IMPACT OF PARENTS' RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND ON PARENTING STYLE

AND CHILDREN'S RELIGIOSITY IN THE ORTHODOX JEWISH COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

Recent decades have seen an influx of *baalei teshuva* in the Orthodox Jewish community; individuals who were Jewish and not raised religious, but chose to become religious on their own. Limited existing research indicates poor levels of family cohesion and parental warmth, increased behavioral problems amongst children, and increased parental anxiety around parenting in *baalei teshuva* families. Anecdotal reports by mental health professionals raise concern that *baalei teshuva* display an authoritarian parenting style which appears to result in children reactively discarding their parents' religious values. Religious identity development theory indicates that an authoritarian parenting style impedes the autonomous process critical to religious identity development, which may present concern for *baalei teshuva* parents; however, scant research exists to confirm the veracity of this theory in this population. This study is critical in evaluating parenting style as perceived by adult children of *baalei teshuva* and its subsequent influence on religious value transmission. An online survey was completed by individuals who acknowledged being raised religious within the Orthodox Jewish community (N=143; male = 25, female = 118). Measures included the Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI) and questions on areas of religious conflict with parents. Chi square analysis indicated significantly higher levels of perceived authoritarian parenting by children of *baalei teshuva*. Fathers' *baal teshuva* status, unlike mothers', is correlated with increased areas of conflict between parent and child. However, mothers' authoritarian parenting style, unlike fathers', significantly predicted religious change. Study findings substantiate previous anecdotal evidence and raise concern for the emotional health and religious value transmission in the *baal teshuva* family. Study findings were limited by low male

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response rates, and further research must overcome cultural impediments to male access of internet-based research. Given the significance of these findings, implications for the *baal teshuva* parent, mental health professionals, and the greater Jewish community are vast. Utilization of the results should guide implementation of future interventions at the organizational, community, and individual levels.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Orthodox Judaism

According to the 2000-01 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) conducted

by the Jewish Federation of America, there are currently 5.2 million Jews living in the

United States. Of these, roughly 10% of the survey respondents self-identified as

Orthodox Jews, indicating the estimated total population of Orthodox Jews in America is

approximately 529,000 (Ament, 2005). This total may under-reflect the actual number of

Orthodox Jews in the United States as many Orthodox Jews did not respond to this

survey (Heilman, 2006). Thus, this estimate has been raised to a possible 650,000

Orthodox Jews currently living in the United States of America (Heilman, 2006).

According to the NJP survey, a disproportionately large amount of these self-

identified Orthodox Jews live in the Northeastern regions of the United States (Ament,

2005), with large concentrations of Jews in the New York metro area, Monroe and

Monsey, NY, as well as Passaic and Lakewood, NJ. Numerous other large communities

of Orthodox Jews can be found throughout this region. Other large Orthodox Jewish

communities exist in Los Angeles, CA, Chicago, IL, Miami, FL (Starck, 2008), and

Baltimore, MD.

Defining Orthodox Judaism. Orthodox Judaism is a branch of Jewish practice

predicated on the belief that the Torah is of Divine origin and was given to Moses at

Mount Sinai. Orthodox Judaism involves a strict adherence to Torah, the Mishna, and the

entire collection of religious Jewish writings (Heilman, 2006; Pirutinsky, 2009; Starck,

2008). The life of the religious Jew is governed by 613 edicts, divided into the positive

("do's") and negative ("do not") commandments. Additionally, there are rabbinically-decreed commandments that still have binding force on Torah law today (Becher, 2005). These detail guidelines for every part of the Jew's daily life, including business transactions, interpersonal relations, sexual behavior, Sabbath and holiday observance and dietary laws (Huppert, Siev, & Kushner, 2007; Pirutinsky, 2009; Wouk, 1959). The values and lifestyle inherent in these commandments have a pervasive influence on all areas of the life and meaning system of the Orthodox Jew (Donin, 1972; Frank et al., 1997).

Orthodox Judaism is unique in its belief that religion exists equally in the behavioral observance of laws as well as the internal spiritual belief. This differentiates Orthodoxy from other branches of Judaism, such as Conservative or Reform Judaism, who ideologically distinguish between spirituality, and the observance of Torah law. Traditional Judaism mandates that the individual follow *halacha* as defined by rabbinic interpretation of the Torah law, and not simply adopt traditions based on what the individual person experiences as meaningful. The Orthodox tradition beliefs that Judaism is "in principle not situated in the self, but remains determined by law and tradition (Heilman, 2006)." To live "by faith alone -- not translated into deeds" is defined by one present-day Orthodox Jewish rabbinic scholar as "to be living with vague, puffy spiritual generalities," and not defined as Orthodox Jewish Torah observance (Lamm, 2000).

Within the Orthodox Jewish community therefore, "being religious" is defined by the daily ritual practices of *halacha* (Green, 1986). It is defined by the observance of Jewish dietary laws, Sabbath and holiday observance, and observance of the laws of family purity (Danzger, 1989). Because it is difficult to readily know whether an

individual is observing the laws of family purity, throughout the rest of this study, religious observance will be defined as it is by the majority of the observant Jewish population to reflect the practice of Jewish dietary laws and the Sabbath (Danzger, 1989; Harrison & Lazerwitz, 1982; Hartman & Hartman, 1999; Lazerwitz, Winter, Dashefsky, & Tabory, 1998).

Subgroups within Orthodox Judaism. Orthodox Judaism is comprised of numerous subcultures (McGuire, 2008), all unified by observance of the traditional Torah law, but differing tremendously in their interpretation and application of these laws to their daily life. Within Orthodox Judaism there are "various ways of expressing adherence to the religion," and therefore, "numerous distinct cultural groups" (Margolese, 1998). The Orthodox community is comprised of a wide spectrum of subgroups, distinguished by their contact with secular culture and the authority of the rabbinic leadership in their life (Heilman, 2006).

Subgroups can be differentiated by nuances in religious practice and social norms, as well as geographic location. Group lines are not well defined (Cantz, 2009). It is difficult to establish clear delineations between each subgroup, as they exist over a broad spectrum (Cantz, 2009; Starck, 2008). "Labels" used to identify subgroups may at times offend individuals who do not feel they can be grouped into a particular sub-community. Every person "negotiates for himself exactly how he will practice (Starck, 2008)." Even within each subgroup there are a wide range of accepted differences. It is therefore very difficult to define clear group lines. The differences between these subgroups exist on a continuum, with individual behavior unique to every person. These group labels must

therefore be viewed as only a rough categorization of the religious population in the United States.

The religious subgroups can be categorized into 3 overarching groups. Each of these groups can be broken down indefinitely. For the purpose of this review, these subgroups have been defined by existent data and prior research studies. Modern Orthodoxy is considered to be the "left" of the religious community, Chassidic groups are at the "right" extremes, and the "yeshivish" community lies in the middle.

Effort has been made to define each group based on the existent research and ideological statements of each sub-community. Sociological studies suggest that there are two primary dimensions on which subgroups can be roughly differentiated (Waxman, 1993). These dimensions are: their contact with secular culture and the authority of the rabbinic leadership in their life (Heilman, 2006). These will each be individually explained.

The first dimension on which Orthodox Jewish subgroups differ is on the basis of their interaction and contact with the secular American culture. Every community, regardless of its ideology, must exist as a part and parcel of the culture in which it resides. As stated by Ellenson (1992), "A religious tradition stands in conjunction with, not separate from, the world in which it exists." The religious community has chosen different ideological principles to govern the extent to which they allow the influence of the Western culture to permeate their lives, created a spectrum ranging from the left-wing, or Modern Orthodox, religious subcultures who believe religious practice is not at odds with active involvement in secular society and popular culture (i.e. movies, sports, secular holidays). At one end of this spectrum are the Chassidic groups that have been

referred to by sociology researchers as "contra-acculturative" or "enclavist" (Sivan, 1995). In these groups "emphasis is on the Jewish minority remaining protected within its parochial cultural enclaves (Heilman, 2006)." The goal of these communities is not to integrate religion into the secular culture, but rather to "ensure that all insiders conform to the religious behavior and worldview that predominate within the enclave culture." Anything else is considered "culturally destructive" (Heilman, 2006). Between these two extremes lays a large middle ground of communities that have negotiated their own placement on this continuum.

The second dimension on which the Orthodox Jewish subgroups differ is in the extent to which they choose religious authority over personal decision-making. Right-wing religious groups ascribe tremendous authority to their religious leaders, turning to them for guidance in all areas of life, including personal, social, and business decisions (Danzger, 1989). Groups further to the left of the religious community ascribe less authority to the rabbinic leadership, restricting their authority to matters of religious law (Danzger, 1989). In one study documenting Jewish religion in America, sociologist M. Herbert Danzger explains that "traditionalists allow their leaders authority… beyond the specifics of *halakhah*. They achieve this by developing powerful communal ties and custom." He describes the Modern Orthodox communities as individuals who are "modernists, in contrast, seek maximal scope for personal decision making (Danzger, 1989)."

Modern Orthodox researcher Chaim Waxman distinguishes between two groups within the Modern Orthodox population. He identifies one faction of the Modern Orthodox population as "behaviorally" modern and the other as "philosophically" or

"ideologically" modern (Waxman, 1993). He defines the "behaviorally Orthodox" as

those individuals who primarily identify as members of the secular world, while

simultaneously attempting to maintain a moderate level of religious observance. The

"behaviorally Orthodox" will pick and choose tradition "selectively" and as "a matter of

personal choice" (Waxman, 1993). Also labeled "Modern Orthodox Liberal", individuals

in this subgroup observe the Sabbath and Jewish dietary laws, but may be more "relaxed"

about *halacha*. They may follow religious leniencies not accepted by other Orthodox

groups, and are often less involved in daily Torah learning and prayer (Starck, 2008).

Heilman and Cohen (1989) describe the behaviorally Orthodox as those who:

> have tried to find a way of remaining linked to the contemporary non-Jewish
>
> world in which they find themselves and to the traditions and practices of Judaism
>
> to which they remain loyal. For some this has mean little more than a nominal
>
> attachment to Orthodoxy while for others it has meant little more than a partial
>
> attachment to the demands of the tradition. (p. 39).

The "philosophically Orthodox" on the other hand do not challenge the authority

of the rabbinic leadership on *halachic* matters. This group, often self-identified as

"Modern Orthodox Machmir" are generally involved in daily Torah learning, and have

regular involvement with their religious community. They are meticulous in matters of

Jewish law, but consider themselves a member of the larger secular society.

Because the Modern Orthodox community values personal decision-making, and

relies less on the authority of the religious leadership, Waxman's definitions may be

insufficient to explain the different groups within the Modern Orthodox community. As

stated by Waxman, the Modern Orthodox community is largely "suspicious of the very

notion of human beings with virtually complete authority (Waxman, 1993)." This "inhibits Modern Orthodoxy from becoming a real movement, because a movement would entail organization and authority to a degree which goes against the very grain of the philosophical moderns (Waxman, 1993)."

The Chassidic community lies at the opposite end of the spectrum of Orthodox Judaism. The Chassidic community is comprised of numerous groups, each subscribing to a particular dynasty of rabbinic leadership. In the Chassidic community, the *rebbe*, or community leader, is consulted on all areas of life, including choosing marriage partners, business occupations, and social matters. Additionally, the Chassidic community is stringent in maintaining its boundaries and separation from society. Children in the Chassidic community are taught Yiddish before they are taught English, and may in fact retain Yiddish as their primary language. Their style of dress differs greatly from the secular American look. Chassidic men can be distinguished by their long sidecurls and black overcoats, women by their full headcoverings. This separation from modern society was poignantly captured by a student of researcher S. C. Heilman, who unintentionally wandered into a Chassidic community, and asked Heilman "Who are these people who appear to belong more to yesterday than to today?" (Heilman, 1992). The Chassidic community prides itself in maintaining its unique traditional religious lifestyle.

The "Yeshivish" community is often considered to be the median between the Modern Orthodox and Chassidic community. Margolese (1998) states that the

> Non-Hassidic "ultra"-Orthodox Jews, although equal in their religious adherence, differ from Hassidic Jews in their dress and wider range of occupations. They may, therefore, be slightly more at ease with the host culture. They will also give

their leader or *rav* much respect but his influence is more restricted to *halachic*

[legal] matters, and he generally is not involved in personal life choices. (p. 39)

The yeshivish community values Torah study. The "Yeshivish Black Hat"

community, as it has been coined based on its distinct garb, beliefs that Torah study is the

ultimate lifestyle choice. Many men in this part of the community have chosen full time

careers in rabbinic scholarship. Additionally, for the yeshivish community

Torah learning, prayer, and careful adherence to fulfillment of *mitzvos* [traditional

Jewish law] are core elements to a life of intensive religious commitment and

spiritual growth. Strict and unbending loyalty to *halachah* is seen as normative.

Limiting exposure to the secular world is encouraged, and barriers are seen as

essential to protecting against secular influences. (Starck, 2008)

It would, however, be insufficient to limit the yeshivish community to this

description. As with all other branches of Orthodox Judaism, the yeshiva world is

composed of individuals who practice Orthodox Judaism in a wide variety of ways.

Labels such as "modern yeshivish" or "balabatish" are terms used to describe the

members of the yeshiva community who maintain the aforementioned balance between

the right and left extremes of Orthodoxy, yet may not identify with the same stringencies

that the "black hat yeshivish" community maintains. Individuals in this subcultural group

may embrace a professional secular career, yet may identify with similar institutes and

religious leaders as the "black hat" religious community. "Heimish" is a term commonly

reflecting a blend of Chassidic and Yeshivish customs. Another group known as

"Chabad" is Chassidic group whose culture encompasses aspects of many other

community groups. For the purpose of this study, it has been identified as part of the Chassidic enclave.

These three broad groupings comprise the majority of the Orthodox Jewish population. These three groups are do not fully capture the nuanced subcultures that exist within each group. Rather, these three groupings help provide an understanding of the principle differences between the subgroups of Orthodox Jews. An understanding of these principle differences is necessary in order to study the religious and cultural life experience of the Orthodox Jew in America.

The *Baal Teshuva*

Beginning in the 1960s, the Orthodox Jewish community saw a large influx of religious conversion, colloquially known as the *Baal Teshuva* movement. Individuals who had predominantly been raised as Reform or Conservative Jews began to live as Orthodox Jews. The exact reason for this wave of conversions is unknown, but is hypothesized to be due to the counter-culture of the '60s, the civil rights movement, and the Six Day War (Aviad, 1983). This large movement of newly Orthodox Jews has continued. The Executive Director of the New York branch of Aish HaTorah, a leading Jewish outreach organization, reports that there are currently an estimated 60,000 *baalei teshuva* in the United States.

The process of religious conversion and its related social integration is a phenomenon that has received significant attention by researchers over recent years (Koss-Chioino & Heffner, 2006) due to the large numbers of religious converts in the United States in general (Hoge, Benton J., & Luidens, 1995) and amongst the Orthodox Jewish population in particular (Benor, 2004; Sands, 2009).

Religious converts within the Orthodox Jewish community are known as *baalei teshuva*, a Hebrew term literally translated as "masters of return." (Note: the terms *baalei teshuva*, plural, and *baal teshuva*, singular, will be used). Eidex (2000) explains becoming a *baal teshuva* as the "process by which non-observant or minimally observant Jews become Orthodox."

Becoming part of a new religious community involves becoming "one of us," with all the social norms and expectations required by the community culture (McGuire, 2008). Membership in the Orthodox Jewish community, a community devoted to maintaining a unique identity, therefore involves far more than simple religious observance (McGuire, 2008). Benor (2004), in a study of the social integration of *baalei teshuva*, writes that "being frum ("religious") involves much more than faith and observance. Distinct cultural practices in dress, food, language and activities are also important markers of Orthodox identity (p. 64)."

Due to this distinct culture of the Orthodox Jewish community, the *baal teshuva* often faces many obstacles along the journey to complete assimilation into the community (Benor, 2004). In a qualitative analysis of interviews with *baalei teshuva*, Cantz (2009) found that *baalei teshuva* repeatedly expressed distress about the challenges they encountered while trying to adopt the many nuances replete within the Orthodox Jewish community culture. Many *baalei teshuva* shared with Cantz that their difficulty integrating into the community has been a source of "shame" and "tension" that remained with them years after their initial conversion to Orthodoxy. For the *baal teshuva*, learning these cultural norms can be a baffling experience, a task sometimes never fully mastered (Szubin, 2000). Many *baalei teshuva* describe feeling "marginalized" (Sands, 2009) and

"judged" (Lifsey, 1998). The *baal teshuva* may remain "apart, staring longingly at his or her chosen community across a sea of ignorance….[and] for many, this sea is never bridged (Szubin, 2000)."

Durkheim, in the early 1900s, suggested that the importance group membership holds for the individual correlates positively with their adherence to group norms. For the *baal teshuva*, complete acceptance by the religious community is of paramount importance. *Baalei teshuva* often choose to relinquish social connections they had during their pre-religious years (Huppert, Siev, & Kushner, 2007; Paloutzian, 2005). The religious community therefore becomes their primary source of community and social support system.

Baalei teshuva as parents. Recent years have seen an influx of religious converts to the Orthodox Jewish community (Benor, 2004; Sands, 2009). These religious converts, known as *baalei teshuva*, have begun to integrate into the Orthodox Jewish communities (Horowitz, 1999), marry and raise children (Haber, 2004). Religious converts, raising children in the tight knit Orthodox Jewish community, often encounter many challenges they did not anticipate when initially converting to Orthodox Judaism such as integrating socially into the community and raising children in a culture that is different than the culture in which they themselves were raised (Pirutinsky, Rosen, Shapiro, & Rosmarin, 2010).

As compared to parents who have grown up religious, *baalei teshuva* parents have been observed to be more likely to be afraid of their children questioning them about Judaism (Lifsey, 1998). *Baalei teshuva* parents often have a "heightened sensitivity and anxiety" about their children following their religious path (Goldmintz, 2003). A *baal*

teshuva parent may react with great intensity if child does not act according to religious

expectations, not realizing that the child's behavior may be part of the normal striving for

independence (Goldmintz, 2003) that can actually have a positive impact on the child's

religious development (Armet, 2009).

Research conducted in Israel found higher rates of authoritarianism amongst the

baalei teshuva population. *Baalei teshuva* were likely to be authoritarian in personality

(Beit-Hallahmi & Nevo, 1987). Additionally, Kor (2012) found that *baalei teshuva*

parents exhibit lower levels of warmth than parents who grew up religious.

Religious converts vary in levels of religiosity over time (Paloutzian, Richardson,

& Rambo, 1999). This can be of concern to the *baal teshuva* family. When parents differ

on religious matters, it can have adverse affects on family and parental functioning

(Heaton & Pratt, 1990; Joanides, Mayhew, & Mamalakis, 2002). Additionally, as stated

earlier, parental religious conflict is predictive of lower rates of value transmission to

children (Goodnow, 1992; Margolese, 1998).

Data on children of *baalei teshuva.* A body of research exists on the experience of

the *baal teshuva*, studies of their motivations for conversion, personality traits, and the

experience of integrating into the Orthodox Jewish community. However, there is a

dearth of studies on the family functioning of *baalei teshuva* when raising their own

family in the religious community. At the time of this writing, this author has been able to

identify three studies of note. Cahn (2012) interviewed 577 parents, of whom 226 parents

were *baalei teshuva*. Results of this study indicated that parents who were *baalei teshuva*

who had lower levels of community integration and/or unhealthy family structures

reported significantly higher rates of behavioral difficulties with their children. Kor,

Mikulincer and Pirutinsky (2012) interviewed 1,632 Orthodox Jewish parents, of whom 1,012 were *baalei teshuva*. Their data indicated that *baalei teshuva* reported decreased levels of family warmth, increased levels of family chaos, and greater parenting stress as compared to non-*baalei teshuva* parents. Schnall & Pelcovitz (2010) conducted a survey of close to 4,000 Orthodox Jewish families, comprised of parents who were either *baalei teshuva* and religious from birth. Schnall and Pelcovitz found that *baalei teshuva* were more likely to report behavioral problems with their children.

Concerns have been raised by clinicians (Attia, 2008; Russell & Blumenthal, 2003; Russell, 2003) and rabbinical leaders (Haber, 2004) about the impact of these challenges on the parenting style of *baalei teshuva* and the lasting effects on their children's religious observance.

A study by Attia (2008) investigated the ethno-religious factors that caused children from Orthodox Jewish families to run away from home. In her study, Attia interviewed eighteen runaways between the ages of 16 and 25. All reported chaotic and abusive family lives. Of note, however, seventeen out of the eighteen study participants had at least one parent who was a *baal teshuva*. This study raises concern regarding the outcome effect of parent *baal teshuva* status on their children's emotional and religious functioning.

Similarly, Russell (2003), in a paper reviewing his clinical work as a psychotherapist in the Orthodox community, observed that many religiously disaffiliated youth are children of *baalei teshuva*. Both Attia and Russell point to a theme repeatedly expressed by these children regarding the enormous amounts of pressure placed upon them by their parents to conform to community norms. *Baalei teshuva* parents feel a

stronger pressure to conform to community expectations (Attia, 2008; Szubin, 2000) and may therefore tend toward an authoritarian parenting style (Armet, 2009).

As discussed in the introductory sections of this study, there are numerous psychological risk factors unique to children of *baalei teshuva*. Firstly, the *baal teshuva* often experiences a lack of social capital. When transitioning from their childhood culture to their new community, the *baal teshuva* often severs ties with previous friends. Integration into the Orthodox Jewish community is difficult, and *baalei teshuva* often report feeling that they have never fully integrated (Sands, 2009; Schnall & Pelcovitz, 2010). Research indicates that adolescents from families that have not integrated well with their host communities show poorer outcomes than do adolescents whose families have successfully integrated with the host community (Chao, 2006; Leidy, Park, Cladis, Coltrane & Duffy, 2009). The difficulty that *baalei teshuva* often experience integrating into the Orthodox community culture places their children at risk for adverse outcomes.

An additional outcome of the observed difficulty with integration is that children of *baalei teshuva* often serve as cultural brokers for their parents. Having grown up in the religious community, the children are often more fluent in the laws, customs and social nuances of the Orthodox Jewish community. Acting as cultural broker can have a positive outcome for the child, by giving them an important role within the family. However, at times, the role of cultural broker may be experienced by the child as a burden (Chao, 2006) or may cause "parentification", a role reversal between parent and child (Wells & Jones, 2000).

Baalei teshuva also report greater levels of marital stress, particularly from conflicts on how to raise their children (Schnall & Pelcovitz, 2010). *Baalei teshuva* tend

to be more nervous than non-*baalei teshuva* parents, exhibiting "heightened awareness, devotion and anxiety over error" (Greenberg & Witztum, 2001). Anecdotal reports by rabbinic figures who counsel *baalei teshuva* indicate that this heightened anxiety is often expressed by the parents in their interactions with their children, particularly in regards to religious matters (Haber, 2004).

Finally, a small but consistent body of research suggests that religious converts in general (Granqvist & Kirkpatrick, 2008) and *baalei teshuva* in particular (Pirutinsky, 2009) exhibit some attachment insecurity. Kor, Mikulincer and Pirutinsky (2012) suggest that any underlying attachment insecurity may be exacerbated by the conversion process. Breaking away from previous sources of security, rejection by non-religious family of origin, and worries of being accepted by the new community may all increase attachment insecurity. This insecurity may adversely impact the *baal teshuva*'s ability to provide a healthy emotional attachment to their child.

These risk factors and the currently available studies point to significant concern for children of *baalei teshuva*. In order to further understand the dynamics of the *baal teshuva* family, this study examines parenting style of the *baalei teshuva* as perceived by their children, while simultaneously examining their religious value transmission as measured children's religious outcomes. This is the first known study of the *baal teshuva* family from the perspective of the children of the *baalei teshuva*.

Religious Value Transmission

This study seeks to investigate the role of perceived parenting style and parents' religious background in religious value transmission as measured by the religious outcomes of the children. In order to understand this, we must begin with an examination

of the current literature on value transmission and the impact of parenting style. Note that throughout the ensuing chapter, the term "child" will be used in a manner not limited to child age, rather referring to a son or daughter of any age.

"Religions depend almost entirely on intergenerational transmission of religious beliefs and practices for their continued existence (Vermeer, 2011)." Passing on religious beliefs and traditions to the next generation is a foundation for ensuring the continuity of a religious heritage. Supporting children's adoption of parental religious beliefs is extremely important to religions communities. Much empirical research has been conducted to support our understanding of the factors predictive of successful value transmission.

The passage of religious values across generations is a "complex human phenomenon engaging both psychological processing as well as socialization (Armet, 2009)." It involves the influence of parents (Hunsberger, 1983), community and educational institutions (Armet, 2009; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Cahn, 2012; Kelman, 1998), as well as the individual child's personality makeup and life experience (Kelman, 1998). In order to successfully understand this process, it is necessary to understand what components contribute to this.

One of a parent's basic goals is to transmit their values and beliefs to their children (LeVine, 1988; Okagaki & Bevis, 1999). Research has shown that parents are most influential in a youth's development. Studies have found significant correlations between parents and children's beliefs about work values, school achievement, and political beliefs (Cotton, Bynum, & Madhere, 1997; Milevsky, Szuchman, & Milevsky, 2008; Ozorak, 1989). Particularly in the area of religious development, researchers have

found a positive correlation between parents and children's religious beliefs and behaviors (Acock & Bengston, 1980; Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975; Brownstein, 2008). Many empirical studies have demonstrated the importance of parental influence on children's religious values (Dudley & Dudley, 1986), religious commitment (Johnson, 1973; Ozorak, 1989), and mature faith (Erickson, 1992). This has been born out in many other studies, all showing that children's religious beliefs are often significantly correlated with their parents beliefs (Milevsky, Szuchman, & Milevsky, 2008). This is particularly true in conservative religions (Myers, 1996). A parent's religious orientation has a significant effect on the child's later religious observance (Hoge & Petrillo, 1978; Hunsberger, 1980; Hunsberger, 1983; Johnson, 1973).

Brownstein (2008), in a study of adolescents who have not maintained their parent's religious observances, observed that a "necessary component for raising a religiously observant child is the successful transmission of values, traditions, and observances." The passage of religious beliefs to the next generation, a value in almost all religions, lies primarily on the parent (Okagaki & Bevis, 1999).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) explains that a child's surrounding influences his development. Parents, as the primary surrounding in a child's life, are understandably the strongest influence during a child's younger years. Their influence extends well beyond the formative years. Parents play a key role in value transmission. Therefore, a further understanding of the dynamics of parental role in value transmission is an important area of study.

Child self-report of religious beliefs has similarly demonstrated the strong role parents play in shaping a child's religious identity. In a study of college students in

Australia and Canada, the home and parents were repeatedly self-identified as having the strongest impact on their adult children's religious orientation (Hunsberger, 1983; Hunsberger & Brown, 1984). Interestingly, this was particularly true amongst the Jewish and Greek Orthodox study participants (Hunsberger & Brown, 1984). A similar study of religious adolescents in Israel found that most reported that their parents were the strongest influence on their religious behaviors (Fisherman, 2002).

With this understanding, religious parents and communities would benefit from understanding how these values are passed on successfully, and what may impede this process. As stated by one researcher who examined the parent-child fit on religious observance in children, it is "imperative to isolate the parenting styles/practices most effective in achieving the specific cultural and religious goals… (Feldman, 2004)." This can support the understanding of the path of parental impact on the developing religiosity of their child.

Mothers vs. fathers. Further research has examined which parent has the greater influence on a child's religiosity. Studies by Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi (1975) found that mothers have a larger impact on religious value transmission than fathers. Hoge and Petrillo (1978), however, found precisely the opposite. They found that a father's influence on child's later religiosity was stronger than that of the mother. Hunsberger's study of college students found conflicting results on this matter and stated that the factors contributing to this are interrelated and too complex to be understood by simple analysis (Hunsberger & Brown, 1984).

Acock and Bengston (1978) suggest that parental religious influence is affected by child's gender. The sex role model of socialization suggests that the religious identity

of men is primarily influenced by their fathers. Similarly, a woman's religious identity is strongly shaped by her mother's parenting style.

Parenting styles. Parents exert a clear influence on their children's religious beliefs (Francis & Gibson, 1993). Research has shown that there are several factors that both positively and negatively predict the impact of parents on their children's religious levels. Proper understanding of these factors must begin with a review of existent research on parenting styles.

Parenting research suggests that parenting style is comprised of two primary constructs (Parker, 1990). These two constructs provide an important framework for understanding parenting styles. Though labeled differently by various researchers, these constructs are essentially the same across theories (Domenech Rodriguez, Donovick, & Crowley, 2009). The first construct has been named overprotection (Parker, 1990), demandingness (Maccoby & Martin, 1983), strictness/supervision (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbsch, 1991), or behavioral regulation (Litchfield, Thomas, & Li, 1997). This construct represents the parents' direct control over their child's behavior, their effort to discipline and direct the child's behavior. The second factor is related to parental warmth and involvement (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbsch, 1991). This construct has also been described as care (Parker, 1990), responsiveness (Maccoby & Martin, 1983), or emotional connection (Litchfield, Thomas, & Li, 1997) and acceptance (Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2005).

These two constructs can be integrated to form a constellation of four different parenting styles (Parker, 1990) (see Figure 1). Diane Baumrind, a pioneer in the field of parent-child relationships, identified three styles (see Figure 1). The first style identified

by Baumrind (1978) is the authoritarian parent. This parent engages in rigid ways of

trying to enforce behavioral standards. For the authoritarian parent there is no dialogue.

Parental rules are enforced through direct control. The authoritarian parent rates high on

the strictness/demandingness axis, but is low in the areas of warmth and involvement.

Baumrind states that

> The authoritarian parent attempts to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and
>
> attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually
>
> an absolute standard, theologically motivated and formulated by a higher
>
> authority. She [the parent] values obedience as a virtue and favors
>
> punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's
>
> actions or beliefs conflict with what she thinks is right conduct. She
>
> believes in keeping the child in his place, in restricting his autonomy, and
>
> in assigning household responsibilities in order to inculcate respect for
>
> work. She regards the preservation of order and traditional structure as a
>
> highly valued end in itself. She does not encourage verbal give and take,
>
> believing that the child should accept her word for what is right
>
> (Baumrind, 1966, p. 890).

The second style Baumrind identifies is the authoritative parent. This parent

provides their child with control and firm direction. However, in contrast with the

authoritarian parent, the authoritative parent can engage with dialogue and reasoning with

their child. This parent provides high measures of discipline while simultaneously

providing high levels of warmth. According to Baumrind (1966), authoritative parents

stress obedience but in a responsive and "communicative manner" thus "optimize

parenting effectiveness" (Baumrind & Black, 1967). In Baumrind's words,

> The authoritative parent attempts to direct the child's activities but in a rational,
>
> issue-oriented manner. She encourages verbal give and take, shares with
>
> the child the reasoning behind her policy, and solicits his objections when
>
> he refuses to conform. Both autonomous self-will and disciplined
>
> conformity are valued. Therefore she exerts firm control at points of
>
> parent- child divergence, but does not hem the child in with restrictions.
>
> She enforces her own perspective as an adult, but recognizes the child's
>
> individual interests and special ways. The authoritative parent affirms the
>
> child's present qualities, but also sets standards for future conduct. She
>
> uses reason, power, and shaping by regime and reinforcement to achieve
>
> her objectives, and does not base her decisions on group consensus or the
>
> individual child's desires (Baumrind, 1966, p. 891).

The third parenting style is the permissive parent. The permissive parent does not

provide control or discipline. This parent will offer to help guide their child, but takes no

active role to enforce discipline. This parent provides their child with emotional warmth

and involvement, but is not demanding or strict.

> The permissive parent attempts to behave in a non-punitive, acceptant and
>
> affirmative manner towards the child's impulses, desires, and actions. She
>
> consults with him about policy decisions and gives explanations for family
>
> rules. She makes few demands for household responsibility and orderly
>
> behavior. She presents herself to the child as a resource for him to use as

he wishes; not as an ideal for him to emulate, nor as an active agent

responsible for shaping or altering his ongoing or future behavior. She

allows the child to regulate his own activities as much as possible, avoids

the exercise of control, and does not encourage him to obey externally

defined standards. She attempts to use reason and manipulation, but not

overt power to accomplish her ends (Baumrind, 1966, p. 889).

In later years, researchers Maccoby and Martin (1983) identified a fourth

parenting style, the "neglectful/rejecting parent (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, &

Dornbsch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983), also known as the "uninvolved" parent

(Rothrauff, Cooney, & An, 2009). These parents provide neither direction nor discipline,

nor do they provide any sense of reasoning and dialogue engaging with their child

(Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Authoritative parenting has been found to be both directly and indirectly

associated with pro-social behavior in teenagers (Gunnoe, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999).

Wheeler (1991) found that children of authoritative parents are most likely to be self-

reliant, self-controlled, explorative, and content. Additionally, children of authoritative

parents have been found to more actively participate in give and take exchanges that

contribute to their development (Boyatzis, 2005; Boyatzis, 2003; Boyatzis, 2006).

Children of authoritarian parents, on the other hand, are likely to be more discontent,

withdrawn and distrustful (Boyatzis & Janicki, 2003). Children of permissive parents

commonly present with lower self-reliance, yet are explorative and self-controlled

(Wheeler, 1991). Finally, neglectful parenting is most predictive of poor results. Children

of neglectful/rejecting parents often have low self-esteem, low religious commitment, and low self-control (Wheeler, 1991).

Parenting practices must also been considered through the lens of the culture in which they occur. "Childrearing practices reflect parents' attempts to raise children to be competent adults. Definitions of competence are shaped not only by broad cultural standards but also by… membership in various subcultures (Gunnoe, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999, p.199)."

In modern Western culture, authoritarian parenting styles are usually "evaluated pejoratively" in behavioral science literature (Armet, 2009; Gagné, Tourigny, Joly, & Pouliot-Lapointe, 2007; Straus, 2001). However, to automatically presume this applicable to other cultures would be inaccurate. In collectivist cultures, such as amongst Asian American groups in which obedience to authority is valued, authoritarian parenting styles have been found to lead to healthy emotional functioning in children (Gunnoe, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999).

Similarly, certain religions place great emphasis on obedience of authority. In such a subculture, similar to collectivist cultures, expectations of strict parental obedience may not be as harmful as otherwise expected (Boyatzis & Janicki, 2003).

Religious parents. Before examining the impact of parenting style on children's religiosity, we must first examine the characteristics of religious parents. Religious parents, of all religions, have been documented to have better parenting functioning (Brody, Stoneman, Flor, & McCrary, 1994; Brody & Stoneman, 1996; Dollahite & Thatcher, 2005; Gunnoe, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999). Religious parents feel that transmitting their beliefs to their children is their sacred duty (Boyatzis, 2006). Many

view parenting as doing "G-d's work," as a life mission (Boyatzis, 2006). Latshaw (1998), in a review of studies of highly religious fathers of numerous faiths, states that "faith provided them with a sacred center of meaning and identity that they said made it almost inconceivable that they would be an 'uninvolved father'." Religious parents are more likely to spend time with their children (Dollahite & Thatcher, 2005; Koenig, McCullough, & Larson, 2001) and tend to take a more active role as parents (Dollahite & Thatcher, 2005; Koenig, McCullough, & Larson, 2001). Religious fathers report having more one-on-one conversations with their children, and are more likely to have dinner with their children (Wilcox, 2002). Religion appears to promote higher levels of parental involvement in their children's lives (Dollahite, 2003).

Studies demonstrate that religious parents are less likely to abuse or yell at their children, and generally engage in lower levels of verbal aggression (Bartkowski & Wilcox, 2000; Dollahite & Thatcher, 2005; Wilcox, 2002). They are more likely to hug and praise their children, and overall to be more consistent in their parenting approach (Bao, Whitbeck, & Hoyt, 1999; Bartkowski & Wilcox, 2000; Boyatzis, 2006; Dollahite & Thatcher, 2005; Wilcox, 2002). Parental religiosity has been found to be correlated with positive parenting and better child adjustment (Mahoney, Pargament, Tarakeshwar, & Swank, 2001). Snider, Clements, and Vazsonyi (2004) found that the more religious the parent, the higher their college age children scored on measures of communication, support, monitoring and peer acceptance.

Some researchers have questioned whether higher levels of religiosity may lead to a more controlling parenting style (Cahn, 2012). Danso, Hunsberger and Pratt (1997) suggest that a greater parental goal of strong religious values for their children may mean

that the parents are more likely to stress obedience. These researchers have hypothesized that very religious individuals may have a tendency toward a more rigid parenting style, and would thus parent in such a manner.

Data to support this has found that "high scores on religious fundamentalism were associated with greater valuation of obedience and lesser valuation of autonomy (Danso, Hunsberger & Pratt, 1997)." Religious fundamentalism in Catholic groups has been found to be negatively correlated with parental-encouraged autonomy (Danso, Hunsberger & Pratt, 1997). Similarly, a study conducted in Israel by Shor (1998) reported that religious parents self-reported that they encourage "obedience, duty, and sacrifice for the group."

Research on religious parenting has questioned the import of the "right wing authoritarianism" personality in religious parents. Right wing authoritarianism is a personality in which the person is inclined toward a particular, very defined and strict, view of religion. According to the American Heritage Medical Dictionary (2007), an authoritarian personality pattern reflects "a desire for security, order, power, and status, with a desire for structured lines of authority, a conventional set of values or outlook, a demand for unquestioning obedience...." Authoritarian personality structures are common amongst very religious individuals (Beit-Hallahmi & Nevo, 1987). While it is unclear whether it is an authoritarian personality style that inclines the individual to choose a rigid religious approach or the reverse, the question remains. If parents with authoritarian personalities are likely to tend toward a controlling parenting style, and insist on obedience from their children are religious parents more likely to use an authoritarian parenting style (Danso, Hunsberger, & Pratt, 1997)?

Studies of this question have had mixed results. Altemeyer & Hunsberger (1992), Lupfer, Hopkinson, & Kelley (1988) and Sherkat & Ellison (1999) found that religious parents are usually more authoritarian. However, other studies, such as the one conducted by Gunnoe and colleagues (1999), found higher religiosity was actually predictive of authoritative parenting. Finally, some researchers have suggested that religious parents combine both authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles by balancing high levels of boundary setting with high levels of parental warmth (Horwath & Lees, 2010; Wilcox, 2002). Religious parents may integrate expectations of strict obedience with affection, nurture and emotional involvement that offset the potential negative impact of their more controlling parenting style (Armet, 2009; Ellison, Bartkowski, & Segal, 1996).

Religious development. Understanding religious development is important to all religious communities that depend on value transmission as part of providing continuity to their heritage, increasing membership in their community, or retaining their children as part of their communal religious structure.

> "The ramifications of this process have as much meaning for the wizard of a klavern recruiting young skinheads to the Ku Klux Klan as they would to the local youth pastor or parents interested in the efficacious intergenerational transmission of religious values (Armet, 2009, p. 277)."

Understanding the path of religious belief development is a fundamental component to the study of the parenting factors necessary for the transmission of beliefs, values and religious identity. In order to do this, we must first examine the normal trajectory of religious development.

One of the founding fathers in the study of identity is Erik Erikson. He described the psychosocial process of identity development (Erikson, 1968). Building upon his theoretical foundations, Marcia (1980) developed a model of two elements of identity formation, that applies to development of all aspects of identity, including social, ideological, occupational and religious identity development. Marcia explains that there are two constructs intrinsic to forming an identity; crisis, and then commitment (Marcia, 1980). The individual must both struggle with exploring and becoming aware of alternate ideologies, and then must commit to the beliefs they have chosen to adopt.

Marcia explains that individuals go through this process in four stages. These stages occur progressively. Thus, in order to get to the successive stage, the individual must have successfully mastered the previous stage. However, not all individuals will master all four stages, and may remain indefinitely in a particular stage.

The first of these four stages is identity diffusion. The diffused identity is an identity that has not been explored, an identity that has not been committed to. An individual whose religious identity is in the stage of identity diffusion has not thought about their religious beliefs. They have neither experienced crisis, nor have they committed to an identity. They have achieved neither of Marcia's two constructs.

The second stage of identity development is foreclosure. In this stage the individual has made a commitment regarding their identity. However, this commitment is made independent of struggle or crisis. Marcia considers this an under-developed stage of identity. It consists of commitment, but lacks the struggle that makes for a truly mature identity (Marcia, 1980).

The third stage, known as identity moratorium, involves the first of Marcia's constructs – struggle, but without the latter component of commitment. During this stage the individual questions identity. In terms of religious development, the individual may question religious doctrines and explores alternate beliefs. While the individual may never progress beyond this stage, this struggle commonly leads to successful achievement of the fourth and final stage of religious identity development (Armet, 2009).

In the fourth and ultimate stage of identity development, named "achieved status" (Marcia, 1980), the individual's previous struggle leads them to a "mature identity" (Armet, 2009) and commitment. In this stage of identity development, the individual has weathered crisis and made a conclusive choice of their beliefs (Marcia, 1980).

According to this model, in order to maturely commit to the lifestyle demanded by one's religious beliefs, the individual must first struggle. Religious parents, however, often tend toward a style involving expectations of strict obedience and respect for authority (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993). When this occurs and "parenting styles do not allow for sufficient exploration of alternatives" the individual's identity can remain under-developed and "dependent on an *assigned* identity by virtue of affiliation with the religious ecology (Armet, 2009)," the stage Marcia (1980) refers to as identity foreclosure.

This presents a challenge to parents in very religious communities. Religious parents may feel that proper parenting involves high expectations of obedience. They may feel concerned when the child questions their religious approaches. According to Marcia's model of development, however, parents must allow for their child to struggle and develop an autonomous identity (Smith & Sikkink, 2003). Being able to struggle, to

ask questions, to question dogmas, to "engage in an internal deliberation or debate that carry over into frank discussion with understanding adults" is what allows for the child to develop a firm and deep commitment to their religion (Armet, 2009). This struggle helps the child develops a self-constructed identity, an identity born out of an independent decision regarding their chosen religious ideology (Marcia, Matteson, Orlofsky, Waterman, & Archer, 1993).

The challenge for parents in religious communities is to remember that to prevent the child from struggling and questioning would prevent their child from developing a deep and mature commitment to their heritage (Fisherman, 2002). "Although the process of identity formation may represent a time of anxiety for family members and others within the religious community, it also represents an important time for ensuring that religious values are genuinely transmitted (Armet, 2009)."

Parental characteristics that positively impact transmission of religious values. Parents and parenting style are the strongest influences in the development of a child's religious identity (Armet, 2009; Baumrind, 1978; Boyatzis, 2005; Cotton, Bynum, & Madhere, 1997; Okagaki & Bevis, 1999). Values are more successfully transmitted when children feel that they were given room to choose their religious beliefs (Vermeer, Janssen, & Scheepers, 2012) and feel that their religious lifestyle choices have been self-generated (Armet, 2009; Baumrind, 1978; Grusec, 1997). Parenting styles that encourage autonomy, while providing moderate supervision, are most likely to support the development of healthy religious identity in their children (Dudley, 1978; Ellison & Sherkat, 1993; Myers, 1996). The converse is true as well. Rigid or neglectful parenting frequently results in a breakdown in the intergenerational transmission of religious beliefs

and practices (Bossard & Boll, 1950; Caplovitz & Sherrow, 1977; Friedman &

Weissbrod, 2004; Wolin, Bennett, & Jacobs, 1988).

Another important factor in the transmission of religious ideology is a good

parent-child emotional relationship. Studies have repeatedly demonstrated that parental

warmth is strongly predictive of the degree to which children accept their parents'

religious beliefs (Goodnow, 1992; Myers, 1996). In a study of Seventh Day Activitist

communities, Dudley and Wisbey found that parents who combine strictness and control

together with nurture are most likely to successfully transmit their religious values

(Dudley & Wisbey, 2000). Likewise, a study of young adult women found that the degree

to which young adult daughters chose to be like their parents depended on how warm

they perceived their parents to be (Okagaki & Bevis, 1999). Closeness in the parent-child

relationship has been found to be related to more similarity in parent-child values (Luft &

Sorell, 1987).

Feldman (2004) in a study of 49 Orthodox Jewish adolescents, found that the

adolescents whose parents used an authoritative parenting style were more likely to

actively identity as religious. It appears that a blend of moderate levels of supervision

combined with warmth, commonly observed in the authoritative parenting style, appears

to be optimal for successful transmission of religious beliefs and practices (Baumrind,

1978).

An additional contributor to children's religious development is the consistency

and agreement in the message given by each parent. When conflict of religious values is

low between parents, and religious directives are alike, children are more likely to be

influenced by their parents' religiosity (Myers, 1996; Nelsen, 1981; Okagaki & Bevis,

1999). It has been hypothesized that this is due to the consistency and redundancy of the message being transmitted (Goodnow, 1992; Hoge, Petrillo, & Smith, 1982). This has further been observed in studies of the effect of parental religious denomination on children. It has been found that if both parents belong to the same religious denomination, their grown children are more likely to identify as members of that same denomination (Hoge & Petrillo, 1978).

Finally, the extent to which children follow their parents' religious path is dependent on how important they perceive religion to be to their parents (Granqvist & Hagekull, 1999). Children are more motivated to follow their parents' religious path when they see that their parents strongly value religious observance (Flor & Knapp, 2001; Horwath & Lees, 2010). Emphasis of religion in one's home is the best predictor of future religious observance (Hunsberger, 1983). The extent to which parents emphasize religion is directly correlated with the extent to which the children will later value their religiosity (Hunsberger & Brown, 1984).

Factors that negatively impact transmission of religious values. Moderate parental supervision combined with high levels of warmth have been observed to positively predict value transmission (Dudley & Wisbey, 2000). In addition, the absence of these two components of parenting can harm the process of successfully transmitting religious values (Armet, 2009; Friedman & Weissbrod, 2004).

Friedman and Weissbrod (2004), in a study of personal meaningfulness of family rituals amongst emerging adults found that when parental control is stressed and the child's independence disregarded, values and rituals are less likely to be successfully transmitted. Rigid ritualization, in which "individual autonomy is stifled and parental

directiveness is highly salient" is correlated with resentment toward family rituals and lessened sense of meaning around the rituals (Bossard & Boll, 1950; Roberts, 1988; Wolin, Bennett, & Jacobs, 1988).

In Western individualist societies, parental authoritarianism, as experienced by the children, is predictive of how distant and alienated child will likely feel from their religion (Dudley, 1978). When parents place too much pressure on children to conform to exacting confines of religion, it "may inhibit the formation of an adolescent's religious identity (Armet, 2009)" and prevent the child from developing a mature commitment to their religious identity.

Abusive or neglectful relationships with parents are further likely to lead to a breakdown in religious transmission. Hunsberger (1983) and Caplowitz and Sherrow (1977) both found supporting evidence that "poor parental relations" is related to rebellion against parents' religion. Hunsberger, however, notes that the causal direction of this correlation is not clear. Thus, it cannot be stated with finality whether the negative relationship preceded the religious transmission breakdown, or whether a child's departure from religion causes the dysfunction in the parent-child relationship (Hunsberger, 1983).

Teenagers who feel rejected by their parents are most likely to report a distancing from religion (Dudley, 1978; Fisherman, 2002; Hoge & Petrillo, 1978; Hunsberger & Brown, 1984). Unhappiness at home due to conflicts or abuse of any form is likely to cause the child of religious parents to become disenchanted with religion (Brownstein, 2008; Margolese, 1998; Russell & Blumenthal, 2003; Sorotzkin, 2002). Marital issues,

emotional issues and chaotic family relationships all appear to be predictive of the child's later abandonment and alienation from religious practices (Attia, 2008; Margolese, 1998).

Influence of community. Parental influence cannot be considered independent of the community in which the child is raised (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Family exists within a community and parenting occurs within the framework of the community. "Because collective identity provides linkages between the religious community and family, religious socialization is not an isolated function of the family or parents (Armet, 2009)."

The stronger the interrelationship between neighborhood, school, and community, the stronger the positive impact on the child (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). When the religious ideologies of these groups are consistent, the child is most likely to maintain the religious identity in which he or she was raised (Cahn, 2012). The converse is true as well. "When the individual feels a lack of such accord among the socialization agents, more numerous deviances from religious behavioral norms are to be expected (Fisherman, 2002)." When there is a discrepancy between messages given at home and in school, the child's religious identity development is likely to be negatively affected (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Eccles, Midgley, & Wigfield, 1993).

An additional concern related to religious communities is that religious communities may encourage a strict adherence to religious beliefs and practices. These expectations may pressure parents to adopt a parenting style demanding more control than is optimal for the successful transmission of religious values. This pressure can adversely impact the children's religious development and inhibit their ability to achieve "autonomous authenticity" (Hunsberger, Pratt, & Pancer, 2001; Markstrom, 1999).

In close-knit religious communities, this communal structure may prevent the parent from allowing their child to develop a personal attachment to their religious identity. Armet (2009) further elucidates this concern,

> …. while religious ecology (family and religious community) can provide a context of positive relationships that help young people to thrive, it can also inhibit their religious development and identity formation (Hunsberger, Pratt, and Pancer 2001; Markstrom, Hofstra, and Dougher 1994). This can occur when the religious ecology emphasizes symbolic boundaries without valuing the uniqueness of its members. In this case, efficacious religious practice is determined by boundary maintenance. The effect is a religious enclave in which religious identity is determined through symbolically bounded differentiation. The difficulty here is that religious identity can become fragile and undeveloped. Religious socialization can result in dependence on the enclave and a religious identity that rarely reaches a point of autonomous authenticity (Spilka, Hood, and Gorsuch, 1985). Thus, parents, embedded in the collectivity of a religious community, work to influence children towards a positive religious development, but a desirable outcome is not inevitable (Armet, 2009, p. 280).

Rationale for Present Study

The intended purpose of this study is to learn about the parenting styles of parents who are *baalei teshuva* as compared to parents who are not *baalei teshuva*. Specifically, this study will seek to answer three questions. Firstly, are parents who are *baalei teshuva*

more likely to be perceived by their adult children as authoritarian, as compared with those who are not *baalei teshuva*? Secondly, do adult children of *baalei teshuva* report more areas of conflict with their parents around religious matters, as compared with adult children of those who are not *baalei teshuva*? Finally, are those children who report a change in their religious status (report being "more" or "less" religious than how they were raised) more likely to perceive their parents as authoritarian as compared with those who do not report a change?

This study will be useful to *baalei teshuva* who wish to understand the challenges they may encounter when raising their children. It will additionally provide concrete information on the interplay of parenting styles and religious value transmission. This will prove particularly useful to those who support *baalei teshuva,* such as mental health professionals, rabbinic leaders, and Jewish outreach groups, in creating educational programs and parenting trainings that are sensitive to the risk factors unique to the *baal teshuva* and grounded in empirical research.

CHAPTER II

Methods

Participants

One hundred and forty three participants (118 women and 25 men) ranging from 18-24 years of age (M = 21 years, SD = 1.7 years) participated in this study. Participation in the study was limited to individuals who reported being raised as Orthodox Jews in the United States. Study participants were recruited via advertisements on websites frequented by members of the American Orthodox Jewish community, which included www.vosizneias.com, www.matzav.com, www.yeshivaworld.com, and www.beyondbt.com. These sites were selected in the hopes of recruiting Orthodox Jewish participants.

Measures

All participants completed a demographic questionnaire that provided information on their age, gender, childhood religious affiliation, current religious affiliation, and parents' *baal teshuva* status. A list of religious groups was generated based on a review of dating websites servicing the Orthodox Jewish community, and based on the author's personal knowledge of the community. See Appendix C for the complete demographic questionnaire.

Additionally, participants completed the Parental Bonding Questionnaire (see Appendix C). The Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI) is a 25 item self-administered questionnaire designed to measure adult's memories of their relationship with parents during their first 16 years of life (Tsaousis, Mascha, & Giovazolias, 2012). Answers are

given using a four-point response scale (0 = very unlike, 3 = very like). It is administered in a duplicate form, separately assessing relationship with mother and father.

The PBI measures the two primary constructs of parenting style, care and overprotection (Parker, 1990). These two subscales form a constellation of the four parenting styles identified in parenting literature (Parker, 1990). On the PBI, authoritarian parenting style is represented by high scores on the overprotection subscale and low scores on the care subscale. Authoritative parenting is represented by high scores on both the overprotection and care subscales. Low scores on the overprotection subscale combined with high care subscale scores is indicative of a permissive parenting style. Low scores on the overprotection subscale coupled with low scores on the care subscale indicates an uninvolved parenting style (Parker, Tupling, & Brown, 1979).

This scale has been found to have good psychometric properties, both in its reliability (Kendler, Sham, & MacLean, 1997; Kendler, 1996; Wilhelm, Niven, Parker, & Hadzi, 2005), as well as validity of perceived characteristics of the parent (Narita et al., 2000; Parker, Tupling, & Brown, 1979; Parker, 1990). The PBI has good to excellent internal consistency, with split-half reliability coefficients of .88 for the care subscale and .74 for the overprotection subscale. Test-retest reliability is good, with three-week test-retest correlations of .76 for care and .63 for overprotection (Parker, Tupling, & Brown, 1979).

The author created a questionnaire (see Appendix C) to assess areas of religious conflict between child and parent in the Orthodox Jewish community because no such measure exists. This measure was based on informal conversation with rabbinic leaders, community members and mental health professionals who work with the community.

Specific themes regarding areas of conflict emerged from these conversations, and a questionnaire was developed based on the most frequently reported areas of conflict. Subjects were asked if they recalled arguing with their parents about a number of sample issues. Sample issues include arguments about dress, such as wearing a religious headcovering or skirt, involvement in secular culture, contact with opposite gender, *Shabbas*, *Kashrus*, prayer and *Torah* study. Additionally, subjects were asked if there were any other issues that they remember arguing with their parents about during their childhood or adolescent years.

To compute number of conflict areas, survey items were divided into categories based on face validity of items. Identified categories were: clothing and dress, social contact with opposite gender, involvement in secular culture, prayer and *Torah* learning, *Shabbas*, and *Kashrus* (see Table 1 for complete list of survey items and categories). Survey questionnaire also allowed participants to identify other areas of conflict. The majority of conflicts that participants identified clearly belonged to one of the above categories and were computed into the correct category. All other specified conflicts were categorized as "other." Number of conflict areas was computed by counting any category in which at least one survey item was endorsed. Number of conflict areas ranged from 0 (no conflict endorsed) to 7 areas of conflict (maximum) endorsed. See Table 2 for a breakdown of the items endorsed. At present, no psychometric data exists for this measure.

Procedure

This study was conducted via online survey in order to provide participants with maximum anonymity, as well as to facilitate the participation of greater numbers of

participants. Participants were recruited via advertisements on websites frequented by the American Orthodox Jewish community (see Appendix B). The advertisement included a link to the survey website, which was hosted by surveymonkey.com. Upon accessing the survey home page, subjects were presented with a consent form. Consent to participate in the study was communicated via clicking on the "I accept" button at the end of the consent form.

CHAPTER III

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Data for this study were collected over a period of two months. During this period, 255 surveys were started. Of these, 143 surveys were completed in full. These 143 completed surveys were used for the following analyses.

Study subjects were 82.5% female ($n = 118$) and 17.5% male ($n = 25$). The ages of subjects ranged from 18 to 24. Average age for females was 21 ($SD = 1.69$) and average age for males was 22 ($SD = 1.58$).

Survey participants self-identified as belonging to one of the following groups: Strictly Chassidish, Chassidish, Modern Chassidish, Heimish, Very Yeshivish, Yeshivish, Modern Yeshivish, Mainstream Orthodox, Modern Orthodox Machmir, Modern Orthodox Middle of the Road, Modern Orthodox Liberal, Not Religious or Other. Respondents who selected "Other" defined themselves as "Chabad." For the purposes of data analysis, these groups were divided into four categories. Table 3 lists the categories of the religious groups. Exact breakdown of religious category identification by gender can be seen in Table 4.

Of the 143 participants, 16 reported that both their parents were BT. Twenty respondents indicated that only their father was a BT, 12 reported that only their mother was a BT, and 95 said that neither parent was a BT.

Hypothesis 1

In the first hypothesis it was predicted that parents who are *baalei teshuva* are more likely to be viewed by their children in ways that are categorized as authoritarian, as

compared to non-*baalei teshuva* parents. This hypothesis was tested for mothers and fathers separately.

A Fisher Exact Test was conducted to test for the relationship between father's BT status and father's perceived parenting style. A statistically significant relationship between father BT status and father Authoritarian status was found, with $\chi^2(1, N = 143) = 5.07, p. = .03$. See Table 5.

Similarly, a statistically significant relationship between mother BT status and mother Authoritarian style was found as well, at $\chi^2(1, N = 143) = 10.57, p. < .01$. These results seem to indicate that the ratio of Authoritarian parents amongst the *baal teshuva* group is greater than amongst the non-*baal teshuva* group. See Table 6.

In sum, both *baal teshuva* and non-baal teshuva parents were viewed as non-authoritarian. However, a significant difference was found between the *baal teshuva* and non-*baal teshuva* groups with *baal teshuva* parents viewed as significantly more authoritarian. Thus, while an authoritarian style was more common among the *baal-teshuva,* an authoritarian style was less common in both groups.

Hypothesis 2

In the second hypothesis it was predicted that children of *baalei teshuva* would report more areas of conflict with their parents around religious matters than do children of non-*baalei teshuva.*

A logistic regression analysis was conducted to predict father's BT status using number of conflict areas as predictors. A test of the full model against a constant only model was statistically significant, indicating that the number of conflict areas was higher for BT fathers than for non-BT fathers ($\chi^2 = 4.25, p = .04$ with $df = 1$). The Wald

criterion demonstrated that number of conflict areas made a contribution to prediction (p

< .05). However, the low odds ratio of .74 suggest that father's BT status is unlikely to

contribute significantly to increase in conflict areas with child.

A second logistic regression analysis was conducted to predict mother's BT status

using number of conflicts as predictors. A test of the full model against a constant only

model was not statistically significant, indicating that the predictor did not reliably

distinguished between BT and non BT mothers ($\chi^2 = $ .75, $p =$.4 with $df = 1$). The Wald

criterion demonstrated that number of conflict areas did not make a significant

contribution to prediction ($p=$.4), as was confirmed by an odds ratio of .87.

Hypothesis 3

The final hypothesis in this study predicted that individuals who reported a

change in religious status (indicated by responding that they are "more" or "less"

religious than how they were raised) are likely to have one or both parents who they

viewed as authoritarian. This hypothesis was tested for mothers and fathers separately.

A Chi-Square analysis was conducted to test for the relationship between father's

perceived parenting style and religious change. The relationship between father

Authoritarian status and religious change was not statistically significant, with $\chi^2(1, N =$

$143) = 3.45, p. = .06$. Another Chi-Square analysis was conducted to test for the

relationship between mother's perceived parenting style and religious change. A

statistically significant relationship between mother Authoritarian status and religious

change was found, with $\chi^2(1, N =143) = 5.27, p. = .02$. These results indicate that

mother's perceived Authoritarian parenting style is significantly related to religious

change, but father's parenting style is not.

CHAPTER IV

Discussion

This study examined the parenting style of *baalei teshuva* from the perspective of their children, and the impact of parenting style on religious outcomes.

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis findings that *baalei teshuva* parents are more likely to be perceived as authoritarian than are non-*baalei teshuva* parents coincides with a related study conducted by Beit-Hallahmi and Nevo (1987) in Israel. Beit-Hallahmi and Nevo conducted structured interviews and administered a Hebrew version of the F-scale (a measure of authoritarian personality style) to 59 male *baalei teshuva* in Israel. As a control, they conducted the same structured interviews and administered the same scale to a group of 59 men who had remained secular. Results of their study indicated that the *baalei teshuva* scored significantly higher on measures of authoritarian personality. Though this study is not a recent one, the results appear to coincide well with the current study under discussion. Kor, Mikulincer and Pirutinsky (2012) found similar results. Kor and colleagues found that that parents who are *baalei teshuva* report lower levels of warmth toward their children, a characteristic of authoritarian parenting.

Providing strict parenting may inhibit the development of a healthy religious identity (Armet, 2009). To prevent a child from questioning and struggling would be to prevent them from developing a deep and mature commitment to their heritage (Fisherman, 2002). The *baal teshuva* parent appears to commonly use an authoritarian parenting style, thereby impeding the child's religious development, and possibly resulting in harmful emotional outcomes as well. The results of this study would

therefore suggest that children of *baalei teshuva* might be at greater risk of not being able to develop a mature commitment to their heritage.

This study indicates that *baalei teshuva* parents are more likely than non-*baalei teshuva* parents to have an authoritarian parenting style. This phenomenon may be due to any number of factors including concern over integration within the community (Haber, 2004). The results of this study show that on a whole authoritarian parenting has negative religious outcomes for children of *baalei teshuva*. This is noteworthy because the Orthodox community can be considered a collectivist culture (Schechter, 2009), and in collectivist cultures where obedience to authority is valued, authoritarian parenting styles have been found to lead to healthy functioning in children (Gunnoe, Hetherington & Reiss, 1999).

Additionally, data on families of *baalei teshuva* suggest poorer emotional outcomes. However, due to the dearth of research on outcomes of parenting styles with the Orthodox Jewish community, it cannot be stated with certainty that the poor outcomes observed in families of *baalei teshuva* are truly a result of stricter parenting.

Hypothesis 2

The second question examined in this study was whether children of *baalei teshuva* report more areas of religious conflict with their parents as compared to children of non-*baalei teshuva*. Analysis of results showed no significant impact of parent *baal teshuva* status on number of conflict areas.

Hypothesis 3

The final hypothesis in this study predicted that individuals who reported a change in religious status from their upbringing (responding that they are "more" or

"less" religious than how they were raised) are more likely to have perceived their

parents as authoritarian. Results of this study indicated that while a mother's authoritarian

parenting style was predictive of religious change, the father's parenting style was not.

The simplest explanation for this is, as discussed in the research, is because authoritarian

parenting may inhibit the development of a healthy religious identity by preventing a

child from questioning and struggling (Armet, 2009; Fisherman, 2002).

The sex role model of socialization states that sons receive their values largely

from their fathers, and daughters receive their values predominantly by transmission from

their mothers (Acock & Bengtson, 1978; Vollebergh et al, 1999). Therefore, for the

female participants in this study, religious value transmission is more strongly impacted

by their mothers than their fathers. It stands to reason that had there been more male

participants in this study, impact of father's parenting style may have been larger. In

order to properly test this hypothesis, a study with a larger sample size of male

participants would be needed to ensure stronger statistical power in the study.

Limitations

"One advantage of online survey research is that it takes advantage of the ability

of the Internet to provide access to groups and individuals who would be difficult, if not

impossible, to reach through other channels (Wright, 2005)." Conducting this study

online created a sense of anonymity that may have allowed subjects to answer questions

more honestly than would have been possible to achieve in person. However, there is an

inherent selection bias in who is reached. For example, advertisements for this study were

placed on websites frequented by members of the Orthodox Jewish community.

Therefore, individuals who are no longer religious may have been less likely to access the survey. When interpreting study results this potential limitation must be acknowledged.

Of 255 online surveys that were begun and 143 of these were completed, yielding a completion rate of 56%. In order to understand the survey response rates, data on standard response rates for online research studies was reviewed. A meta-analysis of 68 online surveys found a standard response rate of 39.6% (Cook, Heath, & Thompson, 2000). This suggests that the response rate for this study is relatively high for studies of this kind.

Of note, eighty-two percent of the respondents to this survey were female, which is higher than the average 57% rate of female respondents on online surveys (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004). This is likely due to culturally-based internet access availability. Amongst the Yeshiva Orthodox and Chassidic subgroups, women generally have more internet access than do men due to religious and cultural sanctions. Among the Modern Orthodox subgroup, rates of internet access is equal across genders. This is reflected in the study participant breakdown. Amongst the Yeshiva Orthodox and Chassidic responses, there were significantly higher rates of female respondents. However, the Modern Orthodox subgroup was comprised of 60% female and 40% male, a figure that parallels the norms for online surveys. Due to the significantly higher rates of female respondents to this survey, care must be taken when generalizing study results. As stated previously, one limitation encountered in this study was the difficulty obtaining male subjects. Orthodox Jewish males age 18-24 often do not have readily available internet access. Because of this, study results may not be accurately generalized to the male population.

An additional limitation within the Orthodox Jewish population, particularly among the right-wing Yeshiva Orthodox and strictly Chassidic groups is a lack of internet access. Therefore, any study that relies on internet access has an inherent respondent bias. This is an important consideration when applying the results of this study to the right wing factions within the Orthodox community.

One other significant limitation to this study is the retrospective study design. Retrospective accounts suffer from the danger of recall bias, in which the validity of the participant's reports are threatened by the limitations of the individuals memories and current beliefs. Future studies may wish to address this limitation by including younger study participants, as well as by studying parent-child pairs.

Due to the online survey design of this study, parent perceptions of their parenting style could not be examined. This study is therefore limited in that it only addresses the perceptions of the children. Use of parent-child pairs would provide a more comprehensive picture of the *baal teshuva* family.

The Areas of Conflict Questionnaire was developed for this study based on interviews with community leaders and mental health professionals. One limitation of using this measure is that the psychometric properties of this scale have not yet been explored. Future research directions can include an assessment of statistical validity and reliability of this measure.

Finally, use of online survey methodology contains a number of inherent limitations. Online surveys are unable to verify the veracity of respondents' claims that they meet criteria for entrance in the study. Additionally, online surveys may be prone to

a self-selection bias, as there are individuals who are more likely than others to complete online surveys (Wright, 2005).

Future research

A number of future research areas have been identified. First and foremost, the low level of male respondents to this study presents a serious limitation to the generalizability of the study results. Future studies should therefore examine the role of parent *baal teshuva* status and parenting style as perceived by male offspring. When conducting this research, an online survey is unlikely to be the appropriate methodology, as many religious men do not have regular internet access. Consideration should be given to the best way to reach this population. Alternative options to reach the male population include, but are not limited to, paper and pencil versions of this survey that can be completed at places of worship or other religious gatherings, or via phone interview utilizing synagogue membership lists.

Due to the limited sample size in this study, comparisons of differences of outcomes of authoritarian parenting style across religious subgroups could not be made. However, future research is needed to distinguish its impact amongst some the more collectivist Orthodox subgroups amongst whom an authoritarian parenting style may have more positive outcomes. Future research should compare outcomes of authoritarian parenting style across religious subgroups.

This study reviews the religious outcomes of authoritarian parenting. Further studies should look at the mediating effect of authoritarian parenting on emotional outcomes. This study chose to focus only on religious outcomes, but emotional outcomes are an important factor to study in future research.

This study has identified challenges *baalei teshuva* face as parents. This study neglected to identify inherent stregths that may be present in the *baal teshuva* family. Future research should examine areas of strength that may promote resilient and successful acculturation in *baal* teshuva families.

Practical Implications of Results

Research by Loewenthal & Rogers (2004) suggests that interventions with parents may be helpful in adapting and changing default parenting styles. This is of particular importance to the *baalei teshuva* themselves, likely the primary consumers of research on *baalei teshuva*. To the *baal teshuva*, information on how to optimally parent their children and successfully transmit religious views is valuable. This study can therefore increase awareness to *baalei teshuva* directly regarding ideal parenting styles for them to adopt.

The second group of consumers of research on children of *baalei teshuva* are psychotherapists and rabbinic counselors who work within this community. Anecdotal reports by therapists suggest that concerns regarding parenting and mental health outcomes in *baalei teshuva* family have been repeatedly observed (Russell & Blumenthal, 2003). Knowledge of common parenting styles among *baalei teshuva* may help mental health professionals properly guide *baalei teshuva* parents and support their children. By understanding that *baalei teshuva* are at increased risk to parent in an authoritarian manner mental health professionals can provide *baalei teshuva* with psychoeducation on healthy parenting models and techniques.

The third group of individuals for whom this information is of vital importance is the Orthodox Jewish outreach organizations. These organizations are in contact with

baalei teshuva from the start of their religious journey. The outreach organizations handhold *baalei teshuva* through the conversion process and through their first tentative steps into the religious world. It is imperative that these organizations expand their support to extend beyond outreach. For the integration of the *baal teshuva* to be completely successful, and for the religious values that they have accepted to be genuinely transmitted to their children, it is vital that the outreach organizations provide continuous support to *baal teshuva* families regarding child-rearing as well as successful community integration.

Conclusion

In a study of the spiritual process of the baal teshuva, Danzig and Sands (2008) state,

We have been impressed with the courage, willingness to explore the unknown, and persistence of *baalei teshuvah* in their journeys toward spiritual fulfillment. They have been willing to depart from the orientation in which they were raised… to pursue a vision of a more fulfilling spiritual life. They have suffered consequences in losing a life that was familiar… (p. 46)

This author hopes that the information gleaned from this study is helpful to the sincere *baalei teshuva*, their devoted rabbinic and mental health supports, and the numerous Orthodox Jewish outreach organizations to help them transmit their religious heritage to the next generation of Jewish young men and women.

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Table 1

Areas of Conflict

Do you remember arguing with your parents over any of the following while you were growing up: (check all that apply)
Dress
▪ *Peyos style*   ▪ *Yarmulka type*   ▪ *Wearing vs. not wearing a yarmulka*   ▪ *Wearing a black hat*   ▪ *Wearing a Black suit or Chassidish livush*   ▪ *Wearing a skirt*   ▪ *Wearing nail polish*   ▪ *Covering knees/elbows etc.*   ▪ *Other clothing issues*
Secular culture
▪ *Watching TV or movies*   ▪ *Listening to non-Jewish music*   ▪ *Celebrating secular holidays*
Prayer/Torah study
▪ *Going to minyan during the week*   ▪ *Going to shul (synagogue) on Shabbas*   ▪ *Learning Torah regularly*
Contact with opposite gender
▪ *Social contact with opposite gender*
Shabbas
▪ *Keeping Shabbas*
Kashrus
▪ *Keeping Kashrus*
Other
▪ *Were there other areas of religious observance about which you remember arguing with your parents? (Yes/No) What were they?*

Table 2

Number of Conflict Items Endorsed by Subjects

Conflicts endorsed:		
Item	Male (*n* = 25)	Female (*n* = 118)
Peyos style	2	0
Yarmulka style	2	0
Wearing vs. not wearing a *yarmulka*	3	0
Wearing a black hat	3	0
Wearing a black suit or *Chassidish livush*	2	0
Wearing a skirt	0	5
Wearing nail polish	0	24
Covering knees/elbows etc.	1	24
Other clothing issues	4	46
Dress	12	60
Watching TV or movies	7	24
Listening to non-Jewish music	3	19
Celebrating secular holidays	1	6
Secular Culture	8	40
Going to *minyan* during the week	9	1
Going to *shul* (synagogue) on *Shabbas*	9	5
Learning *Torah* regularly	10	2
Prayer/Torah Study	14	8
Social contact with opposite gender	9	25
Contact with Opposite Gender	9	25
Keeping *Shabbas*	2	5
Shabbas	2	5
Keeping *Kashrus*	1	10
Kashrus	1	10
Other	3	10

Note. Subjects may endorse multiple conflict items within each category.

Table 3

Categories of Religious Groups

Chassidish	Yeshivish	Modern Orthodox	Not Religious

Strictly Chassidish
Chassidish
Modern Chassidish
Heimish
Other: "Chabad"
	Very Yeshivish
	Yeshivish
	Modern Yeshivish
	Mainstream Orthodox
		Modern Orthodox
		   Machmir
		Modern Orthodox
		   Middle of the Road
		Modern Orthodox
		   Liberal
			Not Religious

Table 4

Number of Participants by Religious Group and Parental Status

	Male	**Female**
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Age	22 (1.58)	21 (1.69)
Religion		
Chassidish		
Strictly Chassidish	0	3
Chassidish	0	1
Modern Chassidish	0	1
Heimish	1	14
Chabad	0	1
Yeshivish		
Very Yeshivish	0	0
Yeshivish	1	30
Modern Yeshivish	1	10
Mainstream Orthodox	5	33
Modern Orthodox		
Modern Orthodox Machmir	3	5
Modern Orthodox Middle of the Road	5	8
Modern Orthodox Liberal	4	5
Not Religious	5	7
Parent Status		
Both BT	4	12
Father BT	7	13
Mother BT	3	9
Neither BT	11	84

Table 5

Father's BT Status and Parenting Style

	BT	Non-BT	*Total*
Authoritarian	12*	17	29
Not Authoritarian	24	90	114
Total	36	107	143

*p = .03

Table 6

Mother's BT Status and Parenting Style

	BT	Non-BT	*Total*
Authoritarian	14*	23	37
Not Authoritarian	14	92	106
Total	28	105	143

*$*p < .01$

Figure 1

Parenting Styles
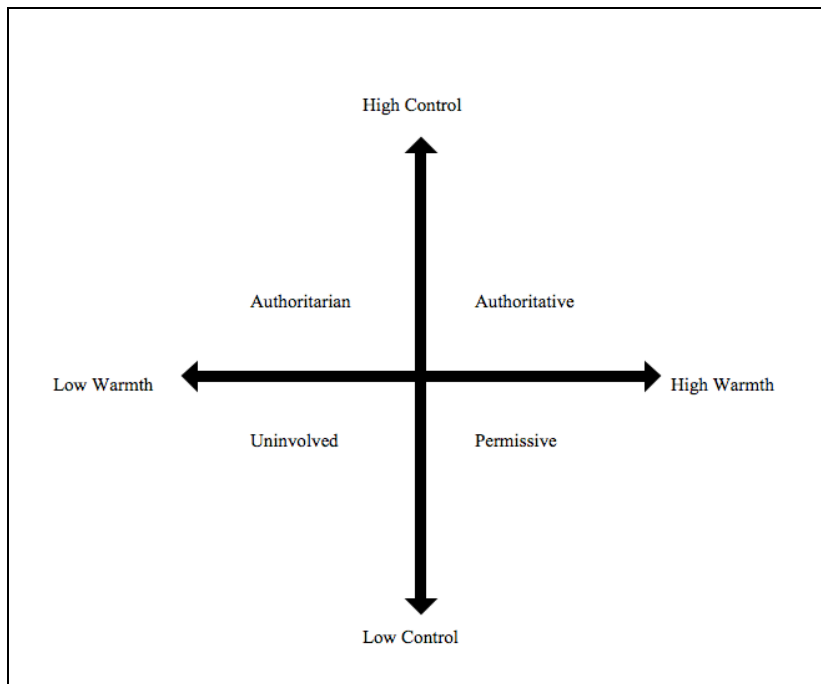
APPENDIX A

IRB Approval

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
ASB III, 3 Rutgers Plaza, Cook Campus
New Brunswick, NJ 08901

November 28, 2012

P.I. Name: Lane
Protocol #: E13-314

Tova Lane
115 S 8th Avenue
Highland Park NJ 08904

Dear Tova Lane:

Notice of Exemption from IRB Review

Protocol Title: "Impact of Parents' Religious Background on Parenting Style and Children's Religiosity in the Orthodox Jewish Community"

The project identified above has been approved for exemption under one of the six categories noted in 45 CFR 46, and as noted below:

Exemption Date: 11/27/2012   **Exempt Category:** 2

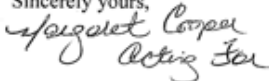This exemption is based on the following assumptions:

- **This Approval** - The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted.

- **Reporting** – ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;

- **Modifications** – Any proposed changes MUST be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;

- **Consent Form (s)** – Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;

Additional Notes: None

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.

The Federalwide Assurance (FWA) number for Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Sincerely yours,

Sheryl Goldberg
Director of Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
gibel@grants.rutgers.edu

cc: Karen L. Haboush

APPENDIX B

Survey Advertisement

What has happened to YOU?
Click Here
to complete an anonymous questionnaire about your experience growing up frum.

APPENDIX C

Survey

Demographics

1. What is your current age? _____ years

2. Where you raised in the United States for more than five years of your childhood/adolescence? (Yes/No)

3. Gender: (Male/Female)

4. The following questions apply to the parents who you feel were the primary ones who raised you.

5. Did your father grow up frum·? (Yes/No/Other_____)

6. If your father grew up frum:
   Did he raise you differently than he was raised?
   _____More religious
   _____Equally religious
   _____Less religious

7. If your father did not grow up frum:
   At what age did he become religious? _____

8. Did your mother grow up frum? (Yes/No/Other_____)

9. If your mother grew up frum:
   Did she raise you differently than she was raised?
   _____More religious
   _____Equally religious
   _____Less religious

10. If your mother did not grow up frum:
    At what age did she become religious? _____

Religious Affiliation & Upbringing

11. Are you currently frum? (Yes/No)

12. If you are currently frum:

---

* Frum – observant of *Shabbat* and *kashrut*

Was there any point at which you were not religious for longer than a 3 month period? _____

13. If you are not currently frum:

At what age did you stop being religious? _____

14. Do you consider yourself currently more religious, equally religious, or less religious than the way you were raised? (More/Equally/Less)

15. Do you predict that in the future you will likely become more religious, equally religious, or less religious than the way you currently? (More/Equally/Less)

The following questions involve group labels common to the Orthodox Jewish community. Obviously, "labels" do not tell the full story. Please respond as closely to what you believe accurate.

16. How would you currently identify yourself (choose one):

_____Modern Orthodox Liberal
_____Modern Orthodox Middle of the road
_____Modern Orthodox Machmir
_____Mainstream Orthodox
_____Modern yeshivish
_____Yeshivish
_____Very yeshivish
_____Heimish
_____Modern Chassidish
_____Strictly chassidish
_____Not religious
_____Other _____

17. How were you raised?

_____Modern Orthodox Liberal
_____Modern Orthodox Middle of the road
_____Modern Orthodox Machmir
_____Mainstream Orthodox
_____Modern yeshivish
_____Yeshivish
_____Very yeshivish
_____Heimish
_____Modern Chassidish
_____Strictly chassidish
_____Not religious
_____Other _____

18. What are your parents now?
_____Modern Orthodox Liberal
_____Modern Orthodox Middle of the road
_____Modern Orthodox Machmir
_____Mainstream Orthodox
_____Modern yeshivish
_____Yeshivish
_____Very yeshivish
_____Heimish
_____Modern Chassidish
_____Strictly chassidish
_____Not religious
_____Other _____

19. What was your elementary school like?
_____Modern Orthodox Liberal
_____Modern Orthodox Middle of the road
_____Modern Orthodox Machmir
_____Mainstream Orthodox
_____Modern yeshivish
_____Yeshivish
_____Very yeshivish
_____Heimish
_____Modern Chassidish
_____Strictly chassidish
_____Not religious
_____Other _____

20. What was your high school like?
_____Modern Orthodox Liberal
_____Modern Orthodox Middle of the road
_____Modern Orthodox Machmir
_____Mainstream Orthodox
_____Modern yeshivish
_____Yeshivish
_____Very yeshivish
_____Heimish
_____Modern Chassidish
_____Strictly chassidish
_____Not religious
_____Other _____

21. Would you define yourself as an: ("in-towner"/ "out-of-towner" / other_____)

Areas of Conflict Questionnaire

22. Do you remember arguing with your parents over any of the following while you were growing up: *(check all that apply)*
    _____Peyos style
    _____Yarmulka type
    _____Wearing vs. not wearing a yarmulka
    _____Wearing a black hat
    _____Wearing a Black suit or Chassidish livush
    _____Wearing a skirt
    _____Wearing nail polish
    _____Covering knees/elbows etc.
    _____Other clothing issues
    _____Going to minyan during the week
    _____Going to shul (synagogue) on Shabbas
    _____Learning Torah regularly
    _____Watching TV or movies
    _____Listening to non-Jewish music
    _____Celebrating secular holidays
    _____Social contact with opposite gender
    _____Keeping Shabbas
    _____Keeping Kashrus

23. Were there other areas of religious observance about which you remember arguing with your parents? (Yes/No)

24. What were they?

    _____

25. Think about how your parents reacted when you behaved in ways that they did not approve of (on matters related to religion). As compared to your friends parents, do you think your parents reacted more strongly, equally strongly, or less strongly than your friends parents did?
    (More/Equally/Less/My parents never disapproved of my behavior)

26. Did your mother and father usually agree with other regarding their religious expectations of you? (Often disagreed/Generally agreed/Always agreed)

27. Were your parents' religious expectations of you similar to the expectations in your elementary school? (Yes/No)

28. Were your parents' religious expectations of you similar to the expectations in your high school? (Yes/No)

Thank you, you have completed the first section of the survey. The next section will ask you questions about your relationship with your parents:

Parental Bonding Instrument

For each of the following questions, think of your first 16 years of life. Was your mother:
1 - very much like this
2 - moderately like
3 - moderately unlike
4 - very unlike

29.	____	Spoke to me in a warm and friendly voice
30.	____	Did not help me as much as I needed
31.	____	Let me do those things I liked doing
32.	____	Seemed emotionally cold to me
33.	____	Appeared to understand my problems and worries
34.	____	Was affectionate to me
35.	____	Liked me to make my own decisions
36.	____	Did not want me to grow up
37.	____	Tried to control everything I did
38.	____	Invaded my privacy
39.	____	Enjoyed talking things over with me
40.	____	Frequently smiled at me
41.	____	Tended to baby me
42.	____	Did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted
43.	____	Let me decide things for myself
44.	____	Made me feel I wasn't wanted
45.	____	Could make me feel better when I was upset
46.	____	Did not talk with me very much
47.	____	Tried to make me feel dependent on her
48.	____	Felt I could not look after myself unless she was around
49.	____	Gave me as much freedom as I wanted
50.	____	Let me go out as often as I wanted
51.	____	Was overprotective of me
52.	____	Did not praise me
53.	____	Let me dress in any way I pleased

Parental Authority Questionnaire

Think of your first 16 years of life. Was your father:
1 - very much like this
2 - moderately like
3 - moderately unlike
4 - very unlike

54.   _____ Spoke to me in a warm and friendly voice
55.   _____ Did not help me as much as I needed
56.   _____ Let me do those things I liked doing
57.   _____ Seemed emotionally cold to me
58.   _____ Appeared to understand my problems and worries
59.   _____ Was affectionate to me
60.   _____ Liked me to make my own decisions
61.   _____ Did not want me to grow up
62.   _____ Tried to control everything I did
63.   _____ Invaded my privacy
64.   _____ Enjoyed talking things over with me
65.   _____ Frequently smiled at me
66.   _____ Tended to baby me
67.   _____ Did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted
68.   _____ Let me decide things for myself
69.   _____ Made me feel I wasn't wanted
70.   _____ Could make me feel better when I was upset
71.   _____ Did not talk with me very much
72.   _____ Tried to make me feel dependent on him
73.   _____ Felt I could not look after myself unless he was around
74.   _____ Gave me as much freedom as I wanted
75.   _____ Let me go out as often as I wanted
76.   _____ Was overprotective of me
77.   _____ Did not praise me
78.   _____ Let me dress in any way I pleased

For each of the following statements, circle the number of the 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) that best describes how that statement applies to you and your parents. Try to read and think about each statement as it applies to you and your parents during your years of growing up at home. There are no right or wrong answers, so don't spend a lot of time on any one item. Be sure not to omit any items.

If your parents were separated or divorced before you reached age 12, think about the parent with whom you spent the most time when you answer the questions.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

79. ____ While I was growing up my parents felt that in a well-run home the children should have their way in the family as often as the parents do.

80. ____ Even if their children didn't agree with them, my parents felt that it was for our own good if we were forced to conform to what they thought was right.

81. ____ Whenever my parents told me to do something as I was growing up, they expected me to do it immediately without asking any questions.

82. ____ As I was growing up, once family policy had been established, my parents discussed the reasoning behind the policy with the children in the family.

83. ____ My parents have always encouraged verbal give-and-take whenever I have felt that family rules and restrictions were unreasonable.

84. ____ My parents has always felt that what children need is to be free to make up their own minds and to do what they want to do, even if this does not agree with what their parents might want.

85. ____ As I was growing up my parents did not allow me to question any decision they had made.

86. ____ As I was growing up my parents directed the activities and decisions of the children in the family through reasoning and discipline.

87. ____ My parents have always felt that more force should be used by parents in order to get their children to behave the way they are supposed to.

88. ____ As I was growing up my parents did not feel that I needed to obey rules and regulations of behavior simply because someone in authority had established them.

89. ____ As I was growing up I knew what my parents expected of me in my family, but I also felt free to discuss those expectations with my parents when I felt that they were unreasonable.

90. ____ My parents felt that wise parents should teach their children early just who is boss in the family.

91. ____ As I was growing up, my parents seldom gave me expectations and guidelines for my behavior.

92. ____Most of the time as I was growing up my parents did what the children in the family wanted when making family decisions.

93. ____As the children in my family were growing up, my parents consistently gave us direction and guidance in rational and objective ways.

94. ____As I was growing up my parents would get very upset if I tried to disagree with them.

95. ____My parents feel that most problems in society would be solved if parents would not restrict their children's activities, decisions, and desires as they are growing up.

96. ____As I was growing up my parents let me know what behavior they expected of me, and if I didn't meet those expectations, they punished me.

97. ____As I was growing up my parents allowed me to decide most things for myself without a lot of direction from them.

98. ____As I was growing up my parents took the children's opinions into consideration when making family decisions but they would not decide something simply because the children wanted it.

99. ____My parents did not view themselves as responsible for directing and guiding my behavior as I was growing up.

100. ____My parents had clear standards of behavior for the children in our home as I was growing up, but they were willing to adjust those standards to the needs of each of the individual children in the family.

101. ____My parents gave me direction for my behavior and activities as I was growing up and she expected me to follow their direction, but they were always willing to listen to my concerns and to discuss that direction with me.

102. ____As I was growing up my parents allowed me to form my own point of view on family matters and they generally allowed me to decide for myself what I was going to do.

103. ____My parents have always felt that most problems in society would be solved if we could get parents to strictly and forcibly deal with their children when they don't do what they are supposed to as they are growing up.

104. ____As I was growing up my parents often told me exactly what they wanted me to do and how they expected me to do it.

105. ____As I was growing up my parents gave me clear direction for my behaviors and activities, but they were also understanding when I disagreed with them.

106. ____As I was growing up my parents did not direct the behaviors, activities, and desires of the children in the family.

107. ____As I was growing up I knew what my parents expected of me in the family and they insisted that I conform to those expectations simply out of respect for their authority.

108. ____As I was growing up, if my parents made a decision in the family that hurt me, they were willing to discuss that decision with me and to admit it if they had made a mistake.

Brief Orthodox Jewish Religiosity Scale

The following are questions about your religious beliefs and practices. Please try to answer all the questions as best and honestly as possible.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Slightly Disagree
4 = Neither Agree or Disagree
5 = Slightly Agree
6 = Agree
7 = Strongly Agree

109.	____	My religion influences everything I do.
110.	____	I believe that the Torah was given to Moshe by G-d at Sinai.
111.	____	I try to observe halacha [religious law] as carefully as possible.
112.	____	I believe G-d directs and controls the world.
113.	____	My religious observance is primarily out of social expectation.
114.	____	I believe G-d loves all His creations.
115.	____	I feel that G-d is always accessible to me.
116.	____	I feel G-d listens to my prayers.
117.	____	I feel Divine intervention (hashgacha) within my life.
118.	____	I believe in G-d.
119.	____	I say Brochos [blessings] with Kavaana [devotion].

GLOSSARY

Torah – The Bible, or "Written Laws" given to Moses at Mount Sinai

Mishna – "Oral Laws" given to Moses at Mount Sinai

Halacha – Torah law

Hashkafa – Torah ideology and worldview

Kashrus – Jewish dietary laws

Machmir – stringent

Rebbe – teacher or religious leader