

Spring 2002

Breaking the norm: Family characteristics associated with the avoidance of corporal punishment

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**BREAKING THE NORM: FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED
WITH THE AVOIDANCE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT**

BY

**WENDY ANN WALSH
B.A., Bates College, 1989
M.S., University of New Hampshire, 1997**

DISSERTATION

**Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

May, 2002

UMI Number: 3045344

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my mother, Phyllis Walsh, who has always inspired me to reach for the moon. “A child learns what he lives.”

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed to this endeavor. I am very thankful for the support and guidance I have received throughout this journey. First, I would like to thank my advisor, Professor Murray Straus. When I began to work with him for my Master's thesis, I had no idea how much I would learn from him. In fact, it was through this experience that I decided to continue for a Ph.D. at UNH. I am truly grateful for the opportunity to have him as a mentor. I know that I will carry what I have learned from him far into the future.

I would also like to thank all the other members of my committee who helped me think through some of the interesting nuances of research. David Finkelhor, thank you for meeting with me many times to brainstorm about various research questions. Thank you also for the opportunity to work on an exciting research project at the center. Thanks also to Heather Turner, who met with me several times about methodological questions and helped to further my interest in family related research through her classes. Thanks also to Mary Temke, who I first met at the beginning of my graduate studies and had the great pleasure of working for with Cooperative Extension. Thanks for all the wonderful memories and for helping to guide my career. Thank you also to Carolyn Mebert for her psychological perspective on this research.

Extra special thanks to my "sub-committee": Erika Gebo and Nena Strazcuzzi who provided much needed emotional and comic support. Thank you, Erika, for the daily encouragement, advice, and laughter. Going through this journey together really made it much more enjoyable. I don't know what I would have done without her.

Thanks also to Val Hurst and Kathy Kopiec who shared many of the same steps along this path and provided much support. Thanks also to Doreen Cole and Deena Peschke for all your help and support along the way.

I would like to extend a big thank you to Monique Simone, Ted Cross, and Lisa Jones for supporting and encouraging me through all the steps down this path. I have really enjoyed working with all of you and look forward to the future. Thank you for understanding and for giving me time and space to work on this. Thank you, Monique, for providing much needed insight and counseling on many occasions.

Every part of this journey was shared with Steve and for this I am truly thankful. Thanks for listening and for believing in me and making me laugh. Lastly, this journey would not have been possible without the ongoing support of my mother. I am blessed to call this amazing woman my mother.

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ABSTRACT

BREAKING THE NORM: FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE AVOIDANCE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

by

Wendy Walsh

University of New Hampshire, May, 2002

Corporal punishment (CP) is an acceptable and frequently used discipline tactic, with 94% of parents of 2- to 4-year-olds using it (Straus, 2001). Much of the parenting literature indicates that there are more positive ways to discipline a child (May, 2000; Sears & Sears, 1995; Spock & Parker, 1998). Yet, only a minority of parents raise children without CP.

Using Belsky's (1984) model of parenting, this study analyzed the 1985 National Family Violence Survey to compare this minority group of parents with those who use CP in order to understand the experiences and context associated with avoiding it. The extent to which parents rely on non-punitive discipline tactics was also investigated.

The sample included 824 parents of 2-to-6-year-olds. The categories for the dependent variable were CP avoidance, mild CP (spanking), or severe CP (hitting with an object). Parents who had physically abused their child were excluded. The results indicated more Hispanics, more parents of other ethnicities, and more African Americans avoided CP as compared to Euro-Americans. Euro-Americans had the largest percentage of parents who used mild CP. African Americans had the largest percentage of parents who used severe CP. More parents with less perception of stress, depression, and alcohol

use avoided CP. More parents with low couple verbal aggression, low couple conflict and no couple violence avoided CP.

A multinomial regression analysis found that low couple verbal aggression and the absence of parent to child verbal aggression were associated with an increased likelihood of avoiding CP. The absence of couple violence increased the probability of avoiding CP as compared to mild CP. Low alcohol use increased the probability of avoiding CP as compared to severe CP.

Parents who avoided CP used a greater proportion of reasoning and a smaller proportion of verbal aggression as compared to parents who used mild or severe CP. The results suggest that addressing marital conflict resolution tactics and the extent to which parents rely on positive discipline strategies could help to increase the percent of parents who avoid CP. The results add to the body of knowledge on the theoretical conception of discipline by highlighting the importance of CP avoidance as a discipline tactic.

CHAPTER I

THE AVOIDANCE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

In U.S. society, “discipline” almost always includes corporal punishment, as indicated by the finding of study after study that over 90% of parents hit toddlers. A recent estimate based on a nationally representative sample found 94% of parents of 2- to 4-year-olds reported using it in the previous year (Straus & Stewart, 1999). The widespread use of corporal punishment by parents of young children is juxtaposed with the growing body of research demonstrating that it is not more effective than other methods of correction and has harmful side effects that other methods do not have (Eamon, 2001; Stormshak, Bierman, McMahon, Lengua, and Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2000; Straus, 2001). Furthermore, much of the parenting literature indicates that there are more positive ways to discipline a child than corporal punishment (May, 2000; Sears & Sears, 1995; Spock and Parker, 1998). Yet, only a minority of parents raise children without corporal punishment. The purpose of this study is to compare this minority group of parents who avoid corporal punishment with those who use it in order to understand the experiences and context associated with avoiding it.

Much of the previous research on corporal punishment has focused on its prevalence and effects. Very little research has focused on understanding the personal resources and characteristics of parents who do not spank. Focusing on avoiding corporal punishment is conceptually different from research about predicting the use of spanking.

It is important to develop this area of research for several reasons. First, we need to understand better the context in which parents avoid corporal punishment. Second, it is a theoretically important way to further develop our conception of discipline. Lastly, it is important in a policy relevant way in order to create effective programs to decrease the amount of corporal punishment against children.

Corporal Punishment Avoidance as a Discipline Strategy

In order to understand the personal and contextual characteristics associated with the avoidance of corporal punishment (CP) it is first necessary to define the term. CP is defined as "the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain, but not injury, for purposes of correction or control of the child's behavior" (Straus, 2001, p. 4). CP includes acts that are viewed as legitimate forms of discipline and represent a relatively low risk of physical injury; these include acts such as pushing, grabbing, or shoving a child, slapping or spanking, hitting and trying to hit a child with an object. Thus, CP avoidance is defined as not engaging in any of these behaviors and therefore not using physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain in order to correct the child's behavior.

CP Prevalence

CP is nearly a universal aspect of growing up in American society. 80% of parents of 2-year-olds report using CP, 85% of parents of 3-year-olds, and 94% of parents of 4-to 5-year-olds. There is a decline at age 6, although more than 80% of parents of 6-to 7-year-olds used CP and some older children are still being hit, with over half of parents of 12-year-olds, a third at age 14 and 13% at age 17 using CP (Straus & Stewart,

1999). The low prevalence of CP avoidance as a discipline strategy may be illustrated by a number of cultural norms that endorse the widespread support and acceptance of CP.

Cultural Norms on CP. First, every state permits parents to use physical force to punish their children; this includes slapping, hitting, and spanking children under their care. Although states have limitations on the use of force, it is legal as long as there is no physical injury. Not only is it legal, but there are a number of informal norms that support CP. Gough and Reavey (1997) explain that “contemporary culture provides a range of linguistic resources which uphold parental power and subjugate the child” (p.427).

Second, although there has been a significant decrease in use and in attitudinal support for CP since the 1960s (Daro & Gelles, 1992; Straus & Mathur, 1996), approximately 90% of toddlers still experience CP (Straus & Stewart, 1999). Even people who report being opposed to CP approve of it in certain situations. Flynn (1998) found that two-thirds of those who oppose CP were able to identify certain circumstances in which they would approve it for 3- to 4-year-olds. Thus, there is a certain amount of tolerance regarding the decision to use physical pain as a teaching tool as well as a level of ambivalence about parental force to control children’s behavior such that CP is often seen as necessary (Bollenbacker & Burt, 1997; Lansdown, 2000; Ruane, 1993).

This tolerance is also illustrated by the American Academy of Pediatrics. Although a panel organized by the American Academy of Pediatrics in 1996 concluded that spankings “should not be the primary or only response to misbehavior used by a caregiver,” the qualifying statement is only “Against physical punishment for children younger than 2 years of age” (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1996, p. 856). This

implies that CP is an acceptable method. A lack of consensus against using CP further illustrates the widespread support of it as a discipline option.

Thirdly, the widespread support for CP is demonstrated by how parents explain their use of it. Many parents believe that they use CP because their children were persisting in misbehavior and their misbehavior needed to be corrected (Dickinson, 1991; Gough & Reavey, 1997). One study found that the two-thirds of mothers who reported becoming more in favor of CP after they had children mention their children, such as having a strong-willed child, as a major source of change (Holden, Thompson, Zambarano, & Marshall, 1997).

The widespread support of CP is also illustrated by the discipline messages mothers perceive about the appropriateness of spanking and whether mothers spanked (Walsh, 2002). The results showed that when mothers perceived discipline information sources as recommending spanking, the likelihood that a mother would spank increased.

In summary, CP is legal, is supported and generally accepted in our society by messages and tolerance that when children continue to misbehave it is often necessary to hit children. Despite the fact that CP is an accepted parenting practice and the fact that most children experience it, a number of concerns have been raised about the effectiveness and harmful consequences of spanking. The negative health and behavioral outcomes for children indicate that it is imperative to further understand the characteristics associated with CP avoidance.

Negative Consequences of CP

It has been argued that because CP gives children pain, it teaches them it is all right to inflict pain to others (McCord, 1996). Some of the potential harmful effects of

spankings include subsequent antisocial behavior of children and children's noncompliance (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; McCord, 1991; Straus, Sugarman, & Giles-Sims, 1997). Research also indicates that spankings may work against what parents are trying to achieve. Results show that using CP leads to greater incidences of child aggression and maladaptive behaviors (Eamon, 2001; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Patterson & Narrett, 1990; Strassberg, Dogde, Pettit, & Bates, 1994).

Spanking and physically violent parenting are associated with incremental increases in aggressive behavior problems (Stormshak et al., 2000). These results are consistent with research suggesting that spanking and physical aggression are related to childhood aggression in a cumulative manner, such that increases in aggressive parenting relate to increases in severity of child problems (Strassberg et al., 1994). Thus, parents who never use CP may have more positive child outcomes than parents who spank. Research also indicates that excessive spanking may be a risk factor for child abuse (Barber, 1992; Holden & Ritchie, 1991; Kadushin & Martin, 1981; Whipple & Richey, 1997; Whipple & Webster-Stratton, 1991).

One of the methodological limitations of much of the research on child outcomes of CP is the lack of longitudinal studies. A recent review on this research (Larzelere, 2000) found that controlling for initial child misbehavior, in 5 of the 8 longitudinal studies CP had negative child outcomes. The complex relationship between ethnicity and child outcomes of CP has been the subject of numerous articles (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997, and 11 commentaries; Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996; Stormshak et al., 2000). Three of the studies in Larzelere's (2000) review included ethnicity and all found the effects of CP depended on ethnicity, showing predominately

negative outcomes for European Americans and neutral outcomes for African Americans. Lazelere's conclusion was that more research is needed because outcomes vary by age, ethnicity, and whether other discipline tactics are used. Other research, however, has found negative outcomes for children of minority parents (Colby & Straus, in press; Straus, Sugarman, & Giles-Sims, 1997)

The present study does not examine the outcomes of CP; instead it focuses on the antecedents. But, the need to further understand the antecedents builds from the lack of evidence that CP deters unwanted behavior better than other methods or evidence that it enhances positive behavior (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Eamon, 2001; McCord, 1997; Straus, 2001; Stromshak et al., 2000; Wissow, 2001). Davis (1999) suggests that increasing parental knowledge of the personal and contextual factors associated with the cessation of CP may decrease the long-term negative effects of CP because fewer parents may continue to use CP. Thus, understanding the factors contributing to CP avoidance will increase our understanding of positive parenting.

CP Avoidance and Positive Parenting

At least two bodies of literature indicate that non-punitive modes of discipline should replace punitive means of discipline, such as CP. One body of literature indicates nonCP strategies are just as effective as CP in terms of whether the child repeats the behavior (Lazerele, 1996; Day & Roberts, 1983; Roberts & Powers, 1990). The time until a child misbehaved again did not differ by the type of discipline (Larzelere, 1996). On average, a toddler disobeyed between 2 and 3 hours after initial misbehavior regardless if the parents used CP only, CP and reasoning, nonCP, reasoning only, reasoning and nonCP, or reasoning and forced compliance. Similarly, another set of

studies (see Day & Roberts, 1983; Roberts & Powers, 1990) found brief room isolation to be as effective as spanking. These studies highlight that CP is not more effective than other discipline strategies. This implies that no matter how a parent responds to a toddler, all methods of discipline are relatively ineffective as far as negating subsequent misbehavior.

Most of the parenting literature defines discipline as teaching. Thus, a second body of literature that describes CP avoidance as positive parenting indicates that CP contradicts the meaning of discipline because it does not teach a child how to change their behavior (May, 2000). Furthermore, the majority of parenting books and parenting programs, such as “STEP” and “PET” propose that parents use alternative discipline strategies aside from spanking (Dinkmeyer & McKay, 1989; Gordon, 1970; Sears & Sears, 1995; Spock & Parker, 1998). Although few say never spank, parents are encouraged to use other means of discipline, such as setting limits and having specific behavioral consequences which are linked to the child’s behavior.

In summary, there are a number of negative consequences on the health and well-being of children associated with CP and there are ways of disciplining children that are just as effective in the short run and more effective in the long run. Hence the need to understand the personal and contextual characteristics that are associated with CP avoidance.

Characteristics Associated with Avoiding CP

There has been important research on CP. Most of this research has concentrated on the following three areas. First, a number of studies have examined the negative child health and behavioral outcomes associated with CP (Eamon, 2001; Larzelere, 2000;

Patterson & Narrett, 1990; Strassberg et al., 1994; Straus, Sugarman, & Giles-Sims, 1997). The second area has examined the child and family characteristics associated with the prevalence and chronicity of CP (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Giles-Sims & Straus, & Sugarman, 1995; Pinderhughes, Dodge, Bates, Pettie, & Zelli, 2000; Straus, 2001; Xu, Tung & Dunaway, 2000). The third area has examined parents who change their CP behavior since becoming parents or the intergenerational transmission of CP (Davis, 1999; Holden, et al., 1997; Mishkin's 1987 dissertation as cited in Davis, 1999; Sherman's 1997 dissertation as cited in Davis, 1999). But, there are compelling reasons to examine the factors and conditions that may accentuate avoiding CP (Carson, 1986; Davis, 1999; Straus, 2000).

Methodological Issues

So far CP has generally been referred to as representing a single type of behavior - using physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain. However, previous research has acknowledged the need to consider differences in severity in the type of CP such as spanking or hitting with an object (see Straus, 1998). Day, Peterson, and McCracken (1998) echo the need to address this, "Researchers have yet to resolve how to categorize different types of spanking and their attendant motivations" (p.84). Furthermore, the discipline controversy has been described as about nonabusive CP rather than severe types of CP (Larzelere, 2000).

Thus, in order to respond to the need to separate more severe forms of discipline, such as hitting a child with an object, from mild CP, such as spanking, the present study separates mild CP from severe CP. Therefore, the characteristics that distinguish parents who avoid CP can be compared to those who use mild CP and to those who use severe

CP. This is important to acknowledge for a number of reasons. First, some CP research is based on studies that have asked parents how often they spanked in the past week. This data is particularly useful when examining the characteristics associated with the chronicity of spanking. In other words, because spanking is a taken for granted behavior, a parent might not realize, or remember, how often a child is spanked (Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995). However, parents who did not report spanking in the previous week may have spanked 3 weeks ago or 2 months ago. Therefore, it is impossible to determine how parents who avoid CP differ from parents who use it using studies with this time frame.

The second methodological issue to acknowledge is that other CP research includes a scale to measure CP, and thus includes different types of CP such as spanking, hitting with an object, and slapping. Most notably is the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) and the revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTSPC). The items in the CTS can be used to create subscales for mild CP, such as spanking, slapping, and severe CP, such as slapping on face or head, hit with belt or hard object, pinched (see Straus, Hamby, Finkelhor, Moore, & Runyan, 1998). However, most of the research that has used the CP index does not discriminate between spanking and hitting with an object. Therefore, it is not possible to distinguish among those who avoid CP, use mild CP, or severe CP.

Mild CP versus severe CP. One study that does separate mild and severe CP is Dietz's (2000) analysis of the 1995 national Gallup survey. Results showed that 57% of parents used mild CP (spanking on bottom, slapping on the hand, arm, leg and shaking the child) and 25% used severe CP (hitting the child on the bottom with a hard object, pinching, slapping the child on the face, head, or ears). This analysis, however, is not

broken down by the child's age, which is crucial because CP is so dependent on the child's age. Dietz, however, notes that 85% of 2- and 3-year-olds and 95% of 4- and 5-year-olds were corporally punished in the past year. A larger percentage of African Americans reported both types of CP, with 55.7% of Euro-Americans and 67.8% of African Americans reporting mild CP and 23.7% of Euro-Americans and 41.3% of African Americans reporting severe CP. This illustrates that mild CP is more common than severe CP and there appear to be differences between Euro-Americans and African Americans, particularly in the prevalence of severe CP.

Dietz (2000) also examined the predictors of the use of mild and severe CP. Parents who had been physically abused by their own parents were nearly 1.5 times less likely to use mild CP than not. Dietz suggests that perhaps these parents pledge to avoid violence with their children. Parents were more likely to use it with boys and mothers were slightly more likely to use it than fathers. African American parents were 1.5 times more likely as Euro-American parents, and those with a child 6 years or less were 4 times more likely to use mild CP.

There were five significant predictors for severe CP. Parents with boys were more likely to use it than not. Those with incomes at or below \$15,000 were more than 1.5 times as likely as those with higher incomes. Parents living in the south and African American parents were twice as likely to use severe CP. Those with less than a high school diploma were 1.5 times as likely as those with at least a high school diploma to use severe CP.

A number of limitations of this study should be noted. First, abusive parents were not excluded from the analysis. Therefore, those parents that engaged in severe physical

assault could be confounded with those who reported severe CP. In addition, child misbehavior is not controlled for and no other disciplinary tactics are included in the analysis. However, this research indicates that there may be different predictors for mild CP and severe CP. This suggests that when examining the predictors of avoiding CP it is important to distinguish what the reference category is, such as mild CP or severe CP. Building upon the importance of identifying the characteristics associated with different types of CP, some research has examined the meanings parents have about spanking.

Meanings of Spanking

Two studies suggest that the meanings parents have about spanking are important to acknowledge. Carson's (1986) study of northeastern parents found that only 19 of 186 parents reported never spanking. The nonspanking parents were quite aware that their discipline strategies were different from others and thus kept their ideas to themselves. This group was clear as to why they did not use CP; they had guiding principles about raising children, such as valuing open communication, involvement in their child's life, and reducing parent child conflict. These nonspanking parents viewed their children as well behaved; they believed spanking was ineffective and that spanking had negative consequences such as teaching violence and aggression. The present study builds upon Carson's in-depth study that included a very small group of nonspankers by examining the characteristics associated with avoiding CP in a national sample of parents.

Another study (Davis, 1999) concluded that quitting spanking is a complex behavior rather than merely not engaging in a behavior. This qualitative study identified some of the reasons parents gave for quitting. Some parents were feeling guilty or did not want to see their child afraid of them. Other reasons were that parents changed how

they thought about spanking. Some parents now viewed it as a form of violence that could escalate into something more serious. The third theme was that some parents were forced to stop because of official sanctions. The last reason was because of pressure or advice from people to stop. Thus, a commonality among these parents who stopped spanking was that they developed new meanings about spanking. Although Davis focused on parents who once reported spanking and now have stopped, this study illustrates that some parents think about as well as stop spanking. The present study will build upon this study by considering the influence of additional personal and contextual factors, such as parental psychological resources and the marital relationship, on the avoidance of CP.

In addition to the meanings of spankings, ethnicity is also important to consider because it is related to how parents socialize their children (Lassiter, 1987). Moreover, being African American has been associated with a number of characteristics such as low income, low education levels, and high levels of stress which may decrease the likelihood of CP avoidance. The presence of family conflict and violence may also be an important factor for CP avoidance among all ethnic groups. The current research will consider the influence of each of these areas on avoiding CP as compared to mild and severe CP.

Ethnicity

Culture provides an important backdrop to understanding human behavior. It shapes parents' childrearing goals and beliefs by defining appropriate behavior such that culturally based expectations may lend some parents to rely on behaviors that are generally accepted within their cultural group (Lassiter, 1987; Luster & Okagaki, 1993). In the past few years attention has focused on the need to understand the complex

relationship between ethnicity and use of CP (Deater-Deckard et al., 1996; Pinderhughes et al., 2000). Much of the research that has examined ethnicity and CP has been limited by only including middle class Euro-Americans or by including only one minority group, using Euro-Americans as the norm (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999; Jambunathan, Burts, & Pierce, 2000; Mosby, Rawls, Meehan, Mays, & Pettinari, 1999). Thus, more research is needed to clarify the similarities as well as the differences among African American, Hispanic, and Euro-American parents and discipline strategies.

African Americans. Some research suggests that African Americans report using CP more than other ethnic groups. One of the few national studies comparing rates of CP and ethnicity found 70% of African Americans reported using CP during the previous year, whereas 62% of other minority parents and 60% of Euro-Americans reported using CP (Straus & Stewart, 1999). Another study found parent ethnicity only marginally significant to CP, with African Americans reporting a higher prevalence of ever spanking (67%), as compared with Whites (57%), Hispanics (47%), and Asians (41%) (Wissow, 2001). Thus, African Americans may be somewhat less likely to avoid CP.

There has been much discourse about the use of CP in the black community. One area of research has focused on the need to understand how discipline is incorporated into cultural practices (Deater-Deckard et al., 1996). It has been suggested that the meaning of CP centers on survival in the black community (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999; Kelley, Power, & Wimbush, 1992; Whaley, 2000) such that spankings may teach children to respect power and authority as a way to protect them from greater harm. Similarly, Mosby et al.'s, (1999) research emphasizes the cultural traditions and values

within the African American community as vital influences on understanding discipline practices.

The second area of research has focused on the need to understand the association between African Americans and CP risk factors, such as being a young mother, having a low income, low educational attainment, and high levels of stress (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999; Kelley, Power, & Wimbush 1992; Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998). Therefore, perhaps African Americans in certain circumstances such as parents with low income or high levels of stress may be less likely to avoid CP. An alternative hypothesis could be that the structural circumstances are less important than the cultural ideology.

Hispanic Americans. Similar to much of the research with African Americans, discipline research with Hispanic Americans has primarily compared Hispanic to Euro-American parents. Some research shows Hispanics reporting higher levels of CP than Euro-Americans, but not excessively so (Cardona, Nicholson, & Fox, 2000; Frias-Armenta & McClosky, 1998; Fry, 1993).

Other research shows no differences in parenting expectations, discipline, or nurturing practices among mothers in Mexico and the United States (Solis-Camara & Fox, 1995) and some research reports Hispanic mothers reporting a wide range of discipline responses (Lequerica & Hermosa, 1995). In this study, nearly half of mothers of preschool children used talking/explaining, 71% used spanking, 67% used yelling, and 23% used rewarding good behavior. This indicates that spanking is fairly common and is one of several discipline strategies.

In summary, many studies highlight the complex relationship among ethnicity, socioeconomic status, psychological variables, and discipline. Previous research

indicates the need for more research comparing the use of CP by ethnicity, particularly comparing more than two ethnic groups and including Hispanic parents (Dietz, 2000). Much of the research on CP has neglected a comparison of other parent control tactics, such as reasoning and verbal aggression, used by different ethnic groups. The present study helps fill these two under-developed areas in discipline research. In addition, it is not well understood what distinguishes African American, Euro-American, and Hispanic parents who avoid CP from those who spank and those who avoid CP from parents who use severe CP.

The current study builds on Whaley's (2000) statement on the association between ethnicity and discipline.

Thus an appreciation of sociocultural differences in parenting styles and related outcomes should not lead to unconditional acceptance of punitive behaviors because of their cultural significance (p.10).

The limited research on ethnic differences and CP suggests that what we know about sociocultural differences should be used to develop culturally sensitive, acceptable alternatives to CP (Wissow, 2001). Part of the process of developing alternatives to CP is understanding the characteristics associated with avoiding CP.

Ethnicity alone, however, does not adequately explain the dynamics of whether parents avoid CP or use mild or severe CP. The following section reviews some of the research on the child and parent characteristics that are associated with using CP.

Therefore, the likelihood of avoiding CP may be greater among some parents.

It should be noted, however, that these studies include both research that uses a narrow definition of CP, such as spanking, and research that uses a broader definition, such as spanking and hitting with an object. There is very little research, however, that

distinguishes among those who avoid, use mild, or severe CP. Thus, it is not possible to determine the specific association among family characteristics and CP avoidance, but research suggests that the following family characteristics are important to consider.

Child Characteristics

A number of child characteristics have been associated with CP. The use of CP is strongly dependent on the age of the child, with children between the ages of 2 to 6 most likely to experience CP (Straus & Stewart, 1999).

Sex. Boys are somewhat more likely to experience CP than girls but the difference is small (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Straus, 2001; Straus & Stewart, 1999). Parents of girls, thus, may be more likely to avoid CP. Because child sex is an important factor with how children are socialized as well as how parents behave with their children, child sex is important when examining discipline behaviors.

Misbehavior. Parents see child competence and perceived difficulty as pushing them to using spanking. Higher maternal developmental expectations have been associated with greater use of CP (Fox, Platz, & Bently, 1995) and 90% of mothers report using CP for situations related to bedtime and learning (Culp, Culp, Dengler, & Maisano, 1999). When parents believe a child intends to misbehave, they feel more upset and think it is important to respond forcefully (Dix, Ruble, Grusec, & Nixon, 1986; Dix, Ruble & Zambarano, 1989). Some parents believe that they use CP to help “bring the message home” to their children (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). In addition to perceptions of misbehavior, discipline tactics change over time as the misbehavior persists. One study found that mothers reported using more spanking in extended power bouts as compared with single discipline episodes (Ritchie, 1999).

However, it is conceptually important to view child misbehavior as a constant and not as an explanation or rationale for using CP. Just because some children misbehave more than others, this should not be used as a reason for some parents to hit their children. As Lansdown (2000) writes, "Children are the only people in our society against whom it is permitted in law to perpetrate violence" (p.419). He argues that the same arguments that were made with the violence against women campaign need to be extended to this issue. This means that as human beings children are entitled to rights and respect for their physical integrity, regardless of how they behave. Thus, it is imperative to examine the multiple factors at play, aside from child misbehavior, when parents decide to avoid hitting their children. A weakness in much of the previous research on CP is that child misbehavior has not been controlled (Larzelere, 2000). The present study addresses this limitation by controlling for overall child misbehavior.

Parent Characteristics

In addition to child characteristics, parent characteristics may be associated with avoiding CP. Perhaps parents in certain structural positions or parents with positive psychological resources with a positive marital relationship are more likely to avoid CP.

Sex. Mothers have been shown to use CP more than fathers, although the difference is relatively small. The difference is probably because mothers spend more time with children than fathers (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Dietz, 2000; Wolfner & Gelles, 1993). The difference may also be due to the norms that legitimize mothers as primarily responsible for parenting and that define spanking as an expected parenting behavior (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998).

Age. Younger parents have been consistently found to use CP more than older parents (Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995; Straus and Stewart, 1999; Wolfner & Gelles, 1993). Previous research suggests that age may be an indicator of maturity, with younger parents at a greater risk for parenting difficulties (Vondra & Belsky, 1993). Therefore, older parents may be more likely to avoid CP.

Education. Research indicates that the relationship between education and parenting behavior is complex. Some research has found more educated parents use CP less frequently than less educated parents (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Dietz, 2000; Fox, Platz, & Bentley, 1995). Older, more educated parents may have more access and knowledge about positive parenting practices and thus use CP less often (Deater-Deckard et al., 1996). Education may be thought of as a coping resource by enhancing one's problem-solving skills (Ross & Mirowsky, 1989).

Other research, however, has found increases in maternal education were not associated with lower spanking rates (Giles- Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995). Day, Peterson, and McCracken (1998) found that increases in parent's age, education, and psychological well-being operated together to decrease the frequency of spanking. However, it is not known how these personal characteristics are associated with CP avoidance. Perhaps parents who avoid CP have higher levels of education, and thus have access to parenting information. On the other hand, perhaps parents who avoid CP tend to have low education levels as well as a history of CP and do not want to parent their children as they were parented.

Religion. The religious affiliation of the family has consistently been associated with use of spanking. Catholics have lower rates of spanking than Protestants and those

with no religious preference have lower rates as compared to those having strong conservative religious ideology (Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995; Straus, 2001). Because religious ideology may inform parenting ideology, it is important to consider a parent's religion when examining avoidance of CP.

Personal well-being. Much of the research that has examined parental well-being has examined the relationship between maternal depression and use of CP and concluded that the relationship is complex. Depression has been linked to using higher levels of CP (Duman & Wekerle, 1995; Eamon, 2001; McLoyd, 1990; Turner, Wheaton, & Lloyd, 1995). Research also indicates that poverty may be considered a stressor that predicts adult depression, which in turn contributes to CP (Conger, McMarty, Yang, Lahey, & Kropp, 1984; Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, & Wu, 1991). Thus, perhaps parents with low levels of depression will be more likely to avoid CP. An alternative hypothesis could be that the effect of depression on parenting is elevated under certain circumstances, such as low socioeconomic conditions, or couple violence.

Stress factors. The relationship between stress and CP is complex and inconclusive. Much of this research has examined whether income is associated with CP, with the belief that low income is associated with higher levels of stress (Dietz, 2000; Giles-Simes et al., 1995; Straus, 2001; Wolfner & Gelles, 1993). Some research found that parents who experience more economic stress, display less nurturance and more harshness to their children (Jackson et al., 1999; Pinderhughes et al., 2000). The relationship between income and CP continues to be inconclusive because of the association between income with other variables such as age, ethnicity, partner violence and the presence of protective factors, such as psychological well-being (Eamon, 2001;

Eamon & Zuehl, 2001; Jackson, Gyamfi, Brooks-Gunn, & Blake, 1998; McLoyd, 1990; Straus, 2001).

Much of the previous CP research has been limited in the way in which stress has been measured, using income level as the measure of stress. In addition, previous research has not examined how a parent's perception of stress is related to CP. The present research helps to fill this gap by looking at the association of a variety of stress characteristics and avoiding CP.

Family size. An environmental condition which may affect stress is the number of children in the household. Previous research indicates that mothers with more children use CP more frequently (Asdigian & Straus, 1997; Eamon, 2001). Some research suggests that crowded conditions may inhibit the use of alternative discipline practices (Heffer & Kelley, 1987). Thus, how many people there are in a household may be an important factor that influences which discipline tactic is used in that households with fewer children may be more likely to avoid CP.

Single parenting. Research is inconclusive about the association between single parenting and use of CP. Some research indicates that the life stressors associated with single mothers living in economically deprived situations are in turn associated with frequent use of CP (Eamon & Zuehl, 2001; Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995). Although other research has found no difference in CP use for parents living with a partner and single parents (Straus & Stewart, 1999).

History of violence. One of the strongest predictors of using CP is whether parents experienced CP when they were children. Being hit as a child makes it more likely that a parent will hit their children because our own experience helps us to define

what is appropriate discipline (Bryan & Freed, 1982; Graziano & Namaste, 1990; Rodriguez & Sutherland, 1999; Simons et al., 1991; Straus, 2001). However, not all parents who were hit as children will hit their own children. Two studies on the intergenerational transmission of CP found that parents who discontinued this practice did not like it as a child, realized spanking did not work, and respected the rights of children (Dietz, 2000; Mishkin, 1987 and Sherman, 1997 as cited in Davis, 1999). Thus although history of CP may increase the likelihood of using CP on your own children, this experience does not always result in the use of CP.

Couple conflict. Marital conflict is associated with higher rates of aversive parenting and use of CP (Eamon, 2001; Straus, 1983; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980; Straus & Moynihan, 2001). Couple conflict may spill over and be directed toward the child (Eamon, 2001). Therefore, it is important to consider use and approval of couple violence because how a parent relates to others may influence how a parent interacts with his or her child.

Multiple Discipline Strategies

In addition to a parent's psychological resources and the climate of the marital relationship, the extent to which parents use other discipline strategies may be related to whether parents avoid CP. In particular, whether CP is the primary form of discipline or part of a range of behaviors has been the subject of recent research (Thompson et al., 1999; Wissow, 2001). Other research echoes that it is important to better understand the context of the parent child relationship when examining discipline strategies (Baumrind, 1996; Bryan & Freed, 1982; Carson, 1986; Larzelere & Merenda, 1994).

A number of studies have examined the correlation of different discipline strategies. Many studies show that spanking is positively correlated with other discipline strategies (Bartkowski & Wilcox, 2000; Thomson, McLanahan, & Curtin, 1992; Wissow, 2001). This can be explained as the intervention effect, in that when parents spank they are doing more of everything. Two discipline strategies that have been examined in relation to CP are verbal aggression and reasoning.

Verbal aggression. Verbal aggression is defined as

Communication intended to cause psychological pain to another person, or a communication perceived as having that intent. The communicative act may be active or passive, and verbal or nonverbal. Examples include name calling or nasty remarks (active, verbal), slamming a door or smashing something (active, nonverbal), and stony silence or sulking (passive, nonverbal) (Vissing, Straus, Gelles, & Harrop, 1991; p.224).

Studies on punitive or “power-assertive” discipline tactics indicate that CP and verbal aggression are highly positively correlated (Bartkowski & Wilcox, 2000; Thomas, McLanahan, & Curtin, 1992). And in another study, parental anger was significantly related to use of CP in one third of the discipline situations (Peterson, Ewigman, & Vandiver, 1994).

In addition to verbal aggression, CP has been correlated with impulsive behavior. One study (Carson, 1986) showed that about a third of parents spanked impulsively. Another study on impulsive CP (Straus & Mouradian, 1998) found that 46% of mothers who reported using CP used it impulsively at least sometime. Similarly, another study found that parents who reported more than one episode of frustration or aggravation a day had a four-fold increase in the odds of spanking (Wissow, 2001). These studies suggest that a parent’s emotional state is important to consider when studying CP. Thus, verbal

aggression may comprise a smaller proportion of discipline strategies for those who avoid CP as compared to those who use mild CP or severe CP.

Reasoning. Another discipline tactic that is important to acknowledge is the complex relationship between CP and reasoning (Baumrind, 1996; Bryan & Freed, 1982; Carlson, 1986; Larzelere & Merenda, 1994; Larzelere, 2000, Sears, Maccoby, Levin, Lowell, Sears, & Whiting, 1957). Reasoning is generally defined as the use of instructive discipline to provide an explanation for a standard behavior (Majonis, 1991). In the classic study on child-rearing (Sears et al., 1957), spanking was found to be more effective if associated with reasoning. However, Sears et al.'s study also found most parents who spank frequently rarely used reasoning. Similarly, another study found parents who use reasoning tend not to use CP, and those who used CP, use little reasoning (Bryan & Freed, 1982). In contrast, an in-depth study on why some parents don't spank (Carson, 1986) found over 80% of nonspankers and spankers used reasoning. It thus seems practically important to consider whether parents who avoid CP use reasoning to a greater extent as a discipline tactic than those who report using CP.

In summary, parents use a variety of discipline strategies, from reasoning to punitive tactics. Yet, little is known about the conditions in which parents do not use CP. Wissow (2001) noted that,

One of the ongoing difficulties in interpreting data about the use of physical punishment is differentiating situations in which it forms the sole or predominant basis for parent-child interaction or whether it takes place in the context of other more positive parenting interactions (p. 122-123).

Two studies have specifically addressed this concern by examining how parents combine coercive with noncoercive discipline (Thompson et al., 1999; Wissow, 2001). Using cluster analysis, Thompson et al. (1999) identified three groups of parents that

used various combinations of discipline techniques. The first group had high levels of physical discipline, neglect, verbal abuse, and attitudes that devalue children and would be considered as at moderate risk for parenting problems. The second group had high levels of nonphysical discipline, such as explaining as a discipline strategy, as well as physical discipline. This group had a relatively narrow range of interventions and had the most positive background characteristics, such as spousal agreement, low spousal fighting, and little history of abuse. The third group had low scores on all disciplinary practices and would be considered as high-risk parents.

The Thompson et al.(1999) study raises new research questions about the underlying themes and motivations behind child management strategies, such as how parents combine discipline strategies and how these are associated to parental psychological coping and self-perceptions. Although this study represents an innovative way of profiling parenting behaviors, a number of limitations should be mentioned. First, parents with children from birth to 17 years were included in the analysis. This is problematic because parents' discipline strategies need to be interpreted in relation to the age of the child. Second, the discipline strategy to avoid CP was not captured. In other words, by not specially defining this behavior as a potential discipline type, discipline information is overlooked.

Wissow (2001) extended Thompson et al.'s (1999) analyses to further examine the context in which CP is used in relation to other behaviors for parents with children younger than 3 years old. The results indicated that spanking is used in a variety of combinations with other parent-child interactions. Using cluster analysis four groups of parents were identified.

Two groups were identified as above-average use of spanking, although “average use of spanking”, is never defined. These groups both had higher levels of parental depression, but represented two extremes in terms of income and ethnicity. One group had the largest proportion of Hispanic and African American parents and the largest proportion of low income parents. The other above-average spanking group was 80% White and had the smallest proportion of low income parents.

The third group used average spanking as well as a larger proportion of other discipline strategies, such as time out, explaining, yelling and nurturing behaviors, such as reading and playing with the child. This group was characterized as women from affluent homes who interact with their children. The last group of parents used below-average spanking as well as low levels of other disciplinary actions. This group was characterized as men who show nurturing interactions, such as playing with their children, but do not discipline. This group was also diverse as far as ethnicity and income.

Similar to Thompson et al.’s (1999) study, Wissow’s (2001) study contributes to our understanding about how parents combine coercive and noncoercive discipline. However, a few limitations of this study should be addressed. First, because spanking was never defined parents might have interpreted it differently. To further illustrate this point, another discipline tactic included in the study was “hitting”, yet it is not clear how these two were distinguished. Secondly, the response categories were not clearly defined, therefore one parent may interpret 20 times as “often”, while another parent may interpret this frequency as “sometimes”.

Both of these studies demonstrate that the parenting environment is complex. Wissow's (2001) study illustrates the need to further examine discipline in relation to parental levels of depression as well as how spanking is correlated with yelling. Thompson et al.'s (1999) study illustrates the need to further examine discipline in relation to how parents cope with life stresses and their own parenting histories. In addition, it is important to further examine parents of children within the high spanking frequency ages.

The present study will address these concerns. Although previous research indicates power-assertive discipline techniques are correlated, it is not well understood whether parents who avoid CP use less verbal aggression as a proportion of discipline strategies than those who use CP. In order to further understand the context in which CP avoidance occurs, the present study will also examine the characteristics associated with avoiding CP and using high as compared to lower levels of reasoning as a discipline type and avoiding CP and using high as compared to lower levels of verbal aggression as a discipline type.

In summary, two reasons often used to explain why parents use CP are the persistence of child misbehavior and the lack of alternative discipline strategies. However, it is important to understand the other factors involved, such as parental psychological resources, the marital relationship, and the multiple discipline strategies parents use, in order to better understand the environment in which more parents might also decide that they do not have to use CP even as a last resort.

Theoretical Framework

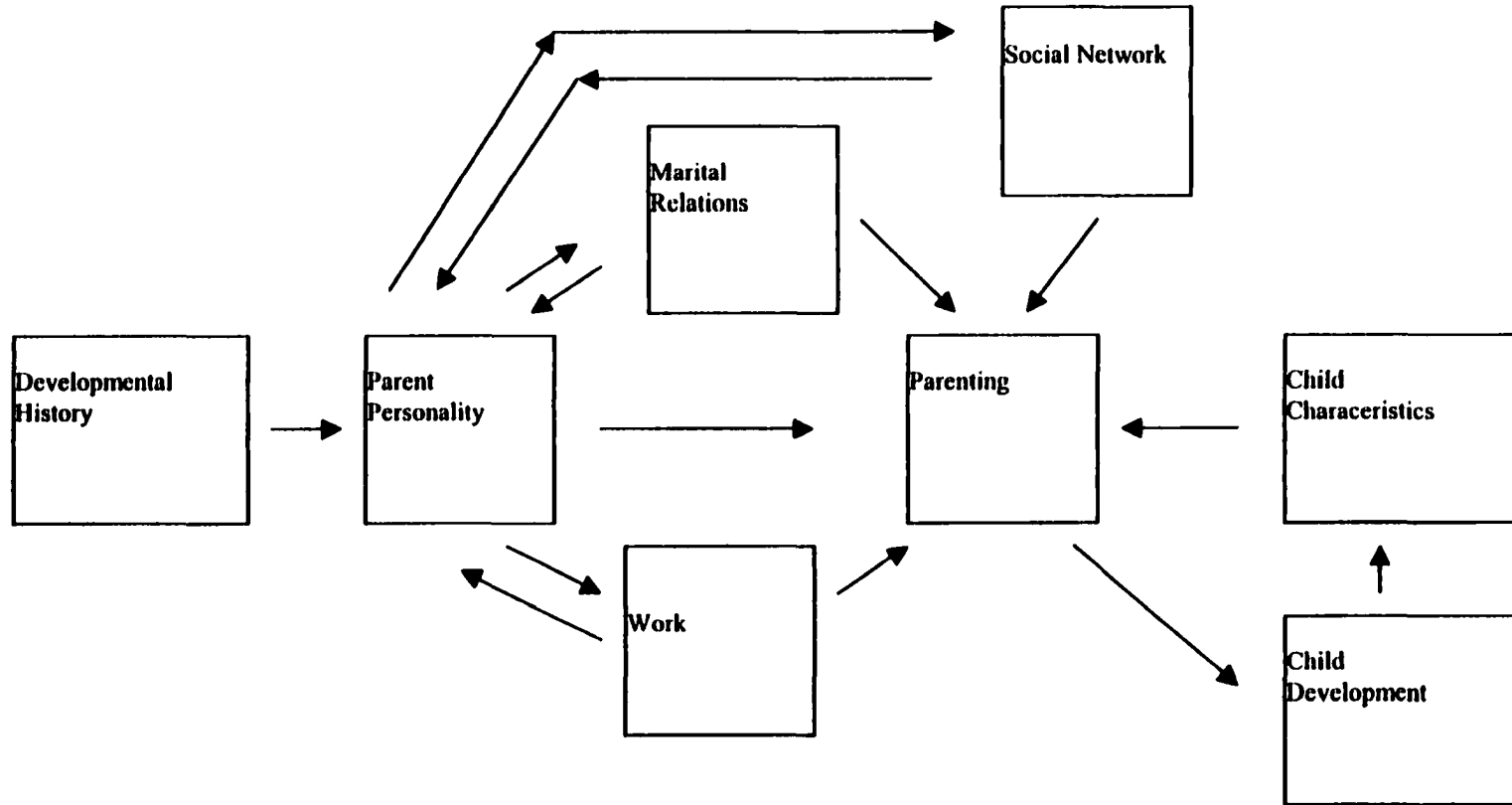
Sociological explanations of CP include social learning theory, models of social and cultural capital, structural stress theories, stress process theory and cultural norms. One theory that is particularly useful for understanding parents' avoidance of CP is Belsky's (1984) model of parenting. This theoretical model identifies the determinants of parenting. The current study builds upon the work of others who have used this model of parenting to explain the frequency of spanking as a discipline strategy (Day et al., 1998), to examine positive parenting behaviors such as warmth and parental involvement (Russell, 1997), and to examine the determinants of parenting styles and discipline practices among African American mothers (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999).

Belsky's Model of Parenting

Building upon Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development, Belsky's (1984) process model of parenting illustrates that parenting practices are multiply determined. This model portrays all aspects of parenting as directly influenced by three factors (Belsky, 1984; Belsky, Robins, & Gamble, 1984; Okagaki & Divecha, 1993). These are influences within the parent, within the child, and influences from the broader social context in which the parent-child relationship is situated (see Figure 1.1).

The model presumes that the parents' developmental history, marital relations, social networks, and work experience influence the personality and well-being of the parent and therefore parenting. Based on this model, Belsky (1984) deduced three general conclusions about the determinants of parenting: (1) parenting is multiply

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Model: Belsky's Process Model of the Determinants of Parenting



Source: Belsky (1984)

determined; (2) influences from the child, parent, and the broader social context are not equally influential; and (3) a parent's developmental history and personality shape parenting indirectly by shaping the broader social context in which the parent-child relationship is situated.

From Belsky's (1984) model of parenting, the following five factors have been identified as relevant to understanding the avoidance of CP. The five conceptual factors are child attributes, parents' personal and psychological resources, the marital relationship, the parent and child context, and community attributes.

Child attributes. The child's attribute that has received the most attention in influencing parenting is a child's temperament (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). Much research has examined how the parent-child interaction affects the intensity of behavior patterns, which also is described as the reciprocal effect of a relationship (Dix & Grusec, 1985). Although it is important to acknowledge a child's temperament, instead of describing discipline practices as resulting from the characteristics of the child, ecological theories emphasize that parenting decisions have many influences (Thompson et al., 1999). Therefore discipline research needs to include other influences aside from the child's temperament or misbehavior.

Parental personal and psychological resources. Because the experience of being parented influences parenting behavior, it is essential to understand what experiences the parent brings to the parenting situation (Luster & Okagaki, 1993). These experiences include parental characteristics such as personality, age, education level, ethnicity, and religion (Belsky, 1984). Vondra and Belsky (1993) have further argued that the impact

of sociocontextual influences such as marriage, work, social support, and developmental history, are filtered through the individual.

Vondra and Belsky's (1993) review on the influences of parenting concludes that although there is a lack of consistency in parenting research linking specific psychological factors with parenting behavior, there is consensus about the role of individual functioning at a broader level. This research indicates that greater psychological maturity predicts more competent parenting, whereas higher negative affectivity, such as depression, anxiety, and severe mental health impairment, predicts less competent parenting. What this suggests for research on avoiding CP is that psychological well being and coping skills may be influential factors by providing the means for some parents to avoid CP.

Parents' beliefs about their own efficacy are another dimension of parental cognitions. How competent parents feel to control their children's behavior is important. Some parents see themselves as powerless and engage in conflict and harsh discipline as a way to gain control (Bugental & Lewis, 1998; Bugental, Lyon, Krantz, & Cortez, 1997). Parents' beliefs about their efficacy are influenced by many factors. Some of these include financial stress (Brody, Flor, & Gibson, 1999), the extent the child's temperament challenges the parent (Teti & Gelfand, 1991), and the parent's interpersonal relationship skills (Grusec, Hastings, & Mammone, 1994). Thus, the parenting literature suggests that when examining CP avoidance, it is necessary to explore a parent's personal and psychological well-being.

Another area that may impact parenting is a parent's employment. Research has linked unemployment with child maltreatment and with deleterious parent-child relations

(Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983; Steinberg, Catalano, & Dooley, 1981). A limitation in much of the research on employment and parenting is the lack of information on understanding how satisfied a mother is with her employment position. However, employment as a “social address”, regardless of how satisfied one is with it, has been found to be important in the development of child-rearing attitudes and practices (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983; Kohn, 1963).

Marital relationship. Another parental characteristic that influences parenting is the quality of the parent’s intimate relationship (Vondra & Belsky, 1993). Belsky et al. (1984) state,

Since the parent-child system is nested with the marital relationship, what happens between husband and wives – from an ecological point of view – has implications for what happens between parents and their children (pg. 171).

Belsky describes the marital relationship as the primary support system for parents.

Previous research has supported the link between the quality of the marital relationship and parenting, with marital conflict associated with parenting problems (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980).

Parent-child context. The fourth factor in Belsky’s model is the parent-child context, suggesting that the larger context may either promote or deter positive parenting. Therefore structural characteristics of the family as well as the specific parent child interactions may influence overall parenting. Perhaps the parent child context creates additional strains that make positive parenting practices more difficult to achieve.

Community attributes. The community may influence parenting by influencing expectations and responses to children’s behaviors. Belsky suggests that the community environment in which a parent lives influences parenting expectations and responses.

Thus, the broader social context in which one lives may influence one's perception about what is appropriate behavior.

In summary, Belsky's model (1984) suggests that in order to understand differences in parenting, it is important to assess the complex family environment. This model indicates that a number of factors may provide the opportunity or the environment in which a parent avoids hitting their child (see Table 1.1). One set of variables captures the child's attributes (sex and misbehavior). Another set of variables captures the influences from the parent. These include demographics (sex, age, education, income, ethnicity, and religion), developmental history (history of CP, history of parents' use of couple violence), parent psychological functioning (perception of stress, depression level and alcohol use), and work (mother works and parent not in labor force).

A third set of variables captures the influences of the marital relationship (couple conflict, couple verbal aggression, approval of couple violence, and presence of couple violence). The larger parent-child context may be exemplified by the use of other discipline strategies (amount of verbal aggression and reasoning), structural characteristics of the family (number in household, number of children, number of older children than focal child, and single or two parent family), and parents' interactions with nonfamily members (nonfamily use of physical aggression). Building upon the idea that the community environment influences parenting, the last set of variables captures community attributes (state stress level and state legitimate violence index).

Table 1.1. Conceptual Model with Indicators

Conceptual Factor	Indicator
1. Child Attributes	Sex of child Misbehavior
2. Parental Personal & Psychological Resources	Sex of parent Age of parent Education level Income Ethnicity Religion
2a. Developmental History	History of CP History of parental violence
2b. Psychological Coping	Perception of stress Depression level Alcohol use
2c. Work	Mother works Respondent not in labor force
3. Marital Relationship	Couple conflict Couple verbal aggression Approval of couple violence Couple violence
4. Parent-child Context	
4a. Parent-child discipline	Verbal aggression Reasoning
4b. Structural characteristics of family	Number in household Number of children Number of children older than focal child Single parent
4c. Parents' interaction with nonfamily members	Nonfamily use of physical aggression
5. Community Attributes	State stress level State legitimate violence index

Research Objectives

This study focuses on a particular subgroup of parents: parents of 2- to 6-year-olds because these are the high spanking frequency ages (Straus & Stewart, 1999). Parents who had physically abused their children were excluded because parents who abuse their children also use CP (Barber, 1992; Holden & Ritchie, 1991; Whipple & Richey, 1997; Whipple & Webster-Stratton, 1991). Using Belsky's theoretical framework, the present study will address the need to extend this model to underrepresented groups of families in discipline research, such as African American and Hispanic parents (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999).

The first objective is to assess the degree to which personal and contextual factors are associated with avoiding CP as compared to using legal and acceptable types of CP, such as spanking, and to using severe CP, such as hitting with objects. In particular, the child's attributes, the parent's psychological resources, the marital relationship, the parent-child context, and the community attributes will be examined in relation to whether parents avoid CP, use mild CP, or use severe CP.

The following hypotheses were developed. 1. Parents with positive psychological resources will be more likely to avoid CP. In other words, parents with low levels of depression, low perceived stress, and low alcohol use, will avoid CP as compared to those with higher levels of depression, perceived stress, and alcohol use.

2. Parents in homes with positive marital relations will be more likely to avoid CP. Thus, parents with low levels of couple conflict, low couple verbal aggression, no approval of couple violence or no presence of couple violence will avoid CP as compared to those with couple conflict, verbal aggression, approval of couple violence, and

presence of couple violence. It is important to understand the extent to which there is low marital conflict and aggression because this could denote a subgroup of parents who experience very little punitive family interactions.

The second objective is to explore the multiple discipline strategies, such as reasoning and verbal aggression used by parents who do and do not use CP. This addresses the need for more research as described below:

To date, much of the research has characterized parents as predominately using one form of discipline over another (such as describing parents as power-assertive or inductive). However, our findings suggest that parents should instead be characterized as using multiple, alternative forms of discipline practices (Jackson et al., 1999, pg. 27).

It is hypothesized that parents who do not use CP will use a greater proportion of reasoning and a smaller proportion of verbal aggression as compared to parents who use CP. It is important to examine CP avoidance and the extent to which parents rely on reasoning because much of the parenting literature encourages parents to use reasoning and non-physical discipline (Sears & Sears, 1995). It is important to examine CP avoidance and the extent to which parents rely on verbal aggression because this could indicate that verbal aggression is not an alternative to CP, but rather that these behaviors tend to go together.

The third objective is to assess the extent to which family and contextual factors are associated with CP avoidance and using more or less reasoning and using more or less verbal aggression as discipline strategies. Because there is insufficient prior research to frame specific hypotheses, this is an exploratory analysis. It is important to examine the family and contextual characteristics associated with these combinations of discipline methods because parents avoiding CP and using little reasoning may mean a lack of

parental involvement in discipline, whereas avoiding CP and using more reasoning may indicate a group of parents using positive verbal discipline and a high level of parental involvement. Parents avoiding CP and using little verbal aggression may indicate a group of parents using primarily non-aggressive discipline tactics. In contrast, parents avoiding CP and using more verbal aggression would denote a group of parents not using CP, but using aggressive discipline tactics. It is important to acknowledge the characteristics associated with these discipline methods because this information could help inform parenting programs about the need to emphasize positive verbal tactics and avoid negative verbal tactics among some groups of parents.

Lastly, this study compares African-American, Hispanic, and Euro-American parents and avoidance of CP. Being able to explore these discipline behaviors for European Americans, African Americans, and Hispanic Americans will provide greater understanding of CP avoidance.

This research differs from much of the previous CP research in a number of ways. First, studying who avoids CP is conceptually different from studying differences in levels of CP. There is a need for research using national data on parents who avoid CP. We need to better understand the context of avoiding CP in order to theoretically further develop our conception of discipline. This is also important in a policy relevant way in order to create effective programs to decrease the amount of CP against children.

Secondly, this study includes additional variables to capture the parent's psychological resources, the marital relationship, and the multiple discipline strategies used. In particular, a multi-indicator stress index that includes a parent's perception of stress addresses the need to capture one's perception of being stressed rather than the

event (Pearlin, 1989). Based on research identifying the need to further examine the family environment and psychological resources of parents (Thompson et al., 1999; Wissow, 2001), the present study goes beyond existing research by including an indicator of alcohol use and four measures of marital conflict. In addition, a number of interactions will be tested in order to further capture the climate of the family environment.

Thirdly, this research differs from much of the previous research by comparing parents who avoid CP versus using mild CP or severe CP. It is critical to control for a child's misbehavior because misbehavior is so common and is often used by parents to explain why they think they spank (Gough & Reavey, 1997). Therefore, child misbehavior will be controlled. Previous research on the National Family Violence Survey has not focused on parents who do not use CP.

In summary, examining the association between family and contextual factors associated with avoiding CP will help identify the family conditions that may accentuate this behavior. This information will provide much needed information on the context of avoiding CP and further develop our conception of discipline. This knowledge will also inform program and policy development on ways to decrease the amount of CP against children.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The data used in this study were from the 1985 National Family Violence Survey (NFVS), a national probability sample of 6,002 households. The NFVS was designed to provide information on American couples and their children (Louis Harris and Associates, 1985). The sample was drawn using a random digit dial procedure and included four parts. First, 4,032 households were selected. Second, in order to ensure that there would be at least 36 states with at least 100 completed interviews per state, 958 households were oversampled in 25 states. Third, 502 African American households were oversampled. Fourth, 510 Hispanic households were oversampled.

In order to be eligible, the respondent had to be 18 years of age or older, who met at least one of the following three conditions; (1) currently coupled (married or unmarried cohabitating opposite sex couples), (2) previously coupled (previously married or unmarried cohabitating opposite sex couples separated for less than 2 years), (3) a single parent living with a child under 18 years of age. A random procedure was used to select the sex of the respondent. The survey included 3,232 households with at least one child under 18 years living at home. If there was more than one child, a random procedure was used to select the "referent child". The response rate, calculated as the completed interviews as a proportion of all eligible interviews, was 84%. There was no difference in refusal rate by ethnicity. All interviews were conducted by Computer Assisted

Telephone Interviewing and the average length of interviews was 35 minutes (see Appendix A for questionnaire).

Although this data was collected in 1985, the dataset is appropriate for this research for the following reasons. First, there is no other national study that includes questions about the use of CP and child misbehavior during the past year for a focal child. Other datasets that were examined included the National Longitudinal Youth Survey, the National Survey of Family and Households (Wave 1, 1987-1988 and Wave 2, 1992-1994), and the 1995 Gallop Survey. Although attitudes and use of CP have decreased since 1985 (Daro & Gelles, 1992; Straus & Mathur, 1996), the conditions that explain one's behavior to avoid CP are important to examine.

Second, in order to examine whether the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable might have changed since 1985, each independent variable and use of CP was conceptually examined. Based on this, the following variables might work in a different way now compared to 1985. Perhaps now there is more emphasis on the importance of recognizing stress in our lives and therefore how an individual perceives stress is different now than in 1985. As far as changes in cultural factors, as mentioned previously there has been a decline in the support and use of CP, as cultural factors change perhaps the extent to which one factor is more influential than another factor has decreased. However, it is not possible to say exactly how the variables have changed. Perhaps the prevalence of certain behaviors, such as parental conflict, has decreased, and the prevalence of other variables, such as parent-child reasoning has increased. However, it is not likely that the nature of the variables is conceptually different today. Because so few studies have explicitly examined parents who do not

spank, it is important to explore the characteristics of this population using a national dataset.

Conflict Tactics Scale

The NFVS used the original version of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), which differs slightly from the revised Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scales (CTSPC) (see Straus, Hamby, Finkelhor, Moore, & Runyan, 1998). The theoretical basis of both is conflict theory, which assumes that conflict is inevitable in human interaction, but that physical assault to deal with conflict is not inevitable (Cosser, 1956; Straus, Hamby, Finkelhor, Moore, & Runyan, 1998). The original CTS was designed for use with partners and was adapted to measure parental behavior by changing the referent person from “your partner” to a specific child. Although not all items are appropriate for parent-child relationships, the CTS has been frequently used to measure child maltreatment and has concurrent and construct validity as a measure of child maltreatment (see Straus & Hamby, 1997). The parent child discipline section of the CTS reads as follows,

Parents and children use many different ways of trying to settle differences between them. I’m going to read a list of some things that you and (your spouse/partner) might have done when you had a problem with this child. I would like you to tell me how often you did it with (him/her) in the last year.

Parents are given the following responses; never, once, twice, 3-5 times, 6-10 times, 11-20 times, more than 20 times.

For the current study, the item hit with something like a belt, hairbrush, a stick or some other hard object is included in the minor assault or CP index. In some previous studies this item was classified as severe assault. Because many people consider this behavior as a type of CP, for the current study this item is classified as CP.

Much of the previous research on CP has not excluded parents who use very severe or abusive types of physical punishment from parents who use legally accepted CP (Larzelere, 2000). Therefore, those who reported using very severe or abusive types of physical punishment were excluded from this study. Physical punishment was defined by the following five items on the CTS: kicked, bit, or hit with a fist, beat him/her up, burned or scalded him/her, threatened with a knife or gun, and used a knife or gun.

One year reporting. The CTS uses a one year reporting time frame. Therefore, the group that is classified as the no CP group most likely includes some children who experienced CP, but the parent did not remember because it happened months ago. In addition, this group most likely includes some children who experienced CP by the parent who was not interviewed.

Sample Size

Of the 3,232 households with at least one child less than 18 living at home, 986 had a referent child between the ages of 2 and 6 years. After removing the abusive parents (n=30) from the sample, 954 cases remained (2 cases had missing data on the CTS items). Exploratory data analysis revealed that a number of cases had missing values. Using listwise deletion, there were 653 complete cases with no missing values. In order to explore whether this subsample differed from the entire sample of 954 cases, means and ranges on all the variables were compared. The subsample with no missing values had fewer psychological problems, such as less depression and aggression. Therefore, if this group is used the remaining sample is healthier. The exploratory data analysis revealed that seven variables comprised most missing values. These variables were couple conflict, couple verbal aggression, couple violence, nonfamily aggression,

income, hit as a teen, and reasoning. Mean substitution was used in order to not lose so many cases due to missing values.

In order to examine whether the listwise deletion sample differed from the sample with mean substitution on these variables ($N = 824$), multinomial regression analyses were conducted and compared using each sample. There were few differences in regression results, with both analyses yielding similar coefficients and significance levels. Two variables were significant using the mean substitution method and not significant using the listwise deletion method. Parents of girls avoided CP more than parents of boys. Parents who did not perceive themselves as being under stress were more likely to avoid CP. The association for both of these variables was conceptually consistent with what would be expected based on previous research.

Because these two methods yielded similar results and because the listwise deletion sample had fewer psychological problems than the entire sample, mean substitution was used to replace missing values on the seven previously mentioned variables. This method has been described as a reasonable choice for retaining a representative sample (Newton & Rudestam, 1999). Using the mean substitution method resulted in a sample of 824 cases and a 14% attrition rate.

Variables

Dependent Variables

CP. CP behavior was classified as avoidance, mild CP, or severe CP. Avoidance of CP was defined as not reporting any of the following behaviors on the CTS in the past year; pushing, grabbing, or shoving him/her, slapping or spanking him/her, hitting or trying to hit him/her with something and throwing something at him/her. Parents were

classified as using mild CP based on whether the parent reported one or more instances of the behaviors in the previous 12 months: pushing, grabbing, shoving, slapping or spanking the child. Severe CP was defined by two behaviors on the CTS: hitting or trying to hit him/her with something and throwing something at him/her. Three categories were coded 0 = severe CP, 1 = mild CP, and 2 = avoidance of CP.

Child Attributes

Sex. Child sex was coded 0=male, 1=female.

Misbehavior. The child misbehavior index asked whether the referent child had experienced any of the following difficulties within the past year: temper tantrums, discipline problems in school, misbehavior and disobedience at home, physical fights with kids who live in your house, physical fights with kids who don't live in your house, physical fights with adults who live in your house, physical fights with adults who don't live in your house, deliberately damaging or destroying property, stealing money, and other. Responses were yes or no. The child misbehavior index summed the responses for these ten items and had an alpha reliability coefficient of .576. Because of the distribution of this variable (73.8% of respondents had 0 on the index), misbehavior was grouped into the following categories; 0 = 0 and 1 = 1 - 8.

Parental Personal and Psychological Resources

Sex. Parent sex was coded 0=male, 1=female.

Age. Parent age was measured as a continuous variable. The range in responses was 18 to 75 years. For the cross-tabular analysis, age was grouped into the following categories; 18 – 29, 30 – 39, 40 – 75.

Ethnicity. Respondents classified themselves as European American, African American, Hispanic, or Other. For the regression analyses, ethnicity was dummy coded.

Religion. Respondents' religious preference was classified as Catholic, Protestant, Other, or none.

Education level. Respondent's education level was coded 1=no education through some high school, 2=high school graduate, 3=some college, 4=college graduate and higher.

Income. Income level was coded as: 0 = no income to \$10,000, 1 = \$10,001-\$20,000, 2 = \$20,001-\$30,000, 3 = \$30,001-\$40,000, 4 = \$40,001 and over.

History of CP. History of CP was defined as whether the respondent experienced CP as a teen by either parent. This was coded as 0 = no history of CP and 1 = history of CP.

History of couple violence. Couple violence between respondents' parents was defined as whether the respondent's mother hit their father or father hit their mother when they were a teenager. History of couple violence was coded as 0 = no history of couple violence and 1 = presence of couple violence.

Depression. Respondents were asked how often in the past year they experienced the following six conditions: bothered by feelings of sadness or depression, felt very bad or worthless, wondered if anything was worthwhile anymore, felt completely hopeless about everything, thought about taking your own life, and tried to take your own life. Responses were never, almost never, sometimes, fairly often, and very often. These items are from the PERI as referenced in Newman (1986). The Depression Index summed the responses on these six items and had an alpha reliability coefficient of .705.

The range in responses was 0 to 3.8, with higher scores indicating more depression. For the cross-tabular analyses, depression was grouped into the following categories; no reported depression, average (one standard deviation above or below the mean), and high (more than one standard deviation above the mean).

Alcohol use. Categories of drinking were created based on two questions. One question asked, how often do you consume alcoholic beverages, the other question asked how many drinks do you have (see Kantor & Straus, 1990). The frequency and amount data from these questions were used to create five categories of drinking; abstinent = 0 (never drinks), low = 1 (less than once a month up to 1-2 times a week; never more than 1 drink at a time. Drinks less than once a month and no more than 2 drinks at a time), low moderate = 2 (drinks from 1 to 3 times a month up to daily; never more than 2 drinks), high moderate = 3 (drinks less than once a month up to 1 to 2 times a week; 3-4 drinks a day), high = 4 (drinks 3-4 times a week up to daily, 3 or more drinks a day; drinks on infrequent occasions and drinks 5 or more drinks a day).

Perceived stress. The Perceived Stress Index included 3 items to subjectively measure stress as compared to stressful events. Respondents were asked in the past year how often they felt nervous or stressed, felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them, and found that you could not cope with all the things you had to do. Responses were never, almost never, sometimes, fairly often, and very often. They are from a scale by Cohen, Kamarck, and Merelstein (1983). The range of responses was 0 to 12, with higher scores indicating an increased perception of stress. This index had an alpha reliability coefficient of .744. For the cross-tabular analyses, stress was grouped

into the following categories; low perceived stress, average (one standard deviation above or below the mean), and high (more than one standard deviation above the mean).

Not in labor force. This was coded as 0 = respondent is employed full time, part time, a student, keeps house, disabled, or other and 1 = respondent is not in labor force.

Mother's employment. Employment status of mother was coded as 0 = employed part time, unemployed, a student, keeps house, disabled, or other and 1 = employed full time.

Marital Relationship

Couple conflict index. Couple conflict was defined as how often the couple agreed during the past year/the last year that they were together on the following seven activities; managing the money, cooking, cleaning, repairing the house, social activities and entertaining, affection and sex relations, and things about the children. The response categories for each item were; never, sometimes, usually, almost always, and always. The couple conflict index summed the responses for the seven items and had an alpha reliability coefficient of .720. The range of responses was 0 to 20, with higher numbers indicating more conflict. For the cross-tabular analysis, couple conflict was grouped into the following categories; average (one standard deviation above or below the mean) and high (more than one standard deviation above the mean).

Couple verbal aggression index. Couple verbal aggression was measured by the following items on the CTS: insulted or swore, sulked or refused to talk about an issue, stomped out of the room, house or yard, cried, did or said something to spite him/her/you, threatened to hit or throw something at him/her/you, threw or smashed or hit or kicked something. Responses ranged from 0 to 216. For the cross-tabular analysis, this variable

was grouped into the following categories: 0 = lower use of couple verbal aggression if their use of it was in the lower two-third scores and 1 = high use of couple verbal aggression if their use of it was in the top third scores.

Because regression is sensitive to the distributional shape of the independent variables, it was necessary to reduce the skew of this variable by power transformation. In order to select an appropriate power, the ladder of powers was followed (Hamilton, 1992). First the logarithm $q=0$ was selected and was too powerful; $q=.5$ was selected, but was not strong enough because the distribution was still positively skewed. Although the ladder of powers points to using round number powers, a value is needed between $q=.5$ and $q=0$. The value $q=.3$ was selected and the distribution was approximately normal (see Appendix B).

Couple violence approval index. Couple violence approval was defined as whether the respondent approved of at least one of the following two questions. Are there situations that you can imagine in which you would approve of a husband slapping his wife's face? Are there situations that you can imagine in which you would approve of a wife slapping her husband's face? Partner violence approval index was coded as 0 = no and 1 = yes (to at least one of the questions).

Couple violence. Couple violence was defined as the presence by either the respondent or his/her partner of any of the following behaviors in the past year on the CTS; threw something at partner, pushed, grabbed, or shoved him/her, slapped him/her, kicked, bit, or hit with a fist, hit or tried to hit with object, beat him/her up, choked him/her, threatened with a knife or gun, and used a knife or gun. In order to capture the

prevalence of couple violence, couple violence was coded with a dichotomous variable with 0 = no couple violence and 1 = couple violence.

Parent-Child Context

Reasoning scale. The CTS also included questions about parents' use of reasoning as a discipline strategy to the focal child in the past year. The Reasoning Scale included the following items: discussed an issue calmly, got information to back up your side of things, and brought in or tried to bring in someone to help settle things. The response categories for each item were: none, once, twice, 3-5 times, 6-10 times, 11-20 times, and 20 or more times. The Reasoning Scale summed the responses for these three items and had an alpha reliability coefficient of .515. The range in responses was 0 to 75. For the cross-tabular analysis, this variable was grouped into the following categories: 0 = lower use of reasoning if a respondent's use of it was in the lower two-third scores and 1 = high use of reasoning if a respondent's use of it was in the top third scores.

Because regression is sensitive to the distributional shape of the independent variables, it was necessary to reduce the skew of this variable by power transformation. In order to select an appropriate power, the ladder of powers was followed (Hamilton, 1992). The square root ($q=.5$) was selected to reduce mild positive skew (see Appendix B).

Verbal aggression scale. The CTS also included questions about parents' use of verbal aggression to the focal child in the past year. The Verbal Aggression Scale included the following items: insulted or swore at him/her, sulked and/or refused to talk about it, stomped out of the room or house (or yard), cried, did or said something to spite him/her, threatened to hit or throw something at him/her, and threw or smashed or hit or

kicked something. The response categories for each item were: none, once, twice, 3-5 times, 6-10 times, 11-20 times, and 20 or more times. The Verbal Aggression Scale summed the responses for these six items and had an alpha reliability coefficient of .489. The range in responses was 0 to 100. For the cross-tabular analysis, this variable was grouped into the following categories: 0 = lower use of verbal aggression if a respondent's use of it was in the lower two-third scores and 1 = high use of verbal aggression if a respondent's use of it was in the top third scores. For the regression analysis, 0=no verbal aggression and 1=presence of verbal aggression (see Appendix B).

Reasoning proportion. Reasoning proportion was defined as the proportion of time that reasoning was used when the 3 discipline strategies were used. This variable was calculated by dividing the reasoning scale by the sum of the reasoning, verbal aggression, and CP scales and multiplying by 100. The range in responses was 0 to 100.

Verbal aggression proportion. Verbal aggression proportion was defined as the proportion of time that verbal aggression was used as compared to the 3 discipline strategies. This variable was calculated by dividing the verbal aggression scale by the sum of the reasoning, verbal aggression, and CP scales and multiplying by 100. The range in responses was 0 to 100.

CP proportion. CP proportion was defined as the proportion of time that CP was used as compared to the 3 discipline strategies. This was calculated by dividing the CP scale by the sum of the reasoning, verbal aggression, and CP scales and multiplying by 100. The range in responses was 0 to 100.

P2Reason. In order to account for the level of discipline response, two additional variables were created to compare the proportion of time that reasoning or verbal aggression were used and whether parents avoided CP, used mild CP, or severe CP. P2Reason was defined as the proportion of time that reasoning was used as compared to use of reasoning and verbal aggression. This was calculated by dividing the reasoning scale by the sum of the reasoning and verbal aggression scales and multiplying by 100. The range in responses was 0 to 100. Respondents were classified as more use of reasoning if their proportion of reasoning was in the highest scoring third of parents and respondents were classified as little use of reasoning if their use of reasoning was below this.

P2Aggression. P2Aggression was defined as the proportion of time that verbal aggression was used as compared to use of reasoning and verbal aggression. This was calculated by dividing the verbal aggression scale by the sum of the reasoning and verbal aggression scales and multiplying by 100. The range in responses was 0 to 100. Respondents were classified as more use of verbal aggression if their proportion of verbal aggression was in the highest scoring third of parents and respondents were classified as little use of verbal aggression if their use of verbal aggression was below this.

Number in household. The number of people living in the household was a continuous variable. The range was 2 -10. For the cross-tabular analysis this variable was grouped into 3 categories: 1-3, 4, or 5 or more people in the household.

Number of children. The number of children living in the household was a continuous variable. The range was 1 to 6. For the cross-tabular analysis this variable was grouped into 3 categories: one child, 2 children, or 3 or more children.

Number of older children. The number of children older than the focal child was a continuous variable. The range was 0 to 5. For the cross-tabular analysis this variable was grouped into 3 categories: none, one child, or 2 or more children older than the focal child.

Household type. Two parent households were coded as 0 and single parent households were coded as 1.

Nonfamily use of physical violence. Nonfamily use of physical violence was defined as whether the respondent or the respondent's partner answered yes to one of the following statements. The questions were restricted to behavior in the past 12 months. The three questions were: 1) Got angry at someone who did not live in the household and kicked or smashed something, slammed the door, punched the wall, etc. 2) Fought with someone who did not live in the household and hit the person. 3) Fought with someone who did not live in the household and hurt that person badly enough to need to see a doctor. This variable was coded as 0 = none and 1 = presence of nonfamily use of physical violence.

Community Attributes

State stress index. The State Stress Index measured the rate at which stressful life-events occur in each state (Linksy, Bachman, & Straus 1995). The index included 15 items measuring economic, family, and community stressors. The items in the index are a) economic stressors: unemployment claims, striking workers, business failures, personal bankruptcy cases, mortgage foreclosures, b) family stressors: divorces, abortions, illegitimate births, infant deaths, fetal deaths, c) community stressors: disaster assistance, % resident less than 5 years, new housing units, new welfare recipients, and

high school dropouts. The responses range from 10 to 100, with higher scores indicating higher levels of stress. For the cross-tabular analysis, this variable was grouped into 2 categories; high stress (top quartile of the distribution) and low stress.

State legitimate violence index. The State Legitimate Violence Index measured aggregate behaviors or cultural behaviors about the extent to which each state has a socially approved legitimate involvement in violence (Baron & Straus, 1989). The three types of indicators were mass media preferences, governmental use of violence, and participation in legal or socially approved violent activities. The indicators were a) mass media preferences: violent television viewing index and violent magazine circulation index, b) governmental use of violence: state legislation permitting corporal punishment in the schools, prisoners sentenced to death per 100,000 population, and executions per 100 homicide, and c) participation in legal or socially approved violent activities: hunting licenses per 100,000 population, the state of origin of football players, National Guard expenditures per capita, and lynchings per million population during the period 1882-1927. For the cross-tabular analysis, this variable was grouped into 2 categories: high violence (top quartile of the distribution) and low violence.

Sample Characteristics

Because one of the purposes of this research was to compare African American, Euro-American, and Hispanic parents and the avoidance of CP, sample characteristics are presented by ethnicity. The sample (N = 824) was 65.7% Euro-American, 14.4% African American, 14.8% Hispanic, and 5.1% comprised the Other category. This represents a slightly larger proportion of Hispanics than the population. In 1990, the population was

83.9% Euro-American, 12.3% African American, 9.0% Hispanic, and 3.8% other (U.S.Census Bureau, 2000).

Child

Slightly over half of the selected children were female (see Table 2.1). Child age was equally distributed within the focal range, with 21.6% age 2, 21.2% age 3, 20.6% age 4, 18.3% age 5, and 18.2% age 6 (data not presented in Table). There was no difference among ethnic groups in the age of focal child.

Parent

Approximately 60% of respondents were mothers (see Table 2.1). A larger proportion of African American and Hispanic respondents were mothers as compared to Euro-American and Other ethnicities. A larger proportion of African American and Hispanic respondents were between the ages of 18 and 29 years old, as compared to Euro-American and Other ethnicities.

Three times as many respondents were high school graduates as compared to having up to some high school. A larger proportion of Euro-Americans had college degrees or higher as compared to the other ethnic groups, whereas a larger proportion of Hispanics had up to some high school. This is consistent with research indicating that Euro Americans tend to have higher levels of education as compared to African Americans and Hispanics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Twice as many respondents had income between \$20,001 to \$30,000 as compared to those having less than \$10,000. A larger percentage of Euro-Americans had income of at least \$40,001, whereas a larger percentage of African Americans reported income less

Table 2.1 Sample Background Characteristics by Ethnicity

Characteristic	Total Sample (N = 824)	Euro-American (n = 541)	African American (n = 119)	Hispanic (n = 122)	Other (n = 42)	χ^2	ϕ
Female child	53.9	54.3	53.8	54.1	47.6	.712	
Mother	60.8	57.1	70.6	73.8	42.9	22.149***	.164
Parent age:							
18-29	42.2	38.8	47.9	54.9	33.3		
30-39	48.3	51.8	38.7	38.5	59.5	18.295**	.149
40-highest	9.5	9.4	13.4	6.6	7.1		
Education:							
Up to some high school	13.0	7.0	14.3	36.1	19.0		
High school graduate	38.0	38.6	38.7	30.3	50.0	102.431***	.353
Some college	25.1	23.8	31.9	25.4	21.4		
College grad. or higher	23.9	30.5	15.1	8.2	9.5		
Income:							
0-10,000	13.7	7.9	31.1	22.1	14.3	75.573***	
10,001-20,000	21.0	19.2	22.7	29.5	14.3		
20,001-30,000	28.4	29.6	21.8	27.9	33.3		.303
30,001-40,000	18.4	20.7	13.4	12.3	21.4		
40,001 +	18.4	22.6	10.9	8.2	16.7		
Religion:							
Protestant	58.9	62.5	81.5	17.2	69.0		
Catholic	30.3	26.2	6.7	73.8	23.8	151.995***	.429
Other	3.5	4.1	3.4	1.6	2.4		
None	7.3	7.2	8.4	7.4	4.8		
Number of children in household:							
One	36.9	37.0	38.7	37.7	28.6		
Two	41.4	42.1	40.3	39.3	40.5	3.083	
Three or more	21.7	20.9	21.0	23.0	31.0		
Single parent	13.8	9.2	31.9	16.4	14.3	42.946***	.228

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

than \$10,000. This is consistent with other research indicating that African Americans tend to have low incomes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Approximately twice as many respondents were Protestant as compared to Catholic. More African Americans and Euro-Americans were Protestant, whereas more Hispanics were Catholic.

About a third of respondents had one child living at home, with no difference by ethnicity. Just over a tenth of respondents were single parent families. Twice as many African Americans were single parent families as compared to Hispanics, and three times as many compared to Euro-Americans. This is consistent with other research indicating that more African American families live in single family households (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Analyses

Bivariate analyses of CP. Interval level independent variables were grouped and crosstabulations were used to examine the relationships for the nominal and categorical independent variables and the dependent variable.

Multivariate analysis of CP. Because the dependent variable has 3 nominal level categories, multinomial regression was used. The cross-tabular analysis of the independent variables and CP determined which variables should be included in the multinomial regression analysis. Issues of multicollinearity were addressed through correlation matrixes. If two variables were highly correlated, only one was entered into the regression. In order to examine the context in which CP is avoided, a series of regressions was conducted, with each model adding one interaction term.

Proportion of Discipline Strategies. ANOVA was used to examine the proportion of discipline strategies used by parents who avoid CP, use mild CP, or severe CP. Crosstabulations were used to examine the extent to which parents used more or little reasoning and verbal aggression among the avoid CP group.

Level of Significance

To assess statistical significance, a standard .05 level was used to determine whether results significantly differ from what would be expected by chance. This represents the maximum risk of mistakenly rejecting the null hypothesis or a Type I error. For the analyses on the amount of reasoning and verbal aggression that used a subset of the sample (n=103), a .10 level was used. With a sample of 824, there will be sufficient power (.80) to reject a false null hypothesis and to accept the alternative hypothesis (Cohen, 1992).

CHAPTER III

FAMILY AND CONTEXTUAL CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE AVOIDANCE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Very little research has focused extensively on understanding the family and contextual characteristics of parents who do not spank, even as a last resort. This chapter will examine the minority group of parents who avoid CP with those who use it in order to understand the experiences and attitudes associated with avoiding it. In particular, the child's attributes, parent's psychological resources, the marital relationship, the parent-child context, and community attributes will be examined in relation to whether parents avoid CP, use mild CP, or use severe CP. The following hypotheses were developed.

1. Parents with positive psychological resources will be more likely to avoid CP. In other words, parents with low levels of depression, low levels of perceived stress, and low alcohol use, will avoid CP as compared to those with higher levels. This information will enhance our understanding about the association between parental emotions and coping mechanisms and using non-physical discipline tactics.

2. Parents in homes with a positive marital relationship will be more likely to avoid CP as compared to those with higher levels of family conflict. Thus, parents with low levels of couple conflict, low couple verbal aggression, no approval of couple violence or no presence of couple violence will avoid CP. It is important to understand the extent to which parents with less family conflict and aggression avoid CP because this could denote a subgroup of families who experience very little punitive family

interactions. This could indicate that enhancing the quality of parental interactions may be an important aspect of increasing CP avoidance.

First, family and contextual factors and CP avoidance were examined at the bivariate level. What distinguishes parents who avoid CP, use mild CP or use severe CP? Second, multivariate analyses were conducted to identify the predictors of avoiding CP as compared to using mild CP and of avoiding CP as compared to using severe CP.

Prevalence of CP Avoidance

Only about one in ten parents avoided CP. This is consistent with other research indicating that approximately 90% of parents of young children use CP (Straus & Stewart, 1999). Approximately three-quarters of parents used mild CP and more than one in ten parents used severe CP.¹

The association between the items on the mild CP index was examined in order to assess whether there was a subgroup of parents not spanking, but pushing, grabbing, or shoving a child. This information is important because it could indicate a subgroup of parents who may not spank, but use physical force on their child. On the other hand, if parents tend to use both spanking and pushing or grabbing a child, it would indicate that these tactics go together. 94.1% of parents who pushed, grabbed, or shoved their child, also slapped or spanked their child, whereas 81.1% of parents who did not push, grab, or shove their child, slapped or spanked their child, $\chi^2 (1, N = 824) = 24.849, p < .001, \phi = .174$. This indicates that these two behaviors tend to co-occur, rather than be alternatives to each other. It is important to acknowledge this because if parents do not spank, they may also be less likely to push or grab their children.

¹ Age of child was not associated with type of CP (avoid, mild, or severe), $\chi^2 (8, N = 824) = 11.678, p = .166$.

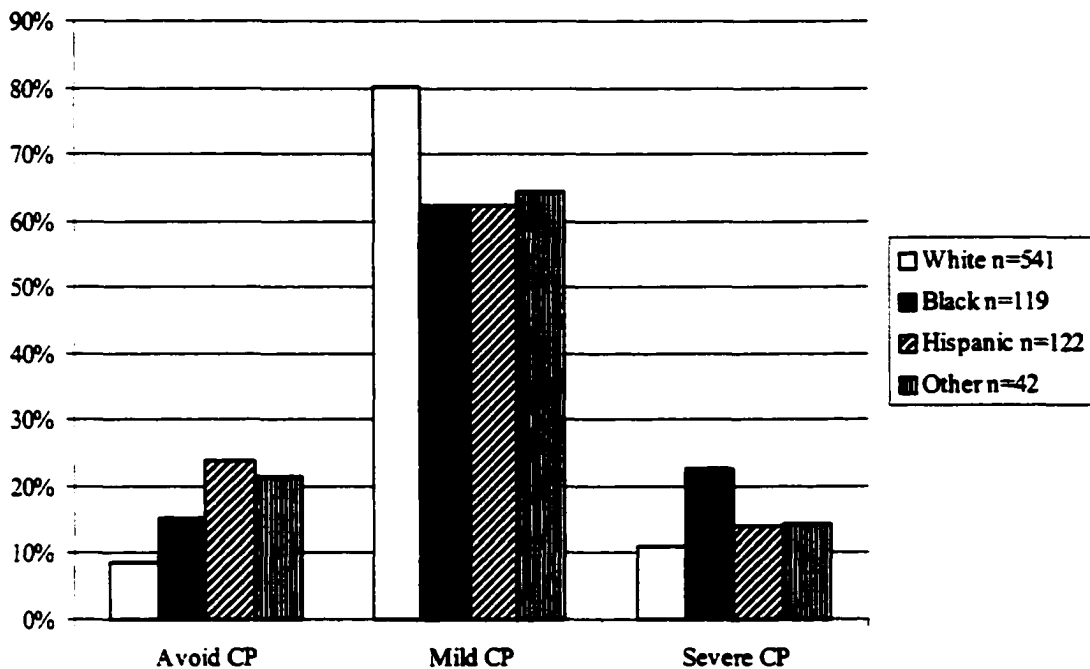
The association between the items on the severe CP index was also examined in order to assess whether parents who hit their child with an object, also throw something at them. If parents who hit with an object, also throw objects at their child it could indicate that these physically aggressive behaviors tend to go together. It is important to examine this relationship because it could inform parenting programs that there is a subgroup of parents who tend to act in an overly aggressive manner. 56.3% of parents who threw something at their child, also hit or tried to hit their child with an object, whereas, 11.6% of parents who did not throw something at their child, hit or tried to hit their child with an object, $\chi^2 (1, N = 824) = 28.554, p < .001, \phi = .186$. This finding indicates that these two behaviors are not alternatives to each other, but rather tend to go together. Children that are hit with an object by their parents are likely to experience having an object thrown at them. Thus, if parents decreased the use of hitting by objects, perhaps they would also be less likely to throw something at their children.

Ethnicity

Hispanics had the highest percentage of CP avoiders and Euro-Americans had the lowest percentage of CP avoiders (see Figure 3.1). Twice as many Hispanics avoided CP as compared to Euro-Americans, with the percentage of African Americans half way between these two groups.

Mild CP was the most common type of CP across all ethnic groups, with Euro-Americans having the largest percentage using mild CP. African Americans had the largest percentage using severe CP, with more than twice as many using severe CP as Euro-Americans. This indicates that when confronted with child misbehavior, the severity of CP varies by ethnic group.

Figure 3.1 Ethnicity and CP Behavior



$$\chi^2 (6, N = 824) = 39.776, p < .001, \phi = .210$$

In order to explore the possibility that Hispanics, African-Americans, and parents of other ethnicity might be giving the socially desirable response of not using CP, additional analyses were conducted. Although there was no social desirability index included in the questionnaire, cross-tabulations were conducted for ethnicity and the following items. There was no significant difference for ethnic group and being hit as a teen, $\chi^2 (1, N = 824) = 3.009, p = .390$, history of parental violence, $\chi^2 (1, N = 824) = 6.558, p = .087$, or for couple violence, $\chi^2 (1, N = 824) = 3.203, p = .361$. Thus, the results do not suggest that minority parents were giving the socially desirable response of avoiding CP.

It is possible that there could be some language bias in that the words that were used in the CTS are more “white” and less recognizable to other ethnic groups.

In order to further explore the association between ethnicity and CP and the intersection of race and income, additional cross-tabulations were run within each of the income categories. Even though some of the cells had few cases, it is important to examine whether the association between ethnicity and CP remained after controlling for income level.² A similar pattern was found across all incomes levels, with more Hispanics, parents of other ethnicity, and African Americans reporting CP avoidance than Euro-Americans. Euro-Americans had the smallest percentage of CP avoiders (less than 10%) across all income levels. Hispanics and parents of other ethnicity had the highest percentage of CP avoiders (10% to 40%) and approximately 14% of African Americans avoided CP across all income levels. This suggests that even after controlling for income, there are important distinctions between ethnicity and CP avoidance.

It is not clear why these ethnic differences emerged. However, there are a number of possible explanations. As suggested by other research, perhaps more African Americans use severe CP because parents feel they need to prepare their children for the potential for greater harm in society and thus need to teach them to respect power and authority (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999; Whaley, 2000). An alternative hypothesis is that African American parents were more likely to have experienced CP with an object as a child and thus use this type of CP with their own children. Likewise, perhaps more Hispanics avoided CP and more Euro-Americans used mild CP because these parents are using the discipline that they experienced most frequently while they were growing up and thus are modeling their own parents’ behavior. Alternatively,

² Because of the thin cell sizes, the chi-square value is not presented.

perhaps parents within each ethnic group talk to and observe their friends and family and, thus, reinforce each other's behavior (Lassiter, 1987; Luster & Okagaki, 1993). It could be that the avoidance of CP has different meanings for Euro-Americans as compared to Hispanics. More research is needed to explore these possibilities.

Bivariate Analysis

Child Attributes

The child sex section of Table 3.1 indicates that parents were more likely to avoid CP with girls than boys. This is consistent with previous research indicating that boys are somewhat more likely to experience CP than girls (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Straus, 2001; Straus & Stewart, 1999).

The child misbehavior section indicates that nearly twice as many parents with children with no misbehavior avoided CP as compared to those with child misbehavior problems. Research shows that parents report they use CP because their children are misbehaving and use CP to help "bring the message home" (Dickinson, 1991; Gough & Reavey, 1997; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). However, there are many other causes of spanking in addition to misbehavior and it is important to not use child misbehavior as a rationale for using CP (Lansdown, 2000; Thompson et al., 1999). The multivariate analysis will hold misbehavior constant and provide information on the characteristics and situations of parents who, when faced with the same level of misbehavior, avoid spanking.

Table 3.1 Child Attributes and Percentage of Parents Avoiding and Using CP

Indicator	N	Avoid CP	Mild CP	Severe CP	χ^2	ϕ
Child sex:						
Female	444	14.4	74.5	11.0	6.704*	.090
Male	380	10.3	73.7	16.1		
Misbehavior:						
No	608	14.0	74.0	12.0	7.205*	.094
High	216	8.3	74.5	17.1		

* $p < .05$.

Parental Personal and Psychological Resources

The parent sex section of Table 3.2 indicates that there was no difference in the percentage of mothers and fathers avoiding CP. Although some research indicates that mothers use CP more than fathers, the differences are relatively small (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Dietz, 2000; Wolfner & Gelles, 1993). Other research has not found a difference in use of CP between mothers and fathers (Straus & Stewart, 1999).

Although there was not a statistically significant association between age of parent and CP, older parents were much more likely to avoid CP. This is consistent with other research that finds younger parents use CP more than older parents (Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995; Straus & Stewart, 1999).

The education section indicates that parents with less than a high school education had the highest percentage of CP avoidance; more than twice as many avoided CP as compared to those with a college degree. High school graduates had the smallest percentage of parents avoiding CP. In order to further explore the finding that a larger percentage of parents with less than a high school diploma avoided CP as compared to higher educated parents, a similar analysis was conducted with the Gallup survey data.

Table 3.2 Parental Personal & Psychological Resources and Percentage of Parents Avoiding and Using CP

Indicator	N	Avoid CP	Mild CP	Severe CP	χ^2	ϕ
Parent sex:						
Mother	501	11.4	74.2	14.4	2.290	
Father	323	14.2	74.0	11.8		
Parent age:						
18-29	348	12.6	75.0	12.4	4.683	
30-39	398	11.1	74.4	14.6		
40-highest	78	19.2	69.2	11.5		
Education:						
Up to some high school	107	27.1	59.8	13.1	31.199***	.195
High school graduate	313	7.7	79.9	12.5		
Some college	207	13.0	75.4	11.6		
College graduate or higher	197	11.7	71.6	16.8		
Income:						
0-10,000	113	18.6	68.1	13.3	13.902	
10,001-20,000	173	13.9	69.9	16.2		
20,001-30,000	234	12.4	72.2	15.4		
30,001-40,000	152	9.2	82.9	7.9		
40,001 +	152	9.9	77.6	12.5		
Religion:						
Protestant	485	11.3	74.4	14.2	7.777	
Catholic	250	15.6	72.8	11.6		
Other	29	13.8	82.8	3.4		
None	60	8.3	73.3	18.3		
History of CP:						
No	406	15.0	72.9	12.1	5.231	
Yes	418	10.0	75.4	14.6		
History of parental violence:						
No	689	13.5	74.6	11.9	10.072**	.111
Yes	135	7.4	71.9	20.7		
Perception of stress:						
No	89	16.9	76.4	6.7	31.552***	.196
Average	642	12.3	76.0	11.7		
High	93	9.7	59.1	31.2		
Depression level:						
No	143	18.9	76.2	4.9	26.378***	.179
Average	537	11.5	75.6	12.8		
High	144	9.7	66.7	23.6		
Alcohol use:						
Abstinent	260	16.9	75.4	7.7	26.464**	.179
Low	231	12.6	72.7	14.7		
Low moderate	142	10.6	77.5	12.0		
High moderate	127	5.5	76.4	18.1		
High/binge	64	12.5	62.5	25.0		
Mother works fulltime:						
Yes	326	14.1	73.0	12.9	1.302	
other	498	11.4	74.9	13.7		
Labor force:						
No	71	11.3	71.8	16.9	.885	
Other	753	12.6	74.4	13.0		

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

Using only parents of children between the ages of 2 and 6 (n = 303), a cross-tabulation analysis was conducted using the overall prevalence of CP in the past year and the respondent's education. The relationship approached significance, with lower educated parents avoiding CP more than higher educated parents, $\chi^2(3, N = 303) = 7.578$, $p = .056$. Approximately a quarter (25.5%) of parents with less than a high school education, 11.7% with a high school or vocational degree, 9.8% with some college and 17.9% of college graduates avoided CP in the past year. The smaller difference in the 1995 Gallup results might indicate a tendency for educational differences in CP to be decreasing. This possibility needs to be investigated.

Previous research on education and CP has been inconclusive with some research indicating that more educated parents use CP less frequently than less educated parents (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Dietz, 2000; Fox, Platz, & Bentley, 1995), while other research has found no relationship (Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995). Dietz (2000) found that respondents with less than a high school education were 1.5 times more likely to use severe CP as not, whereas education was not a significant predictor for mild CP as compared to not using it (Dietz, 2000). Perhaps this is in part because Dietz used the 1995 Gallup data.

The income section of Table 3.2 indicates that income was not associated with avoiding CP. However, a larger percentage of parents with lower income as compared to parents with higher income avoided CP. The results show that the higher the income, the smaller the percentage who avoid CP. This is contrary to what some studies have found (Jackson et al., 1998; Pinderhughes et al., 2000) although some have shown no difference or very small differences in income level and use of CP (Straus, 2001).

A parent's religious affiliation was not associated with avoiding CP. The low percentage of Protestants avoiding CP is probably because of the fundamentalist group among the Protestants. Some research has found that Catholics have lower rates of spanking than Protestants and those with no religious preference have lower rates as compared to those having strong conservative religious ideology (Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995; Straus, 2001).

The history of CP section of Table 3.2 shows that this was not associated with avoiding CP. However, the percentage of parents who avoided CP was 1.5 times greater if they had not experienced CP as a teen-ager. When mild and severe CP are combined, more parents with no history of CP as a teen-ager avoided CP as compared to those who had experienced it, $\chi^2(1, N = 824) = 4.664, p < .05, \phi = -.075$. This is consistent with other research showing that being hit as a child makes it more likely that a parent will hit their children (Rodriguez & Sutherland, 1999; Simons et al., 1991; Straus, 2001).

The history of parental violence section indicates that twice as many parents with no history of parental violence avoided CP as compared to those with parents who used couple violence. This is consistent with research previously mentioned that having a history of CP makes it more likely that a parent will use CP and with research that shows that the quality of other relationships in a family may impact how a parent acts to their child (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, & Graham, 2002). What this implies for CP avoidance is that parents with a history of parental violence may benefit from learning about non-physical discipline.

Nearly twice as many parents with no perceived stress avoided CP as compared to parents with a high level of perceived stress. There were nearly 1.5 times as many

parents with no perceived stress who avoided CP as compared to those with an average level of perceived stress. About five times as many parents with high perceived stress used severe CP as compared to those with no perceived stress. Although previous research has not examined parents' perception of stress and CP, these findings are consistent with research that has found that parents who experience more economic stress, display less nurturance and more harshness to their children (Jackson et al., 1998; Pinderhughes et al., 2000). These findings echo research that has described the most significant challenges to effective parenting as coping with life stresses such as marital difficulty, anger management or problems in the past (Thompson et al., 1999) and suggest that the extent to which a parent perceives situations as stressful is relevant to understanding discipline behavior. Thus, CP may be a potential outcome of having a high perception of stress (Turner, in press). Perhaps parents with no perceived stress are less emotionally drained and, therefore, less impulsive and less likely to use CP. More research is needed to explore this possibility.

The depression section of Table 3.2 indicates that twice as many parents with no depression avoided CP as compared to parents with high levels of depression. There were 1.5 times as many parents with no depression who avoided CP as compared to those with an average level of depression. Nearly five times as many parents with high levels of depression used severe CP as compared to those with no depression. This is consistent with other research indicating that parents with high levels of depression use more CP than parents with lower levels (Duman & Wekerle, 1995; Eamon, 2001; McLoyd, 1990; Turner, Wheaton, & Lloyd, 1995). Perhaps depressed parents are less able to consider

their child's needs and, therefore, use more punitive types of discipline than non-depressed parents.

The alcohol use section of Table 3.2 indicates that non-drinkers had the highest percentage of CP avoiders. There were 1.5 times as many non-drinkers avoiding CP as compared to low use drinkers or high use or binge drinkers. High use or binge drinkers had the highest percentage of severe CP users. Although few studies on CP have examined alcohol use, these findings are consistent with research that increased use of alcohol is associated with marital violence (Kantor & Straus, 1990). The findings suggest that frequent alcohol use is associated with even mild physical discipline, such as spanking.

There was no association between whether mothers worked fulltime and CP avoidance. There was no association between whether the respondent was in the labor force and CP avoidance.

Marital Relationship

The couple conflict section of Table 3.3 indicates that about the same proportion of parents with average as compared to high couple conflict avoided CP. Whereas high couple conflict parents were more than twice as likely to use severe CP as compared to average conflict parents. This is consistent with research indicating that marital conflict is associated with higher rates of aversive parenting and use of CP (Eamon, 2001; Straus, 1983; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980).

Table 3.3 Marital Relationship Indicators and Percentage of Parents Avoiding or Using CP

Indicator	n	Avoid CP	Mild CP	Severe CP	χ^2	ϕ
Couple conflict:						
Average	724	12.7	75.6	11.7	13.358**	.127
High	100	11.0	64.0	25.0		
Couple verbal aggression:						
Lower	481	15.8	75.5	8.7	28.797***	.187
Top third scores	343	7.9	72.3	19.8		
Approve of couple violence:						
No	648	13.0	75.0	12.0	4.730	
Yes	176	10.8	71.0	18.2		
Couple violence:						
No	673	14.4	74.3	11.3	22.401***	.165
Yes	151	4.0	73.5	22.5		

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

Twice as many couples with lower use of couple verbal aggression avoided CP as compared to those with higher use of couple verbal aggression. The approve of couple violence section shows that whether a respondent approved of slapping a husband or wife was not related to CP. Perhaps some parents are reluctant to admit that they would approve of slapping a spouse, yet they might find themselves in a situation where they engage in it. The couple violence section of Table 3.3 shows that more than three times as many parents with no couple violence avoided CP as compared to those with couple violence.

Aside from the approval of couple violence, these findings are consistent with research that shows that couples that use aggression toward each other may use physical discipline with their child (Eamon, 2001). These findings lend support to the premise that interparental relations are another dimension of parenting (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, & Graham, 2001). Thus, a family condition that may accentuate CP avoidance is low couple verbal aggression.

Parent Child Context

The verbal aggression section of Table 3.4 indicates that four times as many parents with lower parent to child verbal aggression avoided CP as compared to those with higher use of verbal aggression. Contrary to the idea that if parents do not use CP, they will turn to verbal attacks, the results suggest that these are not alternatives to each other, but that they go together. This is consistent with studies showing that punitive or “power-assertive” discipline tactics such as CP and verbal aggression are highly positively correlated (Bartkowski & Wilcox, 2000; Thomas, McLanahan, & Curtin, 1992). This indicates that it is important to understand the multiple discipline strategies parents use. The association between verbal aggression and reasoning and avoiding CP will be further examined in the following chapter.

The reasoning section shows that 1.5 times as many parents with lower use of reasoning avoided CP as compared to those with higher use of reasoning. 1.5 times as many parents with higher use of reasoning used severe CP as compared to those with lower use of reasoning. Although this finding may appear counter-intuitive, this finding could imply a difference in level of response by parents. Parents who use CP may also use other discipline tactics more frequently.

The number of people in the household, number of children, and number of children older than the focal child were not related to avoiding CP. This is in contrast to some research indicating that mothers with more children use CP more frequently (Asdigian & Straus, 1997; Eamon, 2001; Heffer & Kelley, 1987). The type of household (single or two parent) was not associated with avoiding CP. Some research has found

Table 3.4 Parent-Child Context Indicators and Percentage of Parents Avoiding or Using CP

Indicator	n	Avoid CP	Mild CP	Severe CP	χ^2	ϕ
Verbal aggression:						
Lower	515	17.9	75.1	7.0	73.398***	.298
Top third scores	309	3.6	72.5	23.9		
Reasoning:						
Lower	527	14.0	74.4	11.6	6.240*	.087
Top third scores	297	9.8	73.7	16.5		
Number in household:						
One-three	293	13.7	73.7	12.6	2.301	
Four	313	11.2	76.4	12.5		
Five or more	218	12.8	71.6	15.6		
Number of children in household:						
One	302	15.5	72.4	12.2	6.056	
Two	341	9.7	77.1	13.2		
Three or more	179	12.8	71.5	15.6		
Number of children older than focal child:						
None	479	13.2	72.7	14.2	5.873	
One	244	11.1	79.1	9.8		
Two or more	101	12.9	69.3	17.8		
Household type:						
Single parent	114	13.2	74.6	12.3	.162	
Two parent	710	12.4	74.1	13.5		
Nonfamily aggression:						
No	648	13.0	75.0	12.0	4.730	
Yes	176	10.8	71.0	18.2		

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

that the life stressors associated with single mothers living in economically deprived situations are associated to frequent use of CP (Eamon & Zuehl 2001; Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995), while other research has found no difference in CP use between parents living with a partner and single parents (Straus & Stewart, 1999).

The nonfamily aggression section of Table 3.4 shows that this variable was not related to avoiding CP. The finding indicates that parents who were physically aggressive toward others did not use punitive types of discipline more than parents who were not physically aggressive.

Community Attributes

Neither the state stress level nor the state legitimate violence level was associated with avoiding CP (see Table 3.5). Although previous research indicates that the community may influence parenting by influencing expectations and responses to children's behavior (Belsky, 1984), these findings indicate that the measures of community attributes were not related to CP. Perhaps neighborhood level attributes, such as the level of stress and violence experienced in one's close proximity, may be necessary to capture the association between one's community and CP behavior.

Table 3.5 Community Attributes and Percentage of Parents Avoiding and Using CP

Indicator	n	Avoid CP	Mild CP	Severe CP	χ^2
State stress level:					
Low	628	12.7	74.0	13.2	.159
High	196	11.7	74.5	13.8	
State legitimate violence level:					
Low	550	12.0	74.5	13.5	.379
High	274	13.5	73.4	13.1	

Multivariate Analyses

Because the dependent variable had three nominal level categories, multinomial logistic regression was used. The first regression equation compared avoiding CP with mild CP; the second compared avoiding CP with severe CP. To highlight important group differences, predicted probabilities for avoiding CP are presented.

Associations Among Personal and Contextual Factors

Only those variables that were significantly associated with CP in the bivariate analyses were included in the multivariate analyses. To check for problems of multicollinearity, a correlation matrix was generated (see Table 3.6). There is a strong positive association between a parent's depression and perceived stress level. In other words, the higher the depression level, the greater the perception of stress. Therefore these two variables were not used in the same analyses. None of the other independent variables were highly enough associated to cause concern about multicollinearity.

Table 3.6 Correlation Matrix (N =824)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.Child female	1.00												
2.Misbehavior	-.045	1.00											
3.White	.013	-.046	1.00										
4.Black	-.001	.019	-.568**	1.00									
5.Hispanic	.002	.035	-.576**	-.171**	1.00								
6.Other	-.029	.013	-.320**	-.095**	-.097**	1.00							
7.Education	.022	-.060	.250**	-.050	-.229**	-.090**	1.00						
8.History of parents' use of violence	.008	.145**	-.087*	.042	.065	.017	-.073*	1.00					
9.Stress	.012	.215**	.034	-.033	-.011	-.004	-.025	.148**	1.00				
10.Depression	.013	.190**	-.092**	.048	.055	.034	-.148**	.173**	.739**	1.00			
11.Alcohol use	-.022	.083*	.131**	-.119**	-.065	.014	.032	.054	.046	.006	1.00		
12.Couple conflict	.008	.126**	.019	.047	-.045	-.044	.040	.126**	.322**	.304**	.070*	1.00	
13.Couple verbal aggression	-.003	.180**	-.042	.022	.045	-.017	-.009	.143**	.291**	.322**	.123**	.395**	1.00
14.Couple violence	.061	.069*	-.034	.002	.059	-.024	-.021	.172**	.155**	.159**	.100**	.217**	.399**
15.Reasoning	.022	.132**	.252**	-.143**	-.156**	-.064	.176**	.057	.134**	.076*	.095**	.044	.179**
16.Verbal aggression	-.103**	.264**	.040	-.009	-.034	-.017	-.031	.171**	.337**	.305**	.178**	.208**	.413**

* p < .05. ** p < .01.

Table 3.6 (continued) Correlation Matrix (N = 824)

	14	15	16
1.Child female			
2.Misbehavior			
3.White			
4.Black			
5.Hispanic			
6.Other			
7.Education			
8.History of parents' use of violence			
9.Stress			
10.Depression			
11.Alcohol use			
12.Couple conflict			
13.Couple verbal aggression			
14.Couple violence	1.00		
15.Reasoning	.031	1.00	
16.Verbal aggression	.182**	.254**	1.00

* p < .05. ** p < .01.

Mild CP as Comparison Category

The first equation assessed the odds of avoiding CP over mild CP as well as the odds of severe CP over mild CP for each of the independent variables. The model was significant and the null hypothesis that the coefficients equal zero was rejected, (see Table 3.7, Full Model). In order to assess whether a parsimonious model existed, the regression was run again with only the significant predictors (Hamilton, 1992). The likelihood ratio test indicated that the additional predictors in the full model did not provide a better fit to the model, $LR\chi^2 = 2.43$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.965$. Thus, the reduced model was used. The Pseudo R^2 indicated that 14.03% of the variation in CP behavior is explained by the model.

Avoiding CP vs. mild CP. The reduced model part of Table 3.7 shows that ethnicity, couple verbal aggression, couple violence and parent to child verbal aggression were all significant predictors of avoiding CP over mild CP.

For African Americans, the relative risk ratio of 2.16 shows that the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than spank were 2.16 times greater for African Americans as compared to Euro-Americans. For Hispanics, the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than spank were 3.13 times greater as compared to Euro Americans. For Other ethnicities, the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than spank were 2.59 times greater as compared to Euro Americans.³

³ In order to examine the other combinations of the dummy ethnicity variables (such Hispanic vs. African American, Other vs. African American, Other vs. Hispanic), additional regressions were run changing the dummy variable contrast. None of these combinations were significant and are not presented here.

Table 3.7 Multinomial Logistic Regression of CP Behavior with Mild CP as Comparison Category

Avoid CP vs. Mild CP						
Variables	Full Model			Reduced Model ⁴		
	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z
Number of obs = 824				Number of obs = 824		
LR chi2 (28) = 175.90				LR chi2 (16) = 173.47		
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000				Prob > chi2 = 0.0000		
Pseudo R ² = 0.1422				Pseudo R ² = 0.1403		
Female = 1	1.4539	.3382	0.108	1.4498	.3362	0.109
Misbehavior = 1	.8230	.2465	0.515			
Education*	.9949	.1207	0.966	.9777	.1167	0.850
Black vs. white	2.0710	.6839	0.027	2.1559	.6956	0.017
Hispanic vs. white	3.1843	.9947	0.000	3.3894	1.0199	0.000
Other vs. white	2.5366	1.1364	0.038	2.5559	1.1345	0.034
History of couple violence=1	.8546	.3269	0.681			
Stress (range 0-12)	1.0775	.0582	0.167	1.0668	.0562	0.220
Alcohol use**	.9268	.0874	0.420	.9181	.0860	0.362
Couple conflict (range 0-20)	.9932	.0385	0.860			
Couple verbal aggression*** (range -2.03to2.67)	.6603	.0911	0.003	.6340	.0813	0.000
Couple violence=1	.4122	.1898	0.054	.4104	.1871	0.051
Reasoning*** (range -2.07to2.24)	.8897	.1080	0.336			
Parent to child verbal aggression =1	.5087	.1240	0.006	.4821	.1157	0.002

* Education categories are 1 = no education through some high school, 2 = high school graduate, 3 = some college, 4 = college graduate and higher; ** Alcohol categories are 0 = abstinent, 1 = low, 2 = low moderate, 3 = high moderate, 4 = high/binge drinker; *** Transformed variables used as z scores.

⁴ The reduced model includes variables that were significant for both avoiding CP vs. mild CP and severe CP vs. mild CP. Therefore, some of the variables presented here are not significant for the comparison between avoiding CP vs. mild CP, but are significant for the comparison between severe CP vs. mild CP (See Appendix B for results for severe CP vs. mild CP).

It is not clear why these ethnic differences were found. However, there appear to be important distinctions in the likelihood of avoiding CP as compared to using mild CP by ethnicity. One possibility is that parents within each ethnic group are reinforcing each others' discipline behaviors by talking to and observing their friends and family (Lassiter, 1987; Luster & Okagaki, 1993).

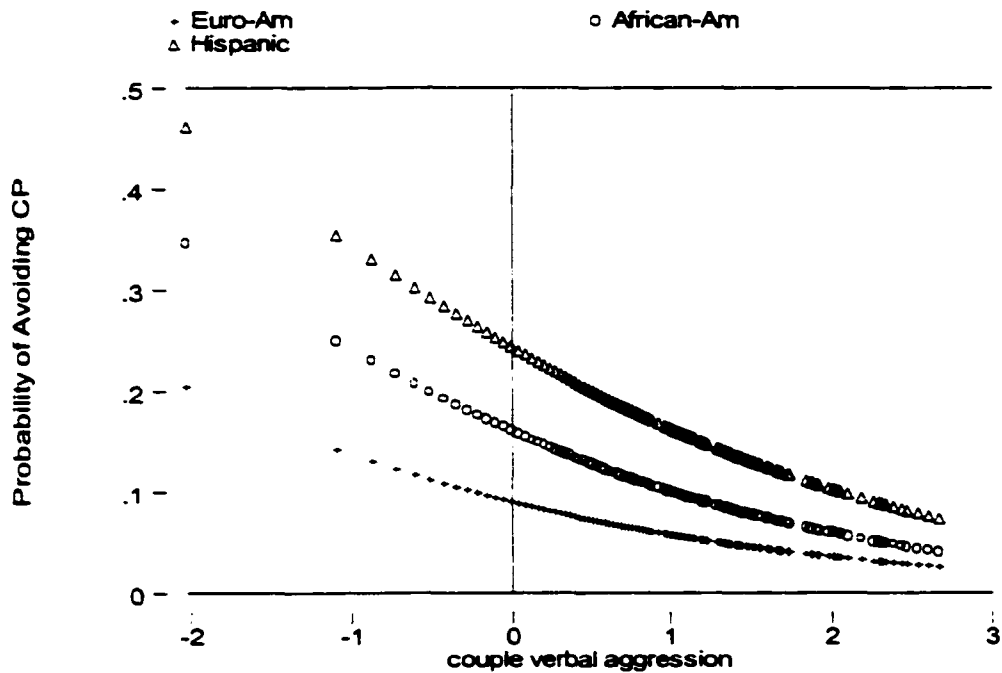
For couple verbal aggression, the relative risk ratio of .63 shows that each increase of one standard deviation in couple verbal aggression is associated with an average decrease of 37% in the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than use mild CP, controlling for other variables. This indicates that lower couple verbal aggression may accentuate CP avoidance. This is consistent with research indicating that marital conflict is associated with the use of CP and higher rates of aversive parenting (Eamon, 2001; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980).

The following interaction terms were entered one at a time and none were significant; couple verbal aggression and parent to child verbal aggression, couple verbal aggression and couple violence, and couple verbal aggression and each of the ethnic dummy variables. Predicted probabilities, however, are presented for the 3 ethnic groups separately to show that the slopes are very similar and that the groups differ primarily in the intercept.

Increases in couple verbal aggression are associated with a decreased probability of avoiding CP across all three ethnic groups (see Figure 3.2). This indicates that Hispanics have the greatest probability of avoiding CP for all levels of couple verbal aggression, followed by African-Americans and Euro-Americans. This is important to

acknowledge because it shows that by decreasing couple verbal aggression, the probability of avoiding CP would increase for all 3 ethnic groups.

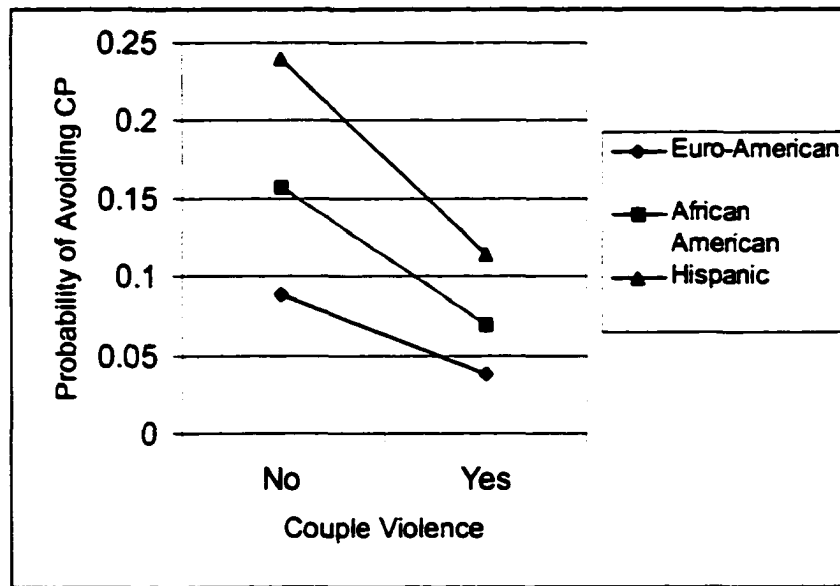
Figure 3.2 Probability of Avoiding CP with Increases in Couple Verbal Aggression



Note: All other variables held at mode or mean. Parents of girls, high school graduates, average stress, non-drinkers, no couple violence, parent to child verbal aggression.

The presence of couple violence is associated with a decrease of 59% in the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than spank. This indicates that the absence of couple violence may accentuate CP avoidance. Interaction terms were entered one at a time for each of the ethnic dummy variables and couple violence and were not significant. Predicted probabilities are presented for the three ethnic groups to show that the probability of avoiding CP was 2 times greater when there was no couple violence, controlling for other variables (see Figure 3.3). As shown in the figure, the ethnic groups differ primarily in the intercept of the probability of avoiding CP.

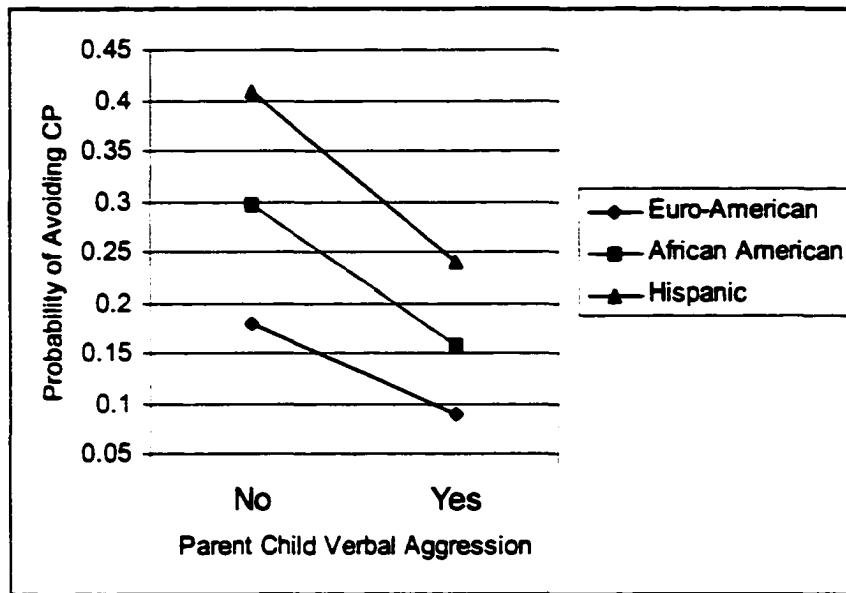
Figure 3.3 Probability of Avoiding CP with and without Couple Violence



Note: All other variables held at mode or mean. Parents of girls, high school graduates, average stress, non-drinkers, average couple verbal aggression, parent to child verbal aggression.

For parent to child verbal aggression, the relative risk ratio of .48 shows that the presence of parent to child verbal aggression is associated with an average decrease of 52% in the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than spank. Interaction terms for each of the ethnic dummy variables and parent to child verbal aggression were entered and were not significant. Figure 3.4 shows that for all three ethnic groups, the probability of avoiding CP is 2 times greater when parents do not use parent to child verbal aggression, controlling for other variables. The ethnic groups differ primarily in the intercept of the probability of avoiding CP, with the highest probability for Hispanics, followed by African Americans and Euro-Americans.

Figure 3.4 Probability of Avoiding CP with and without Parent Child Verbal Aggression



Note: All other variables held at mode or mean. Parents of girls, high school graduates, average stress, non-drinkers, average couple verbal aggression, no couple violence.

In summary, low couple verbal aggression, the absence of couple violence, and the absence of parent to child verbal aggression increased the likelihood of avoiding CP as compared to using mild CP. Thus, a family environment in which parents do not rely on aggressive interactions may accentuate the avoidance of CP. This supports the idea that negative marital functioning may spill over and negatively impact parent to child relations (Eamon, 2001; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980).

Severe CP as Comparison Category

A second multinomial regression was conducted to assess the odds of avoiding CP over severe CP and the odds of mild CP over severe CP for each of the family and contextual factors. The model was significant and the null hypothesis that the coefficients equal zero was rejected (see Table 3.8, Full Model). In order to assess whether a parsimonious model existed, the regression was run again with only the

significant predictors (Hamilton, 1992). The likelihood ratio test indicated that the additional predictors in the full model did not provide a better fit to the model, $LR\chi^2 = 7.24$, $df=10$, $p = 0.7027$. Thus, the reduced model was used. The Pseudo R^2 indicates that 13.64% of the variation in CP behavior is explained by the model.

Avoiding CP vs. severe CP. Five variables were found to be significant predictors of avoiding CP over severe CP (See Table 3.8, Reduced Model).

For parents of girls as compared to boys, the relative risk ratio of 2.21 shows that the odds are two times greater to avoid CP rather than use severe CP, controlling for other variables. This is consistent with research that shows that boys are somewhat more likely to experience CP (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Straus, 2001; Straus & Stewart, 1999).

Because this regression used Euro-Americans as the reference category, additional regressions were run in order to assess other pairwise differences between ethnic groups. There was only one significant difference; the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than use severe CP were 2.78 times greater for Hispanics as compared to African Americans (see Appendix B for regression table).

For alcohol use, the relative risk ratio of .68 shows that each increase in alcohol use is associated with an average decrease of 32% in the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than use severe CP. This indicates that lower alcohol use may accentuate CP avoidance as compared to using severe CP. Interaction terms for alcohol use and couple violence and alcohol use and parent to child verbal aggression were not significant.

Table 3.8 Multinomial Logistic Regression of CP Behavior with Severe CP as Comparison Category

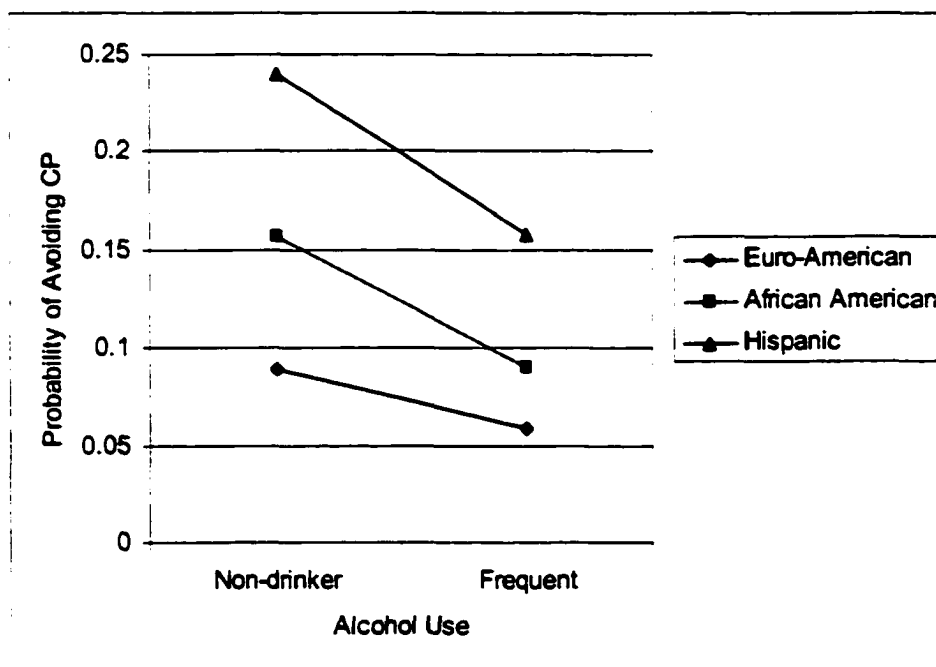
Full Model				Avoid CP vs. Severe CP			Reduced Model ⁵		
Variables	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z
Female = 1	2.2728	.6995	0.008				2.2118	.6754	0.009
Misbehavior = 1	.8721	.3197	0.709						
Education*	.7798	.1267	0.126				.7584	.1209	0.083
Black vs. white	.5970	.2498	0.218				.6148	.2500	0.232
Hispanic vs. white	1.7273	.7525	0.210				1.7107	.7205	0.202
Other vs. white	1.4487	.9396	0.568				1.4930	.9591	0.533
History of couple violence=1	.7164	.3158	0.449						
Stress (range 0-12)	.9268	.0626	0.261				.9132	.0595	0.164
Alcohol use**	.6965	.0846	0.003				.6840	.0824	0.002
Couple conflict (range 0-20)	.9829	.0535	0.751						
Couple verbal aggression*** (range -2.03to2.67)	.4326	.0887	0.000				.3731	.0674	0.000
Couple violence=1	.3875	.2002	0.066						
Reasoning*** (range -2.07to2.24)	.8544	.1416	0.343						
Parent to child verbal aggression =1	.2265	.0899	0.000				.2071	.0811	0.000

* Education categories are 1 = no education through some high school, 2 = high school graduate, 3 = some college, 4 = college graduate and higher; ** Alcohol categories are 0 = abstinent, 1 = low, 2 = low moderate, 3 = high moderate, 4 = high/binge drinker; *** Transformed variables as z scores.

⁵ The reduced model includes variables that were significant for both avoiding CP vs. severe CP and mild CP vs. severe CP. Therefore, some of the variables presented here are not significant for the comparison between avoiding CP vs. severe CP, but are significant for the comparison between mild CP vs. severe CP (See Appendix B for results for mild CP vs. severe CP).

Figure 3.5 shows that the probability of avoiding CP is higher for non-drinkers as compared to frequent drinkers across all three ethnic groups. The intercept differs for the three groups, however, with Hispanics having the highest probability of avoiding CP, followed by African Americans, and Euro-Americans. This is important to acknowledge because it suggests that frequent alcohol use decreases the probability of using non-physical discipline.

Figure 3.5 Probability of Avoiding CP and Alcohol Use



Note: All other variables held at mode or mean. Parents of girls, high school graduates, average stress, non-drinkers, average couple verbal aggression, no couple violence, parent to child verbal aggression. Frequent alcohol use is defined as drinking 3-4 times a week up to daily, 3 or more drinks a day; drinks on infrequent occasions and drinks 5 or more drinks a day.

For couple verbal aggression, the relative risk ratio of .37 shows that each increase of one standard deviation in couple verbal aggression is associated with an average decrease of 63% in the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than use severe

CP. This echoes the results for avoiding CP rather than using mild CP in that increases in couple verbal aggression are associated with using physical discipline tactics.

The presence of parent to child verbal aggression is associated with an average decrease of 80% in the odds that a parent will avoid CP rather than use severe CP. This is similar to the findings for avoiding CP rather than using mild CP in that the presence of parent to child verbal aggression is not associated with avoiding CP.

Summary

The analyses presented in this chapter examined the personal and contextual characteristics that may accentuate CP avoidance as compared to using mild CP, such as spanking, or severe CP, such as hitting with an object. Only about one in ten parents avoided CP in the past year. A number of factors were associated with CP avoidance.

More Hispanics, parents of Other ethnicities, and African Americans avoided CP than Euro-Americans. Euro-Americans had the smallest percentage of CP avoiders and the largest percentage of spankers. Parents' psychological resources, as measured by low depression, low perceived stress and low alcohol use were all associated with CP avoidance. Thus, the first hypothesis that parents with positive psychological resources would be more likely to avoid CP was supported. This suggests that parents who have positive psychological resources may be more likely to use non-physical modes of discipline.

The second hypothesis, parents in homes with a positive marital relationship would be more likely to avoid CP as compared to using mild or severe CP, was supported. Low levels of couple conflict, low couple verbal aggression, and no couple

violence were all associated with CP avoidance. This indicates that families with less aggressive modes of interaction may be more likely to avoid CP.

In the multivariate analyses, two family characteristics appeared as significant predictors for avoiding CP as compared to using mild CP and for avoiding CP as compared to using severe CP. Low couple verbal aggression and the absence of parent to child verbal aggression were associated with an increased likelihood of avoiding CP. Few studies have examined how the presence of couple verbal aggression is associated with CP avoidance. The present study indicates that it is important to consider the level of verbal aggression within families in order to better understand the family conditions that may accentuate CP avoidance.

In addition to these two characteristics, the absence of couple violence was associated with an increased likelihood of avoiding CP rather than using mild CP. For the comparison between avoiding CP rather than using severe CP, there were 2 additional predictors. Being a parent of a girl was associated with an increased likelihood of avoiding CP rather than using severe CP. Low alcohol use was associated with an increased likelihood of avoiding CP rather than using severe CP.

In summary, one common theme across both comparisons of CP avoidance was that low couple and parent to child verbal aggression increased the likelihood of avoiding CP. These results support the idea that the extent to which negative verbal tactics are used is an important component to understanding the likelihood of CP avoidance.

CHAPTER IV

MULTIPLE DISCIPLINE STRATEGIES

This chapter examines the extent to which parents use multiple discipline strategies. This is important because we need to better understand how much a parent relies on one discipline strategy in the context of other discipline tactics that are used. Although previous research describes parents as using a combination of discipline tactics (Jackson et al., 1999; Thompson et al., 1999; Wissow, 2001), few studies have examined the combination of CP avoidance and other discipline tactics.

Parents who avoid and use CP will be compared on their use of reasoning and verbal aggression. When comparing the multiple discipline tactics used, however, it is important to account for the overall level of parental response. Therefore, the proportion of reasoning and verbal aggression will be compared for those who avoid and use CP. Do parents who avoid CP use a greater proportion of reasoning as compared to those who use mild or severe CP? Do parents who avoid CP use a smaller proportion of verbal aggression as compared to those who use mild or severe CP?

It is hypothesized that parents who do not use CP will use a greater proportion of reasoning and a smaller proportion of verbal aggression as compared to parents who use CP. It is important to explore the extent to which parents rely on reasoning and CP avoidance because much of the parenting literature advocates that parents use reasoning and non-physical discipline (Sears & Sears, 1995). Yet, little is known about the extent to which this occurs.

By examining parents who avoid CP and also use little verbal aggression, the extent to which parents use primarily non-aggressive discipline tactics can be explored. This exploration is important because verbal aggression can cause psychological pain (Vissing, Straus, Gelles, & Harrop, 1991) and parental anger is associated with aggressive discipline tactics. Understanding whether parents who avoid CP use a lower proportion of verbal aggression than parents who use CP could denote a subgroup of parents not engaging in aggressive parenting tactics.

In addition to the extent to which these discipline methods occur, this chapter will explore the characteristics of parents using these combinations of discipline tactics. This information is important because parental avoidance of CP and little use of reasoning may indicate a group of parents with low discipline intervention. In contrast, parents that avoid CP and use more reasoning may indicate a group of parents that use positive verbal discipline tactics. There are a number of important questions:

- Do parents with lower levels of education avoid CP and use little reasoning? If so, parenting programs could emphasize the importance of reasoning as a discipline tactic with this population.
- Do parents with high levels of depression avoid CP and use little reasoning? If so, a depression assessment would be an important tool for parenting programs.
- Do parents with lower levels of couple verbal aggression and conflict tend to use non-physical and positive verbal discipline? If so, this would indicate that it is important to incorporate ways of enhancing couple interactions as part of positive parenting practices.

The characteristics of parents that avoid CP and use more or less verbal aggression when they discipline will also be examined. This is important because parents that avoid CP and use little verbal aggression may indicate a group of parents using primarily non-aggressive discipline tactics. In contrast, parents that avoid CP and

use more verbal aggression would denote a group of parents not using physical punishment, but using aggressive discipline tactics. There are a number of important questions:

- Do parents with high levels of perceived stress avoid CP and use more parent to child verbal aggression? If so, parenting program could emphasize the importance of avoiding negative verbal discipline with this population.
- Do parents with higher levels of couple verbal aggression avoid CP and use more parent to child verbal aggression? If so, this would suggest the need to reduce negative verbal tactics in families.
- Do parents with fewer children avoid CP and use little verbal aggression? If so, this would suggest that families with many children may need to learn how to communicate using positive verbal tactics.

In addition to the family and contextual characteristics associated with these discipline types, do Euro-Americans, African Americans, and Hispanics avoid CP and use more reasoning to a similar extent? Is there a difference whether parents avoid CP and use less verbal aggression by ethnicity? By examining the multiple discipline strategies that African-American, Hispanic and Euro-American parents use, the current research can help to fill a gap in discipline research (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999; Jambunathan, Burts, & Pierce, 2000).

This analysis will provide much needed information about the family conditions that may accentuate using non-punitive discipline tactics. This information could assist parenting programs by identifying how parents' psychological resources, subjective perception of stress, presence of marital conflict and verbal aggression are associated with these combinations of discipline tactics.

Discipline Strategies

Correlation of Parent Discipline Strategies

Bivariate correlations were conducted to assess the degree of relatedness among discipline strategies. The strongest relationship was between verbal aggression and CP avoidance ($r = -.34, p < .01$), which indicates that the more verbal aggression, the less CP avoidance. The correlation between reasoning and CP avoidance indicates that the more reasoning, the less CP avoidance ($r = -.11, p < .01$). Verbal aggression and reasoning were correlated $r = .25, (p < .01)$, indicating that the more verbal aggression, the more reasoning.

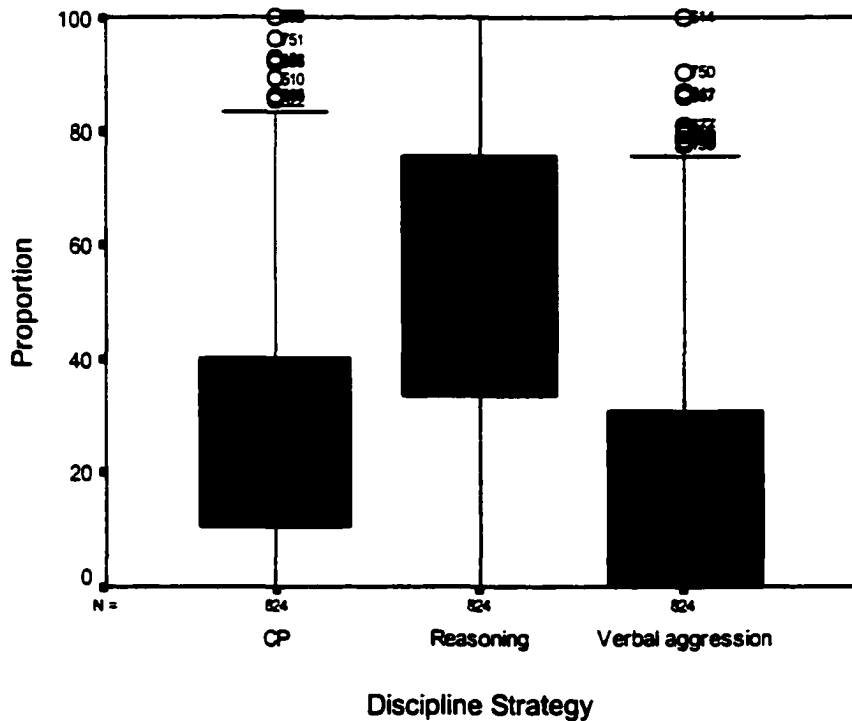
Proportion of Time Discipline Strategy Used

In order to account for the level of discipline response by a parent, it was necessary to calculate the proportion of time the discipline strategies were used. For example, frequency of reasoning was divided by the total frequency of all three tactics and multiplied by 100 to reflect the proportion of time that reasoning was used. In this section on the proportion of all three discipline strategies, the frequency of mild and severe CP were added together in order to explore how CP comprises a proportion of how parents discipline. The following section compares parents who avoided CP with those who use it and the proportion of reasoning and verbal aggression.

Reasoning was the most frequent discipline strategy as a proportion of all three discipline strategies (see Figure 4.1). Reasoning was used 53.48% of the time ($SD = 28.08$), CP was used 27.54% of the time ($SD = 22.86$), and verbal aggression was used 17.89% of the time ($SD = 18.98$). As indicated in Figure 4.1, the large interquartile range for reasoning shows that there is a wide range in the proportion of time that

reasoning was used. The figure also illustrates that CP and verbal aggression were used for a similar proportion of time.

Figure 4.1 Proportion of Discipline Strategies



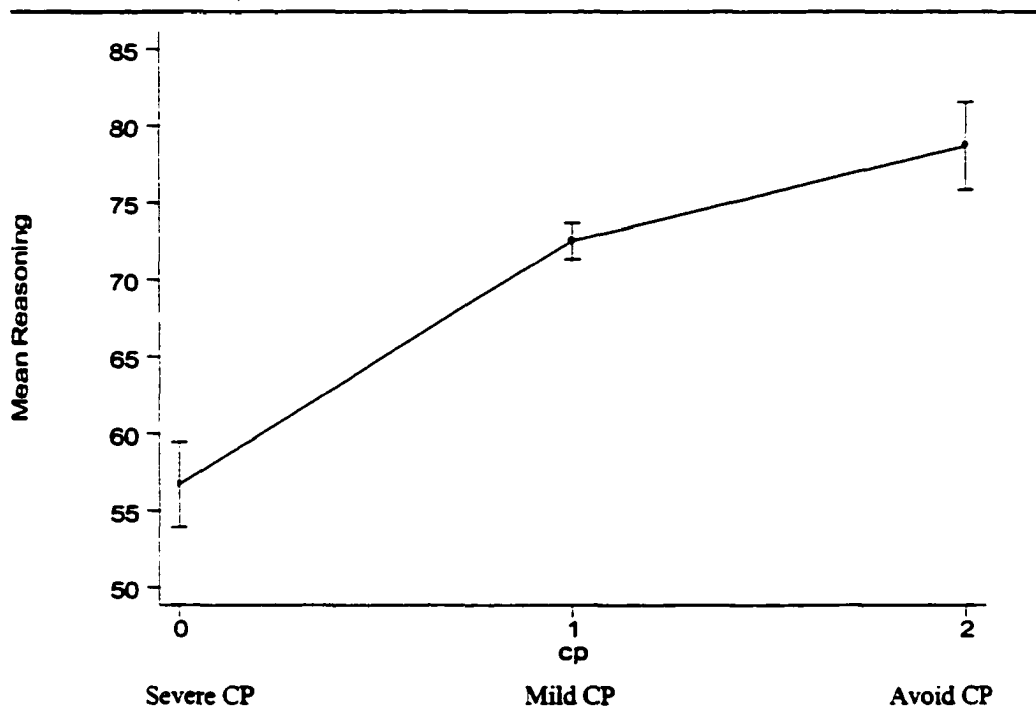
Note: Black lines represent the median. Boxes represent the middle half of the distribution. Lines extending from boxes (“whiskers”) represent the remainder of the distribution except for outliers and extremes, which are represented by O.

CP Avoidance and Proportion of Time Discipline Strategy Used

Reasoning proportion. One objective of this research was to compare the proportion of time that reasoning and verbal aggression were used. The reasoning proportion reflects the extent to which reasoning was used when either reasoning or verbal aggression were used. This will indicate whether parents who do not physically hit their children use a greater proportion of positive or negative verbal discipline tactics.

Figure 4.2 shows that the avoid CP group used reasoning the most, followed by the mild CP group and the severe CP group. These results indicate that there is a subgroup of parents who do not physically hit their children and also use a greater proportion of reasoning than those who use CP. This finding is important to acknowledge because this group of parents are doing what much of the parenting literature advocates, using non-physical and positive verbal discipline tactics (Sears & Sears, 1995).

Figure 4.2 Reasoning Proportion by CP⁶



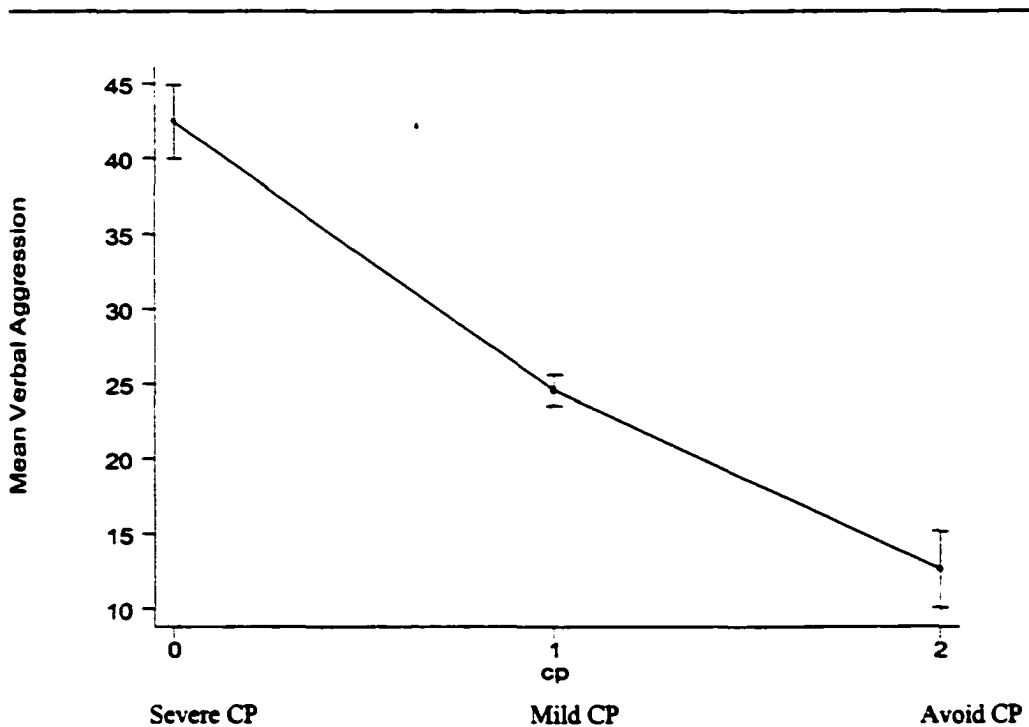
Note: Circles represent each group's mean. Lines extending from circles represent plus and minus one standard error.

F (2, N = 824) = 17.77, p < .001. Bartlett's test ($\chi^2 = 5.502$, p = .064)

⁶ Scheffe's post hoc test revealed that those who avoid CP used a significantly greater proportion of reasoning as compared to those who used severe CP (p < .001). There was not a significant difference between those who avoid CP and those who use mild CP; however, those parents who used mild CP used a significantly greater proportion of reasoning as compared to those who used severe CP (p < .001).

Verbal aggression proportion. The verbal aggression proportion reflects the extent to which verbal aggression was used when either reasoning or verbal aggression were used. Figure 4.3 shows the severe CP group used verbal aggression the most, followed by the mild CP group, and the avoid CP group. This finding indicates that there is a subgroup of parents who do not use primarily aggressive discipline tactics. It is also important to acknowledge the linear trend between increases in severity of physical discipline and increases in negative verbal discipline.

Figure 4.3 Verbal Aggression Proportion by CP⁷



Note: Circles represent each group's mean. Lines extending from circles represent plus and minus one standard error.

F (2, N = 824) = 37.00, p < .001. Bartlett's test ($\chi^2 = 3.828$, p = .148)

⁷ Scheffe's post hoc test revealed that those who avoid CP used significantly less verbal aggression as a proportion compared to those who used mild CP (p < .001), and compared to those who used severe CP (p < .001). Those who used mild CP used significantly less verbal aggression as a proportion compared to those who used severe CP (p < .001).

In summary, parents who avoided CP used a greater proportion of reasoning and a smaller proportion of verbal aggression than parents who used mild CP or severe CP. The results from the previous chapter indicate that when the level of discipline response is not accounted for, CP avoiders used a lower level of reasoning and verbal aggression. When the level of discipline response is accounted for, however, the results suggest that when CP avoiders use reasoning or verbal aggression, this group is more likely to use reasoning. Because of the need to consider parenting typologies (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994) and the characteristics of parents associated with using different combinations of discipline tactics (Thompson et al., 1999; Wissow, 2001), the following section further examines CP avoidance and reasoning.

CP Avoidance and Reasoning

The purpose of this section is to explore CP avoiders and what distinguishes those who use more reasoning from those who use less reasoning when parents use one of these tactics. In order to account for the overall level of discipline response by the parent, these analyses use the proportion of time reasoning was used when either reasoning or verbal aggression were used. Parents who had the top third scores were classified as relying on reasoning more of the time when they did something and those in the lower two thirds were classified as relying on less reasoning. This is an exploratory analysis and is intended to provide a description of parent characteristics for those using reasoning to a greater extent.

Child attributes. The child sex section of Table 4.1 indicates that when parents avoid CP they are just as likely to use more reasoning with boys as with girls.

The misbehavior section shows that misbehavior was not associated with amount of reasoning. However, more parents with a child with low misbehavior used reasoning more of time as compared to those with high child misbehavior. This suggests that a child that tends to misbehave receives less positive verbal discipline and may be missing an important element of effective parenting, which is learning why what they did is not appropriate. It is possible that a child may have low misbehavior because a parent is using more reasoning and a child has more misbehavior when a parent uses little positive tactics.

Table 4.1 Child Attributes and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Reasoning

Indicator	N	Avoid CP		χ^2
		More reasoning	Less reasoning	
Child sex:				
Female	64	53.1	46.9	.005
Male	39	53.8	46.2	
Misbehavior:				
Low	85	56.5	43.5	1.845
High	18	38.9	61.1	

Parental personal and psychological resources. The parent sex section of Table 4.2 shows that more fathers used reasoning more of time as compared to mothers. Perhaps this is related to the amount of time that mothers and fathers spend with their children, such that fathers spend less time, but of that time more is spent on reasoning.

The parent age section indicates that age was not associated with the amount of reasoning. More older parents, however, used reasoning more of the time as compared to younger parents. This is consistent with research that suggests that age may be an indicator of maturity, with younger parents at a greater risk for parenting difficulties

(Vondra & Belsky, 1993), such that older parents may recognize the value of reasoning with their children.

The education section of Table 4.2 shows that education was not associated with the amount of reasoning. However, the higher the education, the larger the percentage of parents that used reasoning more of the time. This finding is important to acknowledge because it suggests that parents with low levels of education may have a lower level of discipline response. This is consistent with some research that shows that parents with low levels of education tend to “let the situation go” (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999). Another possibility is that parents with low levels of education have less ability to reason and thus, little capacity to discipline their children through reasoning. Parents may have been raised to obey rules, but never told the reason for obeying the rules.

The ethnicity section shows that the association between ethnicity and amount of reasoning approached significance, ($p = .114$). More Euro-Americans used reasoning more of the time, followed by African Americans and Hispanics. This indicates that when parents avoid CP, the extent to which parents use reasoning varies by ethnicity. There are a number of plausible explanations. First, perhaps this is a difference in reporting, with minority parents reluctant to report that they used CP and not reporting the behaviors on the reasoning index. Some research indicates that Euro-American parents use reasoning frequently and encourage children to be independent by offering them choices (Hammer & Turner, 1996). Secondly, it could be that there is a group of minority parents who are low on all these discipline tactics. Thirdly, it could be that there is a division of labor for disciplining and that the parent that was not interviewed

is responsible for disciplining the children. Few studies have examined CP avoidance and ethnicity, however, these findings suggest that we need to further understand the extent to which Euro-Americans, African Americans, and Hispanics rely on reasoning.

The income section of Table 4.2 shows that more parents with a higher income used reasoning more of the time as compared to those with an income of less than \$10,000. This indicates that parents with very low income may use a different combination of discipline tactics than those with higher income.

The religion section of Table 4.2 shows that this was not associated with reasoning. However, more Protestants and parents with no religion used reasoning more of time as compared to Catholics.

The history of CP section indicates that being hit as a teen had no relation to reasoning. The history of parental violence section shows that more parents with no history of parental violence used reasoning more of the time as compared to those with a history of parental violence. There were very few parents with a history of parental violence among the no CP group. However, this suggests that parents who did not grow up in a home with parental violence use more positive verbal discipline with their children.

The perception of stress section of Table 4.2 shows that this was not associated with reasoning. More parents with no perceived stress, however, used reasoning more of the time as compared to those with a higher perception of stress. This is consistent with other research that has found increased stress is associated with less positive parenting practices (Pinderhughes et al., 1999).

The depression section indicates that the association between depression and reasoning approached significance ($p = .153$). Twice as many parents with no depression used reasoning more of the time as compared to those with high levels of depression. This is consistent with research that has found that increased levels of depression are associated with more punitive parenting (Duman & Wekerle, 1995; Eamon, 2001).

Table 4.2 Parent Personal and Psychological Resources and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Reasoning

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2	ϕ
		More reasoning	Less reasoning		
Parent sex:					
Mother	57	45.6	54.4	3.108†	-.174
Father	46	63.0	37.0		
Parent age:					
18-29	44	50.0	50.0	1.288	
30-39	44	52.3	47.7		
40-highest	15	66.7	33.3		
Education:					
Up to some high school	29	44.8	55.2	3.072	
High school graduate	24	45.8	54.2		
Some college	27	59.3	40.7		
College graduate or higher	23	65.2	34.8		
Ethnicity:					
Euro-American	47	63.8	36.2	5.960	
African American	18	50.0	50.0		
Hispanic	29	48.3	51.7		
Other	9	22.2	77.8		
Income:					
0-10,000	21	28.6	71.4	11.789*	.338
10,001-20,000	24	62.5	37.5		
20,001-30,000	29	44.8	55.2		
30,001-40,000	14	64.3	35.7		
40,001 +	15	80.0	20.0		
Religion:					
Protestant	55	58.2	41.8	1.434	
Catholic	39	46.2	53.8		
Other	4	50.0	50.0		
None	5	60.0	40.0		
History of CP:					
No	61	54.1	45.9	.029	
Yes	42	52.4	47.6		
History of parental					

violence:						
	No	93	57.0	43.0		
	Yes	10	20.0	80.0	4.964*	-.220
Perception of stress:						
	No	15	73.3	26.7		
	Average	79	50.6	49.4	2.928	
	High	9	44.4	55.6		
Depression level:						
	No	27	66.7	33.3		
	Average	62	51.6	48.4	3.749	
	High	14	35.7	64.3		
Alcohol use:						
	Abstinent	44	52.3	47.7		
	Low	29	44.8	55.2		
	Low moderate	15	66.7	33.3	2.891	
	High moderate	7	71.4	28.6		
	High/binge	8	50.0	50.0		
Mother works fulltime:						
	Yes	46	67.4	32.6	6.541*	.252
	Other	57	42.1	57.9		
Labor force:						
	No	8	50.0	50.0		
	Other	95	53.7	46.3	.040	

† p < .10. * p < .05

The alcohol use section of Table 4.2 shows that this was not associated with reasoning. More parents who were classified as low moderate or high moderate used reasoning more of the time.

The employment section indicates that more households with a mother working fulltime used reasoning more of the time as compared to those without a fulltime employed mother. The labor force section shows the labor force status of the parent was not associated to the extent to which reasoning was used.

Marital Relationship. The couple conflict section of Table 4.3 shows that an equal proportion of parents with average and high couple conflict used reasoning more of the time. Some research suggests when examining how couple conflict impacts the parent to child relationship, it is important to examine how the couple conflict is resolved and whether it is paired with withdrawal (Cox, Paley, Payne, & Burchinal,

1999). This implies, therefore, in order to understand the context in which CP is avoided it is important to acknowledge how couples resolve conflict with each other.

The couple verbal aggression section shows that more than twice as many parents with low couple verbal aggression used reasoning more of the time as compared to those with higher levels of couple verbal aggression. This finding is important to acknowledge because perhaps parents who tend to use verbal aggression with their partner are used to interacting with others with aggressive based tendencies rather than reasoning. This supports the idea that the presence of marital aggression is important to consider in relation to the parent child relationship (Cummings, 1994).

Table 4.3 Marital Relationship and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Reasoning

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2	ϕ
		More reasoning	Less reasoning		
Couple conflict:					
Average	92	53.3	46.7	.007	
High	11	54.5	45.5		
Couple verbal aggression:					
Lower two-thirds	76	63.2	36.8	11.098**	-.328
Top third scores	27	25.9	74.1		
Approve of couple violence					
No	84	56.0	44.0	1.194	
Yes	19	42.1	57.9		
Couple violence					
No	97	52.6	47.4	.451	
Yes	6	66.7	33.3		

** p < .01

The approve of couple violence section indicates that this was not associated with reasoning. However, more parents that do not approve of couple violence used reasoning more of the time as compared to those that approve of it. The couple

violence section shows this was not associated with reasoning. More parents with couple violence, however, used reasoning more of the time. However, there were very few parents with couple violence in the avoid CP group. Perhaps some parents who experienced couple violence felt like they need to use a greater proportion of reasoning with their children to compensate for the presence of violence.

Structural characteristics. The number in household section of Table 4.4 indicates that this was not associated with reasoning. More parents with less than 5 people in the household, however, used reasoning more of the time as compared to those with 5 or more.

The number of children in the household was not related to reasoning. However, more parents with 1 or 2 children used reasoning more of the time as compared to those with 3 or more children.

The number of children older than focal child was not associated with reasoning. More parents with no or 1 older child than the focal child, however, used reasoning more of the time. This is consistent with research that suggests that crowded conditions may inhibit the use of alternative discipline strategies (Heffer & Kelley, 1987). Perhaps parents in households with more people do not have the time to use extensive reasoning because there are other household demands.

The household type section shows that more two parent households used reasoning more of the time as compared to single parent households. Perhaps single parents have too many demands on their time and therefore tend not to use extensive amounts of reasoning. More research is needed to explore the extent that multiple discipline tactics are used in single and two parent households.

The nonfamily aggression section shows that this was not associated with reasoning. More parents with nonfamily physical aggression used reasoning more of the time. There were however very few parents with nonfamily aggression in the avoid CP group.

Table 4.4 Structural Characteristics and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Reasoning

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2	ϕ
		More reasoning	Less reasoning		
Number in household:					
One-three	40	55.0	45.0	1.904	
Four	35	60.0	40.0		
Five or more	28	42.9	57.1		
Number of children in household:					
One	47	55.3	44.7	2.640	
Two	33	60.6	39.4		
Three or more	23	39.1	60.9		
Number of children older than focal child:					
None	63	55.6	44.4	1.334	
One	27	55.6	44.4		
Two or more	13	38.5	61.5		
Household type:					
Single parent	15	13.3	86.7	11.325**	-.332
Two parent	88	60.2	39.8		
Nonfamily aggression:					
No	94	52.1	47.9	.698	
Yes	9	66.7	33.3		

** p < .01

Community characteristics. The state stress section of Table 4.5 indicates that about the same percentage of parents in high stress states and low stress states use reasoning. The state violence section shows that more parents in states with high levels of legitimate violence used reasoning more of the time. It is not clear why this

association was found. Perhaps parents living in states with high levels of legitimate violence use high reasoning to explain situations to their children and also tend to use reasoning as a discipline tactic.

Table 4.5 Community Characteristics and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Reasoning

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2	ϕ
		More reasoning	Less reasoning		
State stress level:					
Low	80	53.8	46.3	.018	
High	23	52.2	47.8		
State violence level:					
Low	66	42.4	57.6	8.891**	.294
High	37	73.0	27.0		

** p < .01

CP Avoidance and Verbal Aggression

It is important to examine the extent to which parents use verbal aggression and avoid CP because frequent verbal aggression is associated with higher rates of physical aggression and interpersonal problems for children (Vissing, Straus, Gelles, & Harrop, 1991). The proportion of verbal aggression is the opposite of the reasoning proportion in the previous analysis, however, it is important to highlight the extent to which parents avoid CP and use little verbal aggression in order to identify the extent to which non-aggressive based discipline tactics are used.

Child attributes. The child sex section of Tables 4.6 shows that this was not associated with verbal aggression. Twice as many parents of girls used verbal aggression more of the time, however, as compared to parents of boys. This is in contrast to the idea that boys receive more aggressive discipline than girls.

The child misbehavior section shows that twice as many parents of children with high misbehavior used verbal aggression more of the time as compared to those with low child misbehavior. It is possible that the high misbehavior is the result of receiving more verbal aggression.

Table 4.6 Child Attributes and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Verbal Aggression

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2	ϕ
		More verbal aggression	Less verbal aggression		
Child sex:					
Female	64	20.3	79.7	1.778	
Male	39	10.3	89.7		
Misbehavior:					
Low	85	12.9	87.1	4.482*	.209
High	18	33.3	66.7		

* $p < .05$

Parental personal and psychological resources. The parent sex section of Table 4.7 shows that this was not related to verbal aggression. Twice as many mothers used verbal aggression more of the time, however, as compared to fathers. This could be due to the greater amount of time that mothers spend with their children, giving them more opportunity to use verbal aggression.

The parent age section indicates that this was not associated with verbal aggression. However, more younger parents used verbal aggression more of the time. This is consistent with research that describes older parents as using less punitive parenting practices (Vondra & Belsky, 1993).

The education section shows that the association between education and verbal aggression approached significance ($p=.136$). Parents with higher levels of education used little verbal aggression as compared to those with lower levels of education. This

indicates that among those who avoid CP, there appear to be important distinctions between level of education and the extent to which parents use verbal aggression.

The ethnicity section indicates that the association between ethnicity and verbal aggression approached significance ($p=.127$). More Euro-Americans used verbal aggression less of the time and more parents of Other ethnicity and African Americans used verbal aggression more of the time. This suggests that among those who avoid CP, Euro-Americans are using less aggressive tactics. This is important to acknowledge because it suggests that the extent to which parents use other discipline tactics varies by ethnicity. Although few studies have examined the multiple discipline tactics parents of different ethnicity use, these findings suggest that it is important to further understand the extent to which negative verbal discipline is used.

The history of CP section shows that this is not related to verbal aggression. More parents with no history of CP, however, used verbal aggression less of the time. The history of parental violence section indicates that this was not associated with verbal aggression. However, more parents with no history of parental violence used verbal aggression less of the time. These results indicate that having no history of CP or parental violence is associated with using less punitive discipline tactics.

The perception of stress section of Table 4.7 indicates that this was not associated with verbal aggression. More parents with no stress used verbal aggression less of the time, however, as compared to those with a high perception of stress. This finding suggests that parents who subjectively perceive lower stress in their lives use little negative verbal discipline. This indicates that a parent's perception of stress may

Table 4.7 Parental Personal and Psychological Resources and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Verbal Aggression

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2
		More verbal aggression	Less verbal aggression	
Parent sex:				
Mother	57	21.1	78.9	1.915
Father	46	10.9	89.1	
Parent age:				
18-29	44	20.5	79.5	1.563
30-39	44	15.9	84.1	
40-highest	15	6.7	93.3	
Education:				
Up to some high school	29	27.6	72.4	5.550
High school graduate	24	20.8	79.2	
Some college	27	7.4	92.6	
College graduate or higher	23	8.7	91.3	
Ethnicity:				
Euro-American	47	8.5	91.5	5.700
African American	18	27.8	72.2	
Hispanic	29	17.2	82.8	
Other	9	33.3	66.7	
Income:				
0-10,000	21	33.3	66.7	6.693
10,001-20,000	24	12.5	87.5	
20,001-30,000	29	10.3	89.7	
30,001-40,000	14	21.4	78.6	
40,001 +	15	6.7	93.3	
Religion:				
Protestant	55	14.5	85.5	4.457
Catholic	39	17.9	82.1	
Other	4	50.0	50.0	
None	5	-	100.0	
History of CP:				
No	61	13.1	86.9	1.248
Yes	42	21.4	78.6	
History of parental violence:				
No	93	15.1	84.9	1.464
Yes	10	30.0	70.0	
Perception of stress:				
No	15	6.7	93.3	2.903
Average	79	16.5	83.5	
High	9	33.3	66.7	
Depression level:				
No	27	7.4	92.6	3.170
Average	62	17.7	82.3	
High	14	28.6	71.4	
Alcohol use:				
Abstinent	44	9.1	90.9	3.691
Low	29	20.7	79.3	
Low moderate	15	26.7	73.3	

High moderate	7	14.3	85.7	
High/binge	8	25.0	75.0	
Mother works fulltime:				
Yes	46	17.4	82.6	.047
Other	57	15.8	84.2	
Labor force:				
No	8	25.0	75.0	
Other	95	15.8	84.2	.454

be an important element to understanding how to decrease the amount of negative verbal discipline.

The depression section of Table 4.7 shows that this was not associated with verbal aggression. More parents with no depression used verbal aggression less of the time, however, as compared to those with a high level of depression.

The alcohol use section shows that this was not related to verbal aggression. These results indicate that parents who had more positive psychological resources, such as lower levels of perceived stress and lower depression, used less punitive or aggressive discipline tactics.

Marital relationship. Table 4.8 shows that there were no parents with high couple conflict who used verbal aggression more of the time. More parents with high couple conflict used verbal aggression less of the time. It is not clear why this was found. As previously mentioned, perhaps the association between couple conflict and parenting depends on how the couple conflict is resolved and whether it is paired with withdrawal (Cox, Paley, Payne, & Burchinal, 1999).

The couple verbal aggression section of Table 4.8 shows that 3 times as many parents with high couple verbal aggression used parent to child verbal aggression more of the time. This is consistent with other research that has found that negative marital functioning may spill over and negatively affect the parent to child relationship (Eamon,

2001). What this implies for understanding the context in which CP is avoided is that decreasing a parent's overall level of using negative verbal tactics may be an important element of increasing CP avoidance.

Table 4.8 Marital Relationship and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Verbal Aggression

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2	ϕ
		More verbal aggression	Less verbal aggression		
Couple conflict:					
Average	92	18.5	81.5	2.434	
High	11	-	100.0		
Couple verbal aggression:					
Lower two-thirds	76	10.5	89.5	7.520**	.270
Top third scores	27	33.3	66.7		
Approve of couple violence					
No	84	17.9	82.1	.604	
Yes	19	10.5	89.5		
Couple violence					
No	97	16.5	83.5	.000	
Yes	6	16.7	83.3		

** p < .01

The approve of couple violence section shows that there was no relation between this variable and verbal aggression. There was no relation between couple violence and verbal aggression. It is important to note that there were few parents who had experienced couple violence in the avoid CP group.

Structural characteristics. The number in household section of Table 4.9 indicates that more parents with 4 people or 1 to 3 people in the household used little verbal aggression than parents with 5 or more people.

The number of children in the household section shows that more parents with one or two children used little verbal aggression.

Table 4.9 Structural Characteristics and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Verbal Aggression

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2	ϕ
		More verbal aggression	Less verbal aggression		
Number in household:					
One-three	40	12.5	87.5	7.033*	.261
Four	35	8.6	91.4		
Five or more	28	32.1	67.9		
Number of children in household:					
One	47	12.8	87.2	7.369*	.267
Two	33	9.1	90.9		
Three or more	23	34.8	65.2		
Number of children older than focal child:					
None	63	12.7	87.3	2.661	
One	27	18.5	81.5		
Two or more	13	30.8	69.2		
Household type:					
Single parent	15	46.7	53.3	11.590**	.335
Two parent	88	11.4	88.6		
Nonfamily aggression:					
No	94	17.0	83.0	.208	
Yes	9	11.1	88.9		

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

The number of children older than focal child was not associated with verbal aggression. However, more parents with no or 1 older child than the focal child used little verbal aggression. This suggests that parents with fewer people and fewer children rely on little verbal aggression.

The household type section of Table 4.9 shows that more two parent households used little verbal aggression as compared to single parent households. Other research has described single parents as experiencing more economic stress (Eamon & Zuehl, 2001) and, thus, may rely on more negative verbal discipline tactics. More research is needed to explore the extent that multiple discipline tactics are used in single and two parent households.

The nonfamily aggression section shows that this was not associated with verbal aggression.

Community characteristics. The level of state stress and level of legitimate violence sections of Table 4.10 show that these variables were not associated with verbal aggression. Perhaps the level of stress and violence within a parent's neighborhood, rather than state, would be important to consider.

Table 4.10 Community Characteristics and Percentage of Parents Avoiding CP and Verbal Aggression

Indicator	n	Avoid CP		χ^2	ϕ
		More verbal aggression	Less verbal aggression		
State stress level:					
Low	80	16.3	83.8	.017	
High	23	17.4	82.6		
State violence level:					
Low	66	19.7	80.3	1.359	
High	37	10.8	89.2		

Summary

The analyses presented in this chapter indicated that parents use multiple discipline strategies and that the frequency varies somewhat by ethnicity. Reasoning

was the most frequent discipline tactic used. There were significant differences in the extent to which parents rely on reasoning and verbal aggression.

The hypothesis that those who avoid CP would use a greater proportion of reasoning and use a lower proportion of verbal aggression as compared to those who used mild CP or severe CP was supported. This is important to acknowledge because it indicates that CP avoiders are using positive verbal discipline tactics and avoiding negative ones. While other research has not examined parents who avoid CP, research does indicate that parents use various combinations of discipline tactics (Thompson et al., 1999; Wissow, 2001).

The exploratory analysis on CP avoidance and reasoning revealed some interesting distinctions between those who used reasoning more of the time as compared to those who used reasoning little when they disciplined. Among CP avoiders, more fathers, Euro-Americans, and parents not in the lowest income category used reasoning more of the time. More parents with no history of parental violence, more parents who had no depression, and more parents who had lower couple verbal aggression used reasoning more of the time. More households with a fulltime employed mother and more two parent households used reasoning to a greater extent.

This suggests that parents who avoided CP and used little reasoning may comprise a different subset of parents than those who avoided CP and use more reasoning. This is important because it indicates that there may be a group of parents, those with a high school education or lower and those with very low income, which could benefit from learning about the importance of using more reasoning with their children.

Twice as many parents with no depression used more reasoning than those with high levels of depression. The results suggest that parenting programs should consider including a depression assessment as an important tool for understanding the needs of parents. Thus, the results also suggest that parenting programs should address how the parent interacts with their partner. By reducing the amount of couple verbal aggression, a parent may be less likely to use verbal aggression toward their child.

The analyses on CP avoidance and verbal aggression indicated that more parents with children with low misbehavior and with higher levels of education used little verbal aggression. More Euro-Americans, those with high couple conflict, and those with low couple verbal aggression used little verbal aggression when they disciplined. Parents with less than five people in the household, parents with one or two children, and two parent households used little verbal aggression.

What these results suggest for parenting programs is the need to reduce negative verbal tactics overall in families. In addition, families with many people in the household may benefit from learning about how to communicate using positive verbal tactics. Thus, these results underscore the importance of addressing the family needs holistically.

There appear to be differences among those who avoid CP and the extent to which parents use positive or negative verbal tactics. This suggests that it is important to understand how to enhance the use of positive verbal discipline tactics, especially among some groups of parents, and to decrease the use of negative tactics. The results suggest that there may be many different parenting typologies within the avoid CP group and it is critical to further understand these distinctions. For example, those

parents that consciously decide not to hit their child may also decide not to use extensive amounts of verbal aggression. This group may differ from those parents that do not use CP but use extensive amounts of verbal aggression.

The findings also support the idea that it is important to understand the extent to which parents are flexible in their discipline tactics (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994) and whether one tactic takes place in the context of positive or negative tactics (Wissow, 2001).

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to compare the minority of parents of young children who avoid CP with those who use it in order to understand the experiences and context associated with avoiding CP. There is a growing body of research demonstrating that it is not more effective than other methods of correction and has harmful side effects that other methods do not have (Eamon, 2001; Stormshak et al., 2000; Straus, 2001) and that there are more positive ways to discipline a child than corporal punishment (May, 2000; Sears & Sears, 1995; Spock & Parker, 1998). Yet, few empirical studies have examined parents who avoid CP. This research used a national sample of American parents to explore characteristics that may accentuate CP avoidance.

Family and Contextual Factors Associated with CP Avoidance

Approximately 10% of parents avoided CP. This is consistent with research describing CP as widespread and a generally accepted discipline tactic (Straus & Stewart, 1999). Additionally, the results highlighted the importance of acknowledging differences in the type of CP, such as avoiding CP, using mild CP, such as spanking, or using severe CP, such as hitting with an object. More parents who avoided CP had more positive psychological resources and positive marital relations as compared to those who used mild or severe CP. Likewise, more parents who used mild CP had positive psychological resources and positive marital relations as compared to those

who used severe CP. These findings support the idea that it is important to consider the different characteristics and motivations for using different types of CP (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Straus, 1998). A number of family conditions may accentuate CP avoidance.

Ethnicity

Much of the research on ethnicity and CP is contradictory, perhaps in part because CP has been defined as spanking in some studies or more broadly as spanking and hitting with an object in others. Some research has found African Americans using more CP as compared to other minority parents and Euro-Americans (Straus & Stewart, 1999), other research has found parent ethnicity only marginally significant to CP (Wissow, 2001). Much of the previous research has been limited by only including one minority group (Jambunathan, Burts, & Pierce, 2000; Mosby et al., 1999). The results of the present study add to the complicated picture of ethnicity and CP. More Hispanics, parents of Other ethnicities, and African Americans avoided CP as compared to Euro-Americans. This association remained even after controlling for income. Euro-Americans had the smallest percentage of CP avoidance and the largest percentage of parents who used mild CP. African Americans had the largest percentage of parents who used severe CP. It is not clear why this was found.

There are, however, a number of possible explanations. It is possible that the low prevalence of CP avoiders for minority parents could be related to the perception by parents that they are giving the socially desirable response. However, results of this study suggest otherwise because there was no difference between ethnic group in the rate of couple violence. It is possible that the fear of official sanctions, such as having

their children removed, is greater among minority parents. However, results of this study suggest otherwise in that African Americans had the highest percentage of parents reporting severe CP.

An alternative hypothesis is that perhaps more African Americans use severe CP because parents believe that they need to prepare their children for the potential for greater harm in society and, thus, need to teach them to respect power and authority (Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999; Whaley, 2000). It could be, however, that this is an example of how violence begets violence.

On the other hand, it is possible that African American parents were more likely to have experienced CP with an object as a child and thus use this type of CP with their own children. Likewise, perhaps more Hispanics avoid CP and more Euro-Americans used mild CP because these parents are using the type of discipline that they experienced most of the time while they were growing up and thus are modeling their own parents. Alternatively, perhaps parents within each ethnic group are reinforcing each others' discipline behaviors such that by talking to and observing their friends and family they reinforce each other's behavior (Lassiter, 1987; Luster & Okagaki, 1993).

African Americans. A number of characteristics of African American culture affect parenting. First, African American homes have large numbers of people and thus have an abundance of stimulation (Hammer and Turner, 1996). This environment has been described as challenging because children may learn to tune out stimuli and also as been described as beneficial because children may learn to handle stimuli change. The co-residence of grandmothers and mothers has been found to have negative results on the quality of parenting (Chase-Lansdale, Brooks-Gunn, & Zamsky, 1994). This study

found that only when mothers were very young, did co-residing have positive consequences on parenting. Secondly, many older children are responsible for the care for younger children in African American households (Hammer and Turner, 1996). Therefore, older children may play a role in the discipline of younger children. Thirdly, African American children are more likely to be born into poverty, which increases the risk to healthy development. Therefore in order to understand who avoids CP, it may be important to consider who are the people in the kin network who have responsibility for child care as well as the economic conditions of the household.

Hispanics. A number of characteristics of Hispanic culture affect parenting. First, the Hispanic population in America includes many groups: Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans. Parenting most likely differs somewhat within each of these groups. Secondly, the value of familism, or identification with the family, and the respect for the father most likely affects parenting (Hammer and Turner, 1996). Another characteristic that is important to acknowledge is the role of acculturation (Hammer and Turner, 1996). Therefore in order to understand who avoids CP, it may be important to consider the within group differences among Hispanics, gender roles, and issues of acculturation.

Psychological Resources

Consistent with expectations from Belsky's model of parenting, parents' psychological resources were associated with CP avoidance. More parents with lower levels of depression, lower perception of stress, and lower alcohol use avoided CP than parents with higher levels of depression, perception of stress and alcohol use. This

supports what would be expected from Belsky's model of parenting such that optimal parenting may be enhanced under certain situations (Belsky, 1984).

There was less evidence of these variables contributing to CP avoidance after taking account of the other variables. Low alcohol use, however, was associated with an increased likelihood of avoiding CP as compared to using severe CP, controlling for other variables. This suggests that infrequent alcohol use may accentuate non-physical discipline. Although few studies on CP have examined alcohol use, these findings are consistent with research that increased use of alcohol is associated with marital violence (Kantor & Straus, 1990).

Aggressive Interactions

Another family condition that may accentuate the avoidance of CP is experiencing low levels of couple verbal aggression. Perhaps parents that tend to avoid being verbally aggressive also tend to avoid being physically aggressive with their children. This is consistent with the idea that marital functioning is an element of effective parenting (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, & Graham, 2002). Thus, these results suggest that it is critical to consider how parents resolve conflict with their partners in order to further enhance the likelihood of avoiding CP.

Variables Not Related to Avoiding CP

Of particular note is the lack of significant findings for certain characteristics, notably child misbehavior and a parent's level of education. Parents report that they use CP because their children were misbehaving and use it to help "bring the message home" (Dickinson, 1991; Gough & Reavey, 1997; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). The lack of findings for child misbehavior in the regression analysis can be explained by

several factors. First, this sample focused on parents of 2- to 6-year-olds and the misbehavior index may not have captured the misbehaviors for this age group. This is evidenced somewhat in the low variability in the scores on the misbehavior index.

Second, the data consisted of parents' perceptions of their children and parents may not have classified their children as high on the misbehavior items. Another possibility is that the perception that parents use spanking to send a message to children may be over-estimated by parents. Child misbehavior most likely only comprises a small part of the reason why a parent uses CP. One study, for example, found that child misbehavior only accounted for 12% of the parent-to-parent variation in CP (Colby & Straus, in press).

Previous research indicates that the relationship between education and parenting behavior has been inconclusive. Some research has found more educated parents use CP less frequently than parents with lower levels of education (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Fox, Platz, & Bently, 1995). Other research, however, has found increases in maternal education were not associated with lower spanking rates (Giles-Sims, Straus, & Sugarman, 1995). It is possible that the variation in findings for the association between education and CP could be due, in part, to how CP is defined.

For example, Dietz (2000) found that those with less than a high school education were 1.5 times more likely to use severe CP as not, whereas education was not a significant predictor for mild CP as compared to not using it. The findings in the current study also suggest another possibility; the CP avoiders are not a homogeneous group of parents. Among this group, lower educated parents used little reasoning. This suggests that in order to understand better the association between CP and education it

may be necessary to examine the combination of discipline tactics parents use, rather than to rely on one indicator of discipline.

Multiple Discipline Strategies

In addition to contributing to the knowledge base on the characteristics associated with CP avoidance, the findings indicate that parents who avoid CP used a greater proportion of reasoning and a smaller proportion of verbal aggression as compared to parents who used mild or severe CP. This suggests that when parents avoid CP they tend to rely on positive verbal tactics (i.e. reasoning) rather than negative verbal tactics (i.e. verbal aggression). Therefore, by encouraging parents to avoid CP, perhaps more children will experience less punitive discipline tactics. Thus, this research adds to our understanding of the combinations of discipline tactics that parents of 2- to 6- year-olds use. This finding is important to acknowledge because much of the difficulty in interpreting discipline research is understanding the extent to which one tactic is used in relation to other discipline strategies.

These results suggest somewhat different intervention strategies for parents based on their family characteristics. It is important to acknowledge the extent to which parents avoid CP and use positive or negative tactics because this could indicate different discipline types. Parents who avoided CP and used little reasoning were parents with less than a high school diploma, with very low income, with a history of parental violence, with fulltime employed mothers, single parents, and with high levels of couple verbal aggression. This suggests, therefore, parents with these characteristics may benefit from learning about concrete ways to be involved in their child's discipline.

Parents who avoided CP and used verbal aggression more of the time had child with high misbehavior, single parents, high couple verbal aggression, and more children. This suggests that although physical discipline is not used, this group of parents is relying on verbal aggression. It is also important to note that lower use of couple verbal aggression was associated with avoiding CP and using reasoning more of the time and verbal aggression less of the time. This suggests that the extent to which couple verbal aggression is used is an important element of understanding the degree to which parents use positive as opposed to negative discipline tactics.

The results suggest that CP avoiders could be classified as “resource rich” in that they do not have high perceived stress, do not feel depressed, and do not rely on excessive alcohol. This explanation, however, raises the question as to whether CP avoidance is in fact a conscious decision. Assuming “resource rich” parents would decide to avoid CP, implies that it would behoove parent educators, social workers, and pediatricians to invest in understanding how parents handle daily hassles.

An alternative explanation is that CP avoiders are not a homogeneous group. Although Carson’s (1986) study on nonspankers found similarities among this group, such as that they were quite aware that their discipline strategies were different from others and that this group had clear reasons as to why they did not use CP. They believed that spanking was ineffective and that spanking had negative consequences such as teaching violence and aggression.

It is likely, however, that there are different types of CP avoiders. Davis (1999), for example, found that parents had multiple reasons for stopping to spank, there are most likely different types of CP avoiders. Findings from the current study suggest that

within the group of CP avoiders, there are important distinctions in the extent to which parents use positive or negative verbal tactics. One group might be classified as those who consciously decide not to hit their child and not to use negative verbal tactics, but to use primarily positive verbal tactics. Another group could be those parents who do not hit their child, but use extensive amounts of verbal aggression. Another group might be classified as those who use little discipline, while another group may have extremely well behaved children.

These findings not only raise a number of research questions about parents' motivations for using different types of discipline but also extend the literature on the determinants of parenting by considering the influence of a parent's psychological resources and marital relationship on CP avoidance. The findings support Belsky's model of positive parenting by highlighting the need to consider the family environment and parental resources on discipline practices. The findings are consistent with research indicating that the child management strategy and the extent to which parents rely on multiple discipline strategies is an important element of effective parenting (Thompson et al., 1999; Wissow, 2001).

Limitations

A number of limitations of this research should be acknowledged. First, the child misbehavior index was limited because there was little variance in responses. Although the index asked about eight misbehaviors, it would be beneficial to have a scale that could obtain the number of times a child misbehaves during specific situations, such as at mealtime, bedtime, and washtime.

Another limitation was the reasoning and verbal aggression indexes on the CTS. It is important to recognize that what is measured on these two indexes may not sufficiently capture these two concepts. For example, one of the items on the reasoning index, got information to back up your side of things, may not be representative of reasoning. Likewise, the items on the verbal aggression index, sulked or refused to talk about it or stomped out of the room or house, may not be representative of verbal aggression.

Another possible limitation is the use of cross-sectional data. For example, bidirectional influences between variables, such as between parental behavior and child misbehavior, likely exist but were not estimated. Additionally, the nature of the parent and child relationship or parenting fit may influence the discipline action.

Given the recall period of one year, parents may have forgotten whether they used CP or not. Therefore, some parents may have been misclassified as CP avoiders who used CP and vice versa. In addition, some parents may have been misclassified as CP avoiders because only one parent was interviewed. It is possible that the other parent may have been responsible for discipline.

A number of potentially important factors were not addressed that may have helped to understand the avoidance of CP. For example, measures of social support and information about where parents learn about discipline and parenting could have provided insight about parents' informational networks. This information could indicate whether parents have access to information about child development and have a support system to rely on when they are stressed with the demands of parenting. It is possible that parents with access to these types of supports may be more likely to avoid

CP. It would also be informative to understand how parental cognitions, such as how competent parents feel, influence their use of different discipline tactics. Because this study focused on parents of 2 to 6-year-olds, the results can not be generalized to parents of older or younger children.

Future Research

The current methods of studying parents who avoid CP are limited. What is the distinction between avoiding CP, letting it go, and permissiveness? First, it is important for future research to further clarify the term CP avoidance. Should parents who use CP once or twice be classified as CP avoiders?

In order to develop a definition of the term, future research should explore ways to capture the reasons why parents avoid CP. In order to understand CP avoiders, it is necessary to not only ask whether parents use CP or not, but it is also necessary to ask about parents' motivations for avoiding CP and the context in which it occurs. Is it a conscious decision to avoid CP?

Second, future research needs to develop ways to measure CP avoidance. Because some households may have a division of labor for discipline, it is important to gather discipline information from both parents. In addition, because CP is so common parents may easily forget whether they have used CP in the past year. Questions should ask about behaviors both in the past week and the past year. Therefore, it is important to gather information about common and specific discipline situations, such as what happened at mealtime, bedtime, and washtime. By asking what parents did and why when their child misbehaved during a number of situations, it would be possible to further understand the context and rationale for avoiding CP.

Thirdly, in order to better understand who avoids CP, it would be important for future research to include a number of additional variables. These might include whether CP avoiders have a particular discipline ideology. In addition, the extent to which parents combine a variety of positive and negative discipline tactics needs to be further understood. It is possible that parents used discipline behaviors that were not identified in this questionnaire.

The issue of who is avoiding CP could also be further understood by examining the different subgroups of parents who avoid CP and use little reasoning as compared to those who use more reasoning. First, it would be important to explore the behaviors that parents are classifying as reasoning. It would be important to look at where parents who use little reasoning get information about discipline. Other variables might include asking who parents' informal support network is, who is responsible for discipline, and reasons why different discipline tactics are used.

The relationship between CP avoidance and ethnicity needs to be clarified. Do fewer Euro-Americans avoid CP than other ethnic groups? Future research should include a social desirability index in order to explore whether this helps to interpret the results. Close attention should be paid to the language used in the questionnaires and the way in which they are administered in order to enhance cultural sensitivity.

Another area to further explore is the relationship between the parent's psychological functioning and discipline. How does a parent's psychological functioning, such as depression, affect the type of discipline used and under what circumstances? In addition, it would be beneficial to consider how all family conflict is resolved in order to further understand the environment in which parents avoid CP.

Implications

Theoretical. The results add to the body of knowledge on the theoretical concept of discipline by acknowledging CP avoidance as a discipline strategy. Because parents who avoided CP used a greater proportion of reasoning and a smaller proportion of verbal aggression compared to parents who used CP, it is theoretically important to consider the extent to which parents rely on multiple discipline tactics as an important component of developing discipline typologies.

Program and policy. The results have a number of program and policy implications. First, the results suggest that parenting programs should directly address the level of couple verbal aggression a parent uses. By assessing this, parenting programs could develop interventions for parents who tend to have excessive negative or aggressive interactions.

Second, parenting programs should be aware that parents that avoid CP use a greater proportion of reasoning and a smaller proportion of verbal aggression. This indicates that it is important to have parents recognize the extent to which they rely on positive and negative verbal tactics.

The results also indicate that parenting programs should emphasize the need to replace all types of punitive tactics, such as physically hitting a child or being verbally aggressive, with non-punitive tactics, such as explanation and logical consequences. It would be important, for example, to emphasize to parents that a decrease in CP could mean that verbal aggression would also decrease.

One way to enhance parents' understanding that it benefits everyone in the family when less aggressive discipline is used, is to create a national policy or mission

statement that specifies that children are entitled to rights that include the right not to be physically hit, regardless of how they behave (Lansdown, 2000). Another way to illustrate the importance of replacing punitive discipline tactics with non-punitive ones is to educate parents that this could have the potential to decrease negative child outcomes, such as aggressive child behavior (Stromshak et al., 2000; Straus, 2001).

In conclusion, the results of this research complement the intricate model of how family and contextual conditions influence parenting practices by highlighting the importance of a parent's psychological resources and the marital relationship on CP avoidance. Additionally, the results contribute to the sociology of the family literature by emphasizing the importance of considering the family holistically when examining parent discipline strategies. By continuing to understand how family characteristics may accentuate the avoidance of CP, perhaps fewer children will be hit by their parents.

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APPENDIX A

LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.
630 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10111

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY: QUESTION 10

Questionnaire No: _____
ON 1-5 (Cols. 1-5 on all 10 cards)

Study No. 843007

SECOND NATIONAL FAMILY VIOLENCE SURVEY
Richard J. Gelles and
Murray A. Straus co-investigators

Sample Point No. | | | | | | | | | | | |

6*40-41-42-43-44-45-46

NOTE: Sample Point No. breaks down to:

~~640~~ 640 | see pages 28

~~641-42~~ 641-42 | and 29 for

~~643~~ 643 | codes.

NOT USED 644-46

JUNE 10, 1985 and front revised 2 for P7:
(PLEASE PRINT)

Interviewer's Name: _____ Date: _____

Area Code: _____ Telephone No.: _____ (642-38)

Hello, I'm _____ from Louis Harris and Associates, the national public opinion research firm. We are conducting a study for the National Institutes of Health about family life, American couples, and their children and I'd like to ask you (or someone in your household) who is over 18 some questions. So that I will know which questions apply to you, I need to ask you about the people in your household.

A. First, how many couples, either currently married or just living together, are there in this household?

present couples
(8)

QA

None.....-0

Eight or more...-8

Not sure.....-9

B. How many other people are living in this household who are single parents — by single parents I mean persons who are not currently living with a partner but who have children under 18 in the household.

single parents
(9)

QB

None.....-0

Eight or more...-8

Not sure.....-9

C. Is there anyone else you have not already mentioned in your household who was married or living with a partner of the opposite sex within the past two years? How many?

previously coupled
(10)

QC

No.....-0

Eight or more...-8

Not sure.....-9

IF NO ELIGIBLE UNITS IN HOUSEHOLD, I.E., NONE TO Q.A, Q.B, AND Q.C, THEN SCREEN OUT. SAY:

Thank you very much. Unfortunately we cannot include you in our study of family life at this time.

IF MORE THAN ONE ELIGIBLE UNIT IN HOUSEHOLD, THEN RANDOMLY SELECT FROM ALL ELIGIBLE UNITS. RECORD SELECTED UNIT BELOW (as variable FTYPE).

- (FTYPE) A. Currently married or living together....(6*18) ___-1
 - B. A single parent.....___-2
 - C. Previously married or living together.....___-3
- Coded on p. 27*

IF "PRESENT COUPLE" SELECTED, THEN RANDOMLY SELECT SEX OF RESPONDENT AND SAY:

* According to my instructions, I need to speak to the (male/female) person (currently married or living together/ a single parent/ previously married or living together) in your household.

IF NOT "PRESENT COUPLE" SELECTED, THEN SAY:

According to my instructions, I need to speak to (the/a) person in your household who (is/are) (currently married or living together/ a single parent/ previously married or living together)

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE RECORD SEX OF RESPONDENT (SEGR)

- SEX OF RESPONDENT (SEGR)
- Male.....(6*19) ___-1
 - Female.....___-2
- Coded on p. 27*

SAY TO DESIGNATED RESPONDENT:

Hello, my name is _____ from Louis Harris and Associates, the national public opinion research firm. We are conducting a national study about family life for the National Institutes of Health. Your participation in the survey is completely voluntary. The information you provide will be kept confidential. In order to protect your anonymity, we have selected your phone number completely at random. We will not ask your name, so that no one will ever know your answers to these questions.

Note: Question F5 (race/ethnicity) shown on page 26 was asked here for the black and Hispanic oversamples and used to include or exclude respondents.

ASK EVERYONE!

6a. Are you currently married, or living as a couple with someone?

- Q6A
- Yes, married.....(18) ___-1___ (ASK Q.6b)
 - Yes, living as couple...___-2___
 - No, neither.....___-3___
 - Not sure.....___-8___ (SKIP TO Q.10a)
 - Refused.....___-9___

6b. How long have you been (married/living as a couple) to your current (spouse/partner)?

- Q6B
- ____|____| years
(19-20)
- Less than one year... (___-00
 - 97 years or longer.....___-97
 - Refused.....___-99

7. Is your (spouse/partner) currently employed full time, part time, unemployed, retired, a student, keeping house, or something else?

- Q7
(replaced by
Q3H, Q3W)
See Note on p.1
- Employed full time... (21) ___-1___
 - Employed part time.....___-2___ (SKIP TO Q.9)
 - Unemployed.....___-3___
 - Retired.....___-4___
 - Student.....___-5___
 - Keeping house.....___-6___ (ASK Q.8)
 - Disabled.....___-7___
 - Other.....___-8___
 - Refused.....___-9___

8. Has he/she ever held a job for pay?

- Q8
(replaced by
Q4H, Q4W)
- Yes.... (22) ___-1___ (ASK Q.9)
 - No.....___-0___ (SKIP TO Q.16a)
 - Not sure...___-8___

9. What kind of work does your (spouse/partner) do?

NOTE: This verbal description is translated into an occupational code which is recorded on card 7, columns 30-32. Its variable name is Q9.

INTERVIEWER: ASK FOR JOB TITLE AND MAIN DUTIES -DESCRIBE IN DETAIL:
Q9 (replaced by Q5H, Q5W). *See Note on p.1*

GO TO Q.16a

10a. (IF "NO", "NOT SURE", OR "REFUSED" IN Q.6a, ASK:) Have you ever been married or lived as a couple with someone?

Q10A Yes.....(21/___-1 (ASK Q.10b)
No.....___-0] (SKIP TO Q.19)
Not sure/refused...___-9]

* 10b. How long ago did that (MOST RECENT) marriage or relationship end?

Q10B years ago
Q10B (25-26)
See Q10DX
p.33
Number of years mentioned....(24/___-1 Q10B2
Less than one month.....___-2
One month to six months.....___-3
Six months to a year.....___-4
Not sure.....___-8

* Q10B and Q10B2 have been recoded into a single variable named Q10BX.
See page 33 for categories and codes.

11a. How long were you married to or living with that person?

Q11A years
(27-28)
Less than one year..(___-00
97 years or longer.....___-97
Refused.....___-99

11b. Did you and your spouse/partner have any children as a result of this marriage/relationship?

Q11B Yes.....(29/___-1
No.....___-0
Not sure/
Refused...___-9

11c. Were you and your spouse/partner expecting at the time your marriage/relationship ended?

Q11C Yes.....(30/___-1
No.....___-0
Not sure/
Refused...___-9

12. Are you currently widowed, divorced, separated or never been married?

Q12 Widowed.....(31/___-1]
Divorced.....___-2] (ASK Q.13)
Separated.....___-3]
Never been married...___-4] (SKIP TO INSTRUCTION
Not sure.....___-8] BEFORE Q.17a)

* 13. Was your former (spouse/partner) employed full time, part time, unemployed, retired, a student, keeping house or something else?

- Q13H Q.13 Employed full-time... (32) ___-1
 Q13W Employed part-time.....-2 (SKIP TO Q.15)
 Unemployed.....-3
 Retired.....-4
- See Q13X, p.33*
- Student.....-5
 Keeping house.....-6 (ASK Q.14)
 Disabled.....-7
 Other.....-8
 Refused.....-9
- Q.13b Not sure..... (31) ___-9

*Q13 and Q13b have been recoded into a single variable named Q13X.
 See page 33 for categories and codes.

14. Has he/she held a job for pay?

- Q14H Yes..... (34) ___-1 (ASK Q.15)
 Q14W No.....-0 (SKIP TO Q.16a)
 Not sure.....-9
- See title on p.1 about H and W variables*

15. What kind of work did your former spouse or partner do?

NOTE: This verbal description is translated into an occupational code which is recorded on card 7, columns 34-36. Its variable name is Q.15.

Q15H, Q15W

INTERVIEWER: ASK FOR JOB TITLE AND MAIN DUTIES -DESCRIBE IN DETAIL:

16a. Including your current/most recent marriage/relationship how many times have/had you been married or lived as a couple with someone?

- Q16H | | | times
 (35-36)
 Q16W Eight or more....-8
 Not sure.....-98
 Refused.....-99

ASK IF MARRIED OR LIVING AS A COUPLE IN Q.6a ELSE SKIP TO INSTRUCTION BEFORE Q.17a

16b. How many times has/had your spouse been married or lived as a couple?

- Q16B | | | times
 (37-38)
 Eight or more....-8
 Not sure.....-98
 Refused.....-99

IF SINGLE PARENT MALE, SKIP TO Q.19I

17a. Are you (is your wife/partner) currently expecting a child?

Q17A

Yes.....(39)____-1 (ASK Q.17b)

No.....____-0 (SKIP TO Q.19)

Not sure/refused.....-9

17b. How many months pregnant are you/is she?

Q17B

____ months
(40-41)

Not sure.....-98

ASK EVERYONE!

*19. In all, how many children under 18 do you (and your spouse) have living in this household?

Q19

____ number (8 = 8 or more)
Q19 (43)

See Q19X,
p.33

Q19b Has children (VALUE GIVEN)....(42)____-1

None.....-2 (SKIP TO Q.29)

Not sure/Refused.....-9

*Q19 and Q19b have been recoded into a single variable named Q19X.
See page 33 for categories and codes.

20. Would you tell me the age of each of these children, starting with the oldest?
RECORDED Q.5 XQ.221 TO XQ.228

Q.208(1 to 8) AGE	Q.221(1 to 8) Sex		Q.228(1 to 9) Previous Marriage		Q.229(1 to 9) Previous Marriage		Q.226(1 to 9) Adopted/ Foster		Q.227(1 to 9) Natural		Q.228(1 to 9) Not Related	
	Boy	Girl	Self	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse	Spouse
Child 1... Q.20A1 (44-45)	(52) -1	(51) -2	(8-08) -1	(8-17) -1	(8-26) -1	(8-25) -1	(8-44) -1					
Child 2... Q.20A2 (46-47)	(51) -1	(51) -2	(8-09) -1	(8-18) -1	(8-27) -1	(8-26) -1	(8-51) -1					
Child 3... Q.20A3 (48-49)	(51) -1	(51) -2	(8-10) -1	(8-19) -1	(8-28) -1	(8-27) -1	(8-46) -1					
Child 4... Q.20A4 (50-51)	(51) -1	(51) -2	(8-11) -1	(8-20) -1	(8-29) -1	(8-28) -1	(8-57) -1					
Child 5... Q.20A5 (52-53)	(51) -1	(51) -2	(8-12) -1	(8-21) -1	(8-30) -1	(8-29) -1	(8-48) -1					
Child 6... Q.20A6 (54-55)	(51) -1	(51) -2	(8-13) -1	(8-22) -1	(8-31) -1	(8-30) -1	(8-49) -1					
Child 7... Q.20A7 (56-57)	(51) -1	(51) -2	(8-14) -1	(8-23) -1	(8-32) -1	(8-31) -1	(8-50) -1					
Child 8... Q.20A8 (58-59)	(51) -1	(51) -2	(8-15) -1	(8-24) -1	(8-33) -1	(8-32) -1	(8-51) -1					
Don't know...			(8-16) -1	(8-25) -1	(8-34) -1	(8-33) -1	(8-52) -1					

21. Is the child aged (READ AGE) a boy or a girl? [RECORDED ABOVE] IF TWO OR MORE CHILDREN ARE THE SAME AGE (E.G., TWINS) ASK FOR OLDEST FIRST.

22a. Are any of these children from a previous marriage/relationship of yours or your (spouse or partner)?

- Q.22A1 → 22a1 Yes, yours... (8-27) -1 (ASK Q.22b)
- Q.22A2 → 22a2 Yes, spouse... (8-28) -1 (ASK Q.22b)
- Q.22A3 → 22a3 No... (8-29) -1 (SKIP TO Q.22c)

22b. Which ones? [RECORDED ABOVE] (Just tell me their age and sex.)

FROM: OF WHICH PREVIOUS MARRIAGE/RELATIONSHIP? [RECORDED ABOVE]

22c. Are any of these children adopted or foster children?

- Yes... (71) -1 (ASK Q.22d)
- No... -0 (SKIP TO Q.22e)
- Not sure... -8

22d. Which ones? [RECORDED ABOVE] (Just tell me their age and sex.)

22e. Are any of these children of the relationship between you and (your present spouse or partner)?

- Yes... (71) -1 (ASK Q.22f)
- No... -0 (SKIP TO Q.22g)
- Not sure... -8

22f. Which ones? [RECORDED ABOVE] (Just tell me their age and sex.)

22g. Do you care for any other children living in your household who are not related to you or your spouse by birth or marriage?

- Yes....(75/___-1) (ASK Q.22h)
- No.....-0] (SKIP TO NEXT INSTRUCTION)
- Not sure...-8]

22h. Which ones? [RECORD ABOVE] (Just tell us their age and sex).

IF MORE THAN ONE CHILD, USE RANDOM SELECTION TO SELECT CHILD WHO WILL BE ASKED ABOUT.

Variable: PCCHILD INDEX NUMBER OF CHILD SELECTED | | | (6*20)

Variable: PAGE RECORD AGE OF CHILD SELECTED | | | (6*21-22)

Variable: PSEX CIRCLE SEX OF CHILD SELECTED M-1 F-2 (6*23)

*23. We'd like to ask a few questions about one child selected at random in each household. In this household, this would be the (AGE) year old(boy/girl).

Within the past year, did (REFERENT CHILD) have any special difficulties, such as (READ LIST)?

- Q23a. Trouble making friends.....(8-53/___-1
- Q23b. Temper tantrums.....(8-54/___-1
- Q23c. Failing grades in school.....(8-55/___-1
- Q23d. Disciplinary problems in school.....(8-56/___-1
- Q23e. Misbehavior and disobedience at home.....(8-57/___-1
- Q23f. Physical fights with kids who live in your house.....(8-58/___-1
- Q23g. Physical fights with kids who don't live in your house... (8-59/___-1
- Q23h. Physical fights with adults who live in your house.....(8-60/___-1
- Q23i. Physical fights with adults who don't live in your house. (8-61/___-1
- Q23j. Deliberately damaging or destroying property.....(8-62/___-1
- Q23k. Stealing money or something else.....(8-63/___-1
- Q23l. Drinking.....(8-64/___-1
- Q23m. Using drugs.....(8-65/___-1
- Q23n. Got arrested for something.....(8-66/___-1
- Q23o. Other (SPECIFY):
-(8-67/___-1
- Q23p. No problems.....(8-68/___-1

*Q23a to Q23p have been recoded into variables Q23aR to Q23pR with two response categories, i.e., 0 = NO and 1 = YES.

Q23OTH

24. Parents and children use very different ways of trying to settle differences between them. I'm going to read a list of some things that you and (your spouse/partner) might have done WHEN YOU HAD A PROBLEM WITH YOUR CHILD. I would like you to tell me how often you did it with (his/her) in the last year. (READ CATEGORIES)

25. (FOR EACH ITEM CHECK AS "NEVER" OR "DON'T KNOW" ON Q.24, ASK AGAIN:) When you and (CHILD) have had a disagreement, have you ever (DONE)? (ASK AGAIN)

	Q.24										Q.25		
	RESPONSES										Ever/ Never		
	Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	20 Times	More Than 20 Times	(DO NOT READ)	(DO NOT READ)	Yes	No	Don't Know	
a. Discussed an issue calmly.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
b. Got information to back up your side of things.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
c. Brought in or tried to bring in someone to help settle things.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
d. Insulted or swore at his/her.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
e. Talked and/or refused to talk about it.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
f. Stomped out of the room or house (or yard).....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
g. Cried.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
h. Did or said something to spite his/her.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
i. Threatened to hit or throw something at his/her.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
j. Threw or smashed or hit or kicked something.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
k. Threw something at his/her.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
l. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved his/her.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
m. Slapped or spanked his/her.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
n. Kicked, hit, or hit with a fist.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
o. Hit or tried to hit with something.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
p. Beat his/her up.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
q. Burned or scalded his/her.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
r. Threatened with a knife or gun.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4
s. Used a knife or gun.....	Q21	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	Q22	-1	-0	-4

ASK IF POSITIVE TO ANY ITEMS (K-5) IN Q.24. ELSE SKIP TO Q29!

26. When disciplining a child, sometimes an accident happens and the child is hurt. Has this happened in the last twelve months when (you/your spouse) was disciplining your (AGE) year old (BOY/GIRL) ?

Q26

- Yes.....(44)___-1 (ASK Q.27)
- No.....___-0 (SKIP TO Q.29)
- Can't remember.....___-8 (SKIP TO Q.29)

27. Did the child ever need to see a doctor as a result?

Q27

- Yes.....(45)___-1 (ASK Q.28)
- No.....___-0 (SKIP TO Q.29)
- Not sure/refused___-9

28. Did the child have to be hospitalized overnight as a result of such an injury?

Q28

- Yes.....(46)___-1
- No.....___-0
- Not sure/refused___-9

ASK EVERYONE!

29. I'd like to ask you about your experiences as a child. Thinking about when you yourself were a teenager, about how often would you say your mother or stepmother used physical punishment, like slapping or hitting you? Think about the year in which this happened the most.

- Never.....(47)___-0
- Once.....___-1
- Twice.....___-2
- 3-5 times.....___-3
- 6-10 times.....___-4
- 11-20 times.....___-5
- More than 20 times.....___-6
- Did not live with mother/stepmother (vol.)..___-7
- Don't know.....___-8
- Refused.....___-9

Q29

30. How about your father or stepfather? Again, thinking of the year in which it happened the most, how often would you say he used physical punishment in the course of a year?

- Never.....(49)___-0
- Once.....___-1
- Twice.....___-2
- 3-5 times.....___-3
- 6-10 times.....___-4
- 11-20 times.....___-5
- More than 20 times.....___-6
- Did not live with father/stepfather (vol.)..___-7
- Don't know.....___-8

Q30

31a. Now, thinking about the whole time when you were a teenager, were there occasions when your (father/stepfather) hit your (mother/stepmother) or threw something at her?

Q31A

- Yes.....(50)___-1 (ASK Q.31b)
- No.....___-0
- Don't know...___-8 (SKIP TO Q.32a)
- Refused.....___-9

31b. How often did that happen?

Q31B

- Never (vol.)....(51)___-0
- Once.....___-1
- Twice.....___-2
- 3-5 times.....___-3
- 6-10 times.....___-4
- 11-20 times.....___-5
- More than 20 times..___-6
- Don't know.....___-8
- Refused.....___-9

ASK EVERYONE!

32a. What about your (mother/stepmother) hitting your (father/stepfather)? Were there occasions when that happened when you were a teenager?

Q32A

- Yes.....(52)___-1 (ASK Q.32b)
- No.....___-0
- Don't know...___-8 (SKIP TO INSTRUCTION BEFORE Q.33)
- Refused.....___-9

32b. How often did that happen?

Q32B

- Never (vol.)....(53)___-0
- Once.....___-1
- Twice.....___-2
- 3-5 times.....___-3
- 6-10 times.....___-4
- 11-20 times.....___-5
- More than 20 times..___-6
- Don't know.....___-8
- Refused.....___-9

ASK Q.33 IF CURRENTLY PARTNERED in Q.6a. ELSE SKIP TO INSTRUCTION BEFORE Q.34!

33. Now, let me ask you a few questions about you and your partner? Every couple has their ups and downs. Surveys like this have shown that at some time or another, most people wonder about whether they should continue their (marriage/relationship). What about in your case? How often in the past year have you wondered whether you should continue your relationship -- often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

Q33

- Often.....(54)___-3
- Sometimes.....___-2
- Rarely.....___-1
- Never.....___-0
- No answer.....___-9

ASK Q34 IF FTYPE = 1 OR 3!

IF FTYPE = 2 SKIP TO Q.49!

34. I am going to read a list of things that couples do not always agree on. Please tell me how often you and your (spouse/partner) agreed during the past year/(during the last year that you were together). Did you and your (spouse/partner) always, almost always, usually, sometimes or never agree about (READ ITEM)?

		Almost	Some	Not			
	Always	Always	times	Sure			
		Daily	Never				
Q34 a. Managing the money.....	(55)	-4	-3	-2	-1	-0	-8
b. Cooking, cleaning, or repairing the house.....	(56)	-4	-3	-2	-1	-0	-8
c. Social activities and entertaining.....	(57)	-4	-3	-2	-1	-0	-8
d. Affection and sex relations....	(58)	-4	-3	-2	-1	-0	-8

ASK IF CHILDREN IN Q19. ELSE SKIP TO NEXT INSTRUCTION!

e. Things about the children.....	(59)	-4	-3	-2	-1	-0	-8
-----------------------------------	------	----	----	----	----	----	----

IF NOT EMPLOYED WITHIN THE PAST 12 MONTHS, SKIP TO Q.49.

I.E., ASK Q35 IF (FTYPE = 1) or IF (FTYPE = 3 and C10B2 = 2, 3, or 4). ELSE SKIP TO Q49!

26. Do either you or your partner have a regular job? ...

27. How do you support your family? ...

Recorded as Q35AH-Q35RH for husbands and Q36AW-Q36RW for wives.

Form with columns for 'Q' and 'A' and rows for various questions (A through SR) regarding family support and employment.

IF POSITIVE TO ANY ITEMS (R-5) IN Q.35 or 36 ASK Q.38,
 ELSE SKIP TO INSTRUCTION BEFORE Q.46a.

38. You said there was a physical conflict between you and your (spouse, former spouse, partner). The next few questions are about those kinds of situations.

Try to think back to the very first time there was a physical fight between the two of you. About how long ago was that?

Q38 1 years
 (44-45)
 Less than one year.. () -00
 Not sure..... -98

IF INTERVIEW IS ABOUT A FORMER RELATIONSHIP (IF FTYPE = 3) ASK Q.39a. ELSE SKIP TO Q.40!

39a. Do you think that physical fighting had anything to do with breaking up with your (spouse, partner)?

Q39A Yes.....(46() -1 (ASK Q.39b)
 No..... -0 (SKIP TO Q.40)
 Not sure/refused... -9

39b. Was it a main cause of the breakup?

Q39B Yes.....(47() -1
 No..... -0
 Not sure/refused... -9

SELECT HIGHEST LETTER (R-5) WITH ONE OR MORE TIMES IN Q35 OR Q36 AND ASK ABOUT THE MOST RECENT OCCURRENCE OF THAT INCIDENT

40. Let's talk about the last time you and your spouse/former spouse/partner/former partner got into a physical fight and (MOST VIOLENT ACT). In that particular instance, who started the physical conflict, you or your (spouse/partner)?

Q40 You.....(48() -1 (SKIP TO Q.42)
 Spouse/partner..... -2
 Both (vol.)..... -3 (ASK Q.41)
 Neither (vol.)..... -4
 Not sure/refused..... -9 (SKIP TO Q.42)

SKIP

*41. Which of the following describes what you did as a result?

- Q41a. Hit back or threw something. (8-69) -1
- Q41b. Cried..... (8-70) -1
- Q41c. Yelled or cursed him (her) .. (8-71) -1
- Q41d. Ran to another room..... (8-72) -1
- Q41e. Ran out of the house..... (8-73) -1
- Q41f. Called a friend or relative. (8-74) -1
- Q41g. Called the police..... (8-75) -1
- Q41h. Other (volunteered)..... (8-76) -1
- Q41i. Refused..... (8-77) -1
- Q41j. Not sure..... (8-78) -1

*Q41a TO Q41j have been recoded into variables Q41aR TO Q41jR with two response categories, i.e., 0 = NO and 1 = YES.

42. Were either or both of you drinking right before the conflict started? (IF "YES") Who was that?

- Q42
- No, neither were drinking..... (51) -0
 - Yes, male partner only was drinking.... -1
 - Yes, female partner only was drinking.. -2
 - Yes, both were drinking..... -3
 - Not sure/refused..... -9

43a. In the (last 12 months/last twelve months you were together) has either of you been hurt badly enough as a result of a conflict between you to need to see a doctor? (IF "YES") Who was that?

- Q43A
- Neither did..... (52) -0 (SKIP TO Q.44a)
 - Female partner..... -1
 - Male partner..... -2 (ASK Q.43b)
 - Both..... -3
 - Not sure/refused..... -9 (SKIP TO Q.44a)

43b. Did either of you actually go to a doctor? (IF YES) Who was that?

- Q43B
- Neither did..... (53) -0 (SKIP TO Q.44a)
 - Female partner..... -1
 - Male partner..... -2 (ASK Q.43c)
 - Both..... -3
 - Not sure/refused..... -9 (SKIP TO Q.44a)

SKIP TO Q40

IF RESPONDENT WENT TO A DOCTOR IN Q.43c ASK 43c -- ELSE SKIP TO Q. 44a.

* It was intended that Q43b be used for this test, but it was not.

* 43c. Where did you go for treatment?

See p 34

READ LIST - MULTIPLE RECORD	43c. Went to			43d. Number of times Q43d1
	Yes	No	Not Sure/ Refused	
Q43C1. Hospital emergency room...	(54) -1	-0	-9	(60-61)
Q43C2. Hospital overnight.....	(55) -1	-0	-9	(62-63)
Q43C3. Hospital for a day or more...	(56) -1	-0	-9	(64-65)
Q43C4. Clinic.....	(57) -1	-0	-9	(66-67)
Q43C5. Doctor's office.....	(58) -1	-0	-9	(68-69)
Q43C6. Anywhere else.....	(59) -1	-0	-9	(70-71)

* 43d. (FOR EACH SOURCE OF CARE IN Q43c.) How many times did you go there for treatment in the (past year/last year you were together)? (RECORD ABOVE)

97 OR MORE TIMES = 97, NOT SURE = 98, and REFUSED = 99

* Q43C(1 TO 6) and Q43D(1 to 6) have been recoded into Q43CD(1 to 6)X. See page 34 for codes.

44a. Did you have a job for pay during the period that this occurred?

Q44A

Yes.....(72) -1 (ASK Q.44b)

No.....-0 (SKIP TO Q.45a)

Not sure/refused.....-9

44b. How much did these incidents affect how well you could do your job: a lot, a little, or not at all?

Q44B

A lot.....(73) -2

A little.....-1

Not at all.....-0

Not sure/refused.....-9

44c. Did you have to take time off from work because of these incidents?

Q44C

Yes.....(74) -1 (ASK Q.44d)

No.....-0 (SKIP TO Q.45a)

Not sure/refused.....-9

did you lose from work

44d. How many days in the past year/last year you were together?

Q44D

11 days (75-76)

for divorced or separated persons

97 days or more.....-97

Not sure.....-98

Refused.....-99

45a. Were the police called regarding these things in the (last twelve months/12 months you were together)?

Q45A

Yes....(77) -1 (ASK Q.45b)

No.....-0 (SKIP TO INSTRUCTION BEFORE Q.46a)

Not sure.....-8

SKIP from Q40

45b. How many times?

Q45 B 1 1 1 times
(78-79)

- 97 or more.....-97
- Not sure.....-98
- Refused.....-99

CARD 3
CARD 3

* 45c. Did the police ever (READ LIST)?

- Q45C1. Break up the fight (if it was still going on) (9-08/ -1
- Q45C2. Hit or push someone.....(9-09/ -1
- Q45C3. Try to calm everyone down.....(9-10/ -1
- Q45C4. Take time to listen to your story.....(9-11/ -1
- Q45C5. Give a warning.....(9-12/ -1
- Q45C6. Take information/file report.....(9-13/ -1
- Q45C7. Order you out of the house.....(9-14/ -1
- Q45C8. Order spouse/partner out of the house.....(9-15/ -1
- Q45C9. Threaten arrest right now.....(9-16/ -1
- Q45C10. Threaten arrest if it happened again.....(9-17/ -1
- (Q45C11) {11. Arrest you.....(9-18/ -1
- (Q45C11W) {12. Arrest spouse/partner.....(9-19/ -1
- Q45C13. Other (SPECIFY)
_____ (9-20/ -1
- Q45C14. Nothing.....(9-21/ -1
- Q45C15. Not sure.....(9-22/ -1

See file on p. 1

SKIP From Q40

Q45OTH

* Q45c1 TO Q45c15 have been recoded into variables Q45C1R to Q45C15R with two response categories, i.e., 0 = NO and 1 = YES

CARD 3
CARD 4

45d. In general, do you think police should have been tougher, easier, or did they handle everything about right?

- Q45 D Should have been tougher.... (10/ -3
- Should have been easier.....-1
- About right.....-2
- Don't know.....-8

45a. In general, how satisfied were you with the way the police handled the situation — very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

Q45E

Very satisfied.....	(11/	___	-4
Somewhat satisfied.....	___	___	-3
Somewhat dissatisfied....	___	___	-2
Very dissatisfied.....	___	___	-1
Not sure.....	___	___	-8

45f. Did any case go to court in the last twelve months?

Q45F

Yes....	(12/	___	-1	(ASK Q.45g)
No.....	___	___	-0	(SKIP TO INSTRUCTION BEFORE Q.46a)
Not sure.....	___	___	-9	

45g. How many cases went to court?

Q45G

_____	Cases
(13-14)	
97 or more.....	___-97
Not sure.....	___-98

45h. How (was/were) the case(s) resolved? (What happened the last time?)

<u>READ LIST</u>	<u>RECORD # OF TIMES</u>
Q45H a. Case dismissed-nothing happened..	_____ (15-16)
Q45H b. A warning.....	_____ (17-18)
Q45H c. Required to get counseling.....	_____ (19-20)
Q45H d. A fine.....	_____ (21-22)
Q45H e. Jail term.....	_____ (23-24)
Q45H f. Suspended sentence.....	_____ (25-26)
Q45H g. Other.....	_____ (27-28)
Q45H h. (IF VOL.) Not sure.....	_____ (29 30)

97 OR MORE TIMES = 97, NOT SURE = 98, REFUSED = 99

45i. In general, how satisfied were you with the way these cases were resolved — very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

Q45I

Very satisfied.....	(31/	___	-4
Somewhat satisfied.....	___	___	-3
Somewhat dissatisfied....	___	___	-2
Very dissatisfied.....	___	___	-1
Not sure.....	___	___	-8

SKIP from Q40

ASK WOMEN WHO ARE CURRENTLY PARTNERED ONLY -- IF RESPONDENT IS MALE, OR FEMALE CURRENTLY NOT PARTNERED, SKIP TO Q49. I.E. ASK IF FTWFE = 1 AND SEXR = 2, ELSE SKIP TO Q49.

This should have been Q48. (Matches were made when CATI was programmed)

*46a. In the past year, did your (husband, former husband, partner) ever try to, or force you to, have sexual relations by using physical force, such as holding you down, or hitting you, or threatening to hit you?

- Q46A1 1. Attempted to.... (9-23/___-1) (ASK Q.46b)
- A2 2. Did force sex... (9-24/___-1)
- A3 3. No..... (9-25/___-1) (SKIP TO Q.47) N.B.: This was supposed to be Q.46c.
- A4 4. Not sure/refused (9-26/___-1)

See p. 34

*Q46a1 to Q46a4 have been recoded into a single variable named Q46aX. See page 34 for the categories and codes.

46b. How many times did this happen in the past year?

- Q46B (33-34)
- Not sure.....-98
- Refused.....-99

46c. Has this ever happened before this year. That is, did your (husband, former husband, partner) ever try to use physical force, or actually physically force you to have sex?

- Q46C Attempted to.... (35/___-1)
- Did force sex.....-2
- No.....-0
- Not sure/refused.....-9

N.B.: The small sample asked this question is due to the error in the skip pattern noted for Q46a.

47. Some women are afraid that their spouse (former spouse, partner) will hit them if they argue with him or do something he doesn't like. How much would you say you are afraid of this? (READ LIST)

- Q47 Not at all..... (36/___-0)
- A little.....-1
- Quite a bit.....-2
- Very afraid it will happen.....-3
- Not sure/refused.....-9

USE ANY ACTS K-5 IN Q.35 OR Q.36 AND RESPONDENT ACTED FIRST IN Q.49. USE Q.48. — FIRST SKIP TO Q.49 I

48. What do you think are the chances that you will (MOST VIOLENT ACT OF K thru S) again in the next year? Please rate the chances on a scale from zero to 10. You should give a zero for something you think has no chance at all of happening, a 5 for something that you think has about a 50-50 chance of happening, and a 10 for something you think is sure to happen.

Q48

NO CHANCE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(37-38)

235
896

Not sure.....-36

49. WALK BY YOURSELF

Are there situations that you can imagine in which you would approve of a husband slapping his wife's face?

Q49

Yes.... (39) -1
No.....-0
Not sure.....-4

50. Are there any situations that you can imagine in which you would approve of a wife slapping her husband's face?

Q50

Yes.... (40) -1
No.....-0
Not sure.....-4

USE 77 COUNSEL RESPONSES (2007 = 1). FIRST SKIP TO RESPONDENT BEFORE Q.51

51. Suppose you hit your spouse/partner. I am going to read a list of things which might happen as a result. Please rate the chances of each result from 0 to 10. You should give a zero for something you think has no chance at all of happening, a 5 for something that you think has about a 50-50 chance of happening, and a 10 for something you think is sure to happen. From 0 to 10, how would you rate the chances of (HEAD LINE)? (RATED BELOW)

52. How bad would that be for you on a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 is not bad and 10 is extremely bad? (RATED ACROSS)

INSTR SHEET = 981

	0.51										0.52											
	NO CHANCE										EXTREMELY BAD											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
a. His/her hitting you back and hurting you... (41-42)	Q51A										Q52A											
b. His/her calling the police..... (43-44)	Q51B										Q52B											
c. Your getting arrested for it..... (45-46)	Q51C										Q52C											
d. His/her leaving or getting a divorce..... (47-48)	Q51D										Q52D											
e. Your friends or relatives disapproving or losing respect for you..... (49-50)	Q51E										Q52E											

USE ANY ONE IN Q.33, 34, OR 37. USE Q.31 - FIRST STEP TO Q.31

33. Here are 8 things that some people have used to try to get their (spouse/partner) to stop hitting or threatening them.

Did you ever try (READ NAME)?

34. (FOR EACH YES IN Q.33:) How effective was it -very effective, somewhat effective, slightly effective, not effective or made it worse? (READ ACROSS)

	Q.33		Q.34							
	Did you ever try?		How effective was it?							
	Yes	No	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Slightly Effective	Not Effective	Made it Worse	Not Sure	Not Sure	
a. Talking her/him out of it.....	Q53A		Q53A	Q53A	Q53A	Q53A	Q53A	Q53A	Q53A	Q53A
b. Getting his/her to promise to stop.....	Q53B		Q53B	Q53B	Q53B	Q53B	Q53B	Q53B	Q53B	Q53B
c. Avoiding his/her or avoiding certain topics.....	Q53C		Q53C	Q53C	Q53C	Q53C	Q53C	Q53C	Q53C	Q53C
d. Hiding or going away when he/she hurts you.....	Q53D		Q53D	Q53D	Q53D	Q53D	Q53D	Q53D	Q53D	Q53D
e. Leaving home for two days or more.....	Q53E		Q53E	Q53E	Q53E	Q53E	Q53E	Q53E	Q53E	Q53E
f. Threatening to call the police.....	Q53F		Q53F	Q53F	Q53F	Q53F	Q53F	Q53F	Q53F	Q53F
g. Threatening to get a divorce.....	Q53G		Q53G	Q53G	Q53G	Q53G	Q53G	Q53G	Q53G	Q53G
h. Physically fighting back in any way you can.....	Q53H		Q53H	Q53H	Q53H	Q53H	Q53H	Q53H	Q53H	Q53H

55. ASK EVERYONE!

In the past year, did you seek help for a family or personal problem from any of the following sources?

56. FOR EACH YES IN Q.55. How effective was it -very effective, somewhat effective, slightly effective, not effective or made it worse? (READ ACROSS)

	Q.55			Q.56					
	In the past year?			How effective was it?					
	Yes	No	Not Sure/Refused	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Slightly Effective	Not Effective	Made It Worse	Not Sure/Refused
a. Relatives on your side of the family...	Q55A			Q56A					
b. Your partner's relatives.....	Q55B			Q56B					CHD 4 CHD 5
c. Friends and neighbors.....	Q55C			Q56C					
d. Minister, priest, rabbi.....	Q55D			Q56D					
e. Psychologist or psychiatrist.....	Q55E			Q56E					
f. Marriage or family counselor.....	Q55F			Q56F					
g. Alcohol and drug abuse treatment services.....	Q55G			Q56G					
h. Women's or men's support group or hot line.....	Q55H			Q56H					
i. Retired women's shelter.....	Q55I			Q56I					
j. Community mental health center.....	Q55J			Q56J					
k. Other social service or counseling agency.....	Q55K			Q56K					
l. Police.....	Q55L			Q56L					
m. Doctors, nurses.....	Q55M			Q56M					
n. Lawyer, legal aid....	Q55N			Q56N					
o. District attorney....	Q55O			Q56O					

ASK EVERYONE!

61. In general, would you say that your health is excellent, very good, good, fair or poor?

Q61

Excellent.....	(47)	-4
Very good.....		-3
Good.....		-2
Fair.....		-1
Poor.....		-0
Not sure/refused.....		-9

62. How many days have you spent in bed due to illness in the last month?

Q62

_____	_____
(48-49)	
Not sure	(1) -9

63. In the past year how often have you (READ ITEM) -never, almost never, sometimes, fairly often, or very often?

		Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	Not sure/ Refused	
Q63 a.	Had headaches or pains in the head..	(50)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 b.	Been bothered by cold sores.....	(51)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 c.	Felt nervous or stressed.....	(52)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 d.	Been bothered by feelings of sadness or depression.....	(53)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 e.	Felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them.....	(6057)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 f.	Felt very bad or worthless.....	(5054)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 g.	Found that you could not cope with all of the things you had to do.....	(55)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 h.	Have you had times when you couldn't help wondering if anything was worthwhile anymore.....	(56)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 i.	Felt completely hopeless about everything.....	(57)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9
Q63 j.	Thought about taking your own life..	(58)	-0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-9

64. In the last year have you ever actually tried to take your own life?

Q64

Yes.....	(59)	-1
No.....		-0
Not sure/refused.....		-9

65a. In general, how often do you consume alcoholic beverages — that is, beer, wine, or liquor — never, less than 1 day a month, 1 to 3 days a month, 1 to 2 days a week, 3 to 4 days a week, 5 to 6 days a week, or daily?

Q65A
= approximate days
per week in the
O-6 code form

Never.....	(60) _____	0	(SKIP TO Q.66)
Less than 1 day a month.....	_____	1	Days per year = Q65A
1 to 3 days a month.....	_____	2	10
1 to 2 days a week.....	_____	3	24
3 to 4 days a week.....	_____	4	36
5 to 6 days a week.....	_____	5	10 (ASK Q.65b)
Daily.....	_____	6	216
No answer.....	_____	9	365

65b. On a day when you do drink alcoholic beverages, on average, how many drinks do you have? By a "drink" we mean a drink with a shot of 1-and-1/2 ounces of hard liquor, 12 ounces of beer, or 5 ounces of wine.

Q65B

_____	number of drinks
(61-62)	
Not sure....(_____)	-98
Refused.....	-99

ASK EVERYONE!

66. In the past year, how often would you guess you (READ ITEM)?

NOT SURE = 998
REFUSED = 999

Q.66 Respondent Q.67 Spouse

for f:	Q66A1, Q66A2 → a.	Got drunk.....	_____	_____
			(63-65)	(69-71)
	Q66B1, Q66B2 → b.	Got high on marijuana or some other drug.....	_____	_____
			(66-68)	(72-74)

ASK IF (TYPE = 1) or IF (TYPE = 3 and Q10B2 = 2, 3, or 4). ELSE SKIP TO F1

67. In the past year, how often would you guess your (spouse/partner) (READ ITEM)?
(RECORD ABOVE)

ASK EVERYONE!

F1. Including yourself, how many people live in this household?

| 97 OR MORE = 97 |
| NOT SURE = 98 |
| REFUSED = 99 |

_____ persons in household
(75-76)

F2a. Do you have any children who are not living with you

Yes, have.....(77)_____ -1 (ASK F2b)

No, don't..... -0
Not sure..... -8 (SKIP TO F3a)
No answer..... -9

F2b. How many?

(78-79)

Not sure..... -98
Refused..... -99

CARD 5
CARD 6

F3a. What is the last year or grade of school you completed?

F3H
F3W
See file
of F1

	F3a Self	F3b Spouse/Partner
No formal schooling.....(648-9)	_____ -00	(10-11)_____ -00
First through 7th grade.....	_____ -01	_____ -01
8th grade.....	_____ -02	_____ -02
Some high school.....	_____ -03	_____ -03
High school graduate.....	_____ -04	_____ -04
Some college.....	_____ -05	_____ -05
Four-year college graduate.....	_____ -06	_____ -06
Some post-B.A. training.....	_____ -07	_____ -07
Hold advanced degree.....	_____ -08	_____ -08
Refused.....	_____ -99	_____ -99
Not sure.....	_____ -98	_____ -98

ASK IF (FIVE = 1 or FIVE = 3). ELSE SKIP TO F4a!

F3b. What is the last year or grade of school your (former/current) spouse/partner completed? (RECORD ABOVE)

F4a. What is your religious preference? RECORD BELOW

F4H } F4W } <i>See Note on p. 1</i>		<u>F4a</u>	<u>F4b</u>
		Self	Spouse/Partner
	Roman Catholic.....	(12/ ___-1	(13/ ___-1
	Protestant (what denomination?)		
	USE "PRINT METHODOLOGY" PROTESTANT LIST HERE		
	___-2	___-2
	Jewish.....	___-3	___-3
	*Other (SPECIFY):		
	___-4	___-4
	None.....	___-6	___-6
	Not sure/refused.....	___-9	___-9

*NOTE: "Other" verbal descriptions are coded and recorded on card 7, columns 45-46 for F4a and columns 57-58 for F4b. Variable names are F4AOTH and F4BOTH.

ASK IF EVER MARRIED OR PARTNERED: I.E., ASK IF F4IFE = 1 OR F4IFE = 3

F4b. What is your (former/spouse's/partner's) religious preference? RECORD ABOVE

F5. In which of the following categories do you feel you belong? (READ CATEGORIES)

F5	Pacific Islander.....	(14/ ___-1
	American Indian or Alaskan native...	___-2
	Asian (Oriental).....	___-3
	Hispanic.....	___-4
	Hispanic/black.....	___-5
	White, but not Hispanic.....	___-6
	Black, but not Hispanic.....	___-7
	Not sure.....	___-8
	Refused.....	___-9

N.B.: This question was asked as a screening question just before Q.6a for the black and Hispanic oversamples.

F6. For statistical purposes, we need to know which of these groups your total family income before taxes for (1984 or last year of relationship if formerly married/partnered) was in? Please include your own income and that of all members of your immediate family who are living with you, and any other sources of income you may have.
(INTERVIEWER: INCLUDE WELFARE PAYMENTS, SOCIAL SECURITY, INCOME FROM STOCKS, ETC.)

F6	None.....	(15-16/ ___-00
	\$5,000 or less.....	___-01
	\$5,001 to \$10,000.....	___-02
	\$10,001 to \$15,000.....	___-03
	\$15,001 to \$20,000.....	___-04
	\$20,001 to \$25,000.....	___-05
	\$25,001 to \$30,000.....	___-06
	\$30,001 to \$35,000.....	___-07
	\$35,001 to \$40,000.....	___-08
	\$40,001 to \$45,000.....	___-09
	\$45,001 to \$50,000.....	___-10
	More than \$50,000.....	___-11
Refused.....	___-99	
Not sure.....	___-98	

ASK EVERYONE!

F7. In order to contact you about any followup study, I need your first name. I don't need your last name or address. I will record your first name and phone number on a separate sheet so that neither your name nor phone number will ever be attached to this interview. Your answers will still be completely anonymous and confidential.

Would you tell me your first name?

F7 Yes.....(17)___-1
 No.....___-0

END OF INTERVIEW. SAY TO RESPONDENT:

Thank you for your help; that concludes the interview.

FAMILY TYPE (FTYPE) (From page 8.)

Currently married or living together.....(18)___-1
 A single parent.....___-2
 Previously married or living together.....___-3

SEX OF RESPONDENT (SEX) (From page 8.)

Male.....(19)___-1
 Female.....___-2

INDEX NUMBER OF SELECTED CHILD (FCHILD) (From page 7.)

___ | ___ | Number
 (20)

AGE OF SELECTED CHILD (FAGE) (From page 7.)

___ | ___ | Years
 (21 22)

SEX OF SELECTED CHILD (FSEX) (From page 7.)

Male....(23)___-1
 Female.....___-2

Source of Interview (SOURCE) (From page A, Sample Point No.)

(40)

- Cross-section.....-4
- Cross-section.....-6
- State oversample.....-7
- Black oversample.....-8
- Hispanic oversample.....-9

Size of Place (SIZE) (From page A, Sample Point No.)

(43)

- Central City.....-1
- Suburb of Central City.....-2
- City 2,500 outside urban area.....-3

State (STATE) (From page A, Sample Point No.)

(SOURCE)

(SYSTEM)

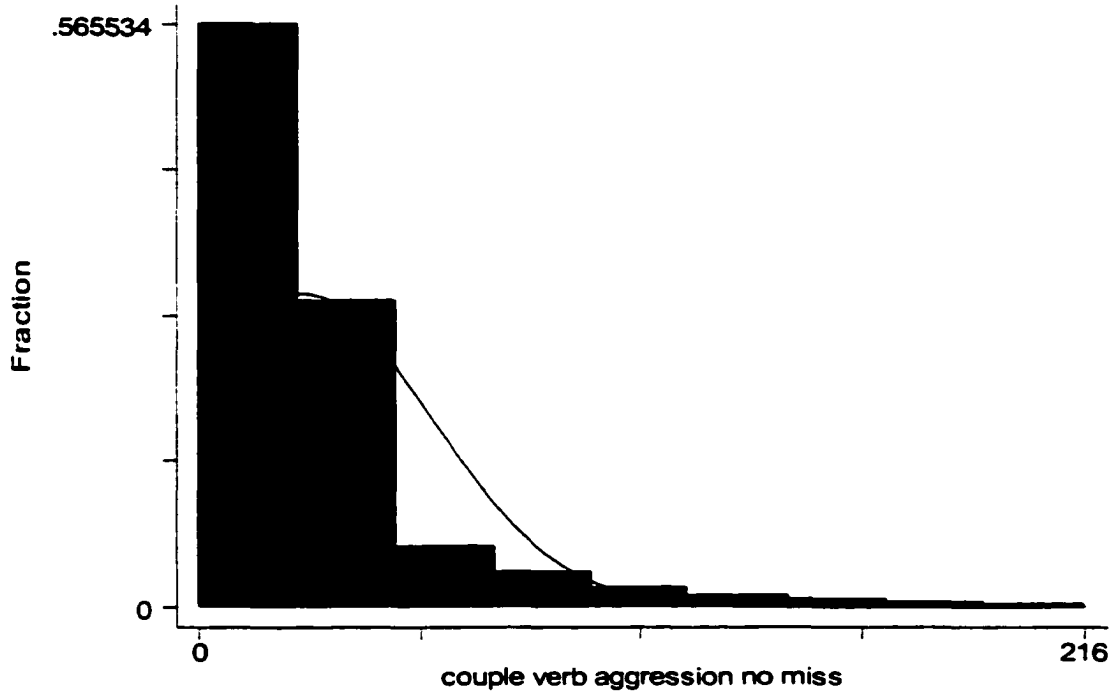
- (41-42) 1 Alabama.....-31
- 2 Alaska.....-64
- 3 Arkansas.....-41
- 4 Arizona.....-71
- 5 California.....-81
- 6 Colorado.....-72
- 7 Connecticut.....-11
- 8 Delaware.....-27
- 9 District of Columbia.....-25
- 10 Florida.....-32
- 11 Georgia.....-33
- 12 Hawaii.....-45
- 13 Idaho.....-73
- 14 Illinois.....-51
- 15 Indiana.....-52
- 16 Iowa.....-61
- 17 Kansas.....-62
- 18 Kentucky.....-34
- 19 Louisiana.....-42
- 20 Maine.....-12
- 21 Maryland.....-21
- 22 Massachusetts.....-13
- 23 Michigan.....-53
- 24 Minnesota.....-63
- 25 Mississippi.....-35
- 26 Missouri.....-64

State (Continued)

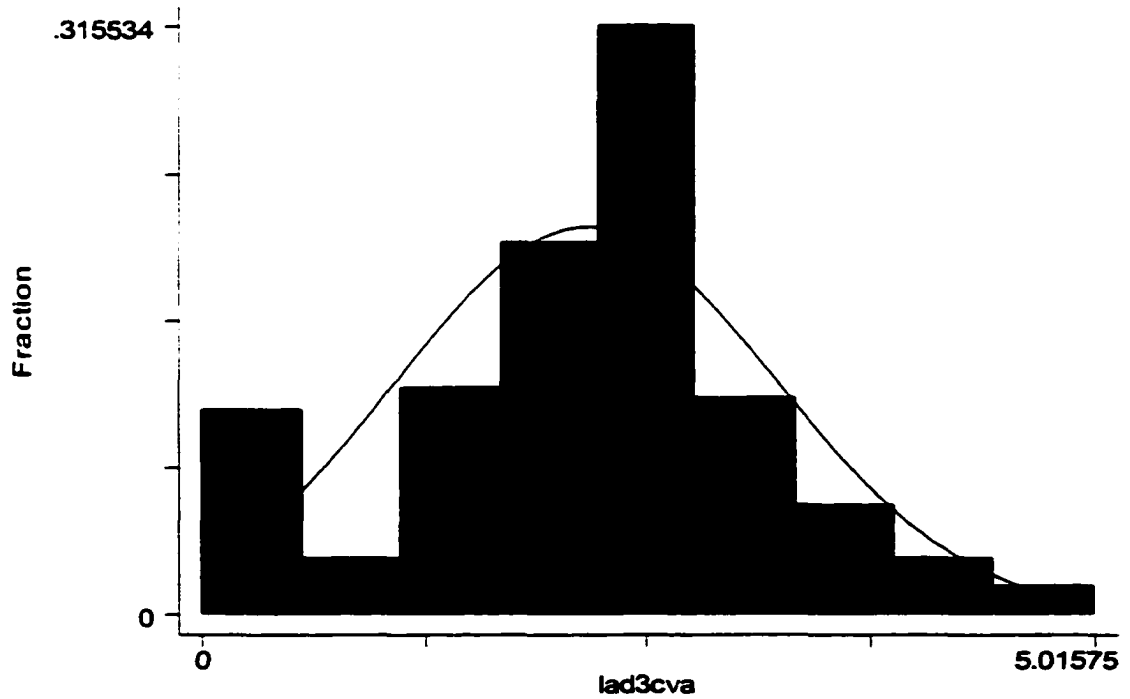
(41-42) Montana.....	-74
38 Nebraska.....	-65
39 Nevada.....	-75
30 New Hampshire.....	-14
31 New Jersey.....	-22
32 New Mexico.....	-76
33 New York.....	-23
34 North Carolina.....	-36
25 North Dakota.....	-66
30 Ohio.....	-54
37 Oklahoma.....	-43
38 Oregon.....	-82
39 Pennsylvania.....	-24
40 Rhode Island.....	-15
41 South Carolina.....	-37
42 South Dakota.....	-67
43 Tennessee.....	-38
44 Texas.....	-44
45 Utah.....	-77
46 Vermont.....	-16
47 Virginia.....	-39
48 Washington.....	-83
49 West Virginia.....	-26
50 Wisconsin.....	-55
51 Wyoming.....	-78

APPENDIX B

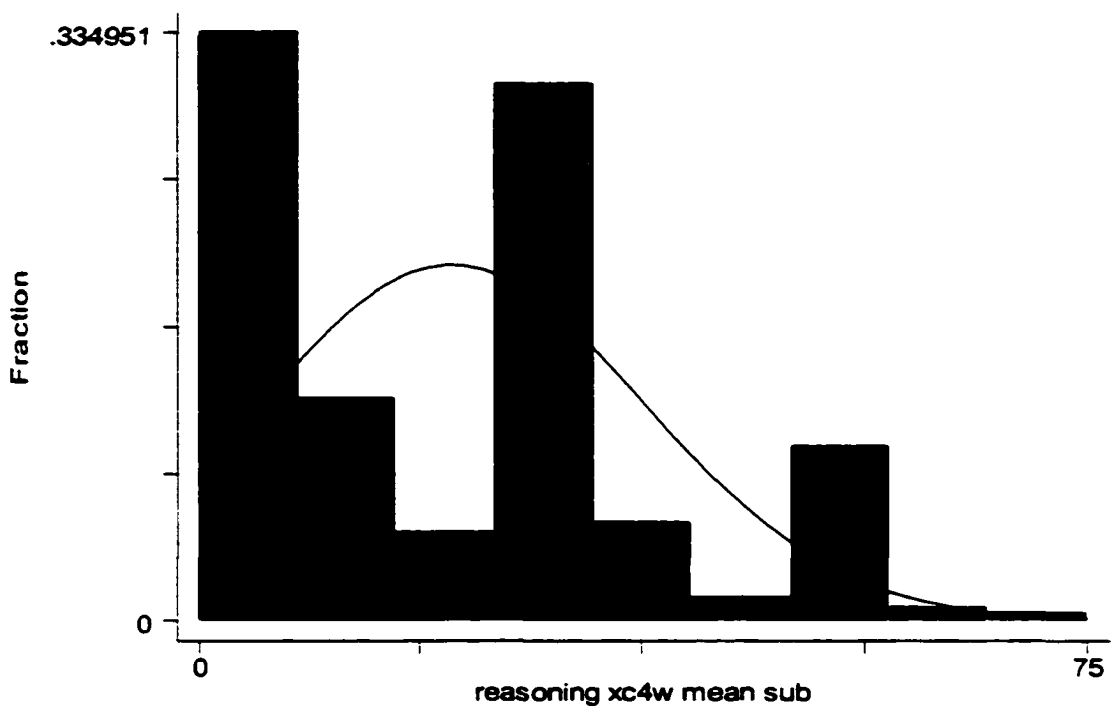
Frequency Distribution of Couple Verbal Aggression



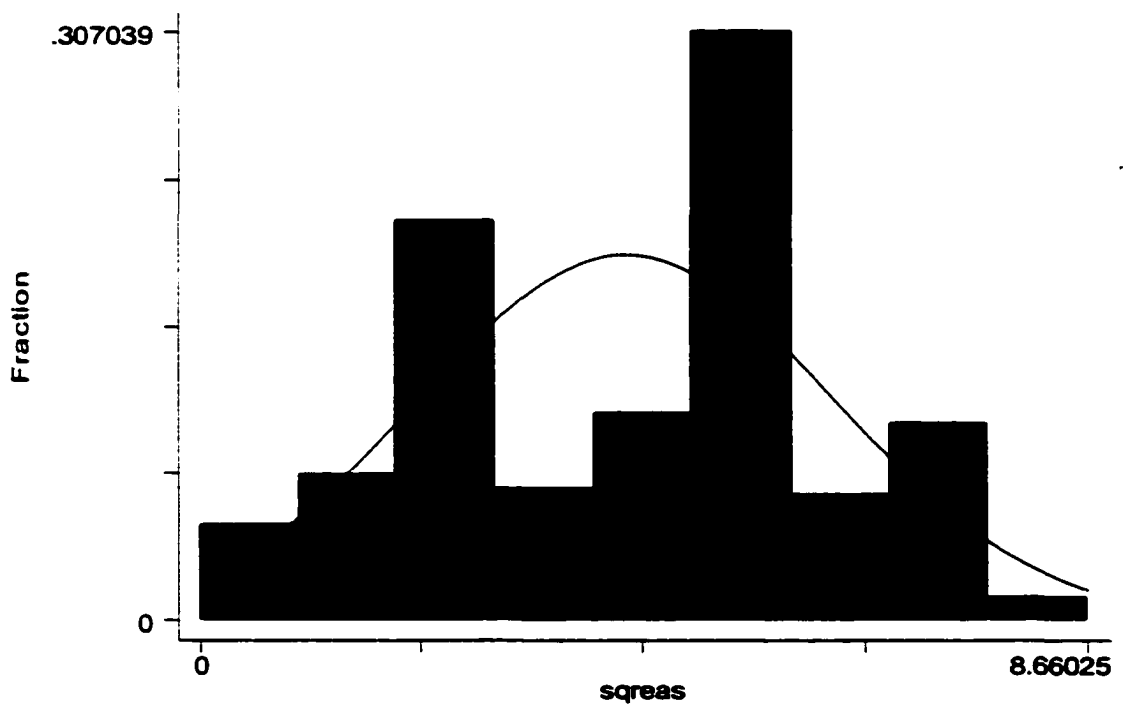
Frequency Distribution of Couple Verbal Aggression with Power Transformation



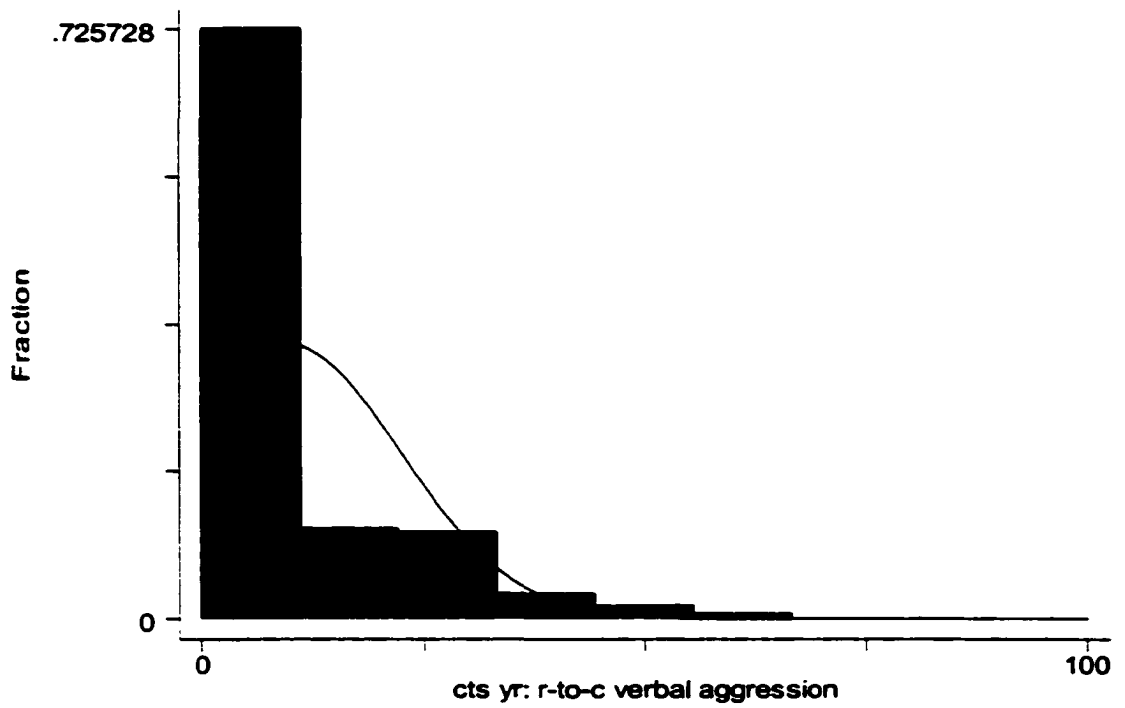
Frequency Distribution of Parent to Child Reasoning



Frequency Distribution of Parent to Child Reasoning with Power Transformation



Frequency Distribution of Parent to Child Verbal Aggression



Multinomial Logistic Regression of CP Behavior with Mild CP as Comparison Category

Number of obs	= 824	Number of obs	= 824
LR chi2 (28)	= 175.90	LR chi2 (16)	= 173.47
Prob > chi2	= 0.0000	Prob > chi2	= 0.0000
Pseudo R ²	= 0.1422	Pseudo R ²	= 0.1403

Variables	Full Model			Reduced Model		
	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z
Female = 1	.6397	.1440	0.047	.6459	.1449	0.051
Misbehavior = 1						
	.9437	.2311	0.813			
Education*	1.2758	.1533	0.043	1.2800	.1511	0.037
Black vs. white	3.4692	1.0442	0.000	3.4600	1.0127	0.000
Hispanic vs. white	1.8435	.6278	0.072	1.8676	.6275	0.063
Other vs. white	1.7510	.9157	0.284	1.7025	.8857	0.306
History of couple violence=1	1.1929	.3208	0.512			
Stress						
(range 0-12)	1.1626	.0554	0.002	1.1674	.0537	0.001
Alcohol use**	1.3308	.1154	0.001	1.3322	.1154	0.001
Couple conflict						
(range 0-20)	1.0105	.0423	0.804			
Couple verbal aggression***						
(range -2.03to2.67)	1.5264	.2496	0.010	1.5623	.2363	0.003
Couple violence=1	1.0638	.2960	0.824	1.0750	.2961	0.793
Reasoning***						
(range -2.07to2.24)	1.0413	.1308	0.747			
Parent to child verbal aggression =1	2.2461	.7618	0.017	2.3186	.7779	0.012

* Education categories are 1 = no education through some high school, 2 = high school graduate, 3 = some college, 4 = college graduate and higher; ** Alcohol categories are 0 = abstinent, 1 = low, 2 = low moderate, 3 = high moderate, 4 = high/binge drinker; *** Transformed variables as z scores.

Multinomial Logistic Regression of CP Behavior with Severe CP as Comparison Category

Number of obs	= 824	Number of obs	= 824
LR chi2 (28)	=175.90	LR chi2 (14)	=168.67
Prob > chi2	=0.0000	Prob > chi2	= 0.0000
Pseudo R ²	=0.1422	Pseudo R ²	=.1364

Mild CP vs. Severe CP

Variables	Full Model			Reduced Model		
	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z
Female = 1	1.5632	.3521	0.047	1.5372	.3432	0.054
Misbehavior = 1	1.0596	.2595	0.813			
Education*	.7838	.0942	0.043	.7802	.0921	0.035
Black vs. white	.2882	.0868	0.000	.2893	.0847	0.000
Hispanic vs. white	.5425	.1847	0.072	.5304	.1777	0.058
Other vs. white	.5711	.2987	0.284	.5835	.3030	0.300
History of couple violence=1	.8383	.2254	0.512			
Stress (range 0-12)	.8602	.0410	0.002	.8559	.0393	0.001
Alcohol use**	.7514	.0652	0.001	.7495	.0649	0.001
Couple conflict (range 0-20)	.9897	.0414	0.804			
Couple verbal aggression*** (range -2.03to2.67)	.6551	.1071	0.010	.6281	.0886	0.001
Couple violence=1	.9400	.2616	0.824			
Reasoning*** (range -2.07to2.24)	.9603	.1207	0.747			
Parent to child verbal aggression =1	.4452	.1510	0.017	.4315	.1446	0.012

* Education categories are 1 = no education through some high school, 2 = high school graduate, 3 = some college, 4 = college graduate and higher; ** Alcohol categories are 0 = abstinent, 1 = low, 2 = low moderate, 3 = high moderate, 4 = high/binge drinker; *** Transformed variables as z scores.

Multinomial Logistic Regression of CP Behavior with African American as Comparison Category

Avoid CP vs. Severe CP Reduced Model				Mild CP vs. Severe CP Reduced Model		
Variables	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z	RRR	Std. Err.	P> z
Female = 1	2.2118	.6754	0.009	1.5372	.3432	0.054
Misbehavior = 1						
Education*	.7584	.1209	0.083	.7802	.0921	0.035
White vs. Black	1.6265	.6613	0.232	3.4567	1.0115	0.000
Hispanic vs. Black	2.7823	1.3597	0.036	1.8333	.6978	0.111
Other vs. Black	2.4283	1.6878	0.202	2.0171	1.1175	0.205
History of couple violence=1						
Stress (range 0-12)	.9132	.0595	0.164	.8559	.0393	0.001
Alcohol use**	.6840	.0824	0.002	.7495	.0649	0.001
Couple conflict (range 0-20)						
Couple verbal aggression*** (range -2.03to2.67)	.3731	.0673	0.000	.6281	.0886	0.001
Couple violence=1						
Reasoning*** (range -2.07to2.24)						
Parent to child verbal aggression =1	.2071	.0811	0.000	.4315	.1446	0.012

* Education categories are 1 = no education through some high school, 2 = high school graduate, 3 = some college, 4 = college graduate and higher; ** Alcohol categories are 0 = abstinent, 1 = low, 2 = low moderate, 3 = high moderate, 4 = high/binge drinker; *** Transformed variables as z scores.