

SPARE THE ROD:
PRESCHOOLERS' AND THEIR MOTHERS' PERSPECTIVES OF SPANKING FROM
WITHIN AND OUTSIDE CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANTISM

A Thesis
By
MARISSA SARIOL-CLOUGH

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MARISSA SARIOL-CLOUGH
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APPROVED BY:

Twila Wingrove, Ph.D., J.D.
Chairperson, Thesis Committee

Robyn Kondrad, Ph.D.
Member, Thesis Committee

Sandy Gagnon, Ph.D.
Member, Thesis Committee

Rose Mary Webb, Ph.D.
Chairperson, Department of Psychology

Mike McKenzie, Ph.D.
Dean, Cratis D. Williams School of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

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Marissa Sariol-Clough
B.A., James Madison University
M.A., Appalachian State University

Chairperson: Twila Wingrove, Ph.D., J.D.

There is a growing body of research that suggests that corporal punishment results in an increased risk for behavioral and emotional problems in both the short- and long-term for those children who are subjected to it. Corporal punishment is still a widely used form of discipline, especially within the Conservative Protestant religion. Given the normative use of corporal punishment for this community, it is possible that children from this environment would be less negative about this form of discipline than their peers who come from an environment where it is not normative. This study compares preschoolers' and their mothers' views about the acceptability, fairness, and effectiveness of spanking – the most common form of corporal punishment – from within and outside of the Conservative Protestant community. Children ages 4-to 5-years-old and their mothers (or primary caregivers) heard nine vignettes about preschool characters who committed common physical (e.g., hitting), social conventional (e.g., using your hands to eat) or prudential (e.g., lighting matches) transgressions and answered several questions about the appropriateness of using spanking as a consequence for each misbehavior. Caregivers also answered a questionnaire about their

religious beliefs and parenting practices. Results revealed no difference between conservative Protestant children and their mother's views but a significant difference between conservative Protestant mothers and non-conservative Protestants. Furthermore, acceptability of spanking varied by transgression, where mothers viewed spanking as the most okay for prudential transgressions and children for social transgressions. The current study is a first step in exploring mother-child beliefs about corporal punishment within and outside of a religious community that supports it.

Keywords: corporal punishment, religion, conservative Protestantism, preschoolers

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Spare the Rod:

Preschoolers' and their Mothers' Perspectives of Spanking from Within and Outside

Conservative Protestantism

Marissa Sariol-Clough

Appalachian State University

Abstract

There is a growing body of research that suggests that corporal punishment results in an increased risk for behavioral and emotional problems in both the short- and long-term for children who are subjected to it. Corporal punishment is still a widely used form of discipline, especially within the Conservative Protestant religion. Given the normative use of corporal punishment for this community, it is possible that children within this religious affiliation would be less negative about this form of discipline than their peers within other religious affiliations. This study compares preschoolers' and their mothers' views about the acceptability, fairness, and effectiveness of spanking – the most common form of corporal punishment – from within and outside of the Conservative Protestant community. Children ages 4-to 5-years-old and their mothers (or primary caregivers) heard nine vignettes about characters who committed common moral (e.g., hitting), social conventional (e.g., using your hands to eat) or prudential (e.g., lighting matches) transgressions and answered several questions about the appropriateness of using spanking as a consequence for each misbehavior. Caregivers also answered a questionnaire about their religious beliefs and parenting practices. Overall, all children viewed spanking as not okay, unfair, and that it would make the character feel sad. Conservative Protestant caregivers viewed spanking as more okay, fair, effective, and viewed the transgressions as more serious than others. Furthermore, acceptability of spanking varied by transgression, where mothers viewed spanking as the most okay for prudential transgressions and children for social transgressions. The current study is a first step in exploring mother-child beliefs about corporal punishment within and outside of a religious community that supports it.

Keywords: corporal punishment, religion, conservative Protestantism, preschoolers

**Spare the Rod: Preschoolers' and Their Mothers' Perspectives of Corporal Punishment
from Within and Outside of the Conservative Protestant Religion**

In 1989, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly, 1989). This treaty addressed a range of human rights issues as they pertain to children, including children's right to protection against abuse, neglect, and exploitation. The treaty specifically prohibits parents, guardians, or anyone else who cares for a child to use any form of physical violence against children (Article 19), and many people interpret that clause to include forms of physical punishment such as corporal punishment, which includes spanking (Bitensky, 1997). It is one of the most widely ratified international human rights treaties in history. To date, almost every member of the United Nations has ratified the treaty, including the newest member, South Sudan. Only one of the 193-member states has yet to ratify it – the United States (United Nations Treaty Collections, 2018).

The United States' choice not to ratify is symbolic of the strong beliefs about parenting rights that are pervasive in this country, especially for those people who have conservative religious ideologies. These ideologies include strong opposition to government meddling in private lives, the belief that parents have the right to rear their child in the manner they see fit, and that parents have the right to choose how to discipline their child. In addition, conservative religious groups argue that physical discipline practices are religious freedoms commanded by the Bible (Bitensky, 1997).

As a result of these religious beliefs, physical discipline—spanking in particular—remains a widely experienced form of punishment for many children in the United States: 94% of parents report having spanked their preschool-aged child in the past year (Straus &

Stewart, 1999) and 46% of median-income mothers have spanked their kindergarteners in the past week (Ryan, Kalil, Ziol-Guest, & Padilla, 2016). When asked directly, 82% of 6- to 10-year-old children report they have been spanked at least once (Vittrup & Holden, 2010).

Children from Conservative Protestant groups, compared to children from other religious or non-religious groups, are more likely to experience greater frequencies of spanking—once or twice a week—from infancy through adolescence (Ellison, Bartkowski, & Segal, 1996; Ellison & Sherkat, 1993; Gershoff, Miller, & Holden, 1999).

These statistics on the prevalence of spanking may be concerning, given the many short-and long-term negative effects of spanking and other forms of physical discipline on the children who experience it (Gershoff & Bitensky, 2007; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Rohner, Bourque, & Elordi, 1996). These children, compared to those who do not experience corporal punishment, are more likely to be aggressive, to fight, have emotional problems, antisocial behavior, and poor psychological adjustment (Ellison, Musick, & Holden, 2011; Rohner et al., 1996). Further, 5- to 14- year-old children's own beliefs about corporal punishment are negative; they rate corporal punishment as being more unfair, less okay, hurtful, and less effective relative to alternatives (Dobbs, Smith, & Taylor, 2006). Children ages 5- to 7-years reported the most negative feelings—100% reported that is not okay for adults to hit children—toward physical punishment compared to 64% of 9- to 11-year-olds and 32% of 12- to 14-year-olds (Dobbs et al., 2006).

One problem with this literature, however, is that the community context in which this type of discipline occurs is rarely considered when evaluating its effects. It is possible, for example, that children growing up in a community in which corporal punishment is normative, accepted, and a sign of parental love would be less likely to suffer from the

associated negative consequences and be more likely to have positive or neutral beliefs about the practice. Another problem is the lack of research on children's perspectives of corporal punishment. Children's perspectives seem particularly important to better understand, as they are the ones experiencing corporal punishment and living with its outcomes. More positive views may be a protective factor against the negative outcomes typically associated with corporal punishment. There are only a handful of studies that address children's own views about corporal punishment, and none that we know of that compare children's beliefs with their caregivers'. Understanding how well children's views align with their caregivers' may shed light on their long-term relationship with their parents and their own understanding of misbehavior. The current study aimed to fill these gaps by exploring the views that children and their mothers have about physical punishment, specifically spanking. This study focused on Conservative Protestants – the religious affiliation that most strongly advocates for and uses spanking– and a comparison group of children and their mothers from a variety of other denominations or who were less likely to believe in or use spanking as a discipline strategy.

The first section of the background defines corporal punishment and describes who is most likely to use or experience it. The second section focuses on the role that religious pressures have played on parents' decisions to use corporal punishment. The third section summarizes the short- and long-term outcomes for children who experience corporal punishment. Finally, the fourth section explores the limited research on children's understanding of discipline and their views about how behaviors and consequences are connected.

Corporal Punishment

Physical punishment is synonymous with corporal punishment. The term corporal punishment is a universally accepted term used in international research, by human rights advocates, and the United States (Gershoff & Bitensky, 2007). Corporal punishment is defined as the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for the purposes of punishing, correcting, controlling, or preventing the child from repeating the behavior (Paterson, 2008; Piche, Clement, & Durrant, 2016; Straus, 1994). Importantly, corporal punishment is distinct from physical abuse as it involves behaviors that do not result in significant physical injury; physical abuse includes behaviors that risk injury to the child (Gershoff, 2002). Corporal punishment can include hitting, slapping, grabbing, pulling, using a switch or belt or other means of forceful physical contact, but the most common form is spanking – hitting a child on the behind with an open hand (Miller-Perrin, & Perrin, 2017). Because spanking is so common, it is likely that most children have either experienced, heard about, or witnessed it at some point in their young lives; the current study therefore focuses on spanking as a means of assessing beliefs about corporal punishment in general.

Parents are the ones most likely to spank their children, but teachers, administrators, and other caregivers may also spank or use other forms of corporal punishment (Font & Gershoff, 2017). Spanking begins early in some children's lives: 11% of parents report spanking their infants as young as 6 months of age (Wissow, 2001). Rates increase into toddlerhood, with over 60% of parents self-reporting having spanked their 2- to 3-year-olds (Mackenzie, Niklas, Brooks-Gunn, & Waldfogel, 2011; Regalado, Sareen, Inkelas, Wissow, & Halfon, 2004; Socolar, Savage, & Evans, 2007). Rates of spanking peak between the ages

of 3- and 4-years-old with over 90% of parents self-reporting having used it recently (Mackenzie, Nicklas, Waldfogel, & Brooks-Gunn, 2012; Simons & Wurtele, 2010; Straus & Stewart, 1999). Another study using audio-recordings of mother-child live interactions in the home indicates that mothers may use corporal punishment more frequently than the self-report literature suggests (Holden, Williamson, & Holland, 2014).

The current study focuses on mothers because mothers are more likely than fathers to spank and do so equally between daughters and sons (Lansford et al., 2010; Mackenzie et al., 2012; Nobes, Smith, Upton, & Heverin, 1999; Straus & Stewart, 1999). These results may be due to the availability of maternal participants or because mothers spend more time with the child (Mackenzie et al., 2012; Straus & Stewart, 1999). In addition, mothers and fathers are more likely to use spanking as a form of punishment if they experienced it themselves when they were children (Holden, Coleman, & Schimdt, 1995; Simons & Wurtele, 2010).

Interestingly, parents who believe in corporal punishment consider the type of transgression when deciding whether to use it as a consequence. There are three main categories of transgressions that usually lead parents to spank their children: prudential, moral, and social conventional (Catron & Masters, 1993; Holden, Coleman, & Schmidt, 1995; Smetana, 1983; Tisak & Turiel, 1984). A prudential transgression is when an individual's behavior puts their own safety at risk – such as when a child runs into the road or handles dangerous objects without supervision. Moral transgressions are described as an individual violating the rights or welfare of someone else – such as hitting or stealing from someone. Lastly, a social conventional violation is when an individual fails to act in accordance with a culture's arbitrary and agreed-upon behavioral norms that serve to regulate

social interactions of individuals in social systems – such as wearing appropriate clothing to school or using your hands to eat.

Two studies suggest that mothers are most likely to spank their children for prudential violations because when their child is in an unsafe situation, they feel that they need to elicit immediate compliance (Catron & Masters, 1994; Scott, Pinderhughes, & Johnson, 2018). This may be one reason why children under 6-years-old are most likely to experience spanking; they are learning what behaviors are safe and testing boundaries and therefore are probably more likely than older children (before the adolescent age) to unknowingly put themselves in danger. As children get older and become more self-sufficient and peer-influenced, the use of disciplinary methods may shift to withdrawal of privileges, reasoning, and verbal reprimands (Jay, King, & Duncan, 2007; Vittrup & Holden, 2010). By the time children are 6-or 7-years of age, parents are most likely to spank children for moral violations instead (Catron & Masters, 1993; Holden, Coleman, & Schmidt, 1995; Simons & Wurtele, 2010). There are no studies to date that consider whether children's explicit views of corporal punishment may differ depending on type of transgression. Previous research demonstrates that 5-year-olds judge moral transgressions to be more serious than social conventional ones (e.g., Smetana, 1983). They also judge physical transgressions to be more serious than psychological transgressions (Kondrad, 2013), which suggests that children's views may not align with adults' views about which types of transgressions are most deserving of corporal punishment.

Several sociodemographic factors, such as maternal age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic and marital status, education, geographic region, and religious background are related to use of corporal punishment, especially spanking. For example, younger

mothers are more likely than older or more experienced mothers to use spanking; this is true across race and ethnicity (Berlin et al., 2009). The literature is mixed about whether ethnicity is a predictor, but most studies have found that African American parents spank their children more than White or Hispanic families (Berlin et al., 2009; Mackenzie et al., 2011; Straus & Stewart, 1999; Vittrup & Holden, 2010). In some studies, these results are driven by socioeconomic status, marital status, and education (Ryan et al., 2016; Simons & Wurtele, 2010).

Individuals with lower income and those with less education are more likely to use corporal punishment than their wealthier and more educated counterparts (Flynn, 1994; Scott et al., 2018; Straus & Stewart, 1999). A higher percentage of African Americans live in poverty compared to any other racial or ethnic group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). As a result, African Americans are more likely to live in unsafe neighborhoods than other racial or ethnic groups and may use corporal punishment to elicit immediate compliance from children to keep them safe (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996; Scott et al., 2018). African Americans also tend to attain less education than White and Asian Americans (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016) and have the highest percentage of children living in an unmarried, single-parent family structure compared to other races and ethnicities (Martin, Hamilton, Ventura, Osterman, Wilson, & Mathews, 2012). Single-mothers are also more likely to be poor compared to married or cohabitating mothers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017) and studies have found that as a result, potentially because they have more daily stressors (Forgatch, Patterson, & Skinner, 1988), they are more likely to use corporal punishment than two-parent households (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1982; Loeber et al., 2000; McCabe, Clark, & Barnett, 1999).

Geographic location also predicts rates of and attitudes about corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is explicitly banned from both public and private school use in 28 American states and is explicitly legal in 15; the remaining seven states have no laws explicitly prohibiting or allowing its use (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). Out of the 15 that explicitly allow it, 80% are in the South, including North Carolina (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Flynn (1994) found that 86.1% of southerners supported corporal punishment whereas only 66% of northerners supported its use (see also Straus & Stewart, 1999). There are three main reasons why southerners may be especially likely to support corporal punishment: their culture of “honor”, their Conservative political culture, and their Conservative religious beliefs (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994).

First, the South has a “culture of honor” in which retribution is often taken into one’s own hands and delivered using aggressive or violent means (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). This southern tradition may bleed over into parenting practices. Parents may feel a need to establish their authority over their children because they place a high value on obedience and may resort to using traditional means of physical aggression to establish those roles. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that the southern culture of violence is related to beliefs about capital punishment for adults (Borg, 1997), so it may not be surprising that it is also related to another, albeit less serious punitive context.

Second, the South has a politically Conservative culture that discourages government interference in many aspects of private lives, including parenting rights. Political affiliation is related to corporal punishment because Conservative Republicans tend to support parents’ rights (Ellison & Bradshaw, 2009). Finally, the South, which consists of the Bible Belt, has a larger proportion of Conservative Protestants than in other regions of the United States (Pew

Research Center, 2014) and people of this religious affiliation strongly support spanking (Ellison, 1996; Flynn, 1994; Gershoff, Miller, & Holden, 1999; Hoffmann, Ellison, & Bartkowski, 2017; Murray-Swank, Mahoney, & Pargament, 2006). Christians make up approximately 73% of the religious population in the South. Of those, up to 35% in the Appalachian region of North Carolina are Conservative (Pew Research Center Religious & Public Life, 2014; 2017) and are known for their strict translation of Biblical passages on many controversial issues, including corporal punishment (Ellison, Bartkowski, & Segal, 1996). The current study focused specifically on this group. The next section discusses in detail how their religious beliefs relate to corporal punishment.

Conservative Protestantism and Corporal Punishment

The Conservative Protestant culture and teachings influence and encourage the use of corporal punishment. There are four main reasons that parents from this religion use to justify corporal punishment. First, they believe that being born into sin means that punishment is deserved. Second, they believe in strict biblical literalism and as such interpret passages related to physical punishment literally. Third, they believe that punishment is necessary for getting to Heaven and avoiding Hell. Finally, they see corporal punishment as a necessary part of child-rearing, a means of transmitting religious beliefs intergenerationally, and believe that it is an effective discipline strategy (Ellison, 1996; Hoffmann et al., 2017). Anecdotally, during a positive discipline class held at Appalachian State University, Dr. Robyn Kondrad (chair of thesis committee) heard from parents within this religious group who spanked their children because of pressure from friends and family to do so, even though they themselves were skeptical. Their relations from within the religious community blamed their children's misbehavior on their infrequent spanking (personal communication).

This anecdote is supported by research; Conservative Protestant parents feel community pressure to spank, and are more likely to continue corporal punishment even in the face of opposition from other religious and nonreligious individuals (Hoffmann et al., 2017; Murray-Swank et al., 2006).

Individuals who strictly adhere to the Bible's teachings are called Biblical literalists and Conservative Protestants fall into this category (Ellison, 1996; Ellison et al., 1996; Gershoff, Miller, & Holden, 1999). Protestant parents believe the Bible is the most important parenting manual and cite scripture as support for using corporal punishment (Gershoff et al., 1999; Hoffmann et al, 2017; Murray-Swank et al., 2006). Although there are no direct passages that say, 'spank your child,' an example of a passage used to support the use of corporal punishment is, "Do not withhold discipline from a child, if you punish them with a rod, they will not die. Punish them with the rod and save them from death" (Proverbs 23:13-14). Protestants interpret this to mean that God has commanded them to punish their children with a rod, or other form of similar harsh, firm physical discipline.

Conservative Protestant parents view corporal punishment as an important parenting skill that is highly effective (Gershoff, Miller, & Holden, 1999; Holden, Miller, & Harris, 1999). Murray-Swank et al. (2006) coined the term 'sanctification of parenting' which is an index of parents' integration of religious beliefs into their parenting practices. Conservative mothers who sanctified parenting to a greater degree were found to be more biblically Conservative and use corporal punishment to a greater degree compared to liberal mothers with equivalent sanctification of parenting levels. These mothers believe corporal punishment is more likely to result in positive outcomes such as immediate changes in

behavior and better behavior in the long-term and report experiencing less guilt than mothers with non-Conservative affiliations (Holden, et al., 1999; Murray-Swank et al., 2006).

Research has established that religion influences adults' views about appropriate parenting practices. But little research exists on how religious beliefs may influence children's views about corporal punishment. One study suggests that the negative effects of corporal punishment may be mitigated for children who belong to a religious group where the practice is normative and goal-oriented (Ellison, Musick, & Holden, 2011). Ellison et al. (2011) analyzed data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) that followed children over a five-year period. For their study they measured anti-social behavior and emotional problems in children 7- to 10-year-olds who were spanked only at 2- to 4-years old, spanked at both 2- to 4- years old and 7- to 10-years-old, or never spanked. Children's mothers were classified as either Conservative Protestant or non-Conservative Protestant (others). They found that maternal religious affiliation moderated the link between spanking in preschoolers and their later negative behavioral and emotional outcomes. Specifically, Conservative Protestant children who were spanked at 2- to 4-years old showed lower levels of anti-social behavior and emotional problems at age 7- to 10-years old than children from other backgrounds. These findings suggest that being part of a culture in which spanking is normative may provide protection against some of the negative outcomes associated with spanking for most children. It is not clear from this study why the context matters but the authors provide some theories on why conservative Protestantism emerged as a moderator. One hypothesis is that children in this culture accept spanking as a normative practice that is based on scripture. There are also numerous books that provide guidance to parents on how to appropriately administer a spanking; if parents re-affirm their love and

care for their child immediately after the punishment then negative outcomes may be reduced. In other words, children's own cognitions about the acceptability and justification for corporal punishment may impact the outcomes.

Importantly, later research found that these results were perhaps driven by who was doing the spanking (Petts & Kysar-Moon, 2012). When Conservative Protestant children were spanked by their fathers they were more likely to display problem behavior than when spanked by their mothers. In addition, Conservative Protestant children's externalizing behavior was just as high as children from other groups unless both parents were Conservative Protestants. The protective effect of religion seen in Ellison et al. (2011) may be there only when there is agreement between parents of religious beliefs, consistency in parenting practices, and quality of parental support. In other words, religion may moderate the negative effects of corporal punishment within some affiliations and under specific circumstances but not others. Although the data from Ellison et al. (2011) shows a reduction in negative outcomes for Conservative Protestant children in grade school, only the mother was surveyed, and the views of children were not taken into consideration. It may be possible that if children's views about whether the punishment fits the crime is in conflict with their parents' views, then negative effects could actually be amplified. Indeed, one study shows that when spanking continues into middle childhood, and if children do not view spanking as just, they view the experience as a sign of parental rejection and are more likely to be psychologically maladjusted in adulthood (Rohner et al., 1996).

Effects of Corporal Punishment

The goal of discipline is to help a child understand why their behavior is unacceptable, to internalize moral and social norms to prevent future misbehavior, and to

develop self-regulatory abilities (Vittrup & Holden, 2010). Research on the short-and long-term outcomes of corporal punishment strongly suggests that corporal punishment undermines all of those goals for most children, and also carries with it other negative consequences. Children who are subjected to corporal punishment have an increased risk for developing behavioral and mental problems (Chang, Schwartz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2003; Simons & Wurtele, 2010; Straus, 1994; Turner & Finkelhor, 1996). If a parent spansks their child even once, their child is at increased risk for developing higher levels of externalizing and internalizing behavior (Gershoff, 2013).

Children who experience corporal punishment are more likely to exhibit more externalizing behaviors than those who do not (Gershoff, 2002, 2013). Externalizing behaviors include higher levels of aggression, perpetuating the cycle of violence, and fighting with peers and siblings (Mackenzie et al, 2012; Simons & Wurtele, 2010). For example, longitudinal studies have shown that aggressive behavior is highly associated with frequent spanking as reported by parents and teachers (Lansford, Wager, Bates, Dodge, & Petit, 2012; Mackenzie et al., 2012; Simons & Wurtele, 2010). Children who experience frequent corporal punishment are at greater risk of being aggressive, using physical means to resolve disputes with siblings and peers (Simons & Wurtele, 2010) and choose spanking as a punishment for other children in the literature (Vittrup & Holden, 2010).

Similarly, children who experience corporal punishment are at greater risk for internalizing behavior problems compared to those who have not experienced it. Internalizing problems include higher levels of antisocial behavior and mental health issues such as emotion regulation problems, depression and psychological distress (Straus, 1994; Turner & Finkelhor, 1996). Turner and Finkelhor (1996) found that adolescents who experienced

corporal punishment, regardless of the frequency, were more likely to be psychologically distressed than those who did not. Adolescent females who experience corporal punishment have increased stress levels compared to those who do not, and as a result they have increased risk of developing depressive symptoms (Straus & Kantor, 1994).

One explanation for the increased risk of externalizing and internalizing behavior problems is because of poor modeling of emotions and discipline strategies by parents. Parent-child interactions create models for behavior and emotion regulation strategies. Bandura's (1977) social learning theory shows that when parents model aggressive behavior through corporal punishment the child will pick up on those behaviors and later act aggressively themselves. When a parent uses physical punishment it communicates anger, hatred, and acceptance of physical aggression to solve problems. Chang, Schwartz, Dodge, and McBride-Change (2003) tested the effect of mothers' and fathers' harsh parenting on children's emotion regulation and aggression from ages 3- to 6-years and found that harsh parenting by fathers increased child aggression and harsh parenting by mothers led to poorer child emotion regulation (Chang et al., 2003).

Frequent spanking promotes negative parent-child relationships because children become fearful of their parents and of being spanked (Dobbs et al., 2006; Simons & Wurtele, 2010). High exposure to corporal punishment also impacts the parent using it and could lead to escalated violence in the future when disciplining children (Lansford & Dodge, 2008; Turner & Finkelhor, 1996). For example, in one cross-cultural study, the harshness and frequency of corporal punishment that children experienced was observed, along with the prevalence of adult interpersonal violence and other forms of violence in the adult culture such as warfare (Lansford & Dodge, 2008). After controlling for demographic factors such as

socioeconomic status and parenting covariates, a positive relationship between rates of corporal punishment and adult violence emerged. The more frequently children experienced corporal punishment, the higher the rates of interpersonal violence and warfare and indoctrination of aggression in children. In other words, experiencing corporal punishment increases the likelihood that children will engage in violent behaviors during adulthood even at the societal level.

Although there have been several reviews about the negative effects of corporal punishment, a few researchers have cautioned against making generalizations based on the data that has been collected so far. Specifically, these researchers have suggested that some sub-populations may have cultural pressures that moderate the negative effect of corporal punishment seen in the majority population. For instance, in one study, Scott et al. (2018) found that parents who use physical punishment on a daily basis may do so because they perceive their neighborhood as unsafe. In this instance, keeping kids alive by demanding compliance through whatever means necessary may outweigh the negative consequences typically seen as a result of corporal punishment.

Similarly, Ellison et al. (2011) have suggested that the culture in which the discipline takes place is an important moderator that many researchers ignore. For example, African American children who live in unsafe neighborhoods and are not spanked may have worse social and academic outcomes relative to their peers who are spanked, such as increased aggression and higher high school drop-out rates (Deater-Deckard et al., 1996). One reason for this counter-intuitive finding is that children may view being physically punished as normative, and that if parents do not engage in this practice, it is because they do not care much about what happens to them. As noted above, there is a similar argument about why

religious beliefs may moderate some of the negative effects of corporal punishment seen in most other children - if it is part of a normative, consistent parenting practice, then being excluded from that practice may lead children to feel less loved or cared about and as a result, have more negative outcomes (Ellison et al., 2011).

Children's Views of Discipline

Very little research on corporal punishment has taken into account children's own views of the experience. Children have a sophisticated understanding of right and wrong by the time they are preschoolers (Smetana, 1983). Although preschoolers have difficulty distinguishing between the type of transgression that they have committed themselves, they understand that different transgressions warrant more or less severe punishment (Smetana, 2013) and that punishment is an appropriate response to moral, prudential, and social conventional violations (Smetana, 1983; Tisak & Turiel, 1984). Preschoolers consider moral violations to be more serious and more punishable compared to social conventional violations (Catron & Masters, 1993). Kindergarteners can go one step further; they distinguish how serious and how punishable violations are within the moral domain: physical harm is worse than psychological harm (Kondrad, 2013). None of these studies explored children's views about what types of disciplinary actions are appropriate. For instance, although children may believe that some form of punishment is appropriate for both hitting and standing on the table without permission, they may not think it is appropriate to spank for both.

Children's experiences of disciplinary practices have been explored in a handful of studies. Children differ in their experience by age. After experiencing physical punishment, 5- to 7-year-olds report feeling sad, angry and in physical pain whereas 9- to 14-year-olds

report experiencing emotional pain (Dobbs et al., 2006). Vittrup and Holden (2010) conducted a study with 6- to 10-year-old children and separated them into two age groups: younger (6- to 7-year-olds) and older (8- to 10-year-olds). They found that overall, children viewed spanking as the least fair when compared to reasoning, time-outs, and withdrawal of privileges. When asked about the effectiveness in the short and long-term, 77% of children only viewed spanking as effective in the short-term due to fear of another spanking or an even worse punishment. In the long-term, spanking was viewed as the least effective when compared to the other techniques in preventing future misbehavior because 79% of children predicted the child would forget why their behavior was bad or not understand why they were spanked.

These findings are consistent with findings from Dobbs et al. (2006). They report a ceiling effect when they asked 5- to 7-year old children if it was okay or not okay to use physical punishment; 100% of the children in this age range said it was not okay. The children gave similar reasons such as it is unfair, ineffective, and could cause the child harm. One limitation of these studies is that they do not consider the cultural context in which these children experience corporal punishment. As noted earlier, some sub-populations of children, in which corporal punishment is normative, may have different experiences and beliefs than other children.

In summary, the use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary strategy remains a controversial issue in America, but especially in southern states with high Conservative Protestant populations. Most children who have experienced corporal punishment are at greater risk for a range of negative social, emotional, and cognitive outcomes: they are more aggressive, worse at emotional self-regulation, at higher risk for emotional disorders, are

likely worse at solving conflicts with peers, and may have poorer parent-child relationships than children who do not experience corporal punishment. Conservative Protestants continue to endorse corporal punishment and use it to discipline their children more than non-Conservative Protestants. Children who grow up in a culture that approves and uses corporal punishment may have different beliefs than other children about its effectiveness and how okay it is, and those beliefs may offer some resiliency for negative outcomes.

Current Study

The current study addressed three primary questions. First, do children and mothers from Conservative Protestant backgrounds who experience spanking as a normative event think differently about spanking than children and mothers from backgrounds in which spanking is not normative? Second, do children's and mothers' beliefs about spanking align, regardless of religion? Third, do children's or mothers' beliefs about spanking change depending on the type of transgression?

To address these questions, the current study recruited 4- to 5-year-old children and their mothers who were classified according to the mother's self-reported religious affiliation on the Religiosity Questionnaire (Idler et al., 2001). When their religious affiliation was not clear (i.e., they indicated a Christian affiliation), I deferred to participants' responses to the last two questions on the questionnaire, with the rest of the survey measuring religious affiliation and commitment. Christianity is a broad classification and many individuals who do not identify with a particular sect, (i.e., as Baptist or Protestant), may consider themselves Christian. The questionnaire allowed me to classify participants in greater detail, (e.g., as Conservative Protestant or not). Participants also filled out the Dimensions of Discipline Inventory (Straus & Fauchier, 2007) which assessed the degree to which mothers and

caregivers approve of spanking and the frequency in which children experience physical discipline in their family. Participants heard nine stories about characters who were spanked by their mother for committing one of three transgressions: social conventional, moral, or prudential. After each story, participants answered questions about how okay it was for the mother to spank the child in the story, how fair it was, how well the spanking would prevent the behavior from recurring, the emotional response of the child character, and how serious the transgression was.

Hypotheses

1. Do children and their mothers from Conservative Protestant families in which spanking is used think differently about spanking than children and mothers from other non-Conservative Protestant backgrounds? There are three hypotheses related to this question:
 - a. All children would have negative views about spanking—how okay, how fair, how the character feels, and how likely.
 - b. Children from a Conservative Protestant background would have more positive views than children of other backgrounds.
 - c. Conservative Protestant mothers would have more positive views about corporal punishment relative to other mothers.
2. Do children's and their mothers' beliefs about spanking align—for how okay, how fair, how the character feels, and how likely is the character to repeat the misbehavior?
 - a. Conservative Protestant children's beliefs about spanking will be more negative than their Conservative Protestant mothers' beliefs.

- b. Children from non-Conservative Protestant backgrounds will have similar views about spanking as non-Conservative Protestant their mothers.
 - c. The difference in alignment between children and their mothers will be greater for Conservative Protestant dyads than for others.
3. Do children's or mothers' beliefs about the acceptability (how okay) of spanking vary depending on the type of transgression?
- a. Regardless of religious affiliation, mothers will be more likely to support the use of corporal punishment for prudential transgressions than for other types of transgressions.
 - b. Regardless of religious affiliation, children will be more likely to support using corporal punishment for moral transgressions over any other type.

Method

Participants

A total of 74 children participated in the study. There were 14 children who were excluded from the final data set. Three children were unable to finish their session and the other 11 were excluded because their parents did not complete the survey, therefore they were not able to be classified as either Conservative Protestant or not. Two parents participated online but were unable to bring their child in to participate due to a pregnancy and busy schedule. The final data set consisted of 62 caregivers ($n = 60$ mothers, $n = 2$ fathers) and 60 children ($n = 30$ females, $n = 30$ males, $M_{age} = 61.46$ months, $SD = 6.12$). Children were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: order 1 ($n = 21$), order 2 ($n = 24$), order 3 ($n = 26$). Of the parents who provided their age ($n = 37$), age ranged from 25 to 46 years ($M_{age} = 35.81$ years, $SD = 4.14$). Sixty-one parents completed the story questions

(one parent misread the instructions and did not complete the stories) and 62 parents completed the surveys. This parent was excluded from the parent-child dyad analyses.

Twenty-two children ($M_{age} = 62.00$ months, $SD = 6.29$, age ranged from 49 to 71 months, 8 girls) were classified as Conservative Protestants according to parent responses on the survey. Of those children, 14 parents provided their age ($M_{age} = 35.36$ years, $SD = 4.13$, age ranged from 25 to 46 years, 21 women) and 21 completed the story questions and 22 completed the surveys. 90.9% of these parents self-identified as Caucasian/White. Of the families in this condition, 20 came from Western North Carolina and two came from Amherst, Massachusetts.

Thirty-eight children ($M_{age} = 60.74$ months, $SD = 6.35$, age ranged from 48-71 months, 22 girls) were classified as non-Conservative Protestants according to parent responses on the survey. Of those children, 23 parents provided their age ($M_{age} = 36.09$ years, $SD = 4.22$, age ranged from 29 to 41 years, 37 women) and 38 completed the story questions and surveys. 97.74% of these parents self-identified as Caucasian/White. Of the families in this condition, 23 came from Western North Carolina and 15 came from Amherst, Massachusetts.

Materials

Vignettes. Nine illustrated vignettes, edited using Microsoft Windows Paint software, depicted one of three different types of child misbehaviors (three social conventional, three moral, and three prudential; see Appendix A). These vignettes were borrowed from previous studies (Catron & Masters, 1993; Gershoff et al., 1999; Vittrup & Holden, 2010). The characters' names and how they looked were intentionally manipulated to be gender ambiguous. All stories were shown to the children on a 16-inch laptop computer using

Microsoft PowerPoint slideshow. Caregivers had the option of reading the stories on a physical hand-out or online using Qualtrics survey software. Children's sessions were video-taped for later response coding.

Faces scale. A laminated piece of paper depicting pictures of five faces from extremely unhappy to extremely happy was used for the children to answer questions (see Appendix B). The faces were colored using a temperature scale from shades red (unhappy) to green (happy). Children were trained to use the scale using a training procedure adapted from previous studies (Catron & Masters, 1993; Kondrad, 2013; Simons & Wurtele, 2010; Vittrup & Holden, 2010).

Responses ranged from 0-4, where the lower the score, the more negative the judgment— it was not ok, not fair, not effective, made the transgressor feel sad, and was a serious crime. The higher the score, the more positive the judgments—it was really okay, really fair, effective, made the transgressor feel happy, and was a good behavior. For instance, if a child selected the far-right face (“4”) on the fairness question for one story, and a “3” and “4” on the other two stories for the same question, they would receive an average rating of 3.67 for how fair it was to spank the character. One advantage to this method of scoring is that an average score minimizes error in the responses to questions for any one story (e.g., a child is not paying close attention or just wants to choose something different out of curiosity).

Religiosity questionnaire. Eight questions from the NIA/Fetzer Short Form for the Measurement of Religiousness and Spirituality questionnaire (Idler et al., 2001; see Appendix C) were selected to measure religious affiliation, public and private religious practices, how caregiver uses religion to cope with stressors, religious intensity, and religious

beliefs and values related to biblical interpretation and discipline practices. This questionnaire has been used in several other studies (Hodge, Moser, & Shafer, 2012; Monod, Brennan, Theologian, Martin, Rochat, & Bula, 2011) and has been validated with a nationally representative sample (Idler et al., 2003).

Most importantly, the questionnaire served as a means to classify participants into the Conservative Protestant or non-Conservative Protestant group. If the parent identified as Baptist, they were classified as Conservative Protestant. If they answered in any other way, they were classified based on their responses to the last two questions on this survey. These questions addressed acceptance of corporal punishment and biblical inerrancy. Responses ranged from 0-3, where '0' indicated strong disagreement and '3' indicated strong agreement. Responses were averaged and any score greater than one resulted in a Conservative Protestant classification. This method was adapted from Ellison et al. (2011).

The remaining questions were used in exploratory analyses. Understanding how deeply committed parents are to their religious or spiritual practices, and especially how literally they interpret certain biblical passages, may offer insights about children's and parent's views on corporal punishment. For instance, religiosity may be correlated with acceptance of corporal punishment.

Parenting practices questionnaire. The Manual for the Dimensions of Discipline Inventory (DDI) Form P (Parent Version) was used to collect information about the types of parental discipline practices children experience in their homes (Straus & Fauchier, 2007, see Appendix D). The DDI asks parents to self-report how frequently the parent's child has had major or minor misbehaviors in the past year, how parents responded to that misbehavior (e.g., by explaining the rules, taking something away, time out, spanking, etc.), their opinion

on how OK those different responses are, and their own emotional reaction (e.g., feeling stressed out, guilty) to how they responded. This questionnaire was used for exploratory analyses. The contextual information may offer insights about individual differences in children's views on spanking. For instance, how frequently parents report using harsh disciplinary practices such as spanking or yelling may correlate to children's views about how OK it is for the mother to spank her child in the vignette. The DDI has strong convergent and internal validity (Van Leeuwen, Fauchier, & Strauss, 2012).

Procedure

Children. Children participated in a preschool, museum, or lab space. Children were seen individually in a quiet space, sitting next to the researcher with the computer screen in front of them. Caregivers were permitted, if interested, to sit in the room, but only after they had participated. I began by first introducing the faces scale and then explained that children will “use these faces to answer some questions after each story.” The children were then trained to use a scale that was adapted from its original version (Tomlinson, von Baeyer, Stinson, & Sung, 2010) to reflect degree of appropriateness, fairness, effectiveness, and feelings about corporal punishment and seriousness of transgression.

I first explained that the faces can be used to answer, “lots of different kinds of questions.” It was then explained that it can be used to show, “for example, how OK or not OK you think something is,” in preparation for the appropriateness question children will later be asked regarding a storybook character being spanked for misbehavior. As an example, the researcher prompted the child to decide if it is, “OK to give a friend a hug if they are feeling sad?” The anticipated response is that the child would say it is OK, but regardless of how the child responded the researcher pointed to each face, moving right to

left, and explained what each means. “You can decide how OK it is to give a friend a hug. This face means that it is really, really OK to hug. This face means that it is just a little bit OK, this face means you aren’t sure if it is OK or not OK, this face means it’s a little bit *not* OK, and this face means it’s really, really *not* OK to give a friend a hug if they’re feeling sad.” The faces were scored on a scale of 0-4, with the most positive face on the far right being the highest score. The researcher then asked the child to respond, “Can you show me with the faces how OK or not OK you think it is to hug a friend if they are feeling sad?” Children were scored as passing this first training trial if they pointed to either of the two faces that corresponded to how they answered initially. For instance, if the child said it was OK, then they would pass this training question if they pointed to either of the two faces on the right.

Children also answered one additional training question in preparation for the effectiveness question they were asked about spanking. The researcher explained that “you can also use these faces to decide how likely you think it is that something will happen. Do you know what likely means?” If the child said no, then the researcher explained, “Likely means if you think something probably will or probably will not happen. Do you think it is likely that a baby can run as fast as you can?” The anticipated response is that the child will say “no.” But regardless of how the child responded, the researcher pointed to each face, this time moving left to right, and explained what each means. “You can decide how likely it is that a baby could run as fast as you. This face means that it is really, really unlikely so a baby probably could *not* run as fast as you. This face means that it is just a little bit unlikely, this face means you aren’t sure if it is likely or not, this face means it’s a little bit likely, and this face means it’s really, really likely so a baby probably *could* run as fast as you.” Once again,

the researcher asked the child to respond, “Can you show me with the faces how likely or unlikely you think it is that a baby could run as fast as you?” Children were scored as passing this second training trial if they pointed to either of the two faces that correspond to how they answered initially. For instance, if the child said it was unlikely, then they would pass this training question if they pointed to either of the two faces on the left. These two training questions were meant to encourage children to use the full range of the scale. Only 14 children failed one of the training trials. Their data were included because their responses, during test trials, did not differ from children who passed both trials.

The researcher provided encouraging feedback to maintain the child’s motivation in the training trials, “Thanks for helping me, I think you’re really starting to understand how you can use these faces. I think you are ready for the game now! I am going to tell you about some things some kids did. The kids are just your age. After each story, you can help me answer some questions with the faces about what you thought of the story. There are no right or wrong answers, I just want to know what you think. But before we begin, I just want to ask you a question. Do you know what spanking means?” If the child responded “no,” then the researcher explained that, “sometimes when a kid misbehaves, their mom will hit them on their behind with their hand. Alright now we’re ready for our first story! This story is about [character’s name].”

Children listened to the researcher read the nine short stories on the computer screen and answered questions after each story. The stories were blocked by type of transgression: three social conventional transgression stories were read one after the other, as were the three moral transgressions, and the three prudential ones. Across children, which type of transgressions were discussed in the first, second, or third blocks were counter-balanced.

Children responded to the same set of five questions after each of the nine stories. The first question explored beliefs about appropriateness of spanking: “How OK was it for [Ryan’s mom to spank Ryan for eating with their hands]?” The second question was about fairness: “How fair was it for Ryan’s mom to spank Ryan for doing this?” The third question asked about the effectiveness of spanking: “How likely do you think it is that [Ryan will eat spaghetti with their hands] again tomorrow?” Participants’ understanding of others’ emotions was assessed in the fourth question by asking, “How does [Ryan] feel about being spanked for this?” Lastly, participants indicated how serious they thought the transgression was in the fifth question: “How bad was it for [Ryan] to [eat spaghetti with their hands]?”

Participants used the faces scale to respond to each of the five questions. The meaning of the scale remained consistent, but the words to describe the scale were modified to reflect each question. The scale ranged from (0) “really, really, [not OK; not fair; not likely; sad; bad]” to (4) “really, really [OK; fair; likely; happy; good]”.

The researcher reminded children about how to use the faces scale and repeated what the face they selected meant for each of the five questions for the first story. For example, she said, “You get to use the faces scale to decide how OK it was for [e.g., Ryan’s mom to spank him]. Remember, this face (pointing) means it is really, really not OK, this face means it is just a little bit not OK, this means you are not sure if it is OK or not, this one means it is a little bit OK, and this one means it is really, really OK for [Ryan’s mom to spank him].”

After the child pointed to the face of their choice, and the researcher repeated what the selected face meant, “Thanks for answering! That face means you think it was...”. Because children this age tend to quickly understand how to use this scale and repetitiveness increases fatigue, the researcher did not continue these reminders after the first set of five

questions unless the child requested clarification. To maintain engagement, the researcher provided neutral, motivational feedback after the third question about effectiveness on each of the nine stories by saying, “You’re being so helpful with my game. We’re going to use the faces to answer two more questions about [Ryan].” After the fourth story, the researcher reminded children that, “We’re halfway done with the stories! Now I just want to remind you these are all things the kids parents told them not to do but they did them anyways. The kid’s mom spanked them for doing these things.” At the end of the study, the child was debriefed; the researcher explained that, “The characters in the stories were doing things that were not so nice. It’s a good idea to follow the rules, so that everyone is safe and feels happy. Sometimes it’s hard to follow the rules and everyone misbehaves sometimes. But parents and teachers can help kids learn about following the rules. Do you have any questions?” Children were then invited to select a small prize as a thank you for their participation.

Caregivers. The child’s mother (in all but two cases) read the same nine stories presented with the same illustrations and responded to the same series of questions as their child. They then completed the parenting practices questionnaire and the religiosity questionnaire. Parents had the option of completing these items electronically and submitting them prior to their child’s participation or completing them in person. Eleven caregivers did not wish to participate but allowed their child to participate. For these caregiver-child dyads, caregiver data was treated as missing data and these children were excluded from the main analyses. Instructions were provided for caregivers to read. They were invited to ask questions if they needed clarification.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Participants' responses to each of the five questions—how ok and fair it was to spank the character, how likely is it the character will repeat the misbehavior, how the character might have felt about being spanked, and how serious the transgression was—were averaged for each of the three stories within the three transgression types—moral, prudential, and social—for a total of 15 average scores. Scores were also collapsed across all of the transgressions to create an average for each question. Given the small range (0-4), concern over sensitivity to outliers is unlikely.

Preliminary analyses were conducted to test for differences between children who passed both training trials and children who only passed one. A total of 14 children failed one of the two training trials (4-year-olds, $n = 7$; 5-year-olds, $n = 7$). An independent samples T-test revealed no significant differences—from those who passed all the trials ($n = 57$)—on their responses to the five dependent variables, okay, $t(69) = .06, p = .728$; likely, $t(69) = -1.76, p = .084$; fair, $t(69) = 0.35, p = .724$; feel, $t(68) = -1.50, p = .137$, bad $t(68) = -0.78, p = .428$. Therefore, all of the children were included in the sample for hypothesis testing.

After testing for differences within the sample, preliminary analyses were conducted to test for location, order, gender, and age effects for children on each of the five dependent variables. Five separate ANOVAs were conducted to analyze each independent variable: location (North Carolina vs Massachusetts), order (1, 2 or 3), age (4- vs 5-year-olds) and gender (females vs males). There were no main effects of location: okay, $F(1, 69) = .46, p = .502, \eta^2 = .01$, fair, $F(1, 69) = 2.14, p = .148, \eta^2 = .03$; likely, $F(1, 69) = .78, p = .38, \eta^2 = .01$; feel, $F(1, 68) = .59, p = .445, \eta^2 = .01$; bad, $F(1, 68) = .64, p = .428, \eta^2 = .01$. For each of the five dependent variables there was no significant effect of order: okay, $F(2, 68) = .90, p =$

.413, $\eta^2 = .03$; fair, $F(2, 68) = .55, p = .581, \eta^2 = .02$; likely, $F(2, 68) = 1.97, p = .148, \eta^2 = .05$; feel, $F(2, 67) = .05, p = .95, \eta^2 = .00$; bad, $F(2, 67) = .68, p = .51, \eta^2 = .02$. There were also no significant differences for age: okay, $F(1, 69) = 2.77, p = .101, \eta^2 = .04$; fair, $F(1, 69) = .01, p = .929, \eta^2 = .00$; likely, $F(1, 69) = 2.14, p = .149, \eta^2 = .03$; feel, $F(1, 68) = 3.31, p = .073, \eta^2 = .05$; bad $F(1, 68) = 2.30, p = .134, \eta^2 = .03$. Lastly, there were no effects of gender: okay, $F(1, 69) = 1.27, p = .264, \eta^2 = .02$; fair, $F(1, 69) = 1.32, p = .254, \eta^2 = .02$; likely, $F(1, 69) = .48, p = .49, \eta^2 = .01$; feel, $F(1, 68) = .03, p = .858, \eta^2 = .00$; bad, $F(1, 68) = .31, p = .579, \eta^2 = .00$. These factors were not considered in further analyses.

Ten one-way ANOVAs were also conducted to analyze order (5 ANOVAs) and location (5 ANOVAs) effects for caregivers. There was one main effect of location for the variable “how okay,” $F(1, 60) = 4.28, p = .043, \eta^2 = .07$, such that caregivers from North Carolina ($M = .89, SD = .90$) viewed it as more okay to spank than caregivers from Massachusetts ($M = .40, SD = .66$). This outcome was expected and due to the weak effect was not considered in further analyses. All other variables did not reach significance for location: fair, $F(1, 59) = 2.91, p = .093, \eta^2 = .05$; likely, $F(1, 59) = 2.53, p = .117, \eta^2 = .04$; feel, $F(1, 59) = .35, p = .558, \eta^2 = .01$; bad, $F(1, 59) = .520, p = .474, \eta^2 = .01$. For each of the five dependent variables there was no significant effect of order for caregivers: okay, $F(2, 59) = .78, p = .463, \eta^2 = .03$; fair, $F(2, 58) = .52, p = .596, \eta^2 = .02$; likely, $F(2, 58) = .63, p = .538, \eta^2 = .02$; feel, $F(2, 57) = .23, p = .80, \eta^2 = .01$; bad $F(2, 58) = 2.40, p = .10, \eta^2 = .08$.

Hypothesis Testing

Five mixed ANOVAs were conducted for each of the dependent variables (“how okay,” “how fair,” “how likely,” “how does the character feel,” and “how bad”): 3 (transgression: prudential vs social vs fair) x 2 (participant: mother vs child) x 2 (religious

classification: Conservative Protestant vs non-Conservative Protestant). References to ANOVAs below refer to these specific tests. Table 1 summarizes all main effects and interactions.

Hypotheses 1a-1c. The first research question asked if children and their caregivers from Conservative Protestant families would think differently about spanking than children and caregivers from non-conservative Protestant backgrounds. I hypothesized that (1a) children, overall, would have negative views about spanking. The next hypotheses were about religion; I predicted an interaction for participant by religious affiliation. Specifically, I expected the following significant pairwise differences: (1b) children from a Conservative Protestant background would have more positive views than non-Conservative Protestant children and (1c) Conservative Protestant caregivers would have more positive views than other caregivers. Views were operationalized with these three dependent variables: “how okay”, “how fair”, “how likely” and “how does the character feel.” Scores for each question ranged from 0-4, where lower scores (0) indicated more negative feelings, i.e., it was really not okay or fair to spank and the character would feel really sad about being spanked. Higher scores (4) indicated more positive views, i.e., it was really okay or fair to spank and the characters would feel really happy about being spanked. For “how likely,” lower scores (0) indicated it was really unlikely the character would repeat the behavior, i.e., the spanking was effective, and higher scores (4) indicated it was really likely the character would repeat the behavior, i.e., the spanking was ineffective. The variable “how bad” was not included in this section because it focuses more on the character’s misbehavior instead of spanking.

Hypotheses 2a-2c. For the next question, I also predicted an interaction for participant by religious affiliation with the following significant pairwise differences: (2a)

Conservative Protestant children's beliefs about spanking would be more negative compared to their caregivers' beliefs and (2b) non-Conservative Protestant children and their caregivers were expected to have similar views about spanking. The third hypothesis (3c) concerned the difference in alignment between children and their mothers; it was predicted that there would be greater differences between Conservative Protestant children and their caregivers. Four of the dependent variables were analyzed for these hypotheses and transgressions were collapsed across each variable: "how okay," "how fair," "how does the character feel," and "how likely is it that the character will repeat the misbehavior."

Hypotheses 3a & 3b. My last question asked if children's and caregivers' beliefs about the acceptability of spanking would vary based on the type of transgression. I predicted an interaction for participant by transgression with two significant pairwise differences. Caregivers, regardless of religious affiliation, would be more likely to support the use of spanking for prudential transgressions than for moral and social transgressions. In addition, children, regardless of religious affiliation, would be more likely to support the use of spanking for moral transgressions than for prudential and social transgressions. Acceptance or support for spanking, was operationalized with the variable, "how okay."

How okay. This question focused on participants' views of how okay it was to spank for each transgression. Results from the ANOVA revealed two main effects: religious affiliation, $F(1, 118) = 5.36, p = .022, \eta^2 = .04$ and transgression, $F(2, 236) = 7.81, p = .001, \eta^2 = .06$. Follow-up pair-wise comparisons were analyzed with Bonferroni correction for the main effect of transgression. The main effect of religious affiliation revealed that Conservative Protestants ($M = 1.15$) viewed it as more okay to spank than non-Conservative Protestants, ($M = 0.75$). For the main effect of transgression, participants viewed it as more

okay to spank for prudential ($M = 1.13$) than social transgressions ($M = 0.73$), $p = .001$, and less okay to spank for social ($M = 0.73$) than moral transgressions ($M = 0.99$), $p = .037$. In sum, participants rated it as the most okay to spank for prudential and moral transgressions and the least okay to spank for social transgressions. As hypothesized, all children had negative views about “how okay” it was to spank both in general, ($M = 1.03$) and by transgression: social ($M = 1.11$, $SD = 1.24$), moral ($M = 1.01$, $SD = 1.21$), and prudential ($M = 0.98$, $SD = 1.35$). This supports the hypothesis (1a) that children would view it as not okay to spank for any of the transgressions.

There were three significant interactions: religious affiliation by participant, $F(1, 118) = 8.39$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .07$, transgression by participant, $F(2, 236) = 11.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$, and transgression by religious affiliation, $F(2, 236) = 3.90$, $p = .022$, $\eta^2 = .03$. To analyze the interactions, follow-up independent samples t-tests were conducted for all the interactions. Consistent with my hypothesis (1c), for the religious affiliation by participant interaction it was revealed that Conservative Protestant caregivers ($M = 1.33$, $SD = 0.74$) viewed it as significantly more okay to spank than non-Conservative Protestant caregivers, ($M = 0.43$, $SD = 0.70$), $t(60) = 4.79$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.25$. In contrast to the second hypothesis (1b), there was no significant difference between Conservative Protestant children ($M = 0.97$, $SD = 1.14$) and non-Conservative Protestant children ($M = 1.07$, $SD = 1.07$), $t(58) = 0.34$, $p = .732$, $d = 0.09$. For hypotheses 2a and 2b, the results were contrary to what I predicted. Conservative Protestant children ($M = 0.97$, $SD = 1.14$) had similar views as their caregivers okay ($M = 1.33$, $SD = 0.74$) on how okay it was to spank, $t(43) = -1.26$, $p = .216$. In contrast, non-Conservative Protestant children had different views than their caregivers; children viewed it

as more okay ($M = 1.07$, $SD = 1.07$) to spank than their caregivers ($M = 0.42$, $SD = .70$), $t(63.74) = 3.12$, $p = .003$. These results do not support either of my hypotheses (2a & 2b).

Additionally, for the transgression by participant interaction, children ($M = 1.11$, $SD = 1.24$) viewed it as significantly more okay to spank for social transgressions than caregivers ($M = 0.32$, $SD = 0.62$), $t(85.67) = 4.39$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.81$. There was no significant difference between children's ($M_s = 0.98, 1.01$) and caregivers' ($M_s = 1.09, 0.88$) views of how okay it was to spank for prudential and moral transgressions, $ps > .10$. Paired samples t-tests were conducted to analyze children's and caregivers' views of how okay it was to spank for each transgression. Caregivers viewed it as more acceptable to spank for moral ($M = 0.88$, $SD = 1.45$) than for social transgressions ($M = 0.32$, $SD = 0.62$), $t(61) = 4.33$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.60$ and less okay to spank for social ($M = 0.32$, $SD = 0.62$), than prudential transgressions ($M = 1.09$, $SD = 1.22$), $t(61) = -5.40$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.79$. The difference in acceptability of spanking for prudential ($M = 1.09$, $SD = 1.22$) versus moral ($M = .88$, $SD = .67$) transgressions did not reach significance, $t(61) = -1.63$, $p = .109$, $d = 0.18$. Overall, caregivers were more likely to support the use of spanking for prudential and moral transgressions over social transgressions. This does not provide support for the hypothesis (3a), it was expected that caregivers would view it as the more acceptable to spank for prudential transgressions over social and moral. For, children none of the analyses reached significance, $ps > .10$; they responded that it was not okay to spank for social ($M = 1.11$, $SD = 1.24$), moral ($M = 1.01$, $SD = 1.21$), and prudential ($M = 0.98$, $SD = 1.35$) transgressions. Contrary to the hypothesis (3b), children viewed it as equally not okay to spank for all the transgressions.

For the transgression by religious affiliation interaction, non-Conservative Protestants ($M = 0.77$, $SD = 1.17$) viewed it as less okay to spank for prudential transgressions than Conservative Protestants ($M = 1.48$, $SD = 1.35$), $t(120) = -3.03$, $p = .003$, $d = 0.56$. Their views of how okay it was to spank for prudential and social transgressions did not significantly differ, $ps > .05$. There were no predictions about this interactions, therefore further analyses were not conducted.

How fair. The fairness question asked participants how fair it was to spank for each transgression. The ANOVA revealed three significant main effects: religious affiliation, $F(1, 117) = 7.81$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .06$, transgression, $F(2, 234) = 13.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$, and participant, $F(1, 117) = 5.24$, $p = .024$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Follow-up pair-wise comparisons were analyzed with Bonferroni correction for the main effect of transgression. The main effect of religious affiliation supports the hypothesis that Conservative Protestants ($M = 1.36$) would view it as fairer to spank than non-Conservative Protestants, ($M = 0.88$). I did not predict a main effect of transgression, however, participants viewed it as fairer to spank for prudential ($M = 1.32$) than social transgressions, ($M = 0.86$), $p < .001$. They also viewed it as less fair to spank for social ($M = 0.86$) than moral ($M = 1.19$) transgressions, $p = .001$. Furthermore, for the main effect of participant, children ($M = 1.31$) viewed it as significantly fairer to spank than caregivers ($M = 0.93$). Although this main effect was not predicted, the results indicate that children, overall, had negative views about how fair it was to spank and this is consistent with my hypothesis (1a). Children viewed it as unfair to spank in general, ($M = 1.32$, $SD = 1.04$) and for each transgression: prudential ($M = 1.32$, $SD = 1.24$), social ($M = 1.32$, $SD = 1.12$), and moral ($M = 1.32$, $SD = 1.29$).

There were two significant interactions: transgression by participant, $F(2, 234) = 12.73, p < .01, \eta^2 = .10$ and religious affiliation by participant, $F(1, 117) = 9.18, p = .003, \eta^2 = .07$. To analyze the interactions, follow-up independent samples t-tests were conducted. Results revealed one significant result for transgression by participant, such that children ($M = 1.32, SD = 1.12$), viewed it as significantly more fair to spank for social transgressions than caregivers ($M = 0.32, SD = 0.60$), $t(90.08) = 6.09, p < .01, d = 1.11$. The difference in how fair it was to spank for prudential ($M = 1.09, SD = 1.22$) versus moral ($M = .88, SD = .67$) transgressions did not reach significance, $t(61) = -1.63, p = .109, d = 0.18$.

In contrast to the second hypothesis (1b), for the religious affiliation by participant interaction, there was no significant difference between Conservative Protestant children ($M = 1.29, SD = 1.09$) and non-Conservative Protestant children's ($M = 1.33, SD = 1.03$) views of how fair it was to spank, $t(58) = 0.14, p = .887, d = 0.04$. However, consistent with the third hypothesis (1c), Conservative Protestant caregivers ($M = 1.42, SD = 0.83$) viewed it as significantly more fair to spank than non-Conservative Protestant caregivers, ($M = .43, SD = .64$), $t(59) = 5.20, p < .01, d = 1.34$. This supports the hypothesis that Conservative Protestant caregivers would have more positive views about how fair it is to spank compared to others. Hypotheses 2a and 2b were once again not supported. There was no difference between Conservative Protestant children's ($M = 1.29, SD = 1.09$) views of how fair it was to spank compared to their caregivers' ($M = 1.42, SD = 0.83$) views, $t(42) = -0.432, p = .668$. In contrast, non-Conservative Protestant children had different views than their caregivers; children viewed it as more fair ($M = 1.33, SD = 1.03$) to spank than their caregivers ($M = 0.43, SD = 0.64$), $t(61.61) = 4.60, p < .001, d = 1.05$.

How likely. The rationale for including this question in the study is that it focuses on how effective participants believe spanking would be in preventing future repetition of the misbehavior. Previous research showed that Conservative Protestant caregivers are more likely to believe that corporal punishment or spanking, is effective and will reduce the likelihood of a child repeating the misbehavior. There were two main effects: transgression, $F(2, 234) = 7.44, p = .001, \eta^2 = .06$ and participant, $F(1, 117) = 5.45, p = .021, \eta^2 = .05$. Follow-up pair-wise comparisons were analyzed with Bonferroni correction for the main effect of transgression. Participants viewed spanking as significantly more effective for prudential ($M = 1.17$) than social ($M = 1.50$), $p < .001$, and less effective for social ($M = 1.50$) compared to moral transgressions ($M = 1.29$), $p = .033$. Overall, participants believed that spanking would be most effective for prudential and moral transgressions and least effective for social transgressions. Next, the main effect of participant was analyzed. Children ($M = 1.13$) were more likely to view spanking as effective compared to caregivers, ($M = 1.51$). Overall, children viewed spanking as more likely to reduce the character's likelihood of repeating the misbehavior than caregivers. This result does support the hypothesis (1a) that children would have more negative views about the character's likelihood of repeating the misbehavior, i.e., view spanking as ineffective.

Only one of the interactions reached significance, participant by religious affiliation, $F(1, 117) = 5.59, p = .02, \eta^2 = .05$. Independent samples t-tests were conducted to analyze this interaction. Non-Conservative Protestant caregivers ($M = 1.80, SD = .72$), were less likely to believe that spanking would be effective compared to Conservative Protestant caregivers ($M = 1.22, SD = .73$), $t(59) = 2.97, p = .004, d = 0.94$. These results are consistent with the hypothesis (1c) that Conservative Protestant caregivers would have more positive

views (i.e., view spanking as more effective) than other caregivers. Non-Conservative Protestant caregivers' average response was close to two, which indicated they were unsure whether the character would repeat the misbehavior; whereas Conservative Protestant caregivers' responses were closer one, which indicated they believed spanking would reduce the likelihood of the character repeating the misbehavior. For children, there were no significant differences ($p > .10$) between Conservative Protestant ($M = 1.23$, $SD = 1.11$) and non-Conservative Protestant children's ($M = 1.03$, $SD = 0.90$) views of how effective the spanking would be; this is inconsistent with the first hypothesis (1a). The difference between Conservative Protestant children ($M = 1.23$, $SD = 1.11$) and their caregivers' ($M = 1.22$, $SD = 0.73$) views of spanking's effectiveness did not reach significance $t(36.37) = .02$, $p = .987$, $d = 0.01$. This does not provide support for hypothesis 2a. Hypothesis 2b was also not supported, children ($M = 1.03$, $SD = 0.90$) believed that characters would be less likely to repeat the misbehavior than their caregivers, ($M = 1.80$, $SD = 0.72$), $t(75) = -4.12$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.94$.

How does the character feel. Results from the ANOVA revealed only one significant main effect: participant, $F(1, 116) = 8.81$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Children ($M = 0.67$) rated the character as feeling more positive about the spanking than caregivers, ($M = 0.31$). Although this main effect was not predicted, these results still provide support for the first hypothesis (1a) that children would have negative feelings about spanking. Children consistently responded that the character in the story felt sad about being spanked.

For this analysis, none of the interactions reached significance. This was inconsistent with three of the hypotheses (1b, 1c, & 2a), which predicted an interaction between religious affiliation and participant. There was no support for the hypotheses that Conservative

Protestant caregivers (1c) ($M = 0.41$, $SD = 0.60$) and children (1b) ($M = 0.74$, $SD = 0.92$), would have more positive feelings than non-Conservative Protestant caregivers ($M = 0.21$, $SD = 0.43$) and children ($M = 0.60$, $SD = 0.68$) all $ps > .10$. Conservative Protestant children ($M = 0.74$, $SD = 0.92$), had similar views as their caregivers ($M = 0.41$, $SD = 0.60$), about how spanking would make the character feel, $t(42) = 1.42$, $p = .162$, $d = 0$. To test hypothesis 2b, an independent samples t-test was conducted. Non-conservative Protestant children ($M = 0.60$, $SD = 0.68$) also believed that the character would feel less sad than caregivers, ($M = 0.21$, $SD = 0.43$), $t(60.02) = 3.03$, $p = .004$, $d = 0.69$.

Lastly, it was predicted that there would be greater differences between Conservative Protestant children and their caregivers (hypothesis 3c). To calculate the differences, two composite variables were created that averaged together Conservative Protestants responses to the four variables and non-Conservative Protestants responses. An independent samples t-test revealed that non-conservative Protestant children's responses ($M = 1.02$, $SD = 0.61$) significantly differed from their caregivers' responses ($M = 0.72$, $SD = 0.38$) by an average of .30, $t(59.26) = 2.59$, $p = .012$, $d = 0.60$. On the other hand, Conservative Protestant children ($M = 1.06$, $SD = 0.77$) did not significantly differ from their caregivers ($M = 1.10$, $SD = 0.55$), $t(42) = -0.22$, $p = .827$, $d = 0.07$. Their average difference was -.04, which means Conservative Protestant children's views closely aligned with their caregivers' views. This does not support the hypothesis and is also in contrast to what was predicted.

Additional Analyses

Additional analyses were conducted to analyze the last question from the stories and relationships between data from the questionnaires and parent demographics.

How bad. The literature shows that children view different types of transgressions as deserving of different levels of punishment severity. Caregivers also view the seriousness of transgressions differently for younger than older children. Based off this literature there should be a main effect of transgression and a significant interaction by participant by transgression. A mixed ANOVA was conducted for the variable, “how bad” 3 (transgression: prudential vs moral vs social) x 2 (participant: mother vs child) x 2 (religious affiliation: CP vs Non-CP).

The ANOVA revealed two significant main effects: transgression, $F(1.76, 198.49) = 40.53, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.26$, and participant, $F(1, 113) = 41.67, p < .001, \eta^2 = .27$. The Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used to report the results for transgressions. A paired samples t-test was conducted to analyze the main effect of transgression. Responses ranged from 0-4, where lower scores (0) indicated the transgression was really bad, i.e., the transgression was very serious and higher scores (4) indicated the transgression was really good, i.e., the transgression was not serious. Results indicated significant differences between prudential ($M = 0.62, SD = 1.00$), and social ($M = 1.46, SD = 1.27$), $t(116) = -6.72, p < .001, d = 0.73$, and moral ($M = 0.74, SD = 0.94$) and social transgressions ($M = 1.50, SD = 1.28$), $t(119) = 8.08, p < .001, d = 0.68$. Participants viewed prudential and social transgressions as the most serious misbehaviors and social transgressions as the least serious. An independent samples t-test was conducted to analyze the main effect of participant. Children ($M = .47, SD = 0.67$) viewed the transgressions as significantly more serious than their caregivers, ($M = 1.42, SD = 0.77$), $t(115) = -7.14, p < .001, d = 1.32$.

There was also one significant interaction for transgression by participant, $F(1.76, 198.49) = 22.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .16$. An independent samples t-test was conducted to analyze

the interaction. Children viewed social ($M = 0.63$, $SD = 0.86$), and moral ($M = 0.33$, $SD = 0.68$) transgressions as more serious than caregivers, ($M = 2.34$, $SD = 1.04$) and ($M = 1.14$, $SD = 0.98$), $ps < .001$, $ds > .95$. Their views on prudential transgressions were marginally significant, $p = .061$. In conclusion, both caregivers and children viewed prudential transgressions as serious misbehaviors.

To analyze the difference in seriousness for children and caregivers, paired samples t -tests were conducted. Children viewed moral ($M = 0.32$, $SD = 0.68$) transgressions as significantly more serious than social ($M = 0.63$, $SD = 0.86$) transgressions, $t(58) = -3.76$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.40$. They viewed prudential and social as equally serious and moral as the most serious misbehavior. For caregivers, all the analyses reached significance, meaning they viewed each transgression differently. Caregivers viewed moral ($M = 1.14$, $SD = 0.98$) transgressions as significantly more serious than social ($M = 2.34$, $SD = 1.04$) but less serious than prudential ($M = 0.81$, $SD = 1.18$) transgressions, $t(60) = -8.14$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.19$ and $t(59) = 2.59$, $p = .012$, $d = 0.30$ respectfully. Lastly, they viewed prudential ($M = 0.81$, $SD = 1.18$) as significantly more serious than social ($M = 2.32$, $SD = 1.03$) transgressions, $t(59) = -7.91$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.36$. Overall, caregivers viewed prudential transgressions as the most serious, followed by moral transgressions, and lastly social transgressions.

Discussion

The current study primarily explored preschoolers' and their caregivers' views about the appropriateness, fairness, and effectiveness of spanking and the seriousness of misbehaviors, from within and outside of the Conservative Protestant community. Children from Conservative Protestant and other backgrounds were similar in their overarching views about spanking. They all had moderately negative views, indicating that spanking was not ok, was unfair, and would make the character feel sad. Despite these negative views, they all

agreed that spanking would be moderately effective in reducing future misbehavior, especially for moral and prudential transgressions. Their views of how okay it was to spank were not directly related with their views of how likely or bad they believed the transgression to be. Although children thought that all the transgressions were very serious, they considered moral transgressions to be the most serious. In other words, they thought spanking would be most effective for the most serious types of transgressions, although they did not necessarily think that it was okay to do so.

Unlike the agreement seen between children from different religious backgrounds, parents from Conservative Protestant backgrounds did not always agree with parents from other backgrounds. Conservative Protestant caregivers thought that spanking was a more appropriate, fair, and effective technique than did other caregivers. Caregivers agreed that spanking would make the character feel very sad, that spanking was more appropriate for moral and prudential transgressions than for social transgressions, and that prudential transgressions were the most serious followed by moral transgressions. Although all caregivers agreed that social transgressions were the least serious transgression, Conservative Protestants thought they were somewhat more serious than other parents did.

Whether children's views aligned with their caregivers' views depended on their religious background. Surprisingly, it was the Conservative Protestant children's views that most closely aligned with their caregivers. The only issue where Conservative Protestant children and their parents disagreed was about the seriousness of the transgressions; children viewed the transgressions as more serious overall than their caregivers, and thought moral transgressions were worse than prudential. Their parents were the opposite: prudential was worse than moral. Non-Conservative Protestant children's views did not align with their

caregivers in many respects. Non-Conservative Protestant caregivers' views about how okay, how fair, and how sad it would make the character feel were more extreme than their children's. In contrast to their children, who thought spanking would be moderately effective especially for moral transgressions, non-Conservative Protestant caregivers were unsure whether spanking would be effective or ineffective and viewed the transgressions as less serious overall than did their kids.

This study is the first to explore how children within the Conservative Protestant community view corporal punishment and whether their views differ from outsiders' views. Conservative Protestant religions believe in the use of corporal punishment as a necessary and effective parenting tool (Hoffman et al., 2017). By the time they are five, children in this community are likely to have experienced spanking on multiple occasions and to have heard about their peers' experience with spanking (Ellison et al., 1996). In contrast to what I predicted, Conservative Protestant children were just as negative about spanking as their non-Conservative Protestant peers. They did not think it was okay for a mother to spank her misbehaving child, they did not think it was fair to the child, and they thought it would make that child feel very sad. These findings are particularly interesting because spanking is a normal part of life for these children. Why would they not be more accepting of spanking, and why did they not differ from children whose experiences at home are much different when it comes to parental discipline practices?

One reason children from these very different backgrounds might have similar, negative views about spanking might have to do with their exposure to spanking. Many of the children from the non-Conservative group were recruited from a rural area in Western North Carolina. Children who live in the South are more likely to be in schools where

corporal punishment is acceptable and continues to be practiced (Font & Gershoff, 2017). Thus, although the use of corporal punishment inside the home is likely different for Conservative and non-Conservative Protestant families even in rural Appalachian, it is similar outside of the home. Corporal punishment is still legal and practiced in public schools in North Carolina (Gershoff & Font, 2016), and school is a shared environment where children from all kinds of backgrounds spend a great deal of their time. Children living in this area would likely have exposure to spanking even if it did not occur in their own home. This may not be the case for children living in a different geographic location. For instance, children in Massachusetts would have much less exposure to spanking given it was made illegal in schools in 1971. Although we attempted to recruit participants from a progressive region in Massachusetts, we did not have a large enough sample size to determine whether there would be measurable differences in views of spanking between geographic locations. Directly comparing populations from these unique geographic locations would help untangle whether exposure in- and outside of the home might influence children's views of spanking.

As expected, children differentiated transgressions in terms of how serious they thought they were. Regardless of religious background, all children rated moral transgressions as the most serious, followed by prudential and social transgressions as equally (but less) serious. These results replicated past research that children consider moral violations to be more serious than any other kind of violation (Dahl, 2016; Smetana, 2013; Vittrup & Holden, 2010). But surprisingly, how serious children thought the transgressions were did not precisely translate into judgements about how okay it was to spank. They did not think it was okay even for the most serious transgressions – indeed, they thought it was

just as bad to spank for moral violations as it was for prudential violations, despite having just rated moral violations as more serious.

This finding is surprising because previous research has shown that, when asked how serious and how punishable moral violations were compared to other kinds, 4-year-olds' judgments about seriousness were directly related with their judgments about punishment (Dahl, 2016; Kondrad, 2013; Smetana, 2013). For instance, preschoolers judged hitting as more serious than a boy wearing a dress to school, and judged hitting as deserving of more punishment (Smetana, 2013). Few of these past studies, however, specify exactly what the punishment ought to be. In one study that we know of where punishment was specified (a time-out), it was a relatively innocuous punishment (Kondrad, 2013). The 5-year-olds in that study assigned more minutes of time-out for the moral violations that they judged as more serious (e.g., hitting) and fewer minutes for the moral violations they judged as less serious violations (e.g., teasing).

Would children choose a more serious punishment for a more serious transgression if they had a choice of different types of punishment options? Previous research seems to suggest that preschoolers' prefer transgression specific responses to misbehaviors. For instance, if a child hit another child, they would prefer adults to respond with an appropriate moral message such, 'hitting hurts other children' than a less appropriate social message such as, 'hitting your peer makes a loud noise' (Richardson, Mulvey, & Killen, 2012). However, the results of the current study suggest that when children think a punishment is not okay in general, they may rather see a perpetrator go unpunished than see them punished in a morally offensive way. This would be an interesting specific question to test in future research. It would suggest children's sense of justice is more sophisticated than a simple "punish the

perpetrator as befits the crime” mentality – what most previous research would have suggested.

Why might children be generally so negative about spanking, as opposed to any other type of punishment, like time-out? As one child said in a study about moral and psychological harm, “hitting is wrong no matter what,” (Kondrad, personal communication, from Kondrad, 2013). Preschoolers can be rigid in their thinking about moral rights and wrongs. In traditional theories of moral development, it is not until relatively late in childhood – around age 8 years – that children were thought to have some flexibility in their moral judgments, (e.g., Piaget’s heteronomous morality, Siegal & Rablin, 1982). They may think, for instance, that moral rules like “do not harm” might be lifted in some contexts, such as self-defense. Before that age, children were thought to be rigid – moral rules like “do not harm” were unconditional.

More recent research suggests that children are more sophisticated moral thinkers than that, but flexibility is still difficult. They have a difficult time, for instance, appropriately weighting the intention of an actor in light of negative outcomes. In one study, preschoolers’ narratives about interpersonal conflict were compared to first, fifth, and tenth graders. Preschoolers’ narratives were significantly shorter and only 39% referenced the agent’s intentions as opposed to 54% of first, 70% of fifth, and 80% of tenth graders (Wainryb, Brehl, & Matwin, 2005). In another study, 4- and 8-year-olds were asked how punishable an actor was who either intentionally or accidentally harmed someone else (Cushman, Sheketoff, Wharton, & Carey, 2013). Once again, a greater proportion of older children than younger children were able to modify their judgment of how punishable the perpetrator was when there was a benign intention. Younger children had a harder time being flexible in their

thinking. Taken together, preschoolers may have a strict adherence to rules about hitting being wrong, and therefore find it difficult to appreciate any context in which it might be okay – such as when a child’s life is in danger (e.g., running into the street).

Preschoolers may also differ from older children in terms of their acceptance of spanking as a disciplinary strategy. This age group is the most likely to experience spanking (Zolotor, Theodore, Runyan, Chang, & Laskey, 2011). Because it is more common, they may be more accepting of spanking than older children. Indeed, 4- and 5-year-old children were generally negative about spanking but compared to older children (11- and 12-year-olds), were more likely to judge it as acceptable for a variety of transgressions (Catron & Masters, 1993; Vittrup & Holden, 2010). A different pattern may emerge for Conservative Protestant children of different ages. Older children may better understand their religious doctrines relative to younger children and therefore be more willing to accept spanking. It would be interesting to investigate whether children’s views from these distinct communities become more dissimilar as they get older.

An important finding was that Conservative Protestant caregivers had more positive views on spanking than other caregivers. This finding replicated previous literature; Conservative Protestant caregivers are more likely to support the use of corporal punishment than any other religious affiliation and believe it is an effective discipline strategy (Ellison et al., 1996; Ellison et al., 1999; Gershoff et al., 1999; Straus & Stewart, 1999). Although the pattern we observed was as expected, we were surprised that the effect size was not larger. One reason for the relatively small effect size is that we had difficulty recruiting Conservative Protestant families to participate. They tend to be suspicious of outsiders, are low in openness to experience, and generally resistant to changes in routine (Streyffeler &

McNally, 1998). It is possible that the families who volunteered to participate may not be as Conservative or as religiously intense as those who did not volunteer. Indeed, when one mother who participated was asked if she knew of anyone else she could refer to us, she said, "I don't know if anyone else that I know would want to participate. They might be worried about being judged or may not want someone to talk to them about parenting." We classified participants as Conservative based on their answers to two questions on the religiosity questionnaire. Future research would benefit from obtaining a larger sample size of caregivers within the Conservative Protestant affiliation and from considering more continuous measures of religious intensity. One way to recruit more families would be to develop relationships with insiders well in advance of doing any studies, in order to break down insider/outsider barriers.

Caregivers from within and outside of the Conservative Protestant religion agreed in their view of how spanking would make the character feel (very sad). For one, it could be that all caregivers believe spanking will make their child sad because it is a punishment, and the purpose of any punishment, no matter what kind, is to have a significant impact on children's behavior by inducing feelings of guilt, shame, or sadness. Clinicians have used different punishment techniques to suppress and reduce maladaptive behaviors in children and mentally ill patients due to its immediate and powerful impact (Hurley & Sovner, 1983). All parents may have similar goals with the use of punishment, such as teaching their children right from wrong and improving their behavior, but their disciplinary method may change from household to household (Lowe, 1998). An alternative explanation might be that Conservative Protestant families might think that spanking would make the character feel sad because they are being punished and learning about right from wrong, whereas other parents

who do not approve of spanking would think it made the character sad because it hurt and not because of any moral learning.

Finally, why might caregivers view it as more okay to spank for one transgression over another? It was hypothesized that regardless of religious affiliation, mothers would be more likely to support the use of spanking for prudential than for moral and social transgressions; this hypothesis was partially supported. Caregivers were most likely to support spanking for prudential and moral over social transgressions, which is consistent with previous literature (Dahl, 2016). This pattern seems to hold for parents of younger children as demonstrated in the current study and in previous studies (Dahl, 2016), but not older children. When parents of older children were surveyed, they viewed it as most okay to spank for moral and social transgressions (Catron & Masters, 1993). When children are younger, they are exploring their environment and may unintentionally put themselves in harm's way. Parents may feel that if a child is in danger, then the pain and suffering caused by spanking may be overridden by the potential pain and suffering caused by, for instance, a car hitting the child or an overdose on medication. Spanking works better than other reprimands when immediate compliance is needed, and if spanking can save a child from danger then it may be justified in parent's view.

One unexpected outcome was that Conservative Protestant child-caregiver dyads had more agreement about spanking than did non-Conservative Protestant child-caregiver dyads. Conservative Protestant children's views of spanking aligned more closely with their caregiver's views regarding how ok, fair, and effective spanking was and how being spanked might make the story character feel than did other child-caregiver dyads. One reason for this alignment in Conservative Protestant families might have to do with how children understand

the message behind being spanked. Because spanking is normative, children might interpret the experience of being spanked as an expression of love – only parents who really care about their kids spank. African American children, for instance, who live in dangerous neighborhoods seem to have better long-term outcomes if they are spanked than if they are not (Deater-Deckard et al., 1996; Scott et. al, 2018). The argument is the same – only parents who care enough about me to keep me safe will spank. In environments where spanking is normative and used for a specific reason (to obey God; to stay safe) children might think it is worse if parents did not spank at all despite spanking being aversive. In other cultures where there is not a specific purpose for that specific punishment and the experience is not normative, children and their caregivers may have no common ground on which to base their understanding of this parenting strategy. Researchers should reconsider the important role that normative cultural behaviors may play in children’s views of spanking or other typically maladaptive experiences, especially their long-term outcomes.

In contrast, non-Conservative Protestant caregivers were much more negative about spanking than their children. Caregivers who do not identify as Conservative Protestant but who live in a region with strong cultural beliefs may feel especially pressured to defend their choice not to advocate for spanking. Children outside of the Conservative Protestant community may not know as much as insiders about what spanking is and under what circumstances it might be appropriate, and so making subtle distinctions across types of transgressions and so forth may have been difficult for them. Children’s views about other kinds of punishments that they know more about – such as time-out or withdrawal of privileges – may be better aligned with their caregivers’ views. In the future, it may be interesting to provide a comparison condition in which spanking is compared to a time-out or

another more common discipline strategy. That setup may also be more realistic as parents typically do use a variety of methods to discipline their children for different types of transgressions.

Conclusions

The current study is an important first step in understanding how cultural norms may influence children's and caregivers' beliefs about corporal punishment. Despite a plethora of research showing a variety of negative long-term social, emotional, and cognitive consequences of hitting children, it is still one of the most frequently used forms of discipline in the United States (Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2017). Children's religious background and age may play an important role in how they interpret corporal punishment. On the one hand, if it is culturally normative children may interpret its use as a show of love, and this interpretation may in turn mitigate its negative consequences. On the other hand, if children view corporal punishment negatively regardless of whether it is culturally normative, and especially if Protestant children's views conflict with their caregivers', then the negative outcomes may be amplified. In other words, the religious context in which corporal punishment occurs may increase or decrease the negative effect of corporal punishment. Future studies could reevaluate the long-term negative outcomes typically observed in children exposed to corporal punishment with religious affiliation as a moderator.

For this study I focused specifically on children's views of spanking because I suspected this parenting practice would have greater differences between groups. For a larger study it may be interesting to ask children and their caregivers about their beliefs regarding other discipline strategies, such as time-outs, withdrawal of privileges, and other strategies. It

is possible that Protestant families may be more likely to think that all harsh discipline practices (e.g., yelling, being cold) are more effective than less harsh practices (e.g., reasoning, modeling). Preschool aged children, within and outside of the Conservative Protestant religion, may also view these strategies differentially based on their religious affiliation. An important next step would include analyzing Conservative Protestant caregiver-children dyads for their older children, asking open-ended questions, and including other disciplinary methods.

Many parents do not use corporal punishment with the intention of causing long-lasting harm to their child. Conservative Protestant parents may not spank their children with the deliberate intention of hurting them or causing them pain; they believe they must due to their religious faith (Lowe, 1998). After participating in this study, many caregivers approached me, after having heard their child's responses, about how they never knew their child felt that way or that it was interesting to see what they think. Most parents only want the best for their child and making them aware of how their children feel about this punishment could influence their future disciplinary choices. Values that stem from religious beliefs are hard to change but new methods of interpreting religious scripture may prove to be a valuable parenting intervention for those who continue to spank (Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2017).

In a review of corporal punishment, Lowe (1993) took an interesting perspective that I believe could benefit the nature of discipline and how parents, administrators, religious leaders, and researchers analyze this topic. He focused on parenting goals and the similarities between parents of different religious affiliations. In general, he believes we should support parents who overall, only want the best for their children and try to provide proper tools to

guide them to a fulfilling life. Instead of focusing on the negatives of spanking, it would be beneficial to help parents find new and constructive ways to reach their common goals.

Pairing corporal punishment with other disciplinary methods is highly advised but may still lead to detrimental outcomes. Although the research states a no tolerance of corporal punishment, many Conservative Protestant caregivers continue to corporally punish their children and future research should focus on their overall parent-child relationship and the context in which this method is used. This study is the first step in exploring how religious culture may influence children's and caregivers' views about corporal punishment.

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Table 1.

Children and Caregivers' Average Responses by Transgression for each Question

Question	Children (<i>n</i> = 60)			Caregivers (<i>n</i> = 62)		
	Prudential	Social	Moral	Prudential	Social	Moral
Okay	0.98 (1.35)	1.11 (1.24)	1.01 (1.21)	1.09 (1.22)	0.32 (0.62)	0.88 (1.15)
Fair	1.32 (1.24)	1.32 (1.12)	1.32 (1.29)	1.14 (1.09)	0.32 (0.60)	0.90 (1.19)
Likely	1.07 (1.17)	1.26 (1.15)	0.98 (1.10)	1.29 (0.86)	1.85 (0.95)	1.63 (0.94)
Feel	0.70 (0.87)	0.67 (0.94)	0.59 (0.82)	0.31 (0.57)	0.22 (0.46)	0.32 (0.58)
Bad	0.44 (0.77)	0.63 (0.86)	0.32 (0.68)	0.81 (1.18)	2.32 (1.03)	1.14 (0.98)

Note. The means are provided first with standard deviations in parentheses.

Table 2.

Mixed Measures Repeated ANOVA Results for Each Question

Variable	df	Okay		eta-squared
		F	p	
Transgression	2	7.81	.001***	.06
Religion	1	5.36	.022*	.04
Participant	1	.67	.414	.01
Transgression x Religion	2	3.9	.022*	.03
Transgression x Participant	2	11.19	.01**	.09
Religion x Participant	1	8.39	.004**	.07
		Fair		
Transgression	2	13.37	.01**	.10
Religion	1	7.81	.006**	.06
Participant	1	5.24	.024*	.04
Transgression x Religion	2	2.68	.07	.02
Transgression x Participant	2	12.73	.01**	.10
Religion x Participant	1	9.18	.003**	.07
		Likely		
Transgression	2	7.44	.001***	.06
Religion	1	1.37	.24	.01
Participant	1	5.45	.021*	.05
Transgression x Religion	2	1.38	.25	.01
Transgression x Participant	2	2.63	.07	.02
Religion x Participant	1	5.59	.02*	.05
		Feel		
Transgression	2	1.48	.23	.01
Religion	1	1.92	.17	.02
Participant	1	8.81	.004**	.07
Transgression x Religion	2	1.35	.26	.01
Transgression x Participant	2	1.35	.26	.01
Religion x Participant	1	.07	.80	.001
		Bad		
Transgression	2	40.53	.001***	.27
Religion	1	2.79	.10	.02
Participant	1	41.67	.001***	.27
Transgression x Religion	2	1.62	.20	.01
Transgression x Participant	2	22.18	.001***	.17
Religion x Participant	1			

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

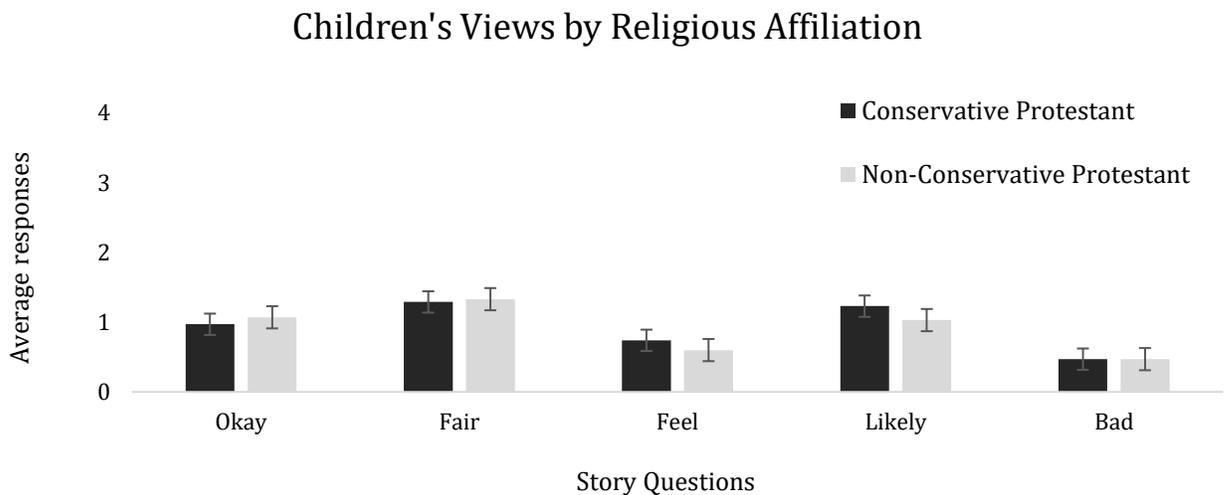
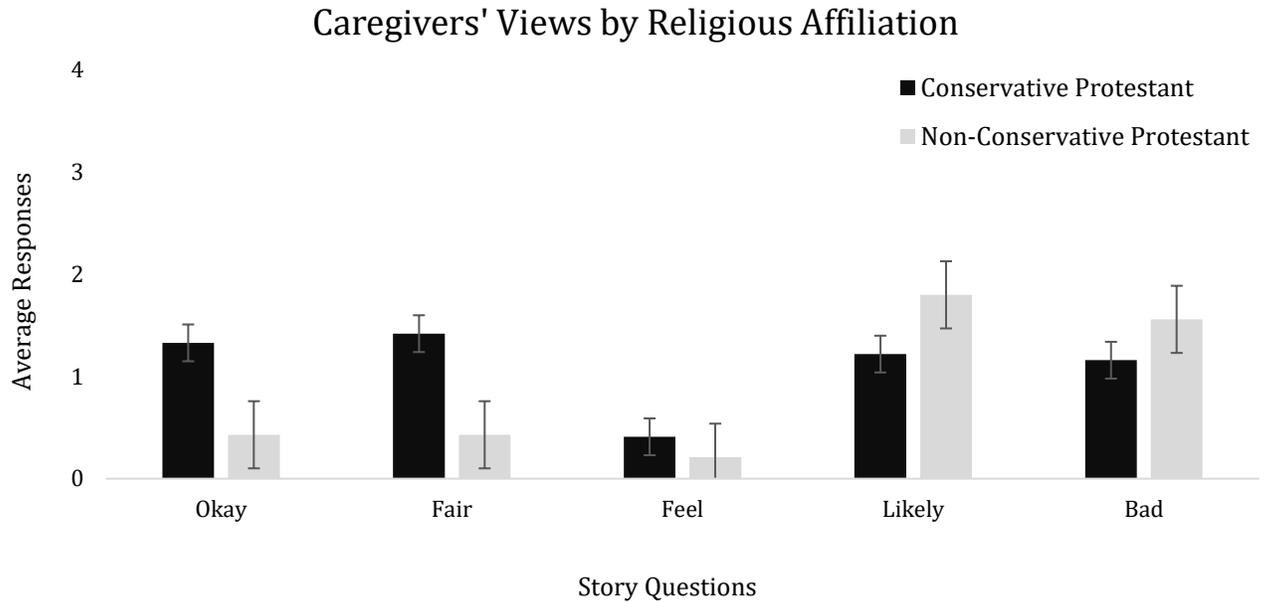


Figure 1. Higher scores (4) indicated more positive views, i.e., it was really okay or fair to spank and the characters would feel really happy about being spanked. For “how likely,” lower scores (0) indicated it was really unlikely the character would repeat the behavior, i.e., the spanking was effective, and higher scores (4) indicated it was really likely the character would repeat the behavior, i.e., the spanking was ineffective. For “how bad,” lower scores (0) indicated it was really bad, i.e., the transgression was very serious, and higher scores (4) indicated it was really good, i.e., the transgression was not very serious.

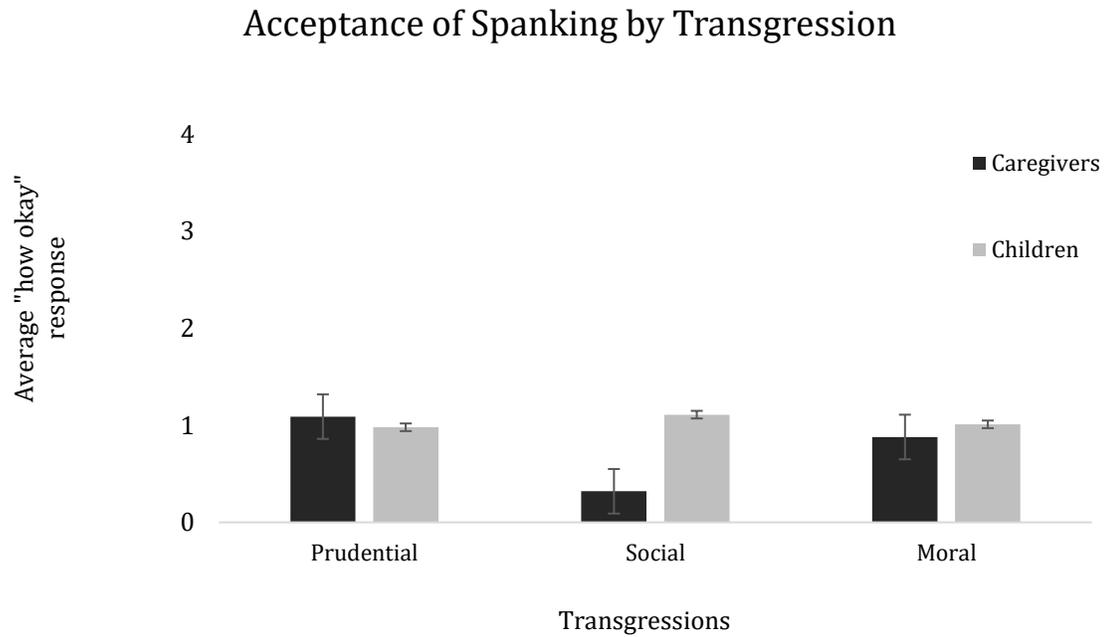


Figure 2. Higher scores (4) indicated greater acceptance of spanking, i.e., it was really okay to spank for the given transgression. Lower scores (0) indicated less acceptance, i.e., it was really not okay to spank for the given transgression.

Appendix A**3 Social Convention Transgressions**

1. It is dinner time and Ryan sits at the table to eat with their family. Ryan has spaghetti on their plate and uses their hands to eat it.



2. Alex's mom has said goodnight and tucked Alex in. Alex is not tired so sneaks out of their room.



3. Shannon's mom is on the phone with work but Shannon really wants to talk to their mom. Shannon goes to their mom and interrupts them on phone.



3 Moral Harm Transgressions

1. Sam and their friend are playing at Sam's house on the monkey bars.
Sam's friend goes to do the monkey bars first and Sam gets mad. Sam pushes their friend on purpose so they can go first.



2. Jackie is playing with her soccer ball inside the house. Jackie kicks it into their brother's face on purpose and he starts crying.



3. Casey was reading a book and then got mad and threw it across the room at their brother.



3 Prudential Transgressions

1. Taylor is playing basketball outside in their driveway. Taylor shoots the ball and it bounces off the hoop and rolls into the road. Taylor immediately runs into the road without looking for cars for their ball.



2. Jordyn has seen their mom light matches before and knows where she keeps them. Jordyn decides to take them out and starts lighting matches.



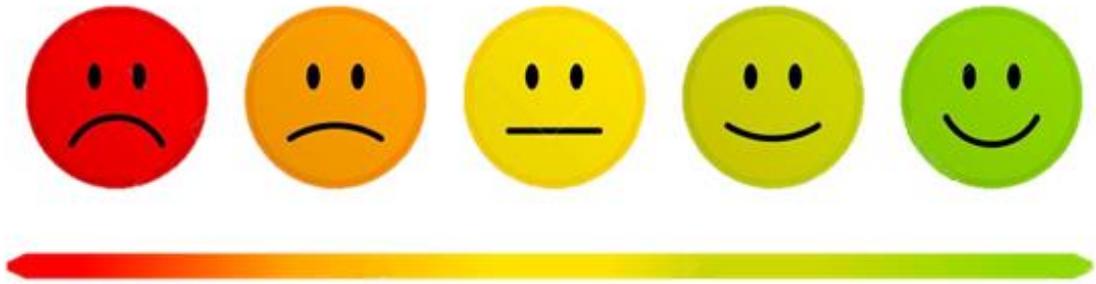
3. Dylan opens the medicine cabinet and finds a bottle of pills. Dylan decides to open them to see what they are.



Questions

1. How okay was it for [character's] mom to spank [character's name] for [transgression]?
2. How fair was it for [character's] mom to do this to [character's name]?
3. How likely do you think it is that [character] will do this again tomorrow?
4. How does [character's name] feel about being spanked for this?
5. How bad was it for [character's name] to [transgression committed]?

Appendix B



Appendix C

Religiosity Questionnaire Adapted from NIA/Fetzer Domains and Instrument

(Affiliation)

1. What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Baptist, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?

[If Protestant: What specific denomination is that?]

[If Jewish: Do you consider yourself Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or none of these?]

(Public Practices)

Use the following scale to answer question number 2.

- 0 – Never
- 1 – Less than once a year
- 2 – About once or twice a year
- 3 – Several times a year
- 4 – About once a month
- 5 – 2-3 times a month
- 6 – Nearly every week
- 7 – Every week
- 8 – Several times a week

2. How often do you attend religious services? _____
 - a. How often do your children attend with you? _____

(Private Practices)

Use the following scale to answer question number 3.

- 0 – Never
- 1 – Less than once a month
- 2 – Once a month
- 3 – A few times a month
- 4 – Once a week
- 5 – A few times a week
- 6 – once a day
- 7 – More than once a day

3. How often do you pray privately in places other than at church or synagogue?

Use the following scale to answer question number 4.

- 0 – Not read
- 1 – Less than once a week
- 2 – Once a week
- 3 – Several times a week
- 4 – Once a day
- 5 – Several times a day

4. How often have you read the Bible in the last year? _____

(Coping)

Use the following scale to respond to question 5.

- 0 – Not at all
- 1 – Somewhat
- 2 – Quite a bit
- 3 – A great deal

5. Think about how you try to understand and deal with major problems in your life. To what extent is each of the following involved in the way you cope:

- a. I work together with God as partners. _____
- b. I look to God for strength, support, guidance. _____
- c. I try to make sense of the situation and decide what to do without relying on God.

(Religious Intensity)

Use the following scale to respond to question 6.

- 0 – Not religious at all
- 1 – Slightly religious
- 2 – Moderately religious
- 3 – Very religious

6. To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person? _____

(Beliefs and Values)

Use the following scale to respond to the remainder of the questions (7-10).

- 0 – Strongly disagree

- 1 – Disagree
- 2 – Agree
- 3 – Strongly agree

- 7. I believe in a God who watches over me. _____

- 8. I try hard to carry my religious beliefs over into all my other dealings in life.

- 9. “Do not withhold discipline from a child, if you punish them with a rod, they will not die. Punish them with the rod and save them from death.” (Proverbs 23:13-14)

- 10. “It is sometimes necessary to discipline a child with a good, hard spanking.”

Appendix D

DIMENSIONS OF DISCIPLINE QUESTIONNAIRE, Form P

Adapted from Murray A. Straus and Angele Fauchier

A. BACKGROUND

Directions: Please circle the answer that best describes you or fill in the blank.

1. Marital Status:
 - a. Single
 - b. Married
 - c. Living with a partner
 - d. Separated
 - e. Divorced
 - f. Widowed
 - g. Other _____

2. Your sex:
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Prefer not to answer

3. How old were you at your last birthday? _____ years old

4. Education:
 - a. Some high school
 - b. Completed high school
 - c. Some college or technical school
 - d. Completed 4-year college or university
 - e. Some post-graduate education
 - f. Completed a post-graduate degree (MA, M.D., Ph.D., etc.)

5. Your racial/ethnic identification:
 - a. Asian
 - b. African-American/Black
 - c. Caucasian/White
 - d. Native American/Pacific Islander
 - e. Hispanic/Latino(a)
 - f. Other _____
 - g. More than one race _____

B. ABOUT THE CHILD YOU WILL ANSWER FOR

Directions: Please circle the answer that best describes your child or fill in the blank.

1. Child's sex
 - a. Boy
 - b. Girl

2. How old was this child at his/her last birthday? _____ years old

3. Is this child:
- Your child by birth
 - Your child by adoption
 - Stepchild
 - Other _____
4. If you are living with a partner, is the child your partner's biological child?
- Yes
 - No
5. Children misbehave in many different ways and in many different situations (e.g. bedtime, eating, picking up their toys, disobedience, etc.). Please list one or two examples of minor misbehaviors by the child you are going to tell us about in this questionnaire, and one or two examples of serious misbehaviors by this child in the past year.

Minor 1. _____
Misbehaviors 2. _____

Serious 1. _____
Misbehaviors: 2. _____

We would like to find out how often this child repeated any minor misbehavior after you corrected him or her, or engaged in any serious misbehavior. Please use this key to respond by writing the number that corresponds to your answer on the blank. For question 8 please circle your response.

N = Never

- 0** = Not in the past year, but in a previous year
1 = 1-2 times in the past year
2 = 3-5 times in the past year
3 = 6-9 times in the past year
4 = Monthly (10-14 times in the past year)
5 = A few times a month (2-3 times a month)
6 = Weekly (1-2 times a week)
7 = Several times a week (3-4 times)
8 = Daily (5 or more times a week)
9 = 2 or more times a day

How often in the past year did this child:

_____ 6. Repeat a **minor** misbehavior after being corrected for it?

_____ 7. Commit a **serious** misbehavior?

_____ 8. Who has more responsibility for disciplining this child?

- I have **much more** responsibility for discipline than this child's other parent
- I have **somewhat more** responsibility for discipline than this child's other parent
- I share responsibility **equally** with this child's other parent
- This child's other parent has **somewhat more** responsibility than I do
- This child's other parent has **much more** responsibility than I do

C. WHAT DID YOU DO TO CORRECT MISBEHAVIOR?

N = Never

- 0** = Not in the past year, but in a previous year
- 1** = 1-2 times in the past year
- 2** = 3-5 times in the past year
- 3** = 6-9 times in the past year
- 4** = Monthly (10-14 times in the past year)
- 5** = A few times a month (2-3 times a month)
- 6** = Weekly (1-2 times a week)
- 7** = Several times a week (3-4 times)
- 8** = Daily (5 or more times a week)
- 9** = 2 or more times a day

When this child misbehaved (minor or severe) in the past year:

- _____ 1. How often did you **explain the rules** to try and prevent the child repeating misbehavior?
- _____ 2. How often did you **take away this child's allowance, toys, or other privileges** because of this misbehavior?
- _____ 3. How often did you **put this child in "time-out" or send them to their room for a period of time**?
- _____ 4. How often did you **shout or yell** at this child?
- _____ 5. How often did you **shake or grab this child to get their attention**?
- _____ 6. How often did you **give this child something else they might like to do instead of what they were doing wrong**?
- _____ 7. How often did you **try to make this child feel ashamed or guilty**?
- _____ 8. How often did you **deliberately not pay attention** when this child misbehaved?
- _____ 9. How often did you **spank, slap, smack, or swat** this child?
- _____ 10. How often did you **use a paddle, hairbrush, belt, or other object**?
- _____ 11. How often did you **praise this child** for finally stopping bad behavior or for behaving well?
- _____ 12. How often did you **hold back affection by acting cold or not giving hugs or kisses**?
- _____ 13. How often did you **send this child to bed without a meal**?
- _____ 14. How often did you **tell this child that you were watching or checking to see if they did something**?
- _____ 15. How often did you **give this child money or other things** for finally stopping bad behavior or for behaving well?
- _____ 16. How often did you **show or demonstrate the right thing to do** for this child?

- _____ 17. How often did you **let this child misbehave so that they would have to deal with the results?**
- _____ 18. How often did you **give this child extra chores as a consequence?**
- _____ 19. How often did you **make this child do something to make up for some misbehavior; for example, pay for a broken window?**
- _____ 20. When this child behaved badly, how often did you **tell the child that they are lazy, sloppy, thoughtless, or some other name like that?**
- _____ 21. How often did you **withhold this child's allowance, toys, or other privileges until the child did what you wanted them to do?**
- _____ 22. How often did you **check on this child to see if they were misbehaving?**
- _____ 23. How often did you **check on this child so that you could tell them they were doing a good job?**
- _____ 24. How often did you **make this child apologize or say they were sorry for misbehavior?**
- _____ 25. How often did you **wash this child's mouth out with soap, put hot sauce on their tongue, or something similar?**
- _____ 26. How often did you **ground this child or restrict their activities outside the home** because of misbehavior?

D. YOUR OPINIONS ABOUT DISCIPLINE

Regardless of what you yourself do, we would like to have **your opinion** about doing each of the following with children who are about the same age as the child you described in this questionnaire. Please use the following key to record your responses.

- I THINK IT IS:** 1. Never OK
 2. Rarely OK
 3. Usually OK
 4. Always or Almost Always OK

- _____ 1. Explain the rules to children that age to try and prevent misbehavior
- _____ 2. Take away allowance, toys, or other privileges because of misbehavior
- _____ 3. Put children that age in 'time-out' (or send them to their room)
- _____ 4. Shout or yell at children that age
- _____ 5. Shake or grab children that age to get their attention
- _____ 6. Give children that age something else they might like to do instead of what they are doing wrong

- _____ 7. Try to make children that age feel ashamed or guilty
- _____ 8. Deliberately not pay attention to misbehavior
- _____ 9. Spank, slap, smack, or swat children that age
- _____ 10. Use an object such as a paddle, hairbrush, belt, etc. on children that age
- _____ 11. Praise children that age for finally stopping bad behavior or for behaving well
- _____ 12. Hold back affection from children that age by acting cold or not giving hugs or kisses
- _____ 13. Send children that age to bed without a meal
- _____ 14. Let children that age know that the parents are watching or checking to see if they do something
- _____ 15. Give children that age money or other things for finally stopping bad behavior or for behaving well
- _____ 16. Show or demonstrate the right thing to do
- _____ 17. Let children that age misbehave so that they have to deal with the results
- _____ 18. Give children that age extra chores as a consequence
- _____ 19. Make children that age do something to make up for some misbehavior; for example, pay for a broken window
- _____ 20. When children that age behave badly, tell them they are lazy, sloppy, thoughtless, or some other name like that
- _____ 21. Withhold allowance, toys, or other privileges until children that age do what you want them to do
- _____ 22. Check on children that age to see if they are misbehaving
- _____ 23. Check on children that age so that you could tell them they are doing a good job
- _____ 24. Make children that age apologize or say they are sorry for misbehavior
- _____ 25. Wash the mouths of children that age out with soap, put hot sauce on their tongue, or something similar
- _____ 26. Ground children that age or restrict their activities outside the home because of misbehavior

Appendix E



Marissa Sariol-Clough <sariolcloughmr@appstate.edu>

IRB Notice - 18-0271

1 message

IRB <irb@appstate.edu>

Mon, Jun 11, 2018 at 10:16 AM

To: sariolcloughmr@appstate.edu

Cc: kondradrl@appstate.edu, wingroveta@appstate.edu

To: Marissa Sariol-Clough
Psychology
CAMPUS EMAIL

From: Dr. Andrew Shanely, IRB Chairperson

Date: June 11, 2018

RE: Notice of IRB Approval by Expedited Review (under 45 CFR 46.110)

STUDY #: 18-0271

STUDY TITLE: Views about Misbehavior

Submission Type: Initial

Expedited Category: (6) Collection of Data from Recordings made for Research Purposes,(7) Research on Group Characteristics or Behavior, or Surveys, Interviews, etc.

Approval Date: 6/11/2018

Expiration Date of Approval: 6/10/2019

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved this study for the period indicated above. The IRB found that the research procedures meet the expedited category cited above. IRB approval is limited to the activities described in the IRB approved materials, and extends to the performance of the described activities in the sites identified in the IRB application. In accordance with this approval, IRB findings and approval conditions for the conduct of this research are listed below.

Vita

Marissa Sariol-Clough was born in Summit, New Jersey to John and Deanna. She graduated from Pascack Valley High School in June 2013. The following autumn, she began studies at James Madison University and in May 2017 she was awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree for Psychology with a minor in Statistics. In the spring of 2017, she accepted a research assistantship in Experimental Psychology at Appalachian State University and began her studies towards a Master of Arts degree. The M.A. was awarded in May 2019. In August 2019, Ms. Sariol-Clough will begin working towards her Ph.D. in Education Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland.