African American families living in the rural Southern U.S. further highlights the beneficial impact of religion on parenting behaviors (Brody et al., 1994). Participants were asked to complete self-report measures of religiosity, family conflict, and parent-child relationship quality. They were also observed and coded while playing a board game and during a family discussion about "the difference between children who make it in life and those who do not"

(p. 882). For mothers, a significant negative association was found between levels of reported maternal religiosity and an inconsistent/nattering parenting style. Although no direct pathways were found between religiosity and parenting in fathers, paternal endorsement of religiosity was associated with less marital conflict and more support, harmony, communication, and warmth in the marital relationship. This higher marital quality in turn mediated the relationship between the fathers and the children, leading to an increased satisfaction with the parent-child relationship.

Not all instances of parental religiosity have been linked to supportive parenting behaviors. The relationship between Conservative Protestantism and attitudes toward corporal punishment has been found by some researchers to extend beyond belief into behavior. In a study by Gershoff, Miller, and Holden (1999), participants who affiliated themselves with a Conservative Protestant denomination such as Adventist, Baptist, or Pentecostal reported spanking their children more often than those belonging to other denominations. They were also more likely to view the outcomes from using corporal punishment as desirable (e.g., increased obedience and respect for authority, decreased rebellion and dangerous behavior) and less likely to identify possibly detrimental outcomes from the use of spanking (e.g., resentment and peer aggression).

Similar to the connection between religious beliefs and parenting attitudes, research on the link between religiosity and parenting practices has shown conflicting results. Contributing to these results are such factors as denominational affiliation, views on the sanctity of parenting, and quality of the

marital relationship. Again, it seems that how passages from scripture are presented and understood has an influence on parent-child relationships.

Messages from the pulpit not only influence viewpoints on parenting but affect behaviors in the home as well. The trend for conservative Protestant teachings to include images of children as deserving of love and respect (as identified by Wilcox, 1998) may in turn lead to more responsive, nurturing parenting behaviors.

Parental Religiosity and Child Development

The impact of religion in the home can extend beyond parenting styles to child and adolescent development. In their meta-analysis of religion and family variables, Mahoney and colleagues (2001) found that a high level of parental religiosity lowered the risk of child maladjustment, as well as risk for adolescent substance use. Gunnoe and colleagues (1999) found that parental self-report of high religiosity predicted incidence of adolescent social responsibility, characterized by prosocial attributes such as honesty, empathy, and self-control. This finding held true for both mothers and fathers. Although the authors did not explicitly explore the transmission of religiosity from parent to adolescent, they suggest that future studies should examine this dynamic interaction and its impact on both the adolescent's religiosity and socially responsible behavior.

Brody et al. (1996) also found a relationship between parental religiosity and adolescent behavior in African American families. In their sample, maternal religiosity was negatively associated with youth externalizing symptoms. Similar results were found for fathers, with an additional negative relationship between

paternal religiosity and youth internalizing symptoms. For both mothers and fathers, high religiosity was linked to family cohesion, which (when present) was associated with adolescent self-regulation and academic competence. Brody and colleagues conclude that religious involvement in the African American community has the potential to sustain supportive, responsive family relationships, serving as a buffer against the multisystemic stressors present in rural southern U.S. communities.

As seen above, research on the relationship between parental religiosity and child and adolescent development has focused on positive outcomes. It is not known whether this relationship also leads to unfavorable outcomes (Mahoney et al., 2001). Further research is needed to explore these relationships, both inclusive and independent of parenting style.

In summary, research has shown that religion continues to be salient for the majority of U.S. households. Religion has the potential to influence parent-child relationships, attitudes about parenting, and parenting behaviors on both the detrimental and beneficial ends of the spectrum. Although research on religiosity in diverse samples is limited, initial findings suggest that the impact of religion can extend across ethnic, socioeconomic, and educational influences. In particular, research suggests that Christian conservatism and Biblical literalness is related to authoritarian parenting styles and endorsement of corporal parenting practices (Ellison, Bartkowski, & Segal, 1996; Grasmick et al., 1991). However, more symbolic interpretation of scriptural passages is associated with an authoritative parenting style, as defined by lower levels of psychological control

and higher support of autonomy (Duriez & Soenens, 2004; Wiley et al., 2002). Also, endorsement of parental religiosity has been linked with such beneficial outcomes as adolescent social responsibility (Gunnoe et al., 1999), self-regulation, and academic competence (Brody et al., 1996).

Parenting and Family within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

The concluding section to this introduction explores several aspects of faith and family within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, herein after referred to as the Church. A brief historical context of the Church is followed by a description of fundamental precepts and organizational basics. Behavioral expectations specific to membership in the Church, as well as the Church's views on family and parenting are discussed, as is the limited amount of research on this ever-growing population of religious individuals.

Historical Context of the Church

The beginnings of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are rooted in the religious fervor of early 19th century Christian revivalism. Referred to by scholars as the Second Great Awakening, this period of America's religious history was characterized by various Christian sects (Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist in particular) competing for the allegiance of individuals and families through large group gatherings known as "revival" or "camp" meetings (Bergler, 2004). The most intense site for evangelical competition during the 1820s and 1830s was Upstate New York, where the feverous fury of preachers to save souls reached such a pitch that the area came to be known as the "Burned-over District" (Marini, 2004).

As detailed in his own historical account (*The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [LDS]*, 1851/1981), these powerful yet conflicting religious arguments between various Christian sects led 14-year-old Joseph Smith, Jr., who was living in Upstate New York at the time, to consult the *Holy Bible* for help in determining which church contained the fullness of truth. Upon reading the words, “If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him” (James 1:5), young Joseph decided to follow the admonition of this ancient apostle and directly ask God which church he should join. One spring morning in 1820, he retired to a nearby grove of trees to pray and, to his astonishment, a pillar of light descended from the heavens. According to Joseph’s account, “When the light rested upon me I saw two Personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name and said, pointing to the other—This is My Beloved Son. Hear Him!” (p. 49).

During this holy visitation, referred to as The First Vision by members of the Church, Joseph was instructed to refrain from joining any of the existing churches, as none of them contained the pure gospel of Jesus Christ in its entirety. The remainder of Joseph’s adolescence and early adulthood consisted of additional guidance from holy messengers as well as bitter persecution from community members who had heard of Joseph’s vision (*LDS*, 1851/1981). After nearly a decade of additional preparation and significant events in Latter-day Saint (*LDS*) history, the Church was officially organized on April 6, 1830 (Bushman & Porter, 1992).

Since the Church's inception, various fundamentalist groups composed of former Latter-day Saints have formed in response to differing opinions on key theological issues (Anderson, 1992). For example, at the time of Joseph Smith, Jr.'s death, a group of Saints who believed future Church leadership should come through Joseph's blood descendants broke away from the Church; initially designated as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, this group is known today as The Community of Christ. Another schism occurred when the Manifesto of 1890, issued by President Wilford Woodruff, the third prophet of the Church, officially declared that Latter-day Saints must refrain from engaging in plural marriage (i.e., polygamy; LDS, 1835/1981, pp. 291-293). A group of Saints who disagreed with the Manifesto continued to practice polygamy, and some of their descendants maintain this tradition today. Members of these and other fundamentalist groups are often confused with the Church in media reports and public opinion and are not the focus of the current study.

Since 1830, the membership of the Church has grown from a small group of believers assembling in a New York farmhouse to a worldwide membership of more than 13 million in over 176 countries and territories (Ballard, 2007). One of the fastest growing religions in the world, it is currently the fourth largest in the United States (behind the Catholic Church, Southern Baptist Convention, and the United Methodist Church; Lindner, Welty, & Thomas, 2007). More members of the Church live outside the United States than within it, and, according to the statistical projections of one sociologist, worldwide Church membership may reach as high as 250 million by the year 2080 (Stark, 1996).

Fundamental Precepts and Organization of the Church

Membership in the Church can begin as early as birth, when shortly thereafter an infant born to (at least one) LDS parent(s) is blessed and given a name in front of the local congregation. The child's name remains on the records of the Church until 8 years of age, at which time he or she must be baptized and confirmed in order to remain a member of the Church. Unlike most Christian denominations, Latter-day Saints wait to baptize children until age 8 based on the belief that Jesus Christ's atonement for the sins of mankind removed the "original sin" of Adam and Eve. Therefore, little children are viewed as innocent and unaccountable for sin until they have developed the capacity to distinguish right from wrong (LDS, 1830/1981, pp. 525-527). Following baptism, individuals with priesthood authority place their hands on the person's head, confirm him or her a member of the Church, and confer upon the new member the gift of the Holy Ghost (Bednar, 2006). Once conferred, Latter-day Saints believe that this gift will accompany a righteous member of the Church throughout his or her life and bring comfort in times of sorrow, guidance in times of confusion, and continued spiritual strength (Packer, 2006).

A central tenet of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints echoes the belief system of most Christian faiths: "We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost" (LDS, 1851/1981, p.60). However, a key difference between members of the Church and followers of other Christian sects is the belief that the Godhead consists of three distinct beings, two of which have tangible (albeit perfected) bodies of flesh and bone (LDS,

1835/1981, p. 265) Another point of distinction between Protestantism and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the contrast between a *reformation* of a previously existing religious entity through man's dissatisfaction with its principles (e.g., Luther and Calvin's conflict with Catholicism leading to Protestantism) and a *restoration* of previously lost principles and scripture through man's direct prophetic contact with deity (Jensen, 1992; Shipps, 1992; Skinner, 2004). These differences, combined with several other points of doctrine unique to Latter-day Saints (e.g., views of the family as being an eternal unit extending beyond this lifetime and the belief that humans can eventually become like God through strict adherence to His commandments) led Ellison and Sherkat (1993a) to classify Latter-day Saints as separate from groups in the Conservative Protestant category.

Latter-day Saints believe the process of restoration and direct communication with God and Jesus Christ initiated by Joseph Smith, Jr. in 1820 continues today under the direction of Thomas S. Monson, the 16th President of the Church. Such a restoration is deemed necessary based on the belief that certain sacred principles and practices brought to Earth during Christ's ministry have been lost due to the wickedness of mankind. Referred to as The Great Apostasy, Latter-day Saints cite numerous Biblical passages written by Christ's ancient apostles as prophetic statements foretelling this "falling away" from the truth prior to the Lord's Second Coming, or return to Earth (Thessalonians 2: 3-15; 1 Timothy 4:1-2).

Latter-day Saints also believe that central to the preparation for Christ's Second Coming is leadership by a prophet who speaks directly with Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ. The prophet acts as the President of the Church and is assisted by two counselors, along with a Quorum (i.e., group) of Twelve Apostles, whose purpose today is similar to that of the apostles during Christ's time: to testify of Jesus Christ and share his teachings with the world (Acts 4:33; John 15:27). Quorums of Seventy righteous brethren further assist the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in presiding over the Church (an organizational characteristic of Christ's first ministry on the Earth [see Luke 10:1]). Collectively, these male priesthood leaders are referred to as General Authorities. Presidencies of female leaders preside over the Relief Society (a women's organization within the Church) as well as the Young Women's program for adolescent females and the Primary Organization for children (Ulrich, Richards, & Bergin, 2000). Semiannually, various members of these leadership organizations speak to the collective worldwide membership of the Church via satellite, radio, and the Internet during a two-day program of religious services known as General Conference. The proceedings of General Conference are published in a monthly church magazine, known as the *Ensign*, which contains additional insight and instruction from leaders and members of the Church.

In addition to listening to or reading discourses from church leaders, members of the Church are encouraged to engage in daily scripture study. Similar to most Christian religions, Latter-day Saints believe the King James version of the *Holy Bible* contains many principles of truth "as far as it is translated

correctly” (LDS, 1851/1981, pp. 60-61). However, in stark contrast to the remainder of Christianity, members of the Church believe that additional books of scripture contain valuable instruction, the first of which is the *Book of Mormon*. According to historical account (LDS, 1851/1981, pp. 51-55; Nyman & Hawkins, 1992), approximately three years after The First Vision, Joseph Smith, Jr. was visited by an angelic messenger who identified himself as the author of a collection of scriptural records, which Latter-day Saints believe contains a chronological and spiritual account of the early inhabitants of the Americas. The messenger directed Joseph as to where the records had been buried and, through inspiration and divine assistance, Joseph translated them into the English language. These records are known to Latter-day Saints as *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ*, and have since been translated into over 178 languages (LDS, 1830/1981). It is from this book that the term “Mormons,” often used to refer to members of the Church, derives (Jarvis, 1992; LDS, n.d.). Two additional volumes of scripture are also included in the LDS canon. The first, entitled *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (LDS, 1835/1981), contains a record of the early days of the church as well as revelations about spiritual practices unique to Latter-Day Saints. The second, known as *The Pearl of Great Price* (LDS 1851/1981), consists of lost writings from ancient prophets restored through Joseph Smith, Jr., as well as a brief account of Smith’s life up to the time the Church was formally organized, and a statement of 13 core LDS beliefs entitled *The Articles of Faith*.

Behavioral Expectations for Members of the Church

In addition to reading the scriptures detailed above, each Latter-day Saint is expected to donate a portion of his/her time and resources to the Church. As the Church has no paid clergy, the necessary donation of time is accomplished through members serving in various leadership or service roles in the Church. One key service role held by the majority of adult members is that of a Visiting Teacher (a role fulfilled by women) or Home Teacher (a role fulfilled by men). Visiting and Home Teachers are expected to check in with certain members of the Church at least once a month to provide a spiritual message and offer assistance with matters outside of the gospel realm (Allred, 2007). Latter-day Saint donation of resources is achieved through the paying of tithing (i.e., 10% of one's income) to sustain church programs, buildings and schools (Ulrich et al., 2000).

Abstinence from certain physical practices sets Latter-day Saints apart from the general population. Latter-day Saints are prohibited from consuming alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee through a revelation given in the early days of the Church known as the Word of Wisdom (LDS, 1835/1981). Engaging in sexual acts outside of marriage, including the viewing of pornography, masturbation, premarital sex, and adultery, is considered a sinful violation of the law of chastity (Holland, 2001). Same-sex attraction is eschewed by the Church, and members are only allowed to remain in good standing if they do not act upon such thoughts and desires (Byrd & Chamberlain, 1999). The practice of abortion is also opposed by the Church, except in cases of rape, incest, or if the mother's health or life is in danger, and then only after those involved have consulted with spiritual leaders and with God through prayer (Hallen, 2000; Hinckley, 1998).

In addition to the beliefs and practices outlined above, Latter-day Saints are expected to attend weekly religious services at a local meetinghouse every Sunday. An important component of Sunday services is the blessing and partaking of the sacrament, an ordinance that represents an individual's willingness to accept Christ's atonement and follow His commandments through the consumption of emblems representing His flesh (bread) and blood (water; Griffith, 2007). Partaking of the sacrament each week also acts as a renewal of the covenants made at baptism (Hales, 2001).

Although anyone can attend services at an LDS meetinghouse, including those who have not aligned themselves with the faith, only members of the Church who meet a certain standard of worthiness are allowed to enter LDS temples. In these temples, additional covenants are made with God, and individuals learn important truths pertaining to this life and the life beyond. Entry into the temple is only allowed for men and women holding a "temple recommend," a document obtained after multiple interviews with local ecclesiastical leaders who assess the individual's worthiness on a variety of dimensions. This higher standard of adherence to LDS beliefs and practices requisite to acquiring a temple recommend led one group of researchers to use the possession of this document as their only measure of religiosity for Latter-day Saints (Wilkinson & Tanner, 1980).

The Influence of Latter-day Saint Ideals and Practices on Family and Parenting

For Latter-day Saints, the family unit is central to God's plan of salvation, and the relationships fostered within it are believed to continue growing beyond

this life and into the eternities (Eyring, 1998). This process begins when two members of the Church are married in the temple and continues as each child is born to the couple. Individuals who do not initially marry in the temple or give birth to children inside of a temple-sanctioned marriage have the option of subsequent participation in a sealing ordinance, which serves the same purpose, namely to link family members together for eternity. This practice of joining together family members via religious ordinances extends beyond the living to those who have died (Judd, Dorius, & Dollahite, 2000). After members have participated in the ordinances for themselves, righteous Latter-day Saints return to the temple and serve as a physical proxy for the spirits of their ancestors who were unable to complete these ordinances during their lifetimes. The process of discovering one's ancestors in order to facilitate temple work is enhanced by the Church's emphasis on genealogical research (Haight, 1990).

A formal statement issued by the leaders of the Church during the 1990s outlines the Church's views on the eternal nature of humanity, gender, procreation, individual roles and responsibilities of family members, and other issues related to family life (LDS, 1995). Entitled *The Family: A Proclamation to the World*, the document concludes with a warning that "individuals who violate covenants of chastity, who abuse spouse or offspring, or who fail to fulfill family responsibilities will one day stand accountable before God." In other addresses and writings provided to the membership of the Church, leaders have admonished parents to avoid using harsh language (Holland, 2007; Roby et al., 2000) and to follow parental discipline with an increase of love expressed toward the offending

child (Ballard, 2006; LDS, 1835/1981, p. 242). Church leaders also discourage coercive or overindulgent parenting practices, including spanking (Ballard, 2006; Hart, Newell, & Sine, 2000; Hinckley, 1995). The following quote from a member of the Church's Quorum of Twelve Apostles endorses parental behaviors reminiscent of Baumrind's (1971) authoritative style:

Parents should work to create loving, eternal connections with their children. Reproof or correction will sometimes be required. But it must be done sensitively, persuasively, with an increase of love thereafter...[Also], parents need to give children choices and should be prepared to appropriately adjust some rules, thus preparing children for real-world situations...[however], it can be equally destructive when parents are too permissive and overindulge their children...Parents need to set limits in accordance with the importance of the matter involved and the child's disposition and maturity. Help children understand the reasons for rules, and always follow through with appropriate discipline when rules are broken. It is important as well to praise appropriate behavior. It will challenge all of your creativity and patience to maintain this balance, but the rewards will be great (Ballard, 2006, p. 31).

These values and practices are informed by the underlying LDS belief that parents are responsible for working together *with God* to raise healthy, responsible, and righteous children (Hinckley, 2001).

For Latter-day Saints who struggle with abusive tendencies or socioemotional issues contributing to domestic violence, ecclesiastical leaders of

local congregations are directed to provide assistance and referrals to mental health providers when necessary. As detailed by a former President of the Church:

...we are doing everything we know how to reduce it. We are teaching our people. We are talking about it. We have set up a course of instruction for our bishops all across the nation. All last year we carried on an educational program. We have set up a help-line for them where they can get professional counseling and help with these problems...I want to do everything we can to ease the pain, to preclude the happening of this evil and wicked thing...We recognize the terrible nature of it, and we want to help our people, reach out to them, assist them. (Hinckley, 1996, p. 51).

Unrepentant Latter-day Saints who continue on the path of abuse and neglect can lose the right to engage in certain religious practices, including the opportunity to partake of the sacrament and participate in priesthood or temple ordinances. The ultimate consequence for continued patterns of maltreatment is loss of membership in the Church (Hinckley, 1998), with a restoration of church privileges and blessings contingent upon sincere repentance and abandonment of prior abusive behaviors (Ballard, 1990).

The necessity for parents to model desirable spiritual behaviors has often been stressed by church leaders (Benson, 1992; Clarke et al., 2000; Hinckley, 2001), a task made easier when parents and children read scriptures and pray together (Hinckley, 2007). One major arena in which this process takes place is known as Family Home Evening. Instituted in 1915 by the prophet Joseph F.

Smith, the LDS practice of Family Home Evening consists of setting aside one evening per week for the entire family to spend time together (Hinckley, 2002). Generally held on Monday nights, Family Home Evenings are expected to include an opportunity to teach and discuss a gospel principle, to share individual talents or experiences with other family members, and to discuss matters pertaining to the family (Hinckley, 2003). As a result of this practice, Latter-day Saint families can become more cohesive, loving, and supportive environments for the intellectual and spiritual development of children and adults.

Research on Latter-day Saint Families

Compared to the ever-growing body of literature examining other dominant religions in the U.S. (i.e., Catholic and Protestant faiths), the amount of published research on Latter-day Saints is sparse, particularly with regard to the impact of Latter-day Saint beliefs and practices on parenting and family (Hart et al., 2000). Some large studies examining parental religiosity and its impact on parenting styles report inclusion of Mormon families in their samples; however, such inclusion tends to be quite small (e.g., 6% of the participants in the Gunnoe et al. [1999] study were identified as LDS compared to 64% identified as Protestant, 20% as Catholic, 8% as atheist/agnostic, and 1% as Jewish). The available published studies with a specific focus on Latter-day Saint families are discussed below.

In a study of family role definitions and responsibilities, Bahr (1982) explored some of the differences between Mormons, Catholics, Protestants, and those with no religious affiliation. Compared to the other participants, Mormons

in his study placed a greater emphasis on the importance of family-centered recreational activities and sharing personal problems with other family members. Mormon participants were also more likely to identify fathers as primarily responsible for providing income and mothers for housekeeping and child care. However, the preference for traditional gender roles appeared to have little impact on the implementation of tasks across mothers and fathers, who reportedly engaged in a more egalitarian distribution of labor. In fact, Mormons in his sample were as egalitarian (if not more so) as the rest of the religious sample with regard to whether fathers or mothers were responsible for earning income, providing child care, housekeeping, and making final decisions about family matters.

Latter-day Saint emphasis on family prompted Wilkinson and Tanner (1980) to examine the influence of religiosity, family size, and interactions between family members on the level of affection in LDS families. The inclusion of family size as a variable was prompted by the researchers' finding that Latter-day Saint families tended to be larger than the "average" family in terms of number of children. Results revealed a weak but significant positive relationship between family size, interaction, and affection, even when SES, age, and length of marriage were controlled for. Further analyses demonstrated that religiosity, as measured by attendance at LDS temple services, had a direct (and the strongest) positive impact on the level of affection between family members. These findings suggest that a higher level of spiritual worthiness and participation in religious

services may promote more affectionate relationships between parents and children in LDS families.

With regard to disciplinary practices in LDS families, an examination of the impact of parental control on delinquency and depression by Barber (1996) found that compared to non-Mormons, Mormon adolescents reported feeling less controlled (both psychologically and behaviorally) by their parent(s). This relationship was more pronounced in low-income families than in those with a higher SES. Although no significant results were found with regard to the relationship between membership in the Church and depression, Barber did find a small but significant negative correlation between church membership and juvenile delinquency. This study suggests the positive impact membership in the Church can have on both parent-child relationships and the behavioral trajectories of adolescents.

Barber's (1996) findings were replicated in a larger, nationwide study of juvenile delinquency in Latter-day Saint youth (Top, Chadwick, & Garrett, 1999). Participants in the Top et al. study were assessed on various dimensions of delinquency, peer pressure, and family relationships, as well as the religiosity level of both the youth and his/her family. Results showed significantly lower rates of delinquency in LDS youth as compared to the general population. Contributing to these lower rates were the family-level variables of living and teaching religious principles, parental provision of adolescent autonomy, and a sense of connectedness between family members. Individual-level variables predicting lower rates of delinquency included the internalization of values taught

in the Church, engaging in private religious behaviors such as prayer and scripture study, and other spiritual experiences.

With respect to the topic of domestic violence, an examination of severe physical violence rates in Utah households revealed a substantially lower rate of self-reported husband-to-wife violence for respondents who were married in an LDS temple than for those who were married elsewhere (Rollins & Oheneba-Sakyi, 1990). Rollins and Oheneba-Sakyi explain these findings by stating that “it is well publicized in the Mormon community that a male who goes to the temple will be severely censured by the Church if it is determined that he is physically abusive toward his wife” (p. 307). Although the parent-to-child violence rates were slightly lower in Utah (9.3%) than in the larger U.S. sample (10.7%), Rollins and Oheneba-Sakyi found that membership in the Church was not a significant predictor of parent-to-child violence.

A qualitative study of LDS parents of varying family sizes (3-15 members, $M = 7.3$) and with children of various ages examined the role of religious beliefs and practices on LDS family life (Loser, Klein, Hill, & Dollahite, 2008). According to those interviewed, LDS religious beliefs played a central role in several domains, including individual, familial, social, and structural. On the individual level, participants stated that their religion influenced their interest in obtaining and maintaining a relationship with God, style of clothing worn (e.g., modest, respectful dress), daily conversations with others, and views about everyday activities (e.g., reading a book or watching a movie). At the familial level, common themes included the overall importance of the family in this

lifetime and in the eternities (i.e., after family members have died, such relationships continue in other ways), passing religious beliefs and values on to children, decoration of the home (e.g., placement of art depicting religious figures, locations, and principles), organization of the home (e.g., special room[s] allocated for spiritual worship), and overall perception of the home (e.g., the home is a peaceful, loving place which deserves to be respected and well-cared for).

According to Loser and colleagues (2008), social areas in which LDS parents report feeling influenced by their religious beliefs and attitudes included involvement in the community (e.g., choice of friends and locations in which to socialize) and provision of volunteer service. Structurally, religion reportedly influenced respondents in a variety of ways, such as how mealtimes were used (e.g., for family prayer and scripture study or discussion of religious issues), timing of and content of recreational activities (e.g., no television on Sundays), and overall use of time spent as a family (e.g., having Family Home Evening). Based on Loser et al.'s analysis, it seems LDS religious beliefs and attitudes can have a wide-reaching influence on daily decisions and behaviors at not only an individual level, but on family and societal levels as well.

In summary, the handful of studies above suggest that the values, beliefs, and practices of the Church appear to have the potential for a strong (and generally positive) impact on child and adolescent development, as well as on the family unit as a whole. However, few studies have included this rapidly growing population of individuals, making it difficult to understand the role of religion in

parenting among LDS families. In particular, there is a dearth of studies assessing the direction (positive or negative) of the effects of membership and activity in the Church on parent-child relationships. The need for additional research on the parenting component of Latter-day Saint families seems especially strong given the faith's emphasis on specific parenting practices and the importance of family not just in this lifetime, but in the eternities.

Rationale

Across parenting research, one often-overlooked contributor to the development of parenting behavior is religion (Mahoney et al., 2001). Given that studies have shown religion to be a salient aspect of life for a large percentage of people living in the U.S. (Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 2003), it appears that the literature could be enriched by further exploration of the relationship between religion and parenting behavior. Thus far, both detrimental (e.g., endorsement of corporal punishment) and beneficial (e.g., increased parental affection) connections between these two variables have been found. Generalization of these relationships to all religions is risky, given the conflicting findings and the fact that the bulk of research has focused on Fundamentalist Protestant families.

An increasingly prominent group of religious individuals both inside and outside the U.S. are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Church is currently the fourth largest in the U.S. (Lindner et al., 2007), and its worldwide membership of over 13 million has been projected to reach as high as 250 million by the year 2080 (Stark, 1996). Despite this exponential growth,

scant research exists on the relationship between religiosity and parenting within the Latter-day Saint (LDS) faith.

Examination of current teachings by leaders of the Church suggests that harsh, punitive parenting is rejected in favor of a more authoritative approach (Ballard, 2006; Holland, 2007). The Church also promotes such activities as family prayer, family scripture study, and setting one night set aside each week for family enrichment (i.e., Family Home Evening; Hinckley, 2002, 2007).

Research with LDS families has shown a positive relationship between religiosity and the amount of affection expressed toward family members (Wilkinson & Tanner, 1980). Mormon adolescents have reported feeling less controlled (both psychologically and behaviorally) by their parent(s), particularly in low-income families (Barber, 1996) and are less likely to engage in delinquent behaviors (Top et al., 1999).

Given the findings discussed above, it appears that a more in-depth study of the relationship between LDS religiosity and parenting behaviors would be beneficial. The proposed study will be a cross-sectional investigation of the relationships between variables presumed to impact parenting behaviors in LDS families, with an emphasis on the role of parental religiosity. Although a variety of variables have been examined in relationship to Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles and Barber's (1996) psychological control, LDS religiosity has yet to be considered. In addition to contributing new knowledge to the research literature, one of the major goals of the current study is to provide mental health professionals working with Latter-day Saints insight into the role parental

religiosity may have on the types of parenting behaviors found in the home. As parenting behaviors have been shown to impact child and adolescent development in a variety of positive and negative ways, it is important to more fully understand the relationship between religiosity and parent-child relationships in LDS families.

Statement of Hypotheses

For each of the hypotheses below, the relationships specified will be explored within the context of other predictors, including parental gender and education. Possible interaction effects between these variables and others stated in the hypotheses will also be examined to determine if global and specific dimensions of LDS religiosity emerge as significant predictors of parenting behavior.

Hypothesis I

There will be several relationships between global LDS religiosity and parenting behaviors, such that those higher in global LDS religiosity will also endorse a higher frequency of behaviors characteristic of an authoritative style and a lower frequency of behaviors characteristic of the authoritarian style, permissive style, and of psychological control.

Hypothesis II

There will be a positive relationship between individual dimensions of LDS religiosity and parenting, such that those scoring higher on specific dimensions of LDS religiosity will also score higher on the parenting dimensions of connection, regulation, and autonomy granting. The dimensions of LDS religiosity anticipated to have the strongest relationship with these parenting dimensions are

as follows (from strongest to weakest): Private Religious Behavior, Family Religious Behavior, Public Religious Behavior, Spiritual Experiences, and Religious Belief.

Hypothesis III

There will be a negative relationship between individual dimensions of LDS religiosity and parenting, such that those scoring higher on specific dimensions of LDS religiosity will also score lower on the parenting dimensions of physical coercion, verbal hostility, non-reasoning/punitive, indulgent, and psychological control. The dimensions of LDS religiosity anticipated to have the strongest relationship with these parenting dimensions are as follows (from strongest to weakest): Private Religious Behavior, Family Religious Behavior, Public Religious Behavior, Spiritual Experiences, and Religious Belief.

CHAPTER II.

METHOD

Participants

Participants consisted of English literate individuals who met the following two criteria: (a) “I consider myself to be a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” and (b) “I am a parent of at least one preschool or school-age child.” A total of 1,267 participants, most of whom identified themselves as European American/White (92.0%), completed the questionnaires. A substantial portion of the sample was female (83.3%) and the majority of respondents were in their late twenties to early forties (see Table 1 for more details).

Most of the sample indicated pursuit of education beyond high school, with 16.5% reporting completion of 14 years and 31.8% finishing 16 years of education. Nearly one-fourth (24.7%) stated that they had received beyond 16 years of education. In terms of family size, three children was the amount most commonly reported by participants (25.5%), followed closely by four (23.2%) and two (20.0%) children.

With regard to geographic location, most respondents were currently living in the United States (91.8%), with 48 of 50 states represented. States accounting for a percentage of participants greater than five percent were as follows: Utah (26.5%), Texas (8.7%), California (8.3%), Idaho (6.0%), Washington (5.5%), and Arizona (5.1%). Similarly, the majority of respondents reported having been raised in the United States (94.4%). Of the 49 states

identified, those accounting for a percentage of participants greater than five percent included Utah (27.0%), California (17.2%), Idaho (7.4%), and Washington (5.3%).

A total of 85.2% of participants indicated that they had been raised LDS. Two-thirds (66.0%) of respondents indicated that they were “born in the covenant,” meaning that an individual’s parents had been married in an LDS temple prior to his/her birth. Those not born into the covenant (34.0%) were, on average, 12.7 years old when they joined the Church ($SD = 8.2$). Of the participants who were currently married, 96.5% had a spouse who was also a member of the Church. Currently married participants were also more likely to have been married in an LDS temple (75.8%) than to have been married in a civil ceremony (6.4%) or in a civil ceremony subsequently followed by a temple sealing (14.3%). The latter of these options generally occurs when one or both of the spouse(s) is not a member of the Church (or is unworthy to enter the temple) at the time of marriage. In addition, most respondents (91.9%) reported possession of a current temple recommend. As mentioned previously, a temple recommend can only be obtained after local ecclesiastical leaders have determined that an individual has adhered to some of the Church’s fundamental precepts and behaviors (e.g., chastity, payment of tithing, supporting current Church leadership, and so on).

*Table 1**Additional Demographic Characteristics of Sample (N = 1,267)*

	%	<i>M</i> (Range)	<i>SD</i>
Age (in Years)		37.1 (19-83)	8.4
Years of Education Completed		15.4 (0-29)	2.7
Less than 12 Years	2.2		
12 Years	7.5		
13 Years	7.8		
14 Years	16.5		
15 Years	9.5		
16 Years	31.8		
17 Years	6.7		
18 Years	10.2		
More than 18 Years	7.8		
Ethnicity			
European American/White	92.0		
Latino/Hispanic	1.0		
American Indian/Native American	0.9		
Asian American/Asian	0.8		
African American/Black	0.4		
Multiracial	2.1		
Other	2.8		

Marital Status

Married	91.9
Separated	0.5
Divorced	2.8
Remarried	3.7
Widowed	0.6
Single (Never Married)	0.6
Cohabiting	0.1

Number of Children in Family	3.6 (1-12)	1.8
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One Child	7.2
Two Children	20.0
Three Children	25.5
Four Children	23.2
Five Children	11.5
Six Children	6.4
Seven Children	3.1
Eight or more Children	3.1

Recruitment

Some previous studies on Latter-day Saints have utilized Church-sanctioned resources to obtain randomly-sampled participants; for example, official membership records from local and worldwide congregations (Wilkinson & Tanner, 1980) or adolescent-based church educational programs (Chadwick &

Top, 1993). However, the current policy of the Church states that formally appointed church avenues such as membership lists containing contact information for Latter-day Saints and weekly church meetings are to be used only for official Church business (LDS, 2006). In response, recent parties interested in conducting research on Latter-day Saints have utilized snowball sampling and other third party recommendation techniques to obtain participants (Loser et al., 2008; Peck & Smith, 2008). Out of respect for the Church's policies, the current study also employed such external recruitment methods.

To facilitate the snowball sampling process, approximately 150 Latter-day Saints within the social circle of the author were sent an e-mail entitled "An Invitation to Participate in a Research Study of Latter-day Saint Parents" (see Appendix A). The invitation was sent independent of the author's perception of the recipient's level of religiosity and regardless of whether the individual was currently parenting a preschool or school-age child (with the hope that he/she would forward it on to individuals who met the study's criteria). The author also created a group entitled "Latter-day Saint Parents" on Facebook, a popular social networking site. An additional 159 potential participants were generated through the Facebook group. Regardless of whether they were recruited via personal e-mail from the author or through the Facebook group, all were invited to send the invitation on to anyone they knew who was a Latter-day Saint parent of a preschool or school-age child.

In addition to e-mail and Facebook, participants were recruited via *Meridian* (<http://www.meridianmagazine.com/>), an online magazine featuring

articles and information specific to Latter-day Saint beliefs and culture. During the development phase of the study, the author obtained a written agreement from the Editor-in-Chief of *Meridian* to run a brief article about the study, along with an invitation for its readers to complete the questionnaires (M. Proctor, personal communication, July 28, 2008). The article was generated from portions of the introduction section of this report and combined with the invitation presented in Appendix A. According to *Meridian*, nearly 60,000 of their subscribers receive a daily e-mail containing articles and information specific to LDS families; of these, an average of 42% are opened (Meridian Magazine Advertising, n.d.). The same site stated that 54% of *Meridian* readers report having five or more children, suggesting that this website could be an appropriate and valuable recruitment resource for this study.

Recruitment for the current study was subject to the unrestricted nature of sending Internet links from person to person, without requiring participants to be approved by the researcher prior to participation. One reason for selecting this method was to obtain as diverse and global of a sample as was possible via the Internet's increasingly expansive reach. However, under such conditions, it was nearly impossible to verify whether participants were members of the Church or the parent of a preschool or school-aged child. In lieu of requiring respondents to complete the questionnaires in person (and bring along their children, plus a signed letter from local Church leadership verifying their status as a member), respondents were given the benefit of the doubt and allowed to self-identify.

Despite this limitation, several benefits of anonymous Internet research have been suggested by Duncan, White, and Nicholson (2003). Over a three-year period, Duncan and colleagues obtained nearly 2,000 participants via electronic mailing lists, online news groups, and discussion boards, suggesting that online recruiting methods have the capability of producing substantial sample sizes. This was certainly the case for the current study, with 1,200+ participants obtained over the course of six weeks. Based on a review of the responses they received, Duncan et al. also suggest that the potentially anonymous nature of Internet research may reduce some of the subject-response bias evident in face-to-face data collection for sensitive topics (such as parenting practices), resulting in honest, frank responses from online participants. Based on their findings and suggestions, it seems that the recruitment methods used for the current study were appropriate.

Procedure

Participants were directed through one of the aforementioned recruitment methods to a Secure Sockets Layer (SSL) encrypted website hosted by SurveyMonkey.com. On the first page, participants were asked to read a consent form containing a brief description of the study, its purpose, risks and benefits associated with participation, an assurance of the confidentiality of their responses, and a list of additional persons to contact should the participant have further questions about the study. Participants indicated their consent to participate in the study by checking a box at the bottom of the screen verifying that they had read and understood the information presented in the consent form.

Once consent had been obtained, participants were asked to complete a brief demographics questionnaire, a measure of religiosity specific to Latter-day Saints (based on Chadwick & Top, 1993), the Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart, 2001), and a measure of psychological control (Olsen et al., 2002). The content of each of these forms is described in the subsequent section. Upon completion of the questionnaires, participants were given the opportunity to provide their e-mail address for entry into a drawing for 1 of 10 \$50 Target gift cards and/or request a brief summary of the study's findings.

Measures

Demographics Questionnaire

A questionnaire designed to obtain relevant demographic information for each participant can be found in Appendix B. Items measured include age, gender, ethnicity, educational level, marital status, and family size. In order to ensure certain items were applicable to a Latter-day Saint population (e.g., whether or not a participant's marriage took place in a Latter-day Saint temple), portions of the questionnaire were taken directly from a demographics questionnaire used in a previous study of Latter-day Saint adults (McClendon, 2000).

Chadwick & Top Religiosity Scales

Created for use with LDS populations, the religiosity scales used in the present study were initially created by Chadwick and Top (1993). These scales included Religious Beliefs (11 items; e.g., "Joseph Smith actually saw God the

Father and Jesus Christ.”), Spiritual Experiences (4 items; e.g., “I have been guided by the Spirit with some of my problems and decisions.”), Public Religious Behavior (4 items; e.g., “I attend Sacrament Meeting.”), Private Religious Behavior (6 items, e.g., “I read the scriptures by myself.”), and Family Religious Behavior (3 items, e.g., “My family holds Family Home Evening.”). Response options for the Religious Beliefs and Spiritual Experiences subscales were provided in 5 1-point increments ranging from “strongly disagree” (1) to “strongly agree” (5). Options for the Public, Private, and Family Religious Behavior subscales were on a 5-point response continuum, ranging from “never” (1) to “very often” (5). The entire 28-item measure can be found in Appendix C.

Some items on Chadwick and Top’s (1993) religiosity scales coincide with Cannon’s (1995) treatise on “ways of being religious,” discussed earlier in this volume. The “way of sacred rite” is observed each Sunday in Latter-day Saint chapels when members have the opportunity to partake of emblems of Christ’s flesh and blood during Sacrament Meeting (attendance at which is measured within the Public Religious Behavior subscale). Items on the demographics measure (e.g., those having to do with baptism and marriage in the temple) also fall under the purview of sacred rite. Consumption of Church magazines and books, segments or entire volumes of which are written by the leaders of the Church, is measured in the Private Religious Behaviors subscale and is encompassed within Cannon’s “way of right action.” Several items on the Private Religious Behaviors (e.g., “I pray privately.”) and Spiritual Experiences (e.g., “I know what it feels like to repent and be forgiven.”) subscales correspond

with Cannon's "way of devotion," helping Latter-day Saints develop an intimate relationship with heavenly beings and receive spiritual enlightenment to help them overcome life's challenges.

Chadwick and Top's (1993) religiosity scales, which initially included an Integration in Congregation subscale (3 items, e.g., "I sometimes feel like an outsider in the Church."), were first used in a study of LDS adolescents and delinquent behaviors. Factor analysis supported the distinctiveness of each dimension, with factor weights ranging from .62 to .93 per subscale ($\lambda^2 = 2.6$ to 15.8). The authors also reported strong internal consistency for the measure, with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .76 to .98 per subscale.

A modified version of Chadwick and Top's (1993) scales was also utilized in a study examining the relationship between religiosity and employment in a sample of adult women living in Utah (Chadwick & Garrett, 1995). As the questionnaire was sent to respondents from several religions, some LDS-specific items remained in order to sample the target (LDS) population (e.g., "The Book of Mormon is the word of God."), whereas some were phrased to be more inclusive (e.g., "How often do you attend religious services?" as opposed to "How often do you attend Sacrament Meeting?"). For LDS adult women, the factor names, factor scores, eigenvalues, and internal consistency coefficients were as follows: Belief = .44 to .96 ($\lambda^2 = 6.82$, $\alpha = .95$), Private Behavior = .70 to .74 ($\lambda^2 = 2.56$, $\alpha = .80$), and Public Behavior = .45 to .78 ($\lambda^2 = 3.26$, $\alpha = .79$). Chadwick and Garrett also reported that the majority of their LDS respondents achieved the highest possible score on the Beliefs subscale (i.e., selecting Strongly Agree for all items),

leading to low variability for this dimension. In contrast, there was sufficient variability in the Private and Public Behavior subscales to examine differences among participants.

Another slightly modified version of Chadwick and Top's (1993) scale was used in a study of adult Latter-day Saints and their lifestyles after returning home from missionary service (McClendon, 2000). Although the items used by McClendon were nearly identical to those previously used with adolescents, McClendon elected to administer only the Spiritual Experiences, Public, Private, and Family Behavior subscales. In addition, his response options differed in terms of verbiage (e.g., "not at all" vs. "strongly disagree") and had a range of 5-7 choices.

For the current study, slight modifications to Chadwick and Top's (1993) original religiosity scales were made based on their prior use with adults. The Integration in Congregation subscale was not used in either study with adults (Chadwick & Garrett, 1995; McClendon, 2000), primarily because that subscale was created to examine the connection between feeling a sense of belonging within a religious community and the degree to which an adolescent engages in delinquent behavior. Consequently, this subscale was also eliminated for the present study. In addition, some items that have been previously utilized in the adult studies were also included here: "My relationship with God is important to me," "I fast on Fast Sunday," "I pay tithing on the money I earn," and "I think seriously about religion." These items were included because they have been found in the adult studies to load highly on the factors and because they provide a

more in-depth exploration of the Private Religious Behavior scale. Also, an additional item not used by previous researchers was created by the author and added to the Religious Beliefs subscale: “Children under 8 years of age cannot be held responsible for their misbehavior.” This item was added as it is related to a unique belief of LDS theology (namely that younger children are viewed as innocent and unaccountable for sin until they have developed the capacity to distinguish right from wrong [LDS, 1830/1981, pp. 525-527]) and may inform how Latter-day Saints approach parenting (Hart et al., 2000). The 5-point continuum of response options (“strongly disagree” to “strongly agree,” and “very often” to “never”) from Chadwick and Top’s study was retained.

Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire

The Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ) is a measure of parenting behaviors for parents of preschool and school-age children, and is based on three of Baumrind’s (1971) styles: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive (Robinson et al., 2001). The frequency of these behaviors is measured on a 5-point scale ranging from “never” (1) to “always” (5). The initially developed 133-item version (80 items of which were taken from Block’s [1965] Child-rearing Practices Report) was administered to 1,251 mothers and fathers in their mid-30s living in Utah (Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart, 1995). The sample was mostly White, with varying levels of education and an average income of \$30,000. Of the initial items, 62 remained after the measure was subjected to factor analysis.

Upon completion of the initial factor analysis, each style was subjected to a second round of factor analysis in order to examine the dimensions within each style. Within the 24-item authoritative style ($\alpha = .91$), four dimensions emerged (with the range of factor scores in parentheses): Warmth and Involvement (.42 - .72), Reasoning/Induction (.47 - .76), Democratic Participation (.31 - .73), and Good Natured/Easy Going (.37 - .68). The 20-item authoritarian style ($\alpha = .86$) was also composed of four dimensions: Verbal Hostility (.32 - .74), Corporal Punishment (.30 - .88), Nonreasoning/Punitive Strategies (.40 - .78), and Directiveness (.51 - .69). The final style, permissive ($\alpha = .75$), consisted of 15 items distributed across three dimensions: Lack of Follow Through (.32 - .75), Ignoring Misbehavior (.43 - .73), and Self-confidence (.36 - .83).

The current study incorporated a modified version of the PSDQ obtained from one of its primary authors and referenced in a description of the 62-item version (Robinson et al., 2001). According to this same author, the measure is most appropriate for parents of children ages 4 through 12 (C. C. Robinson, personal communication, March 17, 2009). The modified version consists of 32 items and was subjected by the authors to measures of internal consistency as well as structural equation modeling (SEM). Internal consistency for the authoritative dimension remained strong ($\alpha = .86$), with SEM standard coefficients for the authoritative dimensions as follows: connection (behaviors expressing warmth toward and acceptance of the child, e.g., “I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset.”) = .53 - .78, regulation (engaging in dialogue with the child about rules and consequences for misbehavior, e.g., “I help my child to

understand the impact of behavior by encouraging my child to talk about the consequences of his/her own actions.”) = .62 - .77, and autonomy granting (creating a safe space for a child to express his/her desires and opinions, e.g., “I encourage my child to freely express him/herself even when disagreeing with me.”) = .43 - .74. Values for the authoritarian ($\alpha = .82$) dimensions included physical coercion (use of physical discipline measures such as spanking, grabbing, and slapping, e.g., “I slap my child when the child misbehaves.”) = .52 - .85, verbal hostility (yelling, scolding, and other verbalizations, e.g., “I scold or criticize when my child’s behavior doesn’t meet my expectations.”) = .43 - .72, and non-reasoning/punitive (punishing a child without explanation, e.g., “I use threats as punishment with little or no justification.”) = .48 - .70. With the elimination of several items, only one dimension emerged from the permissive ($\alpha = .64$) style: indulgent (poor follow-through with and/or spoiling a child, e.g., “I give into my child when the child causes a commotion about something.”) = .35 - .78. This means that in the 32-item version, the permissive style and indulgent dimension are comprised of the same 5 items.

The PSDQ has been found to be a reliable measure of parenting styles and dimensions across many cultures. In its use with first-generation immigrant mothers of Dominican and Puerto Rican descent, internal consistency remained sufficient across the three styles in a 52-item version of the questionnaire (authoritative $\alpha = .79$, authoritarian $\alpha = .69$, permissive $\alpha = .60$; Calzada & Eyberg, 2002). Another modified, 26-item version of the PSDQ focusing only on the authoritative and authoritarian constructs from the questionnaire was shown

through multi-sample confirmatory factor and chi-square analyses to measure the same constructs across mothers in the U.S. and China (authoritative $X^2(168) = 288.40, p < .001, X^2/df = 1.72, GFI = .93, TLI = .91, \text{ and } CFI = .93$; authoritarian $X^2(76) = 186.90, p < .001, X^2/df = 2.46, GFI = .94, TLI = .87, \text{ and } CFI = .91$; Wu, Robinson, Yang, Hart, Olsen, Porter, et al., 2002). This same study also statistically confirmed the unidimensional nature of each construct (e.g., Warmth and Involvement) within the authoritative and authoritarian styles. A subsequent study with the modified version created by Wu and colleagues was administered to parents in the U.S. and Australia whose demographic information was similar to that of the measure's pilot sample (Russell et al., 2003). In this study, Russell and colleagues found low to moderate agreement between the participants' self-report of their own parenting style and their spouse's report (i.e., the mother's report of her parenting style and the father's report of the mother's parenting style; $r = .33 - .63$). Similar to previous PSDQ studies with diverse cultural groups, internal consistency remained moderate to high for the Australian sample (authoritative = .81, authoritarian = .74).

Coolahan, McWayne, Fantuzzo, and Grim (2002) examined the validity of a modified version of the PSDQ for Head Start families (PSDQ-HS) using the Parent-Child Relationship Inventory (PCRI; Gerard, 1994) and the Maternal Behavior Rating Scale—Revised (Mahoney, 1992) in a sample of low-income African American caregivers. Both the PCRI and MBRS-R were designed to assess parent-child interactions and have been established as valid and reliable measures of this construct (PCRI, Coffmann, Guerin, & Gottfried, 2006; MBRS-

R, Mahoney & Wheeden, 1997). The portion of the PCRI selected by Coolahan and colleagues was a self-report measure of disciplinary practices. The components of MBRS-R used in their study consisted of observations of mother-child interactions, with a focus on behaviors representative of warmth (e.g., pats, kisses, verbal endearments) and directiveness (e.g., frequency and intensity of parental requests). A statistically significant positive relationship was found between the parent's self report of disciplinary behaviors on the PCRI and the corresponding limit-setting PSDQ-HS items ($r = .39, p < .01$). Similar results were found for the observed mother-child behaviors of warmth ($r = .36, p < .01$) and directiveness ($r = .34, p < .01$) on the MBRS-R when compared to the PSDQ-HS. The same team of researchers closely examined the dimensions explored in the PSDQ-HS and found them to be congruent with Baumrind's (1971) conceptualization of parenting styles. In summary, based on initial validity tests of a modified version of the PSDQ (PSDQ-HS), it appears to be a valid measure of specific parenting behaviors.

The decision to adopt the most recent (32-item) version of the PSDQ was based on several factors. According to one of the developers of the measure, most researchers are now using the shortened form (C. C. Robinson, personal communication, August 22, 2008). Also, studies with diverse ethnic groups have led to the removal of several items over the years (Robinson et al., 2001). In addition, examination of the eliminated items suggests that conceptually, many of those removed to create the 32-item version are less indicative of specific parenting behaviors and more representative of ancillary factors that might or

might not inform parenting style. For example, the items from the formerly included self-confidence dimension (within the permissive style) examined parental cognitions and expectations for parenting, not specific behaviors. Other removed items appear to be very similar to items kept for the shorter version of the PSDQ, with only slight alterations in wording (e.g., “I talk it over and reason with my child when the child misbehaves,” now eliminated, is nearly identical to the concept measured by “I give my child reasons why rules should be obeyed.”). In summary, although some dimensions have been removed from the abbreviated version, the remaining dimensions appear to more accurately fit Baumrind’s (1971) typology. The 32-item measure, along with scoring instructions and item breakdowns for each style and dimension, can be found in Appendix D.

Psychological Control

The final measure completed by participants was based on cross-cultural research with parents from Utah, China, and Russia examining psychological control (Olsen et al., 2002). In their study, Olsen and colleagues administered a multidimensional measure of psychological control to mothers and teachers of 632 children in these three countries. Certain demographics of the caregivers were similar to those of participants in the PSDQ pilot study (Robinson et al., 1995); for example, participants were generally well-educated, in their 30s, and many of them were located in Utah. However, the age range of the children whose parents were surveyed by Olsen and colleagues (just under two up through nearly seven years old) is younger and narrower than the PSDQ sample (preschool and school-aged [i.e., in elementary and parochial schools]; Robinson

et al., 2001). With respect to family size, families from Utah were usually larger than those in Russia or China, the latter of which generally consisted of one child due to governmental edict.

Constructs of psychological control under investigation by Olsen and colleagues (2002) included constraining verbal expressions, invalidating feelings, personal attack, erratic emotional behavior, love withdrawal, and guilt induction. Items for their measure were composed of those previously used by Barber (1996), as well as new items created by early childhood experts. Of their 33 items (rated on the same 5-item “never” to “always” scale utilized in the PSDQ; Robinson et al., 2001), a total of 11 items comprising four dimensions were shown to be comparable across U.S., Russian, and Chinese cultures ($\chi^2(27) = 46.72, p < .001, \chi^2/df = 1.73, GFI = .97, TLI = .94, \text{ and } CFI = .95$). These dimensions, with their respective factor loadings and an example from each are as follows: Personal Attack (.58 - .72, “I tell my child that his/her behavior was dumb or stupid.”), Erratic Emotional Behavior (.36 - .41, “I change moods when with my child.”), Guilt Induction (.70 - .82, “I tell my child that he/she is not as good as other children.”), and Love Withdrawal (.51 - .70, “If my child hurts my feelings, I stop talking to my child until he/she pleases me again.”). Although the Erratic Emotional Behavior dimension had comparatively lower factor loadings than the others, the authors decided to keep it as it is a key aspect of psychological control. The entire list of items can be found in Appendix E.

For this study, the 11 items measuring psychological control were interspersed among the items from the PSDQ (Robinson et al., 2001). This

decision was based on the fact that both parenting measures have the same response options (i.e., a 5-item scale anchored by “never” and “always”). It also seemed appropriate to blend the two measures together during administration in order to prevent participants from having a clear picture of the specific constructs under examination beyond the general descriptor of “parenting behaviors.” In addition, although the study upon which this measure was based only surveyed parents of preschool-aged children, the 11 items comprising psychological control appeared relevant for parents of school-aged children as well. This rationale was informed by the knowledge that the measure of psychological control from which Olsen and colleagues drew their items (Barber, 1996) was initially developed as a self-report form for adolescents, an age group well beyond their preschool years.

CHAPTER III.

RESULTS

Preliminary statistical analyses were conducted to examine relationships between variables and obtain further descriptive information for the sample. Upon determining the utility of each measure, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to explore the three research hypotheses. Following investigation of hypotheses, additional regression analyses were conducted to aid post hoc exploration of interactions between variables. Unless stated otherwise, an alpha level of $p < .05$ was set to determine statistical significance.

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to examining the research hypotheses, several Pearson product-moment correlations were computed to assess relationships between variables in the religiosity measure. The religiosity measure was subsequently subjected to exploratory factor analysis and differences between participants were examined based on geographic location. Internal consistency was also measured for the religiosity and parenting measures. Each process is detailed below.

Measurement of Religiosity

As stated earlier in this report, a new religiosity item was created by the author of the current study and added to the Religious Beliefs subscale of Chadwick & Top's (1993) scales: "Children under 8 years of age cannot be held responsible for their misbehavior." A series of Pearson product-moment correlations was conducted during the preliminary stages of analysis to examine whether this new item was related to the other items on the measure. Although

several significant correlations between the new item and the original items were found, the strongest of those correlations (with “The Bible is the Word of God,” also from the Religious Beliefs subscale) was a meager one ($r = .18, p < .01$). Given that other items on the measure had much stronger relationships with one another, this item was removed from subsequent analyses.

Pearson product-moment correlations were also computed for the subscales in the religiosity measure. Examination of the correlation matrix revealed weak to moderate relationships between subscales, with the exception of Religious Belief and Spiritual Experiences ($r = .77, p < .01$). Despite this comparatively stronger relationship between these two subscales, both were retained as individual constructs (with the intention of examining multicollinearity statistics in subsequent regression analyses) given that they have previously been used as such (Chadwick & Top, 1993). In addition, although religious beliefs can be strengthened by spiritual experiences and spiritual experiences may be interpreted through the lens of a prescribed belief system, each can conceptually occur independent from one another. For example, although one may “have been guided by the Spirit with some of [one’s] problems and decisions,” that does not necessarily mean one also believes “The Book of Mormon [to be] the word of God.” Correlation coefficients and significance values for all religiosity subscales can be found in Table 2.

Table 2

Correlations Between Subscales of Religiosity Measure (N = 1,267)

Subscale	1	2	3	4	5
1. Religious Beliefs	—				
2. Spiritual Experiences	.77**	—			
3. Public Religious Behavior	.35**	.39**	—		
4. Private Religious Behavior	.34**	.42**	.49**	—	
5. Family Religious Behavior	.24**	.30**	.47**	.58**	—

Note. ** $p < .01$

After examining the correlations above, the religiosity measure was subjected to exploratory factor analysis. Although previous studies have established the measure's factor structure in samples of LDS adolescents (Chadwick & Top), adult women (Chadwick & Garrett, 1995), and adults who have provided missionary service for the Church (McClendon, 2000), the current investigator was interested in the structure for a sample of parents. Principal axis factoring (PAF) with Promax, an oblique rotation, was selected due to the assumption that although each subscale measured a unique aspect of religious belief and behavior, all were connected with one another through the common construct of religiosity (Pett, Lackey, & Sullivan, 2003).

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy for the analysis was "marvelous" ($KMO = .94$; Pett et al., 2003), suggesting that the data were amenable to factor analysis. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity for the analysis was

significant ($p < .001$), allowing the author to reject the null hypothesis that inter-item correlations were zero and conclude that the sample size was sufficient for factor analysis. With the exception of one item, all items loaded onto their presupposed factors in a five-factor solution. Payment of tithing (“I pay tithing on the money I earn.”), theoretically part of the Private Religious Behavior subscale, consistently loaded onto the Family Religious Behavior dimension (.64). The only additional subscale onto which the tithing item could have strongly loaded was Public Religious Behavior (.55). Financial contributions in the Church typically take the form of a member placing his/her offering into an envelope and giving it (in person or via postal service) to a member of the local leadership. Although this transaction could be witnessed by a family member or individuals in the congregation, it is not intended to be a public demonstration of righteousness; on the contrary, it should be a relatively private act (see Matthew 6:1-4). Based on this conceptual analysis, the tithing item was removed from future analyses.

In total, 72.1% of the variance was accounted for using the final factor solution. Internal consistency for the entire measure was strong ($\alpha = .91$). Eigenvalues, factor loadings, and internal consistency for individual factors can be found in Table 3.

Table 3

Eigenvalues, Internal Consistency, and Factor Loadings for Subscales of Religiosity Measure (N = 1,267)

Item content	Factor loadings	
Religious Beliefs	11.4	.96
The president of the LDS Church is a prophet of God.		.94
The Lord guides the Church today through revelation to Church leaders.		.94
Joseph Smith actually saw God the Father and Jesus Christ.		.93
The Book of Mormon is the word of God.		.93
Jesus Christ is the divine Son of God.		.91
Satan actually exists.		.90
God lives and is real.		.88
There is a life after death.		.84
God really does answer prayers.		.76
The Bible is the word of God.		.64
Private Religious Behavior	3.8	.79
I read the scriptures by myself.		.82
I pray privately.		.77
I read Church magazines and books.		.72
I think seriously about religion.		.61

I fast on Fast Sunday.			.51
Family Religious Behavior	1.5	.83	
My family reads the scriptures together.			.84
My family holds Family Home Evening.			.78
My family has family prayer.			.76
Public Religious Behavior	1.1	.77	
I attend Priesthood Meeting or Relief Society Meeting on Sunday.			.87
I attend Sunday School.			.85
I attend Sacrament Meeting.			.59
Spiritual Experiences	.94	.86	
There have been times in my life when I felt the Holy Ghost.			.78
I have been guided by the Spirit with some of my problems and decisions.			.77
My relationship with God is important to me.			.73
I know what it feels like to repent and be forgiven.			.70

In the demographics questionnaire, participants who grew up or currently live in the U.S. were asked to specify the state of residence; those who moved around as children were asked to indicate the state in which they spent the majority of their childhood. The primary purpose for including this question was to determine if participants living in locations with a high concentration of Latter-

day Saints would respond differently on the global and specific dimensions of religiosity. Examination of recent statistical data provided by the Church and the U.S. Census Bureau (LDS, 2008; United States Census Bureau, 2007) revealed that the ten states with the highest percentage of Latter-day Saints per capita were as follows: Utah (70.23%), Idaho (27.14%), Wyoming (11.75%), Arizona (5.91%), Hawaii (5.31%), Montana (4.75%), Washington (3.98%), Oregon (3.88%), New Mexico (3.29%), and Colorado (2.82%). Approximately half of the sample indicated they had grown up in or were currently living in 1 of these 10 states (51.93% and 50.43%, respectively). Several *t* tests for independent means were conducted to determine whether differences in global and specific religiosity existed between those who had been raised in or were currently living in a state with a high concentration of Latter-day Saints. None of the tests reached significance, suggesting that geographic location did not play a considerable role in the religiosity of participants.

Overall, religiosity in the current sample was high. Measures of central tendency for the entire measure and its corresponding subscales were as follows: Global Religiosity ($M = 4.68$, $SD = 0.37$), Religious Beliefs ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 0.30$), Spiritual Experiences ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 0.61$), Public Religious Behavior ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 0.61$), Private Religious Behavior ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 0.68$), and Family Religious Behavior ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 0.92$). This places a large number of participants in the “agree” (4) to “strongly agree” (5) range for beliefs and experiences and in the “often” (4) to “very often” (5) range for religious behaviors.

Measurement of Parenting

As noted in the method section of this report, participants were given the opportunity to self-identify whether or not they were a parent of a preschool or school-aged child. Accordingly, responses on the demographics questionnaire were examined to determine if each participant had at least one child in the age range on which the PSDQ (ages 4-12; Robinson et al., 2001) and measure of psychological control (ages 2-7; Olsen et al., 2002) were normed. A total of 977 (77.11%) and 867 (68.43%) of the 1,267 participants had at least one child in the specified age range for the PSDQ and measure of psychological control, respectively.

Next, a series of *t* tests for independent samples was conducted to determine if differences existed between eligible vs. ineligible participants based on the age ranges listed above. On average, eligible participants reported greater use of parenting behaviors characteristic of the authoritarian style ($t_{(1264)} = 7.03, p < .001$) and its corresponding dimensions [physical coercion ($t_{(1264)} = 6.75, p < .001$), non-reasoning/punitive ($t_{(1264)} = 3.83, p < .001$), and verbal hostility ($t_{(1264)} = 5.85, p < .001$)] than those outside the 4-12 age range. Similarly, they also reported a higher use of psychological control techniques than those with children outside the 2-7 age range ($t_{(1264)} = 2.40, p < .05$). In contrast, no significant differences emerged for parenting behaviors contained within the permissive style (and indulgent dimension) or the authoritative style and some of its dimensions (connection and autonomy granting). Closer examination of the subscales of the authoritative style revealed that parents of children ages 4-12 were more likely to

engage in activities comprised in the regulation dimension ($t_{(1264)} = 3.25, p < .01$); however, no significant differences were found for the connection and autonomy granting dimensions. Given the variability of significance within the measures, it was determined that enough differences existed to justify inclusion of only those participants with children in the appropriate age range for each measure during subsequent analyses.

Internal consistency for the PSDQ (Robinson et al., 2001) in the current study was sufficient, with Cronbach's alpha () for each style and dimension as follows: authoritative = .87 (connection = .76, regulation = .79, and autonomy granting = .73), authoritarian = .80 (physical coercion = .72, verbal hostility = .71, and non-reasoning/punitive = .54), and permissive (indulgent) = .65. Although the internal consistency of the psychological control measure (Olsen et al., 2002) in its entirety was acceptable (.68), the smaller subscales (personal attack = .45, erratic emotional behavior = .47, guilt induction = .46, and love withdrawal = .34), did not come close to the .60 - .90 benchmark range used by most researchers (Aron & Aron, 2003). Based on these findings, it was determined that the PSDQ styles and dimensions would be examined separately during regression analyses; however, the psychological control measure was only examined in its entirety.

Hypothesis Testing

Hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to examine the relationships detailed in Hypotheses I through III. With regard to the hierarchy in which variables of interest were entered into each model, parental gender and

education were entered into the first step prior to examining the impact of religiosity variables (global and dimensional) during the second step. Interaction variables (gender x religiosity) were added for the third step. Preceding creation of interaction variables and regression analyses, continuous variables in the model (i.e., education and global/specific dimensions of religiosity) were centered. Centering involves subtracting the mean score of the group from each participant's score in order to remove the nonessential multicollinearity (Cohen, Cohen, Aiken, & West, 2003). As discussed below, significant models inclusive of the interaction between gender and global religiosity were found for authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles only. Significance was not reached in any of the models examining the interaction between gender and specific dimensions of religiosity (e.g., gender x private religious behavior).

Within each model, three measures of multicollinearity were computed to examine the relationships between predictor variables: (1) the variance inflation factor (*VIF*), (2) tolerance, and (3) condition number (). According to Cohen et al. (2003), when $VIF \geq 10$, tolerance $\leq .10$, and ≥ 30 , multicollinearity is a serious problem for one or more of the independent variables in a model. Variables in the analyses described below did not meet or exceed these guidelines for detecting multicollinearity.

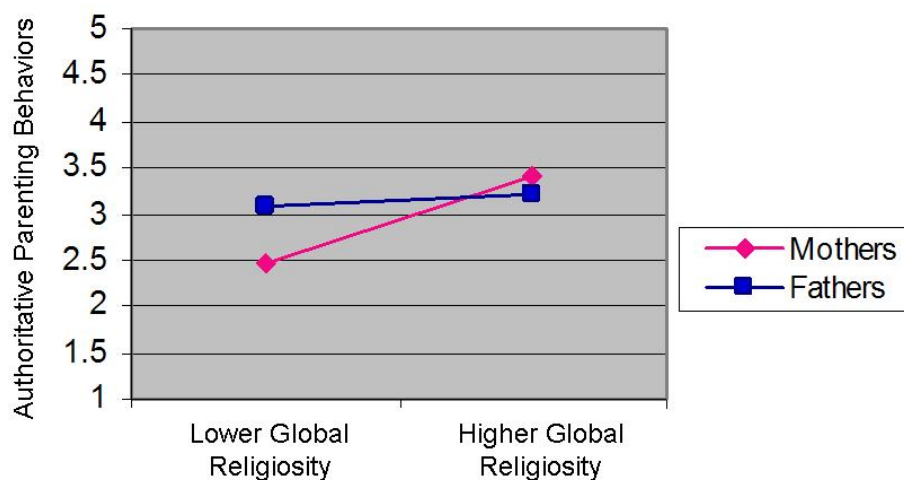
Hypothesis I

It was hypothesized that participants scoring higher in global LDS religiosity would endorse a higher frequency of behaviors characteristic of an authoritative parenting style. A model inclusive of the interaction term best

predicted authoritative behavior [$F_{(4, 972)} = 10.85, p < .001$], such that parent gender moderated the impact of religiosity on authoritative parenting. Additional statistical information for the authoritative model can be found in Table 4.

To better understand the aforementioned interaction, the database was split across gender groups and additional regressions computed. When gender differences were examined, significance was reached for mothers only [$F_{(2, 823)} = 15.61, p < .001$]. Specifically, for mothers in the current sample, higher global religiosity was predictive of increased use of parenting behaviors comprised within the authoritative style ($\beta = .19, p < .001$). The relationship between global religiosity and authoritative parenting for both mothers and fathers is represented graphically in Figure 1.

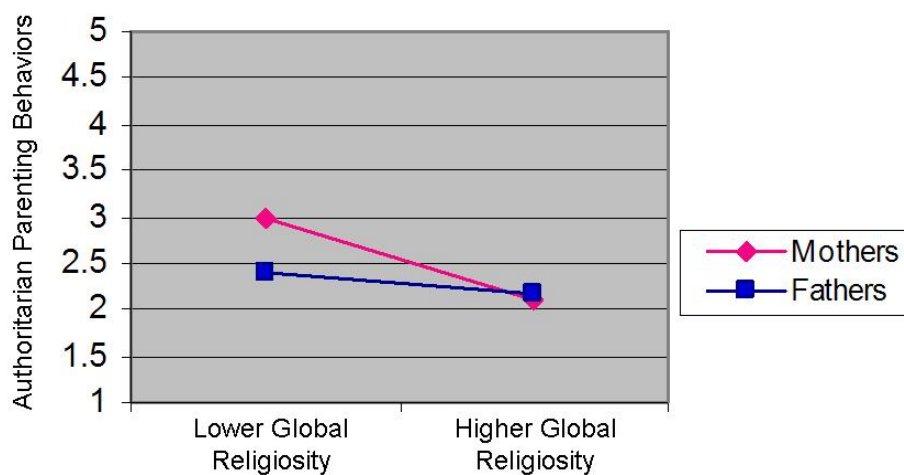
Figure 1. The Relationship Between Global Religiosity and Authoritative Parenting for Mothers and Fathers



It was also expected that participants scoring higher in global LDS religiosity would endorse a lower frequency of behaviors characteristic of the authoritarian style, permissive style, and of psychological control. Similar to authoritative parenting, a model incorporating the interaction between gender and global religiosity best predicted authoritarian behavior [$F_{(4, 972)} = 10.08, p < .001$], such that parent gender moderated the impact of religiosity on authoritative parenting. Further statistical information for the authoritarian model can be found in Table 4.

The moderation of gender on the relationship between global religiosity and authoritarian parenting was similar to the authoritative model, with significance reached for mothers only ($F_{(2, 823)} = 18.71, p < .001$). For mothers in the current sample, elevated global religiosity was predictive of lower incidence of authoritarian parenting ($\beta = -.21, p < .001$). Illustration of this relationship can be found in Figure 2.

Figure 2. *The Relationship Between Global Religiosity and Authoritarian Parenting for Mothers and Fathers*



As predicted, participants higher in global religiosity were significantly less likely to engage in permissive parenting behaviors, $F_{(3, 973)} = 16.12, p < .001$. Contrary to models examined thus far, parent gender did not emerge as a significant predictor of permissive parenting. Supplementary statistical information for the permissive model can be found in Table 4.

The relationship between global religiosity and psychological control did not emerge as predicted. Although the addition of global religiosity in Step 2 produced a significant change in the model ($R^2 = .01, p < .05$), the overall model remained insignificant [$F_{(3, 863)} = 2.49, p = .06$]. Therefore, the hypothesis that participants higher in global LDS religiosity would also endorse a lower frequency of behaviors characteristic of psychological control was rejected.

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Global Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Parenting Style ($n = 977$)

Variable	Parenting style									
	Authoritative			Authoritarian			Permissive			
	R^2	B	$SE B$	R^2	B	$SE B$	R^2	B	$SE B$	
Step 1	.02**			.05			.01			
Parent gender		0.15	0.04	.13***	-0.03	0.03	-.03	-0.01	0.04	-.01
Parent education		0.01	0.01	.03	-0.01	0.00	-.05	0.00	0.01	.00
Step 2	.02***			.03***			.05***			
Parent gender		0.14	0.04	.11***	-0.02	0.03	-.02	0.02	0.04	.01
Parent education		0.00	0.01	.01	-0.00	0.00	-.02	0.01	0.01	.03
Global religiosity		0.18	0.04	.15***	-0.17	0.03	-.18***	-0.28	0.04	-.22***

Step 3	.01*			.01*				
Parent gender		-0.83	0.38	-.69*		0.75	0.31	.77*
Parent education		0.00	0.01	.01		-0.00	0.00	-.02
Global religiosity		-0.17	0.14	-.15		0.11	0.12	.11
Parent gender x Global religiosity		0.21	0.08	.87*		-0.17	0.07	-.85*

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Hypothesis II

It was anticipated that participants scoring higher on specific dimensions of LDS religiosity would also score higher on the parenting dimensions of connection, regulation, and autonomy granting. The dimensions of LDS religiosity anticipated to have the strongest relationship with these parenting dimensions (from strongest to weakest) were as follows: Private Religious Behavior, Family Religious Behavior, Public Religious Behavior, Spiritual Experiences, and Religious Belief. As detailed below, the hypothesis was partially supported.

With regard to the connection dimension of authoritative parenting, gender, private religious behavior, spiritual experiences, and religious beliefs emerged as significant predictors [$F_{(7, 969)} = 9.53, p < .001$]. A significant difference was found between mothers and fathers, such that mothers were more likely than fathers to endorse a strong use of connection behaviors. Engaging in a more frequent pattern of private religious behaviors and spiritual experiences was also predictive of increased connection. Conversely, strict endorsement of religious beliefs was related to a lower incidence of behaviors comprised within the connection dimension. Relevant statistical information for the connection model can be found in Table 5.

Consistent with the findings for connection, gender, private religious behavior, spiritual experiences, and religious beliefs significantly predicted incidence of regulation [$F_{(7, 969)} = 13.92, p < .001$]. The direction of relationships was also similar; mothers were more likely than fathers to report higher scores on

the regulation dimension. In addition, more time spent pursuing private religious behaviors and reflecting on spiritual experiences was predictive of increased regulation. Compared to participants with relatively lower endorsement of religious beliefs, those reporting strong endorsement were less likely to engage in behaviors found within the regulation dimension. Additional statistical information for the model can be found in Table 5.

As was the case with other authoritative dimensions, a model inclusive of dimensions of religiosity was significant for autonomy granting behavior [$F_{(7, 969)} = 9.04, p < .001$]. An emphasis on private religious behaviors and spiritual experiences predicted increased autonomy granting, with higher endorsement of religious beliefs indicative of the opposite. However, in contrast to other dimensions of authoritative parenting, no association was found between parent gender and autonomy granting. Specific statistical values for the autonomy granting model can be found in Table 5.

Table 5

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Dimensions of Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Dimensions of Authoritative Parenting ($n = 977$)

Variable	Dimension of authoritative parenting									
	Connection			Regulation			Autonomy granting			
	R^2	B	$SE B$	R^2	B	$SE B$	R^2	B	$SE B$	
Step 1	.02****			.02****			.01			
Parent gender		0.18	0.04	.14****	0.18	0.05	.13****	0.10	0.06	.06
Parent education		-0.00	0.01	-.00	-0.00	0.01	-.00	0.01	0.02	.06
Step 2	.04****			.08****			.06****			
Parent gender		0.17	0.04	.14****	0.17	0.05	.11****	0.09	0.05	.06
Parent education		-0.00	0.01	-.03	-0.01	0.01	-.05	0.01	0.01	.03

Private religious behavior	0.09	0.03	.13**	0.10	0.03	.13**	0.19	0.04	.21***
Family religious behavior	-0.03	0.02	-.06	0.01	0.03	.01	-0.00	0.03	-.00
Public religious behavior	-0.00	0.03	-.00	0.01	0.03	.01	-0.04	0.04	-.04
Spiritual experiences	0.32	0.07	.25***	0.48	0.08	.31***	0.29	0.09	.17**
Religious beliefs	-0.38	0.07	-.25***	-0.43	0.08	-.24***	-0.41	0.10	-.20***

Note. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Hypothesis III

It was hypothesized that participants scoring higher on specific dimensions of LDS religiosity would score lower on the parenting dimensions of physical coercion, verbal hostility, non-reasoning/punitive, indulgence, and psychological control. The dimensions of LDS religiosity anticipated to have the strongest relationship with these parenting dimensions (from strongest to weakest) were as follows: Private Religious Behavior, Family Religious Behavior, Public Religious Behavior, Spiritual Experiences, and Religious Belief. As detailed below, the hypothesis was partially supported.

As shown in Table 6, private religious behavior and religious beliefs emerged as significant predictors of the physical coercion dimension of authoritarian parenting [$F_{(7, 969)} = 7.04, p < .001$]. Specifically, participants who reported engaging in private religious behaviors on a more frequent basis than other participants were less likely to use physical coercion in parenting. However, strict endorsement of religious beliefs was related to a increased incidence of behaviors comprised within the physical coercion dimension.

Three dimensions of LDS religiosity were significant predictors of behaviors contained within the verbal hostility dimension of authoritarian parenting [$F_{(7, 969)} = 7.83, p < .001$]. As seen in Table 6, participants elevated in private religious behavior and/or spiritual experiences were less likely to be verbally hostile toward their children. In contrast, those scoring higher on the religious beliefs subscale were more likely to use verbal hostility.

Relationships were also found between certain dimensions of religiosity and the non-reasoning/punitive dimension of authoritarian behavior [$F_{(7, 969)} = 8.26, p < .001$]. Similar to the findings for verbal hostility, respondents endorsing a comparatively higher rate of private religious behavior and/or spiritual experiences were less likely to be exercise non-reasoning/punitiveness in parenting. Likewise, those elevated on the religious beliefs subscale were more likely to engage in non-reasoning/punitive behaviors. Full statistical details can be found in Table 6.

Table 6

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Dimensions of Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Dimensions of Authoritarian Parenting ($n = 977$)

Variable	Dimension of authoritarian parenting											
	Physical coercion			Verbal hostility			Non-reasoning/Punitive					
	R^2	B	$SE B$	R^2	B	$SE B$	R^2	B	$SE B$			
Step 1	.00			.00			.01*					
Parent gender		-0.05	0.04	-0.04		0.02	0.05	.01		-0.07	0.04	-0.06
Parent education		-0.01	0.01	-0.04		0.00	0.01	.00		-0.01	0.01	-.08*
Step 2	.05****			.05****			.05****					
Parent gender		-0.04	0.04	-0.04		0.03	0.05	.02		-0.07	0.04	-0.06
Parent education		-0.00	0.01	-0.01		0.01	0.01	.03		-0.01	0.01	-0.04

Private religious behavior	-0.14	0.03	-.24***	-0.19	0.03	-.24***	-0.08	0.03	-.14**
Family religious behavior	0.10	0.02	.02	0.04	0.03	.07	-0.01	0.02	-.02
Public religious behavior	0.01	0.03	.01	0.01	0.03	.01	-0.03	0.03	-.04
Spiritual experiences	-0.06	0.06	-.05	-0.20	0.08	-.13**	-0.22	0.06	-.18***
Religious beliefs	0.16	0.07	.12*	0.23	0.09	.13**	0.26	0.07	.18***

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Examination of the relationships between specific dimensions of religiosity and indulgent parenting behaviors [$F_{(7, 969)} = 9.73, p < .001$] provided a more in-depth understanding of the connection between global religiosity and permissiveness found in Hypothesis I. Relatively higher incidence of participant-reported private religious behavior, family religious behavior, and spiritual experiences was predictive of lower incidence of indulgent behaviors. Paradoxically, higher endorsement of religious beliefs was related to increased indulgence in parenting. Additional statistical values for the model can be found in Table 7.

Table 7

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Dimensions of Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Indulgence (n = 977)

Variable	B	SE B	
Step 1			
Parent gender	-0.01	0.04	-.01
Parent education	0.00	0.01	.00
Step 2			
Parent gender	0.01	0.04	.00
Parent education	0.01	0.01	.05
Private religious behavior	-0.09	0.03	-.12**
Family religious behavior	-0.06	0.02	-.10*
Public religious behavior	-0.02	0.03	-.02
Spiritual experiences	-0.20	0.07	-.15**
Religious beliefs	0.18	0.08	.12*

Note. $R^2 = .00$ for Step 1 (*ns*); $R^2 = .07$ for Step 2 ($p < .001$). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Only one aspect of religiosity was predictive of participant use of psychological control [$F_{(7, 859)} = 2.85, p < .01$]. Respondents who engaged in private religious behaviors more often than others were also less likely to include psychological control in their parenting repertoire. Table 8, found below,

contains the corresponding regression statistics for the psychological control model.

Table 8

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Dimensions of Religiosity and Other Variables Predicting Psychological Control (n = 867)

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	
Step 1			
Parent gender	-0.03	0.03	-.03
Parent education	-0.00	0.00	-.02
Step 2			
Parent gender	-0.02	0.03	-.02
Parent education	-0.00	0.00	-.01
Private religious behavior	-0.09	0.02	-.18***
Family religious behavior	0.02	0.02	.06
Public religious behavior	0.03	0.02	.05
Spiritual experiences	-0.04	0.06	-.04
Religious beliefs	0.01	0.06	.01

Note. $R^2 = .00$ for Step 1 (*ns*); $R^2 = .02$ for Step 2 ($p < .01$). *** $p < .001$.

CHAPTER IV.

DISCUSSION

Past research on the relationship between religiosity and parenting has revealed both detrimental (e.g., endorsement of corporal punishment) and beneficial (e.g., increased parental affection) connections between these two variables. However, thus far, the majority of research on religious populations has focused primarily on Fundamentalist Protestant families. The purpose of the current study was to provide insight into the relationship between religiosity and parenting for members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a group of individuals growing in number yet largely missing from the parenting literature. This study also sought to explore religiosity beyond the single-item, dichotomous approach often used by researchers (Mahoney et al., 2001) through administration of a 5-scale measure of religiosity (with a 5-point response continuum) created specifically for Latter-day Saints (Chadwick & Top, 1993). The results suggest that examining Latter-day Saint religiosity via a dimensional approach (as opposed to globally) provides a more precise understanding of its impact on parenting behaviors.

As predicted, global religiosity was predictive of parenting style, although the relationship was moderated by gender for authoritative and authoritarian parenting. Specifically, mothers endorsing higher global religiosity were more likely to endorse use of an authoritative style and less likely to report using an authoritarian approach. Parents with elevated global religiosity were also less

likely to adopt a permissive style; however, no significant relationship was found between global religiosity and parent use of psychological control.

Further examination of religiosity and parenting style via a more specific, dimensional approach clarified connections between the two. With respect to private religious behaviors, more time spent fasting, personal prayer, studying scriptures and other religious materials, and thinking about religion had a significant impact on parenting behavior. Parents who endorsed spending more time in these activities were more likely to utilize the authoritative dimensions of connection, regulation, and autonomy granting to shape their child(ren)'s behavior. These parents were also less likely to resort to physical coercion, verbal hostility, non-reasoning/punitiveness, indulgence, and psychological control when parenting. Although the reasons why certain parents reported engaging in private religious behaviors more often than others was not explored in the current study, it is believed that this pattern reflects a deeper commitment to the teachings of the Church and its importance in the person's life. As discussed previously, messages from the leaders of the Church, available via modern-day Church publications (e.g., the monthly *Ensign* magazine), leave little room for ambiguity regarding the Church's support of warm but firm, autonomy-granting practices and its rejection of harsh or overindulgent parenting (Ballard, 2006; Holland, 2007). Therefore, it makes sense that parents who spend more time consuming and reflecting upon such messages would be more inclined to engage in behaviors promoted by and avoid practices discouraged by the Church.

Spiritual experiences, including guidance from the Holy Ghost, feeling divine forgiveness, and placing importance on one's relationship with God also had an impact on parenting behaviors. Parents who reported elevated engagement in behaviors on this dimension of religiosity were more likely to engage in connection, regulation, and autonomy granting and less likely to engage in verbal hostility, non-reasoning/punitiveness, and indulgence. As stated previously, after a Latter-day Saint is baptized into the Church, the Gift of the Holy Ghost is conferred upon the person (Bednar, 2006). Latter-day Saints believe that in order to "hear" or experience the Holy Ghost and its calming, protective, and guiding presence, they must live righteously and be mindful of its influence in all areas of their lives (including parenting; Packer, 2006). Endorsing the claim that one knows "what it is like to repent and feel forgiven" suggests the person has developed the capacity to understand that learning and growth can occur without the punitive repudiation characteristic of authoritarian parenting. Also key in understanding the relationship between spiritual experiences and parenting is the Latter-day Saint belief that mothers and fathers are stewards of Heavenly Father's children (Hinckley, 2002). It stands to reason, then, that a parent who places importance on his/her relationship with God (including his/her responsibility as co-parent with God) would take great care to avoid hostile or indulgent parenting behaviors.

With the exception of a decreased likelihood for indulgence, endorsing a high frequency of family religious behaviors (including Family Home Evening, family prayer and scripture study) failed to predict specific dimensions of

parenting. Similarly, level of participation in public religious behaviors (e.g., attendance at church meetings and social events) did not appear to have a significant influence on parenting behavior. These two dimensions of religiosity differ from private religious behavior and spiritual experiences in that they extend beyond the individual to the group level. Although choosing to hold Family Home Evening or attend church meetings is an individual choice, the spiritual intimacy of these activities can differ from that present during private religious behaviors such as personal prayer and scripture study. Spiritual experiences often occur in a group setting (temple attendance being a prime example); however, closer examination of items contained within the Spiritual Experiences scale of Chadwick and Top's (1993) measure reveal that this subscale focuses primarily on individual, not group, experience.

Contrary to hypothesized relationships, strong endorsement of religious beliefs predicted increased incidence of behaviors contained within the physical coercion, verbal hostility, and non-reasoning/punitive dimensions of authoritarian parenting. One possible explanation for this outcome can be found in prior research studies, which suggest that in some faiths, religious fundamentalism, particularly Biblical literalness (i.e., "The Bible is the word of God," an item also included in the current study) is predictive of increased support for corporal punishment (Ellison and Sherkat, 1993a; Grasmick et al., 1991). It is possible that those who strictly uphold the basic beliefs of the Church may also take a more rigid approach to parenting. However, a Murray-Swank et al. (2006) study discussed earlier in this volume suggests that despite endorsement of biblical

literalness, parents who also supported the view that parenting is a sanctified role (i.e., “having divine character and significance,” p. 274) were more likely to report engaging in nurturing, consistent parenting behaviors. Although sanctification of parenting was not explicitly measured in the current study (only implicitly via the Spiritual Experiences scale), it has been established that the Church views parenting as a sanctified role. Future research inclusive of sanctification measurement may shed light on the impact this perception might have on the relationship between strict belief systems and Latter-day Saint parenting behaviors.

Another unanticipated finding with regard to the relationship between religious beliefs and parenting was that participants elevated on religious beliefs were less likely to engage in the connection, regulation, and autonomy granting behaviors characteristic of authoritative parenting. It appears that mere belief in the foundations of a church that promotes these types of parenting behaviors is not sufficient to produce them; rather, one must actively consume and reflect upon such teachings through personal study and prayer. Less clear, however, is the explanation for the relationship between elevated religious beliefs and an increase in indulgent parenting behaviors. This finding stands in direct contrast to the aforementioned (albeit statistically stronger) relationship between higher endorsement of religious beliefs and an amplification in the rigid, punitive aspects of parenting behavior comprised within the authoritarian style. It is possible that the explanation for this finding is similar to that alluded to previously, namely that while one may believe in something (be it religious or related to parenting), it

takes more than belief; it takes action. Permissive parenting does not denote an absence of intention to use punishment, nor a lack of threatening a child with a particular consequence, but rather a failure to follow through. Future research is needed to clarify these relationships and determine whether or not this finding is somehow an artifact of the current study.

Compared to Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles and dimensions, using Latter-day Saint religiosity to predict behaviors comprised within Olsen and colleagues' (2002) measure of psychological control proved to be more difficult. In contrast to their influence on other parenting behaviors, religious beliefs and spiritual experiences were not predictive of the love withdrawal, critical comments, and overprotectiveness characteristic of psychological control. Only increased private religious behavior was connected with a decreased tendency to implement psychological control, once again highlighting the importance of frequent prayer, study of religious material, and other private religious acts in reducing aversive parenting practices.

Certain demographic characteristics of the sample may have had an impact on the findings (or lack thereof) discussed above. Overall, participants in the current study were highly religious, not only as measured by their responses on Chadwick and Top's (1993) religiosity scales, but based on their demographic responses as well. Most respondents were raised in an LDS home, and nearly all indicated their spouse was LDS. A majority of those currently married had made their vows in an LDS temple, indicating that the faith was important to them at the time when their marital (and possibly parenting) roles were forged. Similarly, the

preponderance of participants reported possession of a valid temple recommend. Given the requisite adherence to certain religious practices necessary to obtain a temple recommend, it isn't surprising so many scored in the elevated range on the religiosity measure.

Consistent with previous studies finding gender differences in parenting (Aunola et al., 1999; Dwairy et al., 2006; Robinson et al., 2003), the current study found that mothers in the sample were significantly more likely than fathers to be authoritative and less likely to include authoritarian behaviors in their parenting style. Similarly, mothers were also more likely than fathers to engage in connection and regulation behaviors. Although previous research has demonstrated a link between education and parenting (Aunola et al., 1999; Pinderhughes et al., 2001; Querido et al., 2002), no such relationship was found in the current sample when taking into account the impact of religiosity. In response to the frequent admonishment from Church leaders to “get all of the education you possibly can” (Hinckley, 2001, p. 5), most of the sample had pursued some education beyond high school, with approximately one quarter indicating pursuit of an advanced degree (i.e., beyond 16 years of education).

Despite the valuable findings on religiosity and parenting in Latter-day Saint families discussed above, several limitations exist for the current study. The sample lacked ethnic diversity, balance in gender, and was restricted in range of religiosity. Also, data in the study were subject to the bias present in self-report measurement. It is recommended that future studies on religiosity and Latter-day Saint parenting seek to obtain a more diverse sample and gather observational

data to corroborate information obtained via self-report measures. In addition, as mentioned previously, further examination of the role sanctification of parenting might play in Latter-day Saint families may be of benefit in understanding the relationship between religiosity and parenting in this understudied group of religious individuals.

As I am myself a Latter-day Saint, conducting this study took me on a very personal journey. With respect to the many ways in which humankind can refer to God, one of the current apostles in the Church has stated that "...of all the titles He has chosen for Himself, Father is the one He declares...His glory—and His grief—is in His children. We—you and I—are His prized possessions, and we are the earthly evidence, however inadequate, of what He is" (Holland, 2001, p. 31). I, too, can think of no other role I look forward to embracing most in this life and in the eternities than that of fatherhood.

In preparation for this role, I chose to pursue education in a field that would teach me how to best parent my future children and help others do the same. Over the years, I have often reflected upon how the secular portion of my education is in harmony or discordant with the messages I hear from the pulpit, read in the scriptures and *Ensign*, and receive in my heart through prayer and reflection. As stated previously, a review of the literature on Latter-day Saint parenting provides some insight into the impact the Church's teachings have on family life, yet there is much more to be explored in this area. The current study adds to the literature by suggesting that mere belief in Latter-day Saint principles is not sufficient to produce warm, consistent parenting. Rather, Latter-day Saints

interested in raising their children in the way Church leaders have counseled (and in accordance with how much of the psychological literature suggests produces optimal outcomes in children) would do well to actively consume scriptural and modern-day teachings and engage in frequent prayer and reflection. In addition, psychologists working with Latter-day Saint families are encouraged to discuss the role religiosity plays in the parenting behaviors exhibited by their clients in order to potentially foster authoritative parenting.

In summary, the current study provides new and more detailed insight into the relationship between religiosity and parenting behaviors in a sample of Latter-day Saint families. Although elevated religiosity as a global factor was predictive of an increased tendency toward an authoritative parenting style and against authoritarian and permissive styles, dimensional analysis revealed a more intricate series of connections. Private religious behavior, spiritual experiences, and religious beliefs emerged as having the strongest influence on dimensions of Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles, with strong endorsement of private religious behavior and spiritual experiences promoting warm, autonomy-granting behaviors and reducing harsh, coercive, or indulgent practices. Unexpectedly, steadfast support for religious beliefs was associated with a decreased likelihood to engage in positive parenting practices and a penchant for a more authoritarian or permissive approach. It is expected that future research on the role of sanctification in parenting (a core Latter-day Saint belief not explored in the current study), along with other religious influences, will help those inside and outside the faith better understand how parenting practices are shaped within

Latter-day Saint homes. Such research is particularly important given the Church's emphasis on family, especially the view that family relationships begun in mortality extend into eternity.

CHAPTER V.

SUMMARY

The current study examined the impact of religiosity (a system of religious beliefs and behaviors) on self-reported frequency of specific parenting behaviors comprised within Baumrind's (1971) typology: authoritative (i.e., warm with clear expectations and an emphasis on child autonomy), authoritarian (i.e., low levels of parental warmth and an emphasis on strict obedience followed by punishment for disobedience), and permissive (i.e., emphasis on child autonomy combined with rare punishment or restriction of behavior). It also explored the relationship between religiosity and an aspect of parenting known as psychological control, characterized by such behaviors as personal attacks, erratic emotional behavior, guilt induction, and love withdrawal. These parenting behaviors were also examined in the context of parental education and gender. Unique to the study was the population of religious individuals surveyed, namely members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a group of religious individuals growing in number yet largely missing from the parenting literature.

It was hypothesized that participants elevated in global and specific dimensions of Latter-day Saint religiosity would report engaging in high levels of authoritative behavior and low levels of authoritarian, permissive, and psychologically controlling behaviors. Results were mixed, with some relationships emerging contrary to the research hypotheses. Although global religiosity was predictive of parenting behavior (mothers elevated in global religiosity were more likely to be authoritative and less likely to be authoritarian,

plus parents high in global religiosity were less likely to be permissive), examining specific dimensions of religiosity proved more fruitful in understanding the relationship between religiosity and parenting.

With regard to specific dimensions of religiosity, elevated private religious behavior and spiritual experiences emerged as significant predictors for increased incidence of connection, regulation, and autonomy granting. Also, mothers in the sample were significantly more likely to engage in connection and regulation behaviors. In contrast to hypothesized relationships, elevated scores on the religious beliefs subscale predicted fewer parenting behaviors on the authoritative dimensions.

A significant negative relationship emerged between private religious behavior and harsh or permissive parenting practices (physical coercion, verbal hostility, non-reasoning/punitiveness, indulgence, and psychological control). With the exception of physical coercion and psychological control, the same negative relationship emerged between spiritual experiences and these dimensions of parenting. Also, elevated family religious behaviors predicted decreased use of indulgent parenting techniques. The relationships between religious beliefs and parenting were contrary to those hypothesized, with elevated endorsement of beliefs predicting increased incidence of behaviors contained within dimensions of the authoritarian and permissive parenting styles.

Although the study provides valuable insight into the relationship between religiosity and parenting, the sample was limited in ethnic diversity, mostly female, and highly religious. Subsequent studies on Latter-day Saint parents

would do well to obtain a more diverse sample and gather observational data on parenting behaviors given the inherent bias in self-report measures. Also, examining the role sanctification of parenting might play in Latter-day Saint families may help researchers and practitioners better understand the relationship between religiosity and parenting in this understudied group of religious individuals.

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Appendix A

An Invitation to Participate in a Research Study of Latter-day Saint Parents

Hello. My name is Steven Behling, and I am currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology at DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois. I'm also a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Throughout my education, I've noticed that Latter-day Saints are largely missing from published research on parenting. Although I am not yet a parent, I believe my membership and activity level in the Church will impact how I parent my children. The purpose of this research study is to help those outside of our faith better understand how Latter-day Saint religious beliefs and behaviors influence parenting.

You have received this e-mail because someone you know believes you are (or someone you know is) eligible to participate in a research study of Latter-day Saint parents. In order to participate, you must meet the following criteria:

- (1) I am a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.**
- (2) I am a parent of at least one preschool or school-age child.**

If you meet both of the criteria listed above, please follow the link at the end of this e-mail to begin the study. If you do not meet both of the criteria listed above, I invite you to send the link on to anyone you know who is a Latter-day Saint parent of a preschool or school-age child.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

In appreciation for your time and assistance, you will have the option of providing your e-mail address to be placed in a drawing for a \$50 Target gift card. Once a sufficient number of participants have completed the study, a drawing will be held and a total of 10 gift card winners will be notified via e-mail. Participants who provide an e-mail address will also have the option of receiving a brief summary of the study's findings once the study is complete.

Please fill out the questionnaire only once. Parents living in the same home are eligible to participate, provided they complete the questionnaires on their own, without the other parent present. Biological, adoptive, and stepparents are invited to participate.

If you have questions about the questionnaire, please do not hesitate to contact me at sbehling@depaul.edu. Please follow the link below to begin:

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=sevEWRXp0JmepuvOHhB0uw_3d_3d

Appendix B

Demographics Questionnaire

Please do your best to answer each question. Questions with an asterisk () must be completed in order to proceed.*

* What is your age? _____

* What is your gender?

___ Male

___ Female

* What is your ethnicity?

___ African American/Black

___ American Indian/Native American

___ Asian American/Asian

___ European American/White

___ Latino/Hispanic

___ Multiracial; Parents are from two or more different groups

___ Other ethnicity not included here

* What is the highest number of years of education you have completed? If applicable, please include college and graduate/professional education in your answer. _____

* Are you a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints?

___ Yes

___ No

* Were you born into the covenant?

___ Yes

___ No

___ I do not understand this question.

How old were you when you joined the Church? _____

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

* Were you raised LDS?

- Yes
 No

If you grew up in the United States, in which state did you grow up? (NOTE: If you have lived in multiple states, please select the state in which you spent the majority of your time.) _____

If you live in the United States, in which state do you **currently** live? _____

* Which best describes your marital status?

- Single, never married
 Cohabiting, living with a partner in an intimate relationship
 Married
 Separated
 Divorced
 Remarried
 Widowed

If you are married, is your spouse a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints?

- Yes
 No

If you are married, what type of ceremony did you have for your current marriage?

- Temple ceremony
 Civil ceremony
 Civil ceremony followed by temple sealing

* Do you have a current temple recommend?

- Yes
 No

* How many children do you have? _____

Please list the gender and age of each child, starting with the youngest.

Age	Gender
_____	_____
_____	_____

Appendix C

Chadwick & Top Religiosity Scales

How do you feel about the following statements?

- 5 = Strongly Agree
 4 = Agree
 3 = Mixed Feelings
 2 = Disagree
 1 = Strongly Disagree

Religious Belief

- ___ God lives and is real.
 ___ Jesus Christ is the divine Son of God.
 ___ Satan actually exists.
 ___ God really does answer prayers.
 ___ Joseph Smith actually saw God the Father and Jesus Christ.
 ___ The Bible is the word of God.
 ___ The Book of Mormon is the word of God.
 ___ There is a life after death.
 ___ The president of the LDS Church is a prophet of God.
 ___ The Lord guides the Church today through revelation to Church leaders.
 ___ Children under 8 years of age cannot be held responsible for their misbehavior.^a

Spiritual Experiences

- ___ My relationship with God is important to me.
 ___ There have been times in my life when I felt the Holy Ghost.
 ___ I know what it feels like to repent and be forgiven.
 ___ I have been guided by the Spirit with some of my problems and decisions.

How often do you do the following activities?

- 5 = Very Often
 4 = Often
 3 = Sometimes
 2 = Rarely
 1 = Never

Public Religious Behavior

- ___ I participate in Church social activities.
 ___ I attend Priesthood Meeting or Relief Society Meeting on Sunday.
 ___ I attend Sacrament Meeting.
 ___ I attend Sunday School.

Private Religious Behavior

- ___ I fast on Fast Sunday.
- ___ I pay tithing on the money I earn.^b
- ___ I read the scriptures by myself.
- ___ I pray privately.
- ___ I read Church magazines and books.
- ___ I think seriously about religion.

How often does your family do the following activities?

- 5 = Very Often
- 4 = Often
- 3 = Sometimes
- 2 = Rarely
- 1 = Never

Family Religious Behavior

- ___ My family holds Family Home Evening.
- ___ My family reads the scriptures together.
- ___ My family has family prayer.

^a Removed from measure during hypothesis testing due to low correlation with other items.

^b Removed from measure during hypothesis testing due to conceptual mismatch when loading onto other items (specifically Family Religious Behavior) during factor analysis.

Appendix D

Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire

Instructions: Below you will find a list of behaviors that parents may exhibit when interacting with their children. The questions are designed to measure *how often* you exhibit certain behaviors toward your children. Choices include:

- 5 = Always
 4 = Very often
 3 = About half the time
 2 = Once in a while
 1 = Never

- ___ 1. I am responsive to my child's feelings and needs.
 ___ 2. I use physical punishment as a way of disciplining my child.
 ___ 3. I take my child's desires into account before asking him/her to do something.
 ___ 4. When my child asks why he/she has to conform, I state: "Because I said so," or "I am your parent and I want you to."
 ___ 5. I explain to my child how I feel about the child's good and bad behavior.
 ___ 6. I spank when my child is disobedient.
 ___ 7. I encourage my child to talk about his/her troubles.
 ___ 8. I find it difficult to discipline my child.
 ___ 9. I encourage my child to freely express him/herself even when disagreeing with me.
 ___ 10. I punish by taking privileges away from my child with little if any explanations.
 ___ 11. I emphasize the reasons for rules.
 ___ 12. I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset.
 ___ 13. I yell or shout when my child misbehaves.
 ___ 14. I give praise when my child is good.
 ___ 15. I give into my child when the child causes a commotion about something.
 ___ 16. I explode in anger towards my child.
 ___ 17. I threaten my child with punishment more often than actually giving it.
 ___ 18. I take into account my child's preferences in making plans for the family.
 ___ 19. I grab my child when being disobedient.
 ___ 20. I state punishments to my child and do not actually do them.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

- ___ 21. I show respect for my child's opinions by encouraging my child to express them.
- ___ 22. I allow my child to give input into family rules.
- ___ 23. I scold and criticize to make my child improve.
- ___ 24. I spoil my child.
- ___ 25. I give my child reasons why rules should be obeyed.
- ___ 26. I use threats as punishment with little or no justification.
- ___ 27. I have warm and intimate times together with my child.
- ___ 28. I punish by putting my child off somewhere alone with little if any explanations.
- ___ 29. I help my child to understand the impact of behavior by encouraging my child to talk about the consequences of his/her own actions.
- ___ 30. I scold or criticize when my child's behavior doesn't meet my expectations.
- ___ 31. I explain the consequences of the child's behavior.
- ___ 32. I slap my child when the child misbehaves.

Scoring instructions: Scores for the three styles and seven dimensions are obtained by calculating the mean of the participant's responses. Authoritative dimensions with their constituent items are connection (Items 1, 7, 12, 14, 27), regulation (Items 5, 11, 25, 29, 31), and autonomy granting (Items 3, 9, 18, 21, 22). Authoritarian dimensions with their respective items are physical coercion (Items, 2, 6, 19, 32), verbal hostility (Items 13, 16, 23, 30), and non-reasoning/punitive (Items 4, 10, 26, 28). The permissive factor and indulgent dimension are comprised of items 8, 15, 17, 20, and 24.

Appendix E

Psychological Control Measure

- 5 = Always
 4 = Very often
 3 = About half the time
 2 = Once in a while
 1 = Never

Personal Attack

- ___ I bring up my child's past mistakes when criticizing him/her.
 ___ I tell my child that his/her behavior was dumb or stupid.

Erratic Emotional Behavior

- ___ I show impatience with my child.
 ___ I don't like to be bothered by my child.
 ___ I change moods when with my child.

Guilt Induction

- ___ I act disappointed when my child misbehaves.
 ___ I tell my child that he/she should be ashamed when he/she misbehaves.
 ___ I tell my child that I get embarrassed when he/she does not meet my expectations.
 ___ I tell my child that he/she is not as good as other children.

Love Withdrawal

- ___ If my child hurts my feelings, I stop talking to my child until he/she pleases me again.
 ___ I am less friendly with my child when he/she does not see things my way.