

**Attitudes of Palestinian Parents Who Live within the
Palestinian Authority Regarding the Use of Corporal
Punishment toward their Children**

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Abstract

a. Literature Review

In the literature review section of the study I discussed two phenomena, sometimes dealt within different theoretical contexts: child abuse and child corporal punishment. Although the theme of the present study is parents' attitudes toward child corporal punishment practices I assumed that both phenomena belong to a common theoretical content area. The phenomenon of corporal punishment, similarly to child abuse, is prevalent today in most countries all over the world. It is agreed upon by scholars that parents' attitudes toward corporal punishment, as well as other forms of punishment, are influenced by social and cultural contexts. Yet, there exist different theories regarding their impact. The conclusion that can be drawn from the literature review is that parents' attitudes toward corporal punishment are influenced by several sources and cannot be attributed to a single context. Furthermore, several studies point to the correlations between the independent variables of the phenomenon as well as to the influence of moderating variables. A salient example is the correlation between the socioeconomic status of parents and the cultural characteristics of society as independent variables parents' attitudes towards corporal punishment.

Among the different contexts which account for the differential frequency of corporal punishment researchers and practitioners place a great emphasis upon the context of level of religiousness of the parent. Religion provides a system of views and beliefs related to a normative parental style and individual-family relationship. In spite of modernization and secularization processes its influence is still apparent today in Western societies. In the U.S. conservative Evangelistic circles call for the "rehabilitation" of the American family and support mild use of corporal punishment of parents towards their children, mostly spanking. Such groups conceive these steps as a way to rehabilitate American society as a whole and oppose legislation that will enable the authorities to interfere with the "natural" right of parents to treat their offspring as they wish.

Dealing with the religious context is integrated with the claim that the choice of penal patterns by parents toward their children is cultural contingent. This contingency also explains the changes which took place throughout human history toward this phenomenon as well as the differences in current perceptions of different societies toward it. Cultural variations have also sharpened researchers' awareness of

the fundamental assumptions of a "Western" social work in this area that questions the relevancy of "Western" bodies of knowledge for the treatment of non-Western populations.

In the last few years researchers have begun also to deal with the issue of child abuse and corporal punishment in the Arab society, including the Palestinian population living in Israel and in the Palestinian Authority (West Bank). These studies are still in their infancy, yet, three main conclusions can be already drawn.

The first, the phenomenon of child abuse in the Arab society is widespread, though scholars and professional practitioners do not have direct evidence regarding its scope.

The second, family members tend to refrain from reporting to sources external to the family regarding child abuse within the family. Additionally, an underdevelopment of social services makes it difficult to identify and treat these cases. Research in this area is therefore mainly based upon young people reports and it is plausible that there is a gap between their reports and the actual scope of the phenomenon.

The third, high prevalence of child abuse should be attributed to cultural traditions, most of which are based upon the Islam which grant a high legitimization to an authoritarian parental style. This style is indifferent to, and sometimes even supportive, of corporal punishment of children by their parents.

In the last years research regarding life conditions and personal distresses of populations in the Arab society has been multiplied. This development was accompanied by the assumption that a monolithic approach which binds together different Arab societies should be avoided. Indeed, the Islamic tradition is common to all Arab states, yet, they differ in several dimensions: the religious disposition within the framework of the Islam; the economic development level; the political regime and the social services development level. . These factors shape, in addition to the cultural factor, attitudes and behaviors of different societies in regard to corporal punishment of children by their parents, as well as parents' and authorities attitudes toward it. This fact is compatible with the claim that parents' attitudes in this issue cannot be accounted for by a single factor.

Several studies were published recently regarding the scope of child abuse phenomenon in the Palestinian society living in Israel and in the Palestinian Authority. Its scope and causes can be inferred mainly from studies conducted by Haj-

Yahia and Shalhoub-Kevorkian. Their studies focus on the issue of child abuse, while only scant attention is given to the issue of corporal punishment of children by their parents. These studies confirm the claim against generalities regarding the whole Arab society. They deal with three main issues: the scope of abuse of children by their parents or their exposure to abuse within their family; the willingness of boys and girls to report personal abuse experience to factors outside the family and the factors influencing such willingness.

They stress the importance of the cultural factor, and to a lesser extent the political one, as shaping the extent of child abuse within the Palestinian society. The importance of the last is emphasized by Shalhoub-Kevorkian who binds together the societal perception of women in the Palestinian society with reality of loss and disaster which characterizes it since the 1948 War. This reality has shaped the scope of child abuse and corporal punishment of children in the Palestinian society, especially the abuse of girls. Another variable which shapes the awareness and the assistance-seeking patterns in this area is underdevelopment of the social services of the Palestinian population, especially within Palestinian Authority.

Diversity characterizes not only the Arab society, but also the Palestinian one. The last includes a variety of sub-populations with different religious dispositions, type of residence, income and education. All these support the original hypothesis of the present study that parents' attitude toward different punishment patterns can be predicted or explained by demographic factors.

In spite of my acknowledgement of the importance of political and economic factors in shaping parents' beliefs toward non-normative behaviors of their children, the study does not examine their influence, since I have decided to focus only upon a Palestinian parents who live in the West Bank. This does not enable me to explore the relative exploratory power of political and economic circumstances within a comparative framework.

In the research reviewed I identified two fundamental problems. The first, in most of them a reference to the different reactions of parents to specific non-normative behaviors of their children is lacking. As a consequence the issue of the extent of parents' use in corporal punishment or their support of it in the context of different non-normative behaviors was not examined adequately. The second, most of these studies focus on the issue of spanking, while neglecting other forms of

corporal and non-corporal punishment. The research design of the present study was designated to overcome some these problems.

b. The Layout of the Study

The population of the study included a sample of 890 parents who live in the Palestinian Authority territory of the West Bank. The research instrument used in the study is a closed questionnaire in the Arabic language, which includes descriptions of non-normative behaviors of children. Regarding each parents were asked to express his/her agreement level to alternative reactions presented to him/her. Each description refers to one of the following categories: corporal punishment, non-corporal punishment and non-punishment. In addition, data regarding the socio-demographic characteristics of the parents were collected that might explain or predict their reaction patterns to the non-normative behaviors.

c. The Research Queries and Hypotheses

Based on the literature review I formulated two main questions:

1. To what degree do Palestinian parents support the use of different forms of corporal punishment against their children?
2. What is the effect of the following variables on the support level of parents in corporal punishment toward their children? socio-demographic characteristics of parents; age and sex of the child; and the nature and frequency of the non-normative behavior. I presented eight hypotheses regarding the relationship between the parents' characteristics and their support level in corporal punishment of their children. The hypotheses are related both to a single non-normative behaviors and to recurring non-normative ones.

d. Results

d.1. The Effects of Parents' socio-demographic Characteristics upon Their Support of Corporal Punishment

The main findings of the study regarding the relationship between the parents' characteristics and their support level of corporal punishment are as follows:

1. Parent's age: parents aged 24 or less support corporal punishment more than other age group parents.

2. Parent's sex: fathers are more supportive of corporal punishment than mothers.
3. Parent's religion: Muslim parents are more supportive of corporal punishment than Christian parents.
4. Parent's type of residence: parents living in refugees' camps are less supportive of corporal punishment than parents living in cities or in villages.
5. Number of children in the family: parents who have only one child were less supportive of corporal punishment than parents who have several children.
6. Parent's education level: parents' support level of all types of punishment, including corporal and non-corporal punishment decrease with the increase in education level.
7. Family income: parents with family income higher than 5,000 Shekels a month are less supportive of corporal punishment than parents with a family income lower than 5,000 Shekels a month.
8. Parent's personal experience of victimization: parents who were victims of corporal punishment in their childhood support corporal punishment more than parents who were not victimized in their childhood.

d.2. The Effects of the Nature of the Non-Normative Behavior on the Support of Corporal Punishment by Parents

It was found that parents respond with different degrees of severity toward different non-normative behaviors of their children. The non-normative reoccurring behaviors of children which received the most severe reaction were cursing God, the Prophets or religion, while the behavior which received the least severe reaction was telling a lie or not defending oneself in case of being attacked by other children.

D.3. The Effect of Child's Sex and Age on the Willingness to spank a Child

I found that among parents who support spanking a child no differences were found in regard to this reaction toward boys and girls. Yet, parents who support spanking a child differentiate between different age groups when using this reaction.

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Introduction

The purpose of the present study is to describe and to analyze the support level of 890 Palestinian parents from the "West Bank" (the Palestinian Authority) of using different forms of corporal punishment as a reaction to non-normative behaviors of their children. The participants have answered a questionnaire which included questions regarding their support level of corporal punishment toward children who are involved in different non-normative behaviors. In addition, through the parents' answers, I also examined the influence of the following factors on parents' support level of corporal punishment: socio-demographic characteristics of parents; child's age and sex; and the nature of the non-normative behavior.

Parents' use and/or the support level of corporal punishment toward their children, are in the focus of the social discourse in the United States, as well in other societies in the world, in the last few years (Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner, 2006). This discourse and the different attitudes presented within its framework, are not new, yet, they are outstanding currently, due to a relatively extensive legislation, which is taking place in several states throughout the Western world, prohibiting any kind of corporal punishment toward children (Ember & Ember, 2005). Within the framework of this discourse, two views emerge.

The first view is embedded in an extensive social research regarding children's development, which claims that any kind of corporal punishment should be negated – mild and severe alike. The proponents of this view present scientific evidence regarding the negative consequences of such punishment; e.g.: parents who were beaten in their childhood support corporal punishment (Straus & Yodanis, 1996); and, a high rate of violence toward women was found in societies in which children's corporal punishment is prevalent (Levinson, 1989). In fact, in every realm of the research dealing with child development, researchers point to the negative consequences of corporal punishment on the child's wellbeing. This view include an over-all opposition to any kind of corporal punishment, including spanking, claiming that it might cause severe forms of corporal punishment (Straus, 2001).

According to the second view, the "natural" right of parents to punish their children, using moderate corporal punishment, should not be denied. Although, since the 60's of the last century, the number of people who believe that spanking children is a legitimate educational way has decreased by 30% (Benjet & Kazdin, 2003), the debate regarding the issue is still prevalent today; many parents in the U.S.A. believe that corporal punishment of children is proper and even necessary (Ember & Ember, 2005). According to one estimation at least two thirds of the Americans hold this opinion (Strauss & Stewart, 1999). Their support is based upon at least one of the following assumptions (Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner, 2006). Firstly, children are the property of their parents, who have the right to educate them as they wish. Secondly, the children have no right to negotiate the desirable parental style. Thirdly, parents' behavior within the family is their own business, and the authorities have no right to interfere with their doings inside their home. This view is supported also by researchers in the U.S.A. who claim that mild corporal punishment, such as spanking the child, especially among loving families, is not necessarily negative, and even might have positive consequences (Larzelere, 2000). According to Baumrind (1996), spanking children should be examined as one component in an overall pattern of parental style, and its influence is dependant upon the warmth atmosphere in the family and the use of rational arguments to explain the use of this means, to children. This view reinforces the differentiation made by different groups in the American society between spanking children, which is permitted, or not being acted against by the authorities, and other, severe forms of punishment.

This discourse is taking place in the U.S.A. due to several, not fully successful trials, to promote a legislation that shall prohibit any form of corporal punishment. At 50 states in the United States currently, a legislation which permits, one way or another, spanking children, by parents and guardians, within their homes exists (Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner, 2006). This trend is different from the trend which is taking place in the world; in the last years 12 states all over the world, set rules which prohibit spanking children. The phrasing of the rules points to their central aim to change parents' attitudes toward this practice rather than punish them. Another set of rules is meant to protect children through legislation which prohibits violence within the family.

The present study includes five sections. In the first section, I shall present the theoretical framework which deals, mainly, with different contexts of corporal punishment of children. In the second section, I shall present the queries and hypotheses of the study. In the third section I shall present the methodology. The results shall be presented in the fourth section and discussion of the results shall be presented in the fifth section of the study. The questionnaire presented to the participants is attached as the Appendix of the study.

Section A: Literature Review

A.1. The West Bank and its population

The phrase "The West Bank" refers to the territories which extend between Israel and Jordan, and together with the Gaza Strip constitutes nowadays the Palestinian Authority. 2.6 million people¹ live in the West Bank. On 1949, the West Bank was occupied by the Hashemite kingdom and was under its reign until 1967. On 1950, King Abdullah, the ruler of Jordan, annexed this territory to Jordan, a step which was not recognized by most states, although it was recognized de facto. On 1967 the territory was occupied by Israel and together with Gaza Strip that is situated between Israel and Egypt, these two territories were announced by the international community as "Occupied Territories" (Tessler, 1994).

On 1980 Israel annexed East Jerusalem, which was occupied by it at the war of 1967, yet, it did not act that way regarding the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Throughout a period of more than two decades after the war, Israel refused to support an autonomic Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. One of the sources of disagreement between Israel and the Arabs was Israel's policy of settlements in the occupied territories. From the 70's on, Israeli settlements, inhabited solely by Israelis, were established at the West Bank. This population is not discussed in the present study.

After a series of secret talks between Israel and the P.L.O, the "Oslo Accords" were signed by the parties, on 1993. One step which led to these accords was King Hussein's decision, on 1988, to cut off the administration of the West Bank. One basic element of these accords is that Israel would withdraw from the Palestinian settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, yet they do not include an explicit statement regarding the permanent status of the West Bank. Yet, according to different interpretations of behalf of both parties, which gained support during the years, the establishment of the Palestinian Authority was the first stage in the process of establishing a Palestinian state between the Jordan River and Israel.

Estimation for 2005. This figure doesn't include about 190,000 Jews living in the West Bank. ¹
Source: The World Factbook, 2006.

The accords also specified a Transition Period, which shall not exceed five years, during which an independent Palestinian self administration shall be established in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and Israel agreed to transfer some of its authorities held by it since 1967 to the Palestinian Authority. This transfer had been executed in stages on 1994, starting with Gaza Strip and Jericho in the West Bank. On September, 1995, another agreement was signed ("Oslo B") which granted an independent reign to the Palestinian cities and to 450 villages in the West Bank. On 1999, the parties held discussions regarding the permanent status of these two territories, but they were interrupted on September, 2000, by the "Second Intifada", which went on until 2003. When it ended, the "Quartet" (a body composed of the United States, the European Union, The United Nations and Russia) presented the "Road Map" which is based on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, situated on the side of Israel, as well as suggested a gradual, multi-level solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But the continuous violence of the parties toward each other and mutual accusations have prevented, so far, the implementation of the plan, which is the only plan agreed upon by both sides.

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Palestinian Authority, the Palestinian population in the West Bank is characterized by several salient characteristics:²

- a. Approximately 20% of the population engages in agriculture and about 25% engages in industry, mainly light industry. More than half of the population is engaged in the services field.
- b. Most of the population is Muslim (Sunni), and 8% is Christian.
- c. The rate of the Palestinian population in the Authority's territories increases at 3.4% per year. This rate is the highest in the world.
- d. The population is relatively young. On 2006 the Palestinian population in the West Bank, included 44% of youngsters under the age of 15 and 18% children under the age of 5.
- e. The birth rate is relatively high (4.1 births per woman on 2004), although a decrease in this rate is apparent in the last years. Palestinian women marry and

This data as well as other data regarding the Palestinian population in the Bank, was taken from the ² web site of the Central bureau of Statistics of the Palestinian Authority, which was established on 1997: www.pcbs.org

give birth at a young age. The average marriage age is 18 and on the average, they give birth for the first time two years later.

- f. Children's mortality rate has decreased in the last years (3.9 out of 1,000 on 2006), a process which expresses mainly, improvement in the health care services.
- g. The unemployment rates are high. In the first quarter of 2006, more than one fifth of the Palestinian population in the West Bank was unemployed (21.4%).
- h. 43.2% of the households have suffered in the second quarter of 2006 deep poverty.
- i. Both the education level and the life span of the Palestinian society are high in comparison to the population in Arab states.

A significant portion of this population is refugees. According to UNRRA on 2006, more than 700,000 people were registered in the West Bank as refugees.³ According to the organization, "Palestinian Refugees" are those whom their natural residence was Palestine, during June, 1946 and May, 1948, and have lost their homes and property as a consequence of the Israeli-Arab conflict of 1948. This definition includes also their offsprings. The entire Palestinian refugees population living also in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, increased from 914,000 on 1950 (a year after the 1948 war ended), to 4.3 million people on 2005, and is one of the salient and ongoing consequence of the Israeli-Arab conflict. About one quarter of the refugees in the West Bank live in 19 camps, some of which are adjacent to cities and villages.

A high rate of this population lives in disadvantageous conditions. Yet, the condition of the refugee population in the West Bank is better than that in the Gaza Strip, which is larger and live in fewer camps. From 1950 on the UN, through UNRWA (which the UN have decided to establish on 1948), provides different welfare programs for this population. The local population enjoys today also an economic support of different international organizations. On 2004, their support in the Authority's population amounted to 2 billion Dollars and prevented an economic and social collapse of the welfare services. Additionally, the local

population enjoys welfare services provided by the Palestinian Authority agencies and other local welfare organizations.

Since 1967, the economy of the West Bank, like the economy of the Gaza Strip, is based on its relations with Israel's economy, which include, mainly, a transfer of a cheap labor force from the West Bank to Israel and a passage of goods and commodities from Israel to the West Bank and from the West Bank to Israel. Economic relations exist also between the West Bank and Jordan, which serves as a bridge to the Arab world and other states, for the West Bank.

Three years of Intifada (2000-2003) have brought a deterioration of the standard of living in the West Bank, and to a significant increase of the unemployment and poverty rates (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics and the World Bank, 2004). In the period extended from the third quarter of 2000 until the third quarter of 2003, the unemployment rate in the West Bank rose from 7.5% to 22.3%. One consequence of this development is deterioration in the nutrition of the local population, especially among families headed by women, families with a large number of dependants and families in which the breadwinner is uneducated. The main factor which aggravated these conditions was the embargo policy of Israel, which prevents, from time to time, the free passage of the Palestinian workers to Israel.

With the absence of an economic infrastructure in the West Bank, the prevention of workers from the Bank to enter Israel, eliminates a main source of breadwinning, as well as harms the economy, due to a lack of export and import markets for goods and services. The passage restrictions set by Israel within the Palestinian Authority territory, harm the ability of the local population to use the already inferior welfare and health services. The greatest impact is on the refugees population that used to earn a living in Israel mostly. The living conditions of the local population have deteriorated lately, after the rise in the Hamas status as a political force in the Palestinian Authority and the refusal of Israel and the Western countries to acknowledge it.

A.2. Child Abuse: Historical and Sociological Perspective

In the past, researchers tended to distinguish between physical abuse and corporal punishment of children. Some of the reports published in the beginning of the 90's, did not include corporal punishment as one of the forms of physical abuse. Straus (1994a) offers three causes for this disregard: the first cause is that this view is incompatible with the normative system in the United States, which legitimizes corporal punishment of children. The second cause is the distorted perception of the public regarding the phenomenon of physical abuse. The source of distortion is the media reports which relate, mainly, to extreme cases of severe abuse of children, involving sadistic or mentally retarded parents. As a consequence, physical abuse in the shape of corporal punishment, does not receive adequate public attention. The third cause is the lack of satisfactory theories regarding the reasons for and the ways in which corporal punishment develops into child abuse. Yet, from the 90's of the last century, the number of researchers claiming that both phenomena are based upon cultural norms, has increased (Straus, 1994a) and that they should be viewed as a continuum (Straus, 1994b). Additionally, several researchers stated that corporal punishment of children might turn into child abuse (Kadushin & Martin, 1981; Zigler & Hall, 1989; Gelles & Straus, 1988; Graziano, 1994).

Researchers who study punishment patterns of children by their parents, including corporal punishment, agree upon two assumptions. One is that corporal punishment is prevalent in many societies in the world, and the other is that the incidence of this phenomenon differs from one society to the other and from one state to the other. The disagreement between the researchers relates to the causes of the phenomenon and its differential incidence in different societies.

Parents in more than 75% of the societies in the world use, from time to time, corporal punishment toward their children, although only seldom this kind of punishment is preferred to other forms of punishment (Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner, 2006). Additionally, more than 90% of parents in the United States reported spanking a child from time to time (Gershoff, 2002a). According to Korbin (1994), there is a continuum of cultures. At the one end there is the spoiling culture which scarcely uses punishment, while at the other end - societies in which corporal punishment, as a reaction of parents to non-normative behavior of their

children, is widespread. Therefore, the distinction between societies and cultures on the basis of the social support in children corporal punishment is ambiguous.

Bradley & Corwyn (2005) reviewed the extent of the observed and reported corporal punishment by parents in different areas of the world through HOME –an instrument which provides quantitative data regarding parents' behavior. Corporal punishment of children by their parents is one of the measures of this instrument. The results of the studies which used this instrument confirm the claim that corporal punishment of children is a prevalent phenomenon and its extent differs from one state to another, as well as from one society to another within the same state.

Child abuse phenomenon is universal and its origin can be found in the dawn of the history of mankind (Kazarian & Evans, 1998). During different periods in the history and in different societies, children were helpless and served as targets to offense and abuse by their parents and society as a whole. Such attitudes and behaviors are supported by ideological views, mostly religious, which saw the child as given to the mercy of the adult and ignored his wellbeing and needs (Zimrin, 1985).

This attitude is nourished also by the view which sees the child as one who is "in the process of becoming a person" until he will become an independent entity. During the 20th century the view which recognizes the child's rights, the parents' duty to act for the fulfillment of these rights, and the duty of society to guarantee all these, was established, especially in the West. Thus, gradually, a change in society's attitude, from one which perceives child abuse as a normative phenomenon, to an attitude which perceives it as a social problem which necessitate interference on behalf of the state authorities, has occurred (Zimrin, 1985). Yet, this change has not brought its total elimination.

This change, dating back to the 19th century, was expressed in the 20th century, especially in its second half, in legislation, research, public debate initiated by the media, as well as in an increase in the resources allocated by the state for handling the phenomenon (Donnelly, 2005). Following Kemp et al (1962), who coined the term the "Battered Child Syndrome" this issue became one of the central topics in the child welfare research. An important development began in the last few years, while a special attention is given to the position of the women-girls, especially in the third world, as victims of sexual abuse (Shalhoob-Kiburkian, 1998).

Cultural contexts shape a normative parental style (Leyendrecker et al, 2002). Culture is also a main variable which accounts for the changes that took place in the human history, in society's attitudes toward child abuse, as well as in different attitudes that have been shaped in different societies, regarding this issue (Korbin, 2002). Anthropologists have identified in non-western cultures, normative behaviors, which are considered non-normative in the West, since they involve direct or indirect abuse of children. Yet, the non-Westerns claim that the Westerns "do not love their children", or that they don't know how to treat them properly, in the absence of a rigid attitude toward them (Korbin, 1981).

Another evidence which shows that the child abuse phenomenon is cultural contingent, includes the changes which occurred during the years of its definition. In the 60ties researchers focused on limited aspects of the phenomenon and identified it only in cases of an intentional physical offense of children, especially by their parents. During the years, this definition was broadened at least by two ways.

The first is that researchers and policy makers stated that child abuse is not restricted to the physical aspect, and that it includes also mental abuse which has different sources: child rejection by the adult, his isolation, using different means, including verbal ones, to frighten the child, ignoring his needs, and different actions made by adults which may harm the quality of his social relations with significant others in his surroundings (Garbarino, Guttman & Seely, 1989). Navarre (1987) includes in the "mental abuse" category intended and not intended actions, which prevent the child's freedom, cut him off from beloved people and other sources which support him emotionally and confront him with incongruent demands. Another extension of the term includes also sexual abuse.

The second definition of "abuse" also includes refraining from actions which protect the child and his wellbeing. Although these extensions exacerbated the disagreement between researches, therapists and policy makers regarding the extent of the phenomenon, they did not harm the acknowledgment that the child abuse phenomenon is a central target of the welfare programs.

A.3. The Societal Contexts of Corporal Punishment

Most of the research regarding corporal punishment focuses on the effect of this kind of reaction on children's development. The debate regarding this reaction wins the support of some researchers in the United States who claim that mild corporal punishment, such as spanking children, especially in loving families, is not necessarily negative, and might even be positive (Larzelere, 2000). The different views regarding the use of this kind of reaction, are also found at the heart of different definitions of "corporal punishment". Straus (1994a), who is one of the leaders of the resistance to any form of corporal punishment toward children, defines "corporal punishment" as:

"...the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for the purposes of correction or control of the child's behavior" (Straus, 1994a, p.4).

In contrast, Baumrind, Larzelere & Cowan, (2002) who are among the researchers who do not negate corporal punishment in certain circumstances, define "corporal punishment" as:

"...the more moderate application of moderate spanking within the context of a generally supportive parent-child relationship" (Baumrind, Larzelere & Cowan, 2002, pp. 580-581). Both definitions assume, although not explicitly, that severe corporal punishment is harmful to the child and therefore should be prohibited. Yet, there are two differences between them. One is that the second definition differentiates between mild corporal punishment and severe corporal punishment. The second difference is that the second definition states that parents' reaction should be examined in the framework of the overall relationship between children and parents.

In the last few years, several meta-analyses in the field of corporal punishment of children, have been published. Paolucci & Violato (2004) reviewed 70 studies which were published between 1961 and 2000. Most of them (83%) were carried out in the U.S.A. and focused on the effect of mild corporal punishment (spanking), on the behavioral, cognitive and affective domains of children to parents who believe that corporal punishment of children is normative. This meta-analysis shows that this kind of punishment has only a few negative effects on the affective and behavioral development of children, and no effects on the academic

domain, suicidal thoughts, attitudes toward violence or other negative cognitive effects.

Larzelere (2000) reviewed 38 studies which were published in the United States between 1995 and 2000, which investigated the effect of mild corporal punishment (non abusive) and normative on boys. Additionally, the study consulted 21 leading researchers in the field. The main result of this study is that one third of the studies points to the advantages of this kind of punishment, one third points to damages and still another third concludes that mild corporal punishment does not effect teenagers, whatsoever. Negative effects were found in those cases of frequent and severe punishment. In addition, the study presents 8 directives for effective corporal punishment: mild corporal punishment, punishment in which parents are in full control, punishment of children at the ages 2 to 6 years, punishment which is done deliberately, punishment which is done inside the family home, punishment which is motivated by a concern to the child's welfare, punishment which is executed after warning the child, parents are willing to use other means in case corporal punishment appears to be ineffective.

In a study conducted by Gershoff (2002b) she reviewed 88 studies of the effects of punishment, in 10 different life domains: internalization of moral behavior, aggressiveness in childhood, aggressiveness in adulthood, children's delinquency and anti-social behavior, crime among adults and anti-social behavior, quality of parents-children relationship, mental disorders on childhood, mental disorders among adults, physical abuse and abuse by parents and partners who were victims to corporal punishment, as children. Similar to Larzelere (2000), she found that the effects of corporal punishment toward children, is dependent upon the age of the punished child, while its negative effects are more severe, as the child is older, as well as upon circumstances of frequent corporal punishment. Yet, in contrast to the conclusions presented by the above-mentioned two studies, her principal conclusion is the corporal punishment has negative effects. In every one of the 10 domains presented hereinabove, she identified negative effects. Yet, she claims (like some other researchers), that parents-children relationships are a complex phenomenon and the corporal punishment consequences are influenced by the nature of this relationship. According to these analyses and others, Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner (2006) believe that we still don't have substantial and unequivocal conclusions regarding the effect of corporal

punishment on the development and wellbeing of children. They believe that one of the causes for dispute, is an inconsistent use of concepts, including "corporal punishment", as well as the use of different methodologies.

According to Baumrind (1996), spanking children should be examined as one component of an overall pattern of parental style, and its effect is dependent upon the warm atmosphere in the family, as well as upon the use of rational arguments to explain the use of this means, to children. This argument is based on the fact that corporal punishment is one facet of an overall parental style. Sometimes, corporal punishment is one component in a wide set of negative reactions of parents toward their children (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Furthermore, researchers pointed to the negative relationship between corporal punishment of children and affection and attention given to children by their parents. This view supports the distinction made by different groups in the American society, between spanking children, which is permitted by the authorities in some of the states, and other, more severe forms of children's punishment.

One direction of inquiry deals with the issue of what motivates certain parents to use corporal punishment toward their children (Donnelly & Straus, 2005). A fundamental distinction between the different studies is made according to their theoretical orientation. In the literature review presented here, I shall not deal with psychological theories which are outside the scope of the present study. I have categorized the different accounts to three categories, without an explicit reference to a specific theoretical orientation: accounts which focus on the characteristics of the family, accounts which focus on macro-social contexts, and accounts which relate to socio-demographic characteristics of parents.

A.3.1 Corporal Punishment and Family Characteristics

Some of the theories focus on the relations between the family and household characteristics and the use or support by parents of corporal punishment. One of the theories links the household structure to the extent of using corporal punishment. It focuses on the influence of adults – parents or other adults who belong to the extended family – on the use of corporal punishments toward children (Munroe & Munroe, 1980). According to this theory, in case of a parent or both parents who are supported by elderly people, as in extended families, the frequency of corporal punishment is lower than the one in families without this

support. Thus, for example, it was found that in single-parent families, in which the parent enjoys only a little support, corporal punishment of children is frequent (Rohner, 1986).

This theory can be related to theories which deal with the relations between corporal punishment and events in the family, which harm the quality of parent-child relationship. (Pinderhughes et al.,2000;Xu et al.,2000) It also relates to spouses relationships which are characterized by conflicts, which increase the use of corporal punishment (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1995).

Yet, the results regarding the effect of this variable are not unequivocal; some of the studies did not point to a relation between parents' support level and the frequency of using corporal punishment toward children (Levinson, 1989). The results of the study conducted by Ember & Ember (2005), also undermine the arguments of this theory; in contrary to their expectations, it was not found that the presence of other adults in the household, reduces the extent of corporal punishment toward children. Furthermore, they found that in societies in which families have the support of other adults (belonging to the extended family or to the community), the extent of using corporal punishment was higher than that in societies in which families did not have such support.

Another theory which focuses on the family claims that parental styles are learned by parents during their childhood and therefore, corporal punishment shall be more frequent or shall gain more support, among parents who experienced corporal punishment by their parents. This theory is integrated within a more general theory regarding inter-generations transference of violence in the family (Straus & Yodanis, 1996). This variable was found as a mediator to other independent variables. Thus, for example, in a study conducted in North Ireland, a state in which the frequency of using corporal punishment toward children is higher than other Western states, it was found that the extent of inter-generations transference of this style of parental, is influenced by the social status of mothers (Murphy-Cowan & Stringer, 1999); mothers who belong to the middle class who experienced corporal punishment in childhood, oppose to this style and refrain from using it toward their children.

A.3.2. Corporal Punishment and Macro-Social Contexts

Several theories focus on the macro-social contexts of corporal punishment toward children. Their importance lays in the fact that they influence the support level of corporal punishment and especially, supply the normative framework for the activation of this parental style. An extensive research deals with the influence of the religion factor on the use by parents of corporal punishment toward children, or the support they grant it (Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner, 2006). The importance of this factor is not new, yet it is noticeable in the last years in Western societies, especially in the United States, due to the agreement among educators, psychologists and other therapists, regarding the damages of corporal punishment of children, on their development and wellbeing. Christian-Evangelistic Conservative trends in the U.S.A., which gained in the last few years a central stance in the public American discourse in this field (Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner, 2006), perceive the Christian religion principals as an ideological framework which justifies the use of punishment practices toward children, although, in many cases, their stance refers to mild corporal punishment. They present phrases from the Holy Scriptures which, they claim, indicate that refraining from punishing children has negative effect on children's development, an idea expressed in the phrase "He that spareth his rod hateth his son" (Greven, 1991).

Studies conducted in the 90ties, have found that Protestants, Evangelists and Conservatives tend to support spanking children, more than moderate religious groups of Christians (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993; Grasmick & MacGill, 1994).

The effect of residence area on parents' use and support of corporal punishment, was not studied systematically, so far (Gershoff, 2002a). Yet, there is evidence that suggests that this factor is influential. Thus, for example, parents from states in the South of the United States, tend to support corporal punishment, more than parents who live in other areas of the U.S.A. (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993). This result is in accordance with other results regarding the effect of the religion factor in the U.S.A.; in the South, especially in states belonging to the Bible Belt, the overlapping between the variables of the intensity of religiousness and the geographical area is high. In 10 states which belong to this area, the highest rates of corporal punishment at schools in the U.S.A., were found (Gershoff, 2002a).

The legitimacy level parents grant corporal punishment, is sometimes reflected in the lack of legislation which negates corporal punishment of children (Straus & Donnelley, 2005). The influence of this factor can be seen in Sweden that on 1979 was the first state that prohibited all kinds of corporal punishment of children. This development brought about a support of only 15% of parents in this state, of corporal punishment, in 1994 (Durrant, 1999). This legislation was accompanied by programs initiated and activated by the state, with the purpose of granting the use of effective means by parents to assure the obedience of their children, rather than using corporal punishment (Bitensky, 1998). The importance of the legislation in this field, can be seen in U.S.A. in which corporal punishment is highly supported by the American public (Flynn, 1996). Children, teenagers and students support corporal punishment long before they become parents themselves (Graziano & Namasre, 1990; Catron & Masters, 1993). Researchers relate the wide support of Children's corporal punishment by parents in the United States, to a lack of a relevant legislation in most of its states. This support is based on organizations which view corporal punishment as a legitimate means in order to assure the normative behavior of children, and which believe that children are their parents' property, who may treat them as they wish (Gershoff, 2002a).

The Social Complexity variable was found in many studies as the best predictor, yet not necessarily accountable of corporal punishment of children (Ember & Ember, 2005). Complex societies are those with a relatively large population, which include a division of labor and formal mechanisms of social control. According to Levinson (1989), obedience and submission are preferred personality and behavioral characteristics of complex societies. This theory ties the high value given to obedience in society and the use and support of corporal punishment of children (Petersen et al., 1982). Social complexity is not seen by itself as a cause for corporal punishment of children, but rather as an index of the control level of the adults activity in society. In societies in which a high level of control regarding adults' supervision, exists, parents highly value obedient behavior of children and chose physical punishment in order to "get the message" regarding the value of submission and obedience, through (Petersen et al., 1982).

Ember & Ember (2005) have found that the best predictor of the prevalence of corporal punishment in different societies, is social complexity. They have elaborated this theory and found that corporal punishment of children is prevalent

in societies which are characterized by political inequality due to a high level of social stratification and control by a foreign factor. Therefore, they conclude, that corporal punishment of children is a means – which parents are aware or unaware of – for preparing their children to a world of political inequality (Ember & Ember, 2005). This is why, they claim, parents in the U.S.A. who belong to the lower class of society, use frequent corporal punishment toward their children (Lereau, 2003). Yet, in contrast to Petersen et al. (1982), they do not believe that attaching high value to obedience, by parents, necessarily leads to corporal punishment.

Another macro-social theory refers to corporal punishment of children as one component of an overall pattern of violence in society and links this phenomenon to other expressions of violence in society and in the family. The phenomenon of Corporal punishment of children is more prevalent in societies in which higher rates of murders and wars, occur (Ember & Ember, 2005). In addition, Levinson (1989) has found that corporal punishment of children is related to violence against women, violence between siblings and severe punishment of criminals.

A.3.3. Parents' Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Corporal Punishment

An extensive research deals with the relations between parents' socio-demographic characteristics and their support of corporal punishment. Several studies indicate a high correlation between corporal punishment and parents' low economic status (Gershoff, 2002a). Two accounts for this correlation were presented. According to one account, the stress experienced by parents in distress, causes a frequent use of corporal punishment (Stress Spillover hypothesis) (Giles-Sims et al., 1995). According to the second account, the correlation is derived from the context of values of these families, which include the value of obedience to authority, as a preliminary condition to success in life (Socialization Linkage hypothesis) (Kelly et al., 1992). Parents in such families view corporal punishment within the framework of preparing their children to their future low social and economical status. Pinderhughes et al. (2000) found that parents' socio-economic status is an independent mediator variable of corporal punishment. Low socio-economic status families tend to support severe punishment toward children, in comparison to middle class families. This result refers to the use of this means

to solve problems in parent-child relationship, as well as parents' trials to solve problems between siblings in the family.

In several studies it was found that the variables of education, age and sex of parent, effect parent's attitudes toward corporal punishment of their children. Generally, the higher the education level is, the lower is the support in beating children. Young parents tend to use corporal punishment more frequently than older parents (Giles-Sims et al., 1995). In another study, significant differences between different age groups of parents were not found (Straus & Stewart, 1999). It is possible that the frequent use of young parents in corporal punishment points to the short parental experience and a lack of experience in using other means of discipline toward their children (Gershoff, 2002a). In a study which was conducted at the beginning of the 90ties, mothers were found to use more corporal punishment toward their children, than fathers (Straus, 1994a). Perhaps this result expresses the longer time that mothers spend with their children (Gershoff, 2002a). Other studies did not found differences between fathers and mothers regarding their use of corporal punishment (Holden et al., 1995). Gershoff (2002a) did not find in the literature review evidence to the influence of father-son and mother-daughter relationship has on the use of corporal punishment.

Several studies which were conducted in the U.S.A. show that Afro-American or Hispanic origin parents use corporal punishment toward their children, more frequently than American-European origin parents (Gershoff, 2002a). Lassiter (1987) suggested that the stress experienced by Afro-American parents in the American society, "the inheritance of slavery" as well as the collective experience which dates back to the time in which their ancestors lived in the rural South of the United States, encourage them to teach their children values of obedience and respect to authority figures in society.

Another issue which was examined in the context of corporal punishment of children, is the extent of parents acknowledgement of the effectiveness of corporal punishment in different circumstances of non-normative behaviors (Flynn, 1998). In several studies parents' decision to exercise corporal punishment or other forms of punishment, was found to be dependent upon the nature and severity of the non-normative behavior, as well as the extent of responsibility on behalf of the child to this behavior, (MacKinnon-Lewis et al., 1994; Nix et al., 1999). Parents tend to use corporal punishment when they believe that the children's behavior

might endanger them and others, as well as when they believe that their children understand the nature of prohibition and are able to act according to norms (Pinderhughes et al., 2000).

Other issues which were studied in this context, relate to the effect of age and sex of the child upon the parents' support level of corporal punishment. Parents tend to support corporal punishment of children younger than 5 years old and believe that corporal punishment is inappropriate for older children (Flynn, 1998). Yet, parents reported to use more corporal punishment toward 5-8 years old children (Straus & Stewart, 1999). It seems that the results of the studies in this area are inconclusive (Gershoff, 2002a).

A.4. Characteristics of the "Arab Family"

The literature review presented hereinabove, refers to studies conducted in Western societies, mainly in the United States. In the next section I shall review different aspects of characteristics relevant to the issues under consideration in the present study of the Arab society, as well as studies dealing with the child abuse phenomenon in the Palestinian society, parental styles and parents' attitudes toward corporal punishment in this society.

The theoretical starting points for the analysis of parental styles and corporal punishment of children in the Arab society, are the characteristics of the traditional "Arab family", which are different from those of the "modern-Western family". Barakat (1993) specifies four interrelated characteristics of the Arab family: the family is the basic unit of the production process in the Arab family and it is in the center of the economic function of its members; its function pattern is patriarchal; there is a hierarchic relationship, according to criteria of gender and age; and normative behaviors of the individual in this society are regulated through his relation both to the nuclear and to the extended family.

The traditional Arab family is an economic unit and a social one. Its members cooperate with each other, in order to ensure its continuity and its central status in society. The family determines the extent and the quality of the individual's relations with the collective, in the domains of religion, status and culture. Thus, the success and failure of the individual are indicative also of the success and failure of his family. Therefore, the sexual behavior of a woman is indicative of her whole family – an assumption which underlies the phrase "the honor of the

family" (Shalhoob-Kiburkian, 1998). Another implication of the centrality of the family, is that as a social unit, it is committed to the individual, who, consciously, prefers the interests of the collective, to his own interests. Thus, for example, the society expects the woman to give up her own interests, for the interests of her children and her household. It also expects the husband to provide for the family (Barakat, 1993). These assignments are carried on by the couple within the framework of a rigid normative system, which does not allow personal preferences.

Another characteristic of the Arab family is its patriarchic nature (Ginat, 1982). After her marriage, the woman joins her husband's family, and is expected to obey his as well as his family's orders. The high status of the man is derived from his role as the breadwinner of the family while the burden of raising the children and running the household, is imposed on the woman. This fact creates a special bond between the mother and her children. The high status of the man is based on a cultural tradition which praises his strength. Yet, this status cannot be isolated from the economic-employment structure characteristics of the Arab society, especially the gender division. Its importance is demonstrated in the changes in occupation patterns of women in the last years in the Arab society, of which the most salient is their participation in the labor market, sometimes even outside the local community. As a consequence, the man ceased to be the sole breadwinner of the family, and the relationship between the spouses went through a democratization process, which is also a source of conflict to them (Abu-Baker, 1985; Barakat, 1993). These changes are especially prevalent in Arab societies which went through urbanization and modernization processes, in which the state has increased, in the last years, its involvement in the social and economic domains. As a consequence, traditional families' characteristics were noticeably preserved in tribal, rural and poor Arab societies, although they were also copied to urban societies (Barakat, 1993).

Another characteristic of the Arab family is a hierarchic structure based on gender and age criteria. Thus, the groups at the bottom of the stratified structure, include, except the poor, women and children (Barakat, 1993). The submissive status of the woman in the Arab society, has several manifestations: limiting her activity to the private realm because of severe norms which prohibit her from acting in the public realm; most of her functions are defined in relation to her

family; she is being discriminated in regarding to family and inheritance; and the existence of a rich cultural tradition, especially religious, which ascribes her negative images, sometimes even diabolical.

Researchers disagree regarding the value of the different factors which influenced this status of women. Some believe it derived from the Islam principals, especially, its interpretations, while others, such as Barakat (1993), believe that economic factors have influenced women's status. Yet, it is agreed that the woman's functions in the Arab society and her family gain a great amount of legitimization by the Islamic law, which is integrated with traditional, patriarchal and authoritative norms (Al-Haj, 1987; Barakat, 1993). Her status is lower than that of the men in her family – her brothers (especially those older than herself), her husband and even his parents . She is a source of support for her husband and children and performs most of the affective roles in the family, as well as the household works and the care of children. This division of functions is fed by the strong mutual dependency of the family members, which is expressed by an economic support, taking care of children, house work and social support (Al-krenawi, 2001). Denial of support from one of its members, or a threat of denial, might harm the self confidence of the threatened family member and cause him fear and anxiety (Haj - Yahia, 1994) . Her family members ascribe a great importance to the functions of the woman as a mother, and less to her functions as a wife, on the basis of the belief that children grant validity to the marriage and strengthen them, and a mother's love is considered stronger than the love of a woman to her spouse (Barakat, 1985).

The attitude of the Arab family to the child, as to other members of the family, is based on collective norms which ascribe a secondary importance to the fulfillment of the individual's interests, in comparison to those of the whole social unit (Harwood et al., 2001). In cases of preference of collective values to individualistic ones, children are the primary target for punishment, when they behave non-normatively. Thus, the purpose of sociology of the child in this society is to encourage a behavior with is in accordance with the values of society. In contrast, Ferrari (2002) believes that in collectivistic societies there is also a high level of devotion to the individual.

This trend is salient in cases in which the Arab population is part of a general population, with individualistic or mild-collectivistic orientations. This rule

applies not only to the Arab population. Rattner, Yagil & Pedhszur (2001) have identified two groups within the Israeli society, which ascribe a favored status to religion derived rules, political ideals and cultural values which stem from their origin society. Both groups tend to take the law into their hands and reject norms that prescribe respecting the laws of the state. This result is compatible to other results derived from studies conducted in other states, in which ethnic and immigrant groups adopted different life patterns, from those of the general society.

The Arab society shares some characteristics with the extended family. That is, the familial relations of family members, in the different realms of life, extend beyond their activity and commitment derived from their membership in the nuclear family. The individual is obligated also to the wider framework of the family, and the last is obligated to his wellbeing and support him and his nuclear family, in times of distress. Similar to other changes that the Arab family is going through, as a consequence of macro-social processes, in the last years – industrialization, urbanization, the rise of the middle class and the increase in welfare activity in the welfare field – there has been a decrease in the significance of the extended family, in the Arab society. Yet, this trend did not abolished the close relationships which characterize the extended family, relationships which are preserved, for example, even after immigration processes and other circumstances in which physical distance is created between the members of the family, especially in times of distress (Barakat, 1993).

The changes in the Arab society, which brought about the changes in the Arab family, influenced several premises in the study of the Arab society and family, which doubt the monolithic nature of the phrases "Arab society" and "Arab family". There are two sources for this doubt. The first is that the phrases "Arab society" and "Arab family" are homogeneous categories which do not reflect the diversity of the family patterns of the last years, in the Arab world. This diversity is expressed by differences in the economic development that is sometimes accompanied by democratic-political development. These have empowered the variation in family patterns, in different Arab states. The second is that characteristics of "Western" family patterns exist in Arab states, beside "traditional" family patterns. Thus, for example, in some of the states, public spheres are open to women, yet, the patriarchic nature of the family is preserved

and woman are prohibited from acting in different realms – a prohibition which still gains social legitimacy, in spite of the inherent stress created by these developments.

The decline in the status of the extended family and the reduction of its functions, have contributed to an increase in the significance of the nuclear family (Haj-Yahia, 1994). Yet this trend did not grant it effective means such as those which were granted in the past to the extended family (Haj-Yahia ; Bargal & Guterman, 2000). As a consequence, it was helpless against the new needs of its individuals, due to modernization and urbanization processes. In addition, the new functions of the nuclear family created within it stresses which were not dealt by it, in the past, such as those that are rooted in the participation of women in the labor force.

A.5. Parental Styles in the "Arab Family"

Parental style in the Arab society is collective and shared by the mother and the father (Dwairy et al., 2006), who create, together, one instructional unit – "Ahel", and are responsible for the discipline of their children. Other adults from the extended family participate in raising the children, taking care of their needs and keeping an eye on their development. This is one expression of the significance of the extended family in the Arab society. It ensures that children will always be under the supervision of adults, even when their parents are away. Another differentiating characteristic of the parental style in the Arab society which prepares the children to a division of labor according to gender, and to partiality between man and women, is monitoring the sexuality of the woman (Shalhoob-Kiburkian, 1998; Hassan, 2000).

According to Dwairy et al. (2006) the extreme authoritarian socialization in the Arab society has different meanings and results, than those in the Western society. Children in the Arab society see the authoritarian parental style as a normative liability of their parents. The researchers report a study which took place among Egyptian students which showed that 65% of the female students and 34% of the male students, support values of obedience and submission to parents. In another study reported by them, which took place among college female students in Saudi Arabia, it was found that 68% of them reported that they have been punished at different periods of their lives. Yet, 66% of them justified this

style. This study shows that women tend to identify with traditional norms of parental style, even when they are victims of such norms. This result supports the theory of inter-generations transference of corporal punishment toward children and violence in the family.

In the last years, empirical evidence show that there is no "Arab parental style", but rather diverse forms of the "Arab family". This diversity is demonstrated in the study of Dwairy et al. (2006) who examined parental styles in 8 Arab states and societies (Yemen, Palestinians in Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, the Palestinian Authority, Jordan and Lebanon) through reports made by 2,893 boys and girls from these states. The theoretical starting point of their study is that parental style is an expression of macro-social processes, mainly political, which brought, in the last years, to a diversity of parental styles in different Arab states.

Following Baumrind (1991), Dwairy et al. (2006) identified three parental styles: authoritarian, authoritative and permissive, which differ in two dimensions: the first is the warmth and attention that parents bestow on their children, and the second is the intensity of supervision by parents. The authoritarian parental style is characterized by the close supervision by parents of their children, with the purpose of reducing their autonomy. It is accompanied by the demand that children will obey the rules dictated to them by adults, without a protest. Additionally, the affection expressions of parents toward their children are minimal. Only seldom they calm down their children verbally, show affection or praise their actions. A second parental style, the permissive style, characterizes parents who encourage the autonomy of their children and their ability to make decisions. The third style, the authoritative style combines both extreme styles.

The researchers found that the prevalent parental style among the Palestinian population living in the Palestinian Authority, is a combination of the authoritarian and authoritative styles. They claim that life under the Israeli occupation prevent them from expressing a permissive parental style. In addition, this population regards Israel as a part of the Western world and therefore, its rejection of the Western (permissive) parental style, is seen by it as a part of its struggle to keep its political and cultural identity (Dwairy et al., 2006). Palestinians in Israel also tend to adopt a mixed parental style. According to researchers, this trend may reflect the dual culture in which this population lives; a

combination of a collective culture, characterized by authoritarian style, with a modern-Western parental style, which characterizes the Israeli society, as a whole. Another result of their study (Dwairy et al., 2006), is that boys from rural and urban areas reported authoritarian parental style, more frequently, in comparison to girls. Yet, in contrast to their hypothesis, no differences were found in parental styles between urban and rural societies. The researchers believe that this result confirms results of previous studies that families in the Arab world, who immigrated from the village to the city, tend to keep the traditional-rural characteristics of parental style, they have brought from their region of origin. Another result of this study is that permissive parental style is more frequent in parents' treatment of firstborn children. No relationship was found between parental style and education level or economic status; the high earning individuals continue to keep a traditional parental style even after they go through urbanization and modernization processes. Yet, the researchers postulate that these processes have taken place only recently and their effect is not yet discernible in the parental style among these families (Dwairy et al., 2006).

A.6. Child Abuse in the Palestinian Society

Several studies have been published in the last years regarding the exposure level of Palestinian boys and girls – in Israel and in the Palestinian Authority – to violence, adults' attitudes toward such phenomena and their stated willingness to report those cases. Several studies, including those of Haj-Yahia and other researchers, examined evidences of violence in the family and child abuse, through reports of Palestinian youth. Haj-Yahia & Dawood-Noursi (1998) conducted a study which included 832 Palestinian adolescents in Israel and examined the use of tactics for solving conflicts with their siblings. The result show high prevalence of violence in these families: about 60% of the participants reported that at least one of the parents shouted at them and about 40% reported being insulted by at least one of their parents.

In another study, Haj-Yahia & Ben-Arie (2001) examined the exposure of 1,640 Arab boys and girls in Israel to violence in the family. The main result was that these boys and girls were exposed to high rates of physical and psychological violence, expressed by their parents against each other. Their reports referred to the following situations: violence of the father toward the mother, violence of the

mother toward the father, and violence of the mother and father toward the participants. Thus, for example, the researchers found that about 17% reported that they saw their father threatening to throw an object on their mother, at least once, during the year preceding the study.

The researchers have also found a significant correlation between reports of the youngsters regarding violence between their parents and their reports regarding violence of their parents, toward them: about 58% of the participants who reported a severe mental abuse of their father toward their mother, reported also of being harmed by their father themselves. The highest exposure rates to violence were reported by boys who were harmed by their father, girls who were harmed by their mothers, big families, elder fathers, Muslim and Druse families and boys who live in small rural settlements. According to the researchers, these results support the Family Resources Theory which assumes that a lack of resources is one of the main causes to distress in the family, which, in turn causes manifestations of violence. The results support also the Learning Theory according to which children in Arab families who are exposed to violence, tend to abuse their siblings.

In another study which examined the exposure of Palestinian boys to violence in the family, Haj-Yahia & Abdo-Kaloti (2003) examined 1,185 reports of Palestinian boys who live within the Palestinian Authority territory. They found high rates of reports regarding different kinds of violence in the family. The highest rates of exposure to violence were found among the following groups: girls who were harmed by their mothers, boys to parents with a low level of education, boys from Muslim families, boys from families that live in refugee camps and rural settlements and parents with low income. The researchers have also found a correlation between these independent variables. Thus, for example, Muslim parents are less educated than Christian parents and their income is lower than that of Christian parents. The researchers believe that these results should be seen in the context of the political reality in the Palestinian Authority territory. In spite of the fact that the function of the social services in the Arab population was not the focus of study, the researchers believe that in analyzing the exposure to violence in the family, in the Arab society in Israel, the low level of the social services in the Arab population, in comparison to those in the Jewish settlements in Israel should be taken into consideration.

Shalhoob-Kiburkian (1998) specifies the single context which characterizes the problem of violence against women-girls, in the Arab-Palestinian society, as different from its descriptions by researchers. After the war of 1948 and the displacement of a large Palestinian population outside the borders of Israel/Palestine, the Arab family has been the sole "social and cultural shelter" for the population that has lost its land and home. This view prevented reforms in the family values while women and girls who were victims of abuse and even sought help, were seen by their surroundings as defying against tradition.

Abud-Halabi (2004) examined the definitions of 240 Arab parents who live in Israel regarding different situations of harming and neglecting children, as well as their willingness to report such cases to different factors in the nuclear and the extended family, the police and the welfare services. She found that Arab parents highly agree with the professional literature definitions regarding the different situations of child abuse. Yet, the intensity of agreement differed according to different domains of abuse and negligence: a strong agreement was documented regarding definitions of physical harm and sexual abuse of children, and a relatively weak agreement regarding psychological abuse and negligence.

Another issue that was examined in this study is the relation between cultural values of parents and their willingness to report different cases of child abuse and negligence: parents who hold traditional views regarding parent-child relationships, tend to report less frequently to the nuclear family on psychological abuse of children, as well as to the welfare services regarding sexual and physical harm. The researcher points to the importance of the cultural factor in shaping the report patterns of parents to different factors in the family and outside it, in the case of a psychological abuse. Yet, similar to other researchers studying the Palestinian society, she claims that the report patterns of child abuse, are shaped also by political and social contexts. A long discriminating policy of the state of Israel in the welfare sphere, toward the Palestinian society, has intensified familial-traditional assistance patterns, which gained high legitimatization in the Arab society, in the absence of a satisfactory array of welfare services on behalf of the state and its authorities.

Haj-Yahia & Shor (1995) examined the attitudes and the awareness of Palestinian Social Sciences students, from three universities in the West Bank, toward non-normative behaviors of children. Regarding 10 out of 12 situations

presented to the students, the general willingness of the students to report cases of abuse, was lower than 64%. A high willingness to report was related to sexual abuse cases. The researchers explain these results in light of the political and social situation and the under-development of services which fail to support these families in such distress. Another factor which, according to the researchers influenced the willingness of the students to report such cases, is the negative attitude of the Arab culture toward the pervasion of public factors to the family realm. Another result of this study is the tendency of the participants to ascribe the risk factors for child abuse to the individual realm and less to social factors.

A small number of empirical studies focused on contexts of corporal punishment in the Arab society (rather than on child abuse as a general phenomenon) and parents' support level of corporal punishment. In a study that took place in Kuwait among 321 families which are treated by the authorities, as families in which child abuse was discovered (Qasem et al., 1998), the relationship between parents attitudes toward corporal punishment of their children and socio-demographic characteristics of parents, was examined, as well as the relation between these attitudes and the personal experience of parents of corporal punishment, in childhood. The study examined parents' attitudes regarding punishment in the context of 11 severe non-normative behaviors. The salient result of this study is the about 85% of the parents supported corporal punishment toward children and 54% supported severe corporal punishment. The support of corporal punishment was higher among Kuwaiti citizens from Bedouin origin and among participants with a low level of education. Yet, the study does not present an overall picture regarding parents' attitudes in this issue, since it consists upon parents who are involved in abuse of their children.

Dwairy (1998) examined the educational methods and the perceptions of Arab parents in Israel regarding negative behaviors of their children, and their reactions to these behaviors. No differences were found between mothers and fathers. Similar reactions were also found in parents' attitudes toward non-normative behaviors of the girls in the family. A review conducted among married Palestinian women, who live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, presents their

willingness to use violence against children, in cases of non-normative behaviors.⁴ Following are the main results of this study (the original report of the results does not include data regarding their statistical significance):

- a. About half of the participants oppose the use of violence against children from both sexes. The resistance to violence against boys is greater than the resistance to violence against girls.
- b. 18.1% of the women support the use of mild violence against children from both sexes. This support is more prevalent in regard to boys, in comparison to girls (19.8% and 16.3%, respectively).
- c. The rate of women who support violence against children is 6.7% (7.5% against boys and 5.8% against girls).
- d. The resistance to use violence against both sexes is more prevalent in the Gaza Strip, than in the West Bank.

The data from the review appears in the home page of the Central Bureau of Statistics of the ⁴ Palestinian Authority and it does not include any references to the identity of the researchers and the circumstances in which it took place.

Section B: Queries and Hypotheses

On the basis of the literature review I presented two main queries:

- a. What is the support level of Palestinian parents in the use of different forms of corporal punishment toward their children?
- b. What is the effect of the following variables on parents' support level of using corporal punishment toward their children: parents' socio-demographic characteristics, age and sex of the child, the nature of the non-normative behavior and its frequency of occurrence?
- c. A secondary query is what is the support level of parents in their spouse, when he/she punishes their children?

The following hypotheses relate to the nature of the relation between socio-demographic variables of parents and their support level in using corporal punishment in cases of non-normative behavior of their children.

The hypotheses presented here are based on the theoretical and empirical literature which deals with attitudes and behaviors of parents regarding abuse and corporal punishment of children. The hypotheses relate both to single non-normative behaviors and to reoccurring non-normative behaviors.

1. A correlation shall be found between parents' age and his/her support level in corporal punishment in case of non-normative behaviors of his/her children, so that the younger the parent, the more supportive he/she shall be of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his/her children.
2. A correlation shall be found between fathers and mothers regarding their support level of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of their children.
3. A correlation shall be found between Christian and Muslim parents regarding their support level of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of their children, so that Muslim parents shall be more supportive than Christian parents of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of their children.
4. A correlation shall be found between the residence place of the parent and his/her support level of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his/her children, so that parents living in refugees camps and villages shall

be more supportive than parents living in cities of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of their children.

5. A correlation shall be found between the family income and the support level of the parent of using corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his/her children, so that the lower the family income, the stronger the parent's support of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his/her children.
6. A correlation shall be found between the number of children in the family and the parent's support level of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his/her children, so that the greater the number of children in the family the stronger the support of corporal punishment shall be.
7. A correlation shall be found between the parent's education level and his support level of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his children, so that the lower the parent's education level, the higher his support level of corporal punishment, shall be.
8. A correlation shall be found between the parent's experience as a victim in childhood and his support level of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his children, so that parents who were victims as children shall be more supportive of corporal punishment as a reaction to non-normative behaviors of their children than parents who were not victims in their childhood.

Section C: Methodology

C.1. Research Population

The sample included 890 parents to children living in the Palestinian Authority territory (the West Bank). The data regarding this population and its attitudes toward corporal punishment, were gathered through a questionnaire which was distributed among the population. 1040 questionnaires were distributed in two ways: questionnaires which were handed to high school students and students in some of the universities in the West Bank, who were asked to give them to their parents and to return them to the researcher a few days later, and questionnaires which were handed to parents living in villages and refugee camps. 890 questionnaires were returned and analyzed. The questionnaire was anonymous, in order to ensure the privacy of the respondents.

C.2. Research Instruments

The tool which was used in the study is a close-end questionnaire in the Arabic language, which includes a description of social non-normative behaviors among children, that was developed by Haj-Yahia (1999)⁵ who examined its face value and its content value. The questionnaire was used on 2001 by two students of Social Work from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, under the guidance of Haj-Yahia (1999) (the developer of the questionnaire), yet, the results of the study were not published so far, therefore the validity level is not clear.

I revalidated the questionnaire, asking two experts of Social Work (who did not participate in the study), with a Doctor's degree or a higher degree, who have a rich experience as Social Workers and more than 5 years of teaching that subject in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, to express their opinion on whether the questions examine the concepts and whether according to their evaluation, the questions are compatible with the conceptual definitions. Besides, a preliminary sample was created, which included 20 parents (who did not participate in the study) in order to examine the quality of the

I have received the consent of Prof. Haj-Yahia to use the questionnaire for the present study⁵

questionnaire and its appropriateness. According to the remarks which were obtained, I phrased some of the questions differently, in order to clarify them.

For the purpose of examining the reliability of the questionnaire, Kronbach Alpha tests were made regarding each measure separately, and regarding the questionnaire as a whole. The measures which were built for the purpose of the analysis are described below in the data analysis section. Kronbach Alpha tests showed a high reliability in all the measures and in the questionnaire as a whole. Kronbach Alpha scores were within the range of 0.9 and 0.97. Only regarding parents' experience of being punished in their childhood a Kronbach Alpha score of 0.79 was received.

Following are the non-normative behaviors of children which were presented to the participants:

- a. Telling a lie or speaking shamelessly.
- b. Stealing from the house or damaging property in the house.
- c. Smoking or drinking alcohol.
- d. Low achievements of the child at school.
- e. Cursing the parents or other relatives.
- f. Cursing God, religion or the prophets.
- g. Being attacked in the neighborhood or at school by one of the children and not defending oneself.

Regarding each of these behaviors, the parent was asked to express his/her support level regarding the use of the following reactions:

- a. Hitting the child with an object.
- b. Hitting the child or hitting in certain areas of the body.
- c. Preventing from the child objects that he likes.
- d. Reprimanding the child.
- e. Advising the child.
- f. Ignoring the non-normative behavior.

Regarding each of these behaviors the parent was asked to express his/her stance in case the behavior is single and in case it is a reoccurring behavior.

The questionnaire included also questions which examined:

- a. The differentiation on behalf of the parents between punishing boys and punishing girls.
- b. The differentiation on behalf of the parents in punishing different age groups of children.
- c. Parents' attitude toward situations in which their partner punishes the child.

Regarding each of these situations, the study examines the relationship between the participants' reactions and the following independent variables:

- a. Parent's age.
- b. Parent's gender.
- c. Parent's religion.
- d. Parent's residence area.
- e. Economic status of the parent's family.
- f. Number of children in the parent's house.
- g. Parent's education level.
- h. Whether or not the parent was a victim of violence in childhood.

C.3. Research Procedure

The data regarding the variables of the study was gathered from the questionnaire which included closed ended questions. 1040 questionnaires were distributed in two ways:

- a. Questionnaires which were given to high-school students and students in some of the universities in the West Bank. They were asked to give them to their parents and to return them to the researcher a few days later.
- b. Questionnaires which were given directly to parents living in villages and refugee camps.

890 questionnaires were returned and analyzed in 4 stages.

In the first stage of the analysis, I created the index of corporal punishment.

Corporal punishment refers to each of the following reactions:

- a. Hitting a child or slapping him in different areas of the body.
- b. Hitting a child with an object.
- c. Corporal punishment (an index which is composed of hitting the child or slapping him in different areas of the body and hitting the child with an object).

The second stage included a descriptive analysis of the main independent variable – the socio-demographic characteristics of parents.

In the third stage of the study I analyzed the correlation between these characteristics and the parents' support level of corporal punishment.

In the fourth stage I analyzed the correlation between parents' support level of corporal punishment and the other independent variables: sex and age of the child, the nature of the non-normative behavior and the frequency of occurrence of such behavior.

Section D: Results

D. 1. The Participants

The sample included 890 parents who live in the West Bank. Table 1 presents their demographic and their socio-economic characteristics. About 64% of the participants are females and the rest are males. The parents' age mean is about 35 years and the median is 34 years. 19.2% of the parents are older than 45 while 13/2% are younger than 25. Both the mean and the median of number of children in the family are 4.2. 11% of the parents have one child, while 26.1% have 6 children or more. In regard to religion, about 5% are Christians and the others are Muslims. About 46% of the parents live in villages, and a similar rate of parents live in cities. Only 7.3% reported living in refugee camps. 46% of the parents are academics, although only a small rate has high degrees (Master or Doctor). 29.5% of parents did not finish 12 years of education. About 58% of the parents work as wage earners or as self employed and about 4.3% are unemployed. The rest of the participants included women who do not participate in the labor force but rather work as housekeepers in their own house. The distribution of the monthly family income shows that the income of about two thirds of the families is 3,000 Shekels, or less, and only 6% earned more than 6,000 Shekels a month.

**Table 1: Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics
of Participants (N=890) in Percentage**

Characteristic	Distribution in percentage	Characteristic	Distribution in percentage
Total	100.0	<u>Education:</u>	
<u>Sex:</u>		Less than 8 years of study	6.7
Male	35.8	8-11 years of study	22.7
Female	64.2	12 years of study	24.2
<u>Age:</u>		Bachelor's Degree, Seminar or College	41.7
Under 24	13.2	Master's Degree and Doctor	4.7
25-30	24.8	<u>Occupation:</u>	
31-35	19.5	Wage earner	45.3
36-40	14.9	Self-employed	12.5
41-44	8.4	Unemployed	4.3
+45	19.2	Housewife	37.9
Mean	35.4	<u>Monthly Family Income</u>	
Medium	34.0	Up to 1,000 shekels	19.1
<u>Number of children:</u>		1,001-2,000 shekels	22.0
1	11.0	2,001-3,000 shekels	25.1
2	17.1	3,001-4,000 shekels	10.7
3	18.4	4,001-5,000 shekels	13.3
4	15.5	5,001-6,000 shekels	3.8
5	11.9	6,001-7,000 shekels	3.1
+6	26.1	More than 7,000 shekels	2.9
Mean	4.2	<u>Residence:</u>	
Medium	4.0	City	45.6
<u>Religion:</u>		Village	46.1
Muslims	94.4	Refugee Camp	7.3
Christians	5.4	Other	1.0
Others	0.2		

D.2. Constructing the Indices

Creating the indices relied on the content of the questions in the questionnaire. Each question in the questionnaire was originally composed on the basis of logic and theory, as belonging to the content realm of the index which is being measured. The indices were calculated as an arithmetic summation (mean) of the variables included in them. The indices of the dependent variable included the parents' attitudes toward the following reactions, which were presented in the questionnaire:

- a. The parent's attitude toward beating the child or slapping him in different parts of his body.
- b. The parent's attitude toward hitting the child with an object.
- c. The parent's attitude toward corporal punishment (an index which combines parent's attitude toward beating the child or slapping him in different parts of his body, with parent's attitude toward hitting the child with an object).
- d. The parent's attitude toward non-corporal punishment (preventing the child from having things he likes).
- e. The parent's attitude toward not punishing the child (advising the child or ignoring his non-normative behavior).

These five reactions relate to the following episodes:

- a. The child had lied or spoke shamelessly.
- b. The child had stolen things from the house or damaged property.
- c. The child's academic achievements are low.
- d. The child had cursed his parents or other family members.
- e. The child had cursed God, religion or the prophets.
- f. The child had not defended himself when he had been attacked by other children.

The participants were asked to report their attitudes toward punishing their children, in regard to two frequencies of occurrence of the non-normative behavior of their child: a reoccurring behavior and a single one. Accordingly, the summative indices of the parent's attitudes toward punishment (the dependant variables) were constructed in a similar manner for a reoccurring as well as for a single episode. The indices of the parent's attitude toward punishing the child (corporal and non-corporal), extend between 1 and 4, when the higher values reflect less agreement with punishing the child and vice versa. The index of

parents' experience with punishment in their own childhood, extends from 1 to 5, while the higher values reflect a higher experience in being punished in childhood. For the analysis, I constructed the last index anew, by categorizing its values intuitively to three categories: low, medium and high experience of being punished in childhood.

D.3. Background Characteristics of Parents and their Support of Non-Corporal Punishment

In this section of the study, I shall present the effect of socio-demographic characteristics of parents, on shaping their attitudes toward corporal and non-corporal punishment of their children, when they are involved in non-normative behaviors. As aforesaid, parents' attitudes were examined regarding two frequencies of occurrence of the non-normative behavior: reoccurring and single. Thus, this effect was examined separately regarding reoccurring non-normative behavior, as well as regarding single non-normative behaviors.

D.3.1. Parents' Age and Attitude Toward Punishment in Case of Non-Normative Behavior

I hypothesized that the younger the parent is, the more supportive he shall be of corporal punishment, in case of a non-normative behavior of his children. In order to examine this hypothesis, I used an ANOVA variance analysis of the independent variable. The hypothesis in case of a reoccurring non-normative behavior was examined regarding each of the dependant variables, separately; the dependant variable in the first hypothesis was parent's attitude toward corporal punishment of the child; in the second hypothesis the parent's attitude toward slapping the child or hitting him in different parts of his body; the third hypothesis the parent's attitude toward hitting the child with an object; the fourth hypothesis the parent's attitude toward non-corporal punishment of the child; and in the fifth hypothesis, the parent's attitude toward non-punishment. These hypotheses were similarly examined in cases of a single occurrence of the non-normative behavior, regarding each of the dependant variables. The independent variable was parent's age (24 or younger/25-30/31-35/36-40/41-44/45 or older). The summary of results of a reoccurring non-normative behavior of the child, is presented in Table 2 and

the summary of results of a single non-normative behavior of the child, is presented in Table 3.

The variance analysis revealed a significant effect of parent's age on parent's attitude toward corporal punishment in case of involvement of his child in a single non-normative behavior [($p < 0.0345$, $F(5,794) = 2.42$),], as well as on the parent's attitude toward beating the child and slapping him in different parts of his body when he is involved in a single non-normative behavior ($p < 0.0409$, $F(5,789) = 2.33$). Younger parents (under 24) support corporal punishment of the child, more than older parents. A simultaneous TUKEY analogy revealed a significant difference in parent's attitude toward corporal punishment of the child, as well as beating the child and slapping him in different parts of his body, between the group of parents aged 24 or less, and the group of parents aged 31-35 years, while the last group was less supportive of this kind of punishment.

**Table 2: Variance Analysis of Parent's Age and
Reoccurring Non-Normative Behavior of the Child**

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Age						Statistica l Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		Under 24	25- 30	31- 35	36- 40	41- 44	45 +			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	108	20 3	160	122	69	15 7	1.65	0.144	
	mean	2.71	2.8 7	2.92	2.83	2.95	2.8 2			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	108	20 3	160	122	69	15 7	1.9	0.0919	
	mean	2.33	2.5	2.58	2.58	2.57	2.5 3			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	108	20 3	160	122	69	15 7	1.55	0.172	
	mean	3.16	3.2 4	3.27	3.11	3.32	3.1 1			
Non-Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	108	20 3	160	122	69	15 7	1.8	0.1111	
	Mean	2.04	2.2 2	2.16	2.2	2.25	2.2 9			
Non- Punishment	No. of cases	108	20 3	160	122	69	15 7	0.5	0.7765	
	Mean	2.32	2.3 4	2.3	2.32	2.28	2.3 2			

*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable
(Significance - 5%)

Table 3: Variance Analysis of Parent's Age and Single Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Age						Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		24	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-44	45+			
Corporal punishment	No. of cases	104	200	156	119	69	15	2.42	0.0345	Under 24 in comparison to 31-35
	Mean	3.03	3.19	3.25	3.16	3.25	3.11			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	102	200	155	118	69	15	2.33	0.0409	Under 24 in comparison to 31-35
	Mean	2.74	2.9	3.01	2.96	3.0	2.91			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	100	199	156	118	69	15	2.09	0.0647	
	Mean	3.42	3.49	3.5	3.39	3.51	3.32			
Non-Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	103	201	158	120	69	15	1.56	0.1702	
	Mean	2.42	2.55	2.45	2.47	2.62	2.61			
Non-Punishment	No. of cases	108	203	160	122	69	15	0.95	0.4475	
	Mean	2.43	2.49	2.48	2.49	2.45	2.44			

*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)

D.3.2. Parent's Sex and Attitude Toward Punishment in Case of Non-Normative Behavior

I hypothesized that fathers' and mothers' attitudes toward non-normative behaviors, differ, so that mothers support corporal punishment of their children when they are involved in non-normative behavior, more than fathers. In order to examine this hypothesis, I used T Test for independent variables, of the dependant variable. As aforesaid, the hypothesis was examined regarding each of the dependant variables, separately. The independent variable was parent's sex (male/female). The summary of results regarding a reoccurring non-normative behavior of the child, is presented in Table 4 and the summary of results regarding a single non-normative behavior of the child is presented in Table 5.

The T Test revealed a significant effect of the parent's sex on the parent's attitude toward hitting the child with objects, when he is involved in reoccurring non-normative behaviors ($t(839)=2.06$, $p<0.0401$) and in a single non-normative behavior ($t(831)=2.53$, $p<0.0117$). A significant effect of parent's sex on parent's attitude toward non-corporal punishment of the child when he is involved in reoccurring non-normative behavior, was also found ($t(850)=3.53$, $p<0.0004$), as well as on his attitude toward non-punishment of the child when he is involved in single non-normative behaviors ($t(853)=2.23$, $p<0.0257$). I found out that fathers supported, more than mothers, hitting the child, and less than mothers, non-corporal punishment and non-punishment.

Table 4: T Test of Parent's Sex and Reoccurring Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Sex		Statistical Value F	Significance P
		Male	Female		
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	301	545	0.25	0.8027
	Mean	2.85	2.86		
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	301	543	1.41	0.1579
	Mean	2.58	2.51		
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	300	541	2.06	0.0401
	Mean	3.14	3.25		
Non Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	303	549	3.53	0.0004
	Mean	2.32	2.14		
Non Punishment	No. of cases	304	550	0.26	0.7918
	Mean	2.32	2.32		

Table 5: T Test of Parent's Sex and Single Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Sex		Statistical Value F	Significance P
		Male	Female		
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	300	539	1.52	0.1277
	mean	314	3.21		
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	298	536	0.36	0.7208
	mean	2.92	2.94		
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	298	535	2.53	0.0117
	mean	3.37	3.48		
Non Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	301	540	1.39	0.1636
	mean	2.57	2.51		
Non Punishment	No. of cases	305	550	2.23	0.0257
	mean	2.44	2.49		

D.3.3 Parent's Religion and Attitude Toward Punishment in Case of Non-Normative Behavior

I hypothesized that there is a difference between Muslim and Christian parents' attitudes toward non-normative behavior of their children, so that Muslim parents are more supportive than Christian parents, of corporal punishment when their child is involved in non-normative behavior, since the Christian population in the West Bank is more educated and more well-established than the Muslim one. In order to examine this hypothesis, I used a T Test for independent samples, on the dependant variable. As aforesaid, the hypothesis was examined regarding each of the dependant variables, separately. The independent variable was parent's religion (Muslims/Christians). The summary of results regarding reoccurring non-

normative behavior of the child, is presented in Table 6 and the summary of results regarding single non-normative behavior of the child, is presented in Table 7.

The T Test revealed a significant effect of parent's religion on the parent's attitude toward corporal punishment of the child: beating the child and slapping him in different parts of his body and hitting the child with objects, when he is involved in reoccurring as well as single non-normative behaviors.

Muslim parents supported corporal punishment and beating the child, more than Christian parents.

Table 6: T Test of Parent's Religion and Reoccurring Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Religion		Statistical Value F	Significance P
		Muslim	Christian		
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	828	45	5.88	0.0001
	Mean	2.83	3.42		
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	826	45	6.23	0.0001
	mean	2.49	3.19		
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	822	45	4.16	0.0001
	mean	3.18	3.65		
Non Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	832	47	0.56	0.5784
	mean	2.21	2.15		
Non Punishment	No. of cases	836	47	0.84	0.4002
	mean	2.32	2.28		

Table 7: T Test of Parent's Religion and Single Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Religion		Statistical Value F	Significance P
		Muslim	Christian		
Corporal Punishment	no. of cases	820	45	4.73	0.0001
	mean	3.16	3.58		
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	816	44	5.68	0.0001
	mean	2.91	3.48		
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	813	45	2.97	0.003
	mean		3.71		
Non Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	822	47	0.48	0.6298
	mean	2.53	2.48		
Non Punishment	No. of cases	837	47	0.98	0.3265
	Mean	2.47	2.42		

D.3.4. Type of Residence and Attitude Toward Punishment in Case of Non-Normative Behavior

I hypothesized that there is a difference between parent's attitude regarding corporal and non-corporal punishment in case of the child's involvement in non-normative behaviors, according to their residence, so that parents who live in refugee camps or villages, support corporal punishment of their children, more than parents who live in cities. In order to examine this hypothesis, I used an ANOVA variance analysis of the dependant variable. As aforesaid, the hypothesis was examined regarding each of the dependant variables, separately. The independent variable was parent's residence (city/village/refugee camp/other). The

summary of results of reoccurring non-normative behavior of the child, is presented in Table 8 and the summary of results regarding single non-normative behavior of the child, is presented in Table 9.

Table 8: Variance Analysis of Parent's Residence and Reoccurring Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Residence				Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		city	Village	Refugee camp	other			
Corporal punishment	no. of cases	387	399	63	9	2.7	0.0446	Refugees camp versus other
	mean	2.88	2.83	2.98	2.35			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	no. of cases	386	398	63	9	3.94	0.0083	Refugees camp versus city ;other versus other
	mean	2.54	2.51	2.72	1.87			
Hitting the child with objects	no. of cases	381	399	63	9	1.69	0.1675	
	mean	3.26	3.17	3.23	2.84			
Non Corporal Punishment	no. of cases	394	398	63	9	2.92	0.0332	Village versus city
	mean	2.13	2.28	2.24	2.14			
Non Punishment	no. of cases	395	400	63	9	1.37	0.2521	
	mean	2.31	2.33	2.31	2.13			

*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)

The variance analysis revealed a significant effect of parent's residence on parent's attitude toward corporal punishment of the child, beating the child and slapping him in different parts of his body, both when he is involved in

reoccurring, as well as single non-normative behaviors. A significant effect of parent's residence on parent's attitude toward non-corporal punishment regarding a reoccurring non-normative behavior, was also found.

Parents who live in refugee camp is less supportive of corporal punishment, beating the child and slapping him, than parents who live elsewhere. Additionally, parents who live in the city is more supportive of non-corporal punishment of the child in cases of reoccurring non-normative behaviors, than parents who don't live in the city.

A simultaneous TUKEY analogy show a significant difference in parent's attitude toward beating the child and slapping him in different parts of his body, between the group of parents who live in refugee camps and the group of parents who live elsewhere (not including cities or villages). Yet, it should be noted that the number of observations in each residence was relatively small (9 cases). Regarding a single behavior, a significant effect was found between parents who live in refugee camps and parents who live in cities or in villages. As aforesaid, parents who live in refugee camps were less supportive of beating the child or slapping him.

**Table 9: Variance Analysis of Parent's Residence and
Single Non-Normative Behavior of the Child**

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Residence				Statistical Value F	Significance p	Simultaneous Analogy*
		city	village	Refugee camp	other			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	380	399	62	9	2.81	0.0386	
	mean	3.18	3.16	3.36	2.89			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	378	397	61	9	5.08	0.0017	Refugee camp versus each of the others
	mean	2.93	2.91	3.21	2.49			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	375	397	62	9	0.71	0.5471	
	mean	3.46	3.43	3.53	3.3			
Non Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	390	394	61	9	2.32	0.0739	
	mean	2.46	2.58	2.61	2.66			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	395	401	63	9	2.44	0.0629	
	mean	2.46	2.48	2.52	2.23			

*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)

D.3.5. Number of Children in the Family and Attitude Toward Punishment in Case of Non-Normative Behavior

I hypothesized that the greater the number of children in the family, the stronger the parent's support of corporal punishment is. In order to examine this

hypothesis, I used an ANOVA variance analysis of the dependant variable. As aforesaid, the hypothesis was examined regarding each of the dependant variables, separately. The independent variable was the number of children of the parent (one child/two children/three children/four children/five children/six children or more). The summary of results regarding reoccurring non-normative behavior of the child is presented in Table 10, and the summary of results regarding single non-normative behavior of the child, is presented in Table 11.

The variance analysis revealed a significant effect of the number of children in the family on the parent's attitude toward corporal punishment, beating the child and slapping him in different parts of his body, and hitting the child with objects, when he is involved both in reoccurring and single non-normative behaviors.

I found that parents who have one child are less supportive of corporal punishment in general and of beating the child or slapping him, in particular, in comparison to parents who have at least two children. A simultaneous TUKEY analogy revealed a significant difference in attitude toward corporal punishment and beating the child, between the group of parents who have one child, and the group of parents who have 6 children or more, while the first are less supportive of corporal punishment and beating the child, than the last.

Table 10: Variance analysis of Number of Children in the Family and Reoccurring Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Number of Children in the Family						Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		1	2	3	4	5	+6			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	96	15	15	13	10	226	3.07	0.0093	a parent to one child versus parent to 6 children or more
	mean	3.05	2.88	2.95	2.82	2.85	2.77			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	96	14	15	13	10	225	2.82	0.0157	a parent to one child versus parent to 4 and versus parent to 6 children or more
	mean	2.76	2.59	2.68	2.45	2.56	2.47			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	95	14	15	13	99	225	2.83	0.0154	a parent to one child versus parent to 6 children or more
	mean	3.37	3.27	3.28	3.21	3.19	3.08			
Non corporal Punishment	No. of cases	96	15	16	13	10	225	1.12	0.3465	
	mean	2.22	2.15	2.13	2.21	2.32	2.24			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	96	15	16	13	10	227	1.79	0.1132	
	mean	2.33	2.29	2.31	2.32	2.28	2.37			
*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)										

**Table 11: Variance Analysis of Number of Children in the Family and Single
Non-Normative Behavior of the child**

Parent's Attitude		Number of children in the Family						Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		1	2	3	4	5	+6			
Corporal punishment	No. of cases	95	15	15	13	99	22	3.03	0.0101	a parent to one child versus parent to 6 children or more
	mean	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.0			
		3	8	5	9	7	8			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	95	14	15	13	98	22	2.49	0.0297	a parent to one child versus parent to 6 children or more
	mean	3.1	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.8			
		2	3			4	6			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	94	14	15	12	98	22	2.67	0.021	a parent to one child versus parent to 6 children or more
	mean	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.3			
		7	8		9	4	4			
Non Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	96	14	16	13	10	22	1.24	0.2897	
	mean	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.5			
		4	6	1	1	1	6			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	96	15	16	13	10	22	0.3	0.9102	
	mean	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.4			
		7	7	6	5		8			
*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)										

D.3.6. Parent's Education and Attitude Toward Punishment in Case of Non-Normative Behavior

I hypothesized that the lower the education level of the parent, the stronger his support in corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of their children, is. In order to examine this hypothesis, I used an ANOVA variance analysis of the dependant variable. As aforesaid, the hypothesis was examined regarding each of the dependant variables, separately. The independent variable was parent's education (less than 8 years of study/8-11 years/high-school/seminar, college or Bachelor's Degree/Master's Degree or Doctor). The summary of results of reoccurring non-normative behaviors of the child, is presented in Table 12 and the summary of results of single non-normative behaviors of the child, is presented in Table 13.

The analysis revealed a significant effect of parent's education on each of the dependant variables, both regarding reoccurring and single non-normative behaviors of the child. Parent's education had a substantial and consistent effect, regardless of the type of non-normative behavior or its occurrence frequency. The parent's support level in all types of punishment – corporal punishment, beating the child as well as non-corporal punishment - decreased, with the rise in education level, especially among parents with Master Degree or Doctors, who were less supportive of corporal punishment and beating the child, than other parents.

A TUKEY simultaneous analogy show a consistent, significant difference in all the dependant variables between educated parents with Master's Degree or Doctor's, and other groups of education level. As aforesaid, the first were less supportive of corporal punishment, beating the child and non-corporal punishment of the child.

Table 12: Variance Analysis of Parent's Education Level and Reoccurring Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Education Level					Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		Less than 8 years	8-11 years	High school	Seminar College or Bachelor's Degree	Master's degree or Doctor			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	59	193	208	363	41	16.25	0.0001	
	Mean	2.59	2.68	2.79	2.98	3.35			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	59	192	207	363	41	16.64	0.0001	Master's Degree and Doctor versus the other groups
	mean	2.24	2.33	2.43	2.67	3.09			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	59	193	204	361	41	9.8	0.0001	Master's Degree and Doctor versus the other groups bachelor's ; Degree versus 8-11 years
	mean	2.94	3.03	3.18	3.31	3.61			
Non corporal Punishment	No. of cases	59	195	211	364	41	0.65	0.6245	Master's Degree and Doctor versus the other groups except Bachelor's Degree; Bachelor's Degree versus the other groups, except Master's Degree and Doctor
	mean	2.27	2.16	2.21	2.2	2.33			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	59	198	212	364	41	4.65	0.001	Master's Degree and Doctor versus the other groups; Bachelor's Degree versus 8-11
	mean	2.25	2.3	2.3	2.33	2.49			
*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)									

Table 13: Variance Analysis of Parent's Education Level and Single Non-

Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Education					Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		Less than 8 years	8-11 years	High school	Seminar College or Bachelor's Degree	Master's degree or Doctor			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	59	192	203	361	41	15.98	0.0001	Less than 8 years and 8-11 years versus Bachelor's Degree, Master's Degree and Doctor; high school versus 8 years or less
	mean	2.86	3.06	3.11	3.29	3.57			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	59	191	201	359	41	16.96	0.0001	Master's Degree and Doctor versus the other groups Except Bachelor's Degree; Less than 8 years and 8-11 years versus high school and Bachelor's Degree
	mean	2.64	2.78	2.83	3.07	3.42			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	59	190	201	358	41	10.86	0.0001	Master's Degree and Doctor versus ;the other groups Bachelor's Degree versus less than 8 years
	mean	3.09	3.36	3.41	3.54	3.71			
Non corporal Punishment	No. of cases	59	191	208	361	41	2.85	0.0229	Master's Degree and Doctor versus the other groups except Bachelor's Degree; Bachelor's Degree versus less than 8 years
	mean	2.49	2.47	2.44	2.61	2.71			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	59	198	212	365	41	8.79	0.0001	Master's Degree and Doctor versus the other groups except Bachelor's Degree; Bachelor's Degree versus less than 8 years and 8-11 years
		2.33	2.42	2.45	2.5	2.66			
<p>*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)</p>									

D.3.7. Parent's Family Income and Attitude Toward Punishment in Case of Non-Normative Behavior

I hypothesized that the lower the family income, the higher is the parent's support of corporal punishment of his child. In order to examine this hypothesis, I used an ANOVA variance analysis on the dependant variable. As aforesaid, the hypothesis was examined for each of the dependant variables, separately. The independent variable was the monthly family income (1,000 Shekels or less/ 1,001-2,000 Shekels/2,001-3,000 Shekels/3,001-4,000 Shekels/ 5,000 Shekels or more). The summary of results regarding reoccurring non-normative behaviors of the child, is presented in Table 14 and the summary of results regarding single non-normative behavior of the child is presented in Table 15.

The variance analysis revealed a significant effect of family income on parent's attitude toward corporal punishment in general, beating the child and slapping him in different parts of his body and hitting him with objects, when he is involved in reoccurring, as well as single non-normative behaviors. A significant effect of family income was also found on parent's attitude toward non-punishment, in case the child is involved in single non-normative behavior.

I found out that parents from families with a monthly income higher than 5,000 Shekels, were less supportive than parents with lower income, of corporal punishment in general, and with beating the child, in particular.

A TUKEY simultaneous analogy revealed a significant difference regarding corporal punishment and beating the child, between parents in families with income higher than 5,000 Shekels and parents in families with income lower than 1,000 Shekels. As aforesaid, the first were less supportive of corporal punishment and beating the child. Regarding parent's reaction toward single non-normative behavior, a significant effect was found between parents in families with income lower than 1,000 Shekels and families with income of 2,001-3,000 Shekels.

Table 14: Variance Analysis of Family Income and Reoccurring Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Family Income						Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		1000 Shekels or less	1001-2000 Shekels	2001-3000 Shekels	3001-4000 Shekels	4001-5000 Shekels	5000 Shekels or more			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	164	185	212	92	110	85	2.84	0.0149	1000 Shekels or less versus 5000 Shekels or more
	mean	2.7	2.87	2.87	2.85	2.94	2.99			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	162	185	212	92	110	85	2.46	0.0318	
	Mean	2.38	2.59	2.53	2.44	2.61	2.65			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	163	184	210	92	110	83	3.05	0.0097	1000 Shekels or less versus 5000 Shekels or more
	mean	3.03	3.16	3.23	3.25	3.27	3.38			
Non corporal Punishment	No. of cases	163	187	214	92	113	85	1.11	0.353	
	Mean	2.23	2.22	2.27	2.1	2.13	2.16			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	164	188	216	92	113	85	0.56	0.7304	
	Mean	2.3	2.32	2.32	2.28	2.34	2.34			
*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)										

Table 15: Variance Analysis of Family Income and Single Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Family Income						Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		1000 Shkels or less	1001-2000 Shekels	2001-3000 Shekels	3001-4000 Shekels	4001-5000 Shekels	מעל 5000 Shekels			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	162	183	210	92	110	83	4.96	0.0002	1,000 shekels or less versus 5,000 Shekels or more; 4,000-5,000 Shekels; 2,000-3,000 Shekels
	mean	3.0	3.16	3.22	3.19	3.23	3.34			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	159	181	210	92	110	83	3.6	0.0031	1,000 shekels or less versus 5,000 Shekels or more; 2,000-3,000 Shekels
	mean	2.76	2.95	2.98	2.91	2.98	3.09			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	162	180	209	90	109	83	4.82	0.0002	1,000 shekels or less versus each of the other categories
	mean	3.25	3.42	3.48	3.52	3.5	3.59			
Non corporal Punishment	No. of cases	161	184	211	92	112	84	0.62	0.6839	
	mean	2.48	2.57	2.56	2.47	2.48	2.56			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	164	189	216	92	113	85	3.31	0.0057	1,000 shekels or less versus 1,001-2,000 Shekels
	mean	2.4	2.5	2.49	2.4	2.48	2.52			
*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)										

D.3.8. Parent's Experience of Being Punished in his Childhood and Attitude Toward Punishment in Case of Non-Normative Behavior

I hypothesized that parents who were punished in their childhood, are more supportive of corporal punishment toward non-normative behavior of their child, than parents who were not punished. In order to examine this hypothesis, I used an ANOVA variance analysis on the dependant variable. As aforesaid, the hypothesis was examined regarding each of the dependant variables, separately. The independent variable was parents experience of being punished in his childhood (little experience/medium experience/considerable experience). The summary of results regarding reoccurring non-normative behavior of the child is presented in Table 16 and the summary of results regarding single non-normative behavior of the child is presented in Table 17.

The variance analysis revealed a significant effect of parent's experience of being punished as a child, on each of the dependant variables, regarding reoccurring as well as single non-normative behaviors of the child.

I found out that parents who experienced a considerable degree of corporal punishment in their childhood, were more supportive of corporal punishment, beating the child and non-corporal punishment.

A TUKEY simultaneous analogy revealed a significant difference in all the dependant variables between the group of parents who experienced only light punishment in childhood, and the group of parents who experienced a high degree of punishment in childhood. As aforesaid, the last were more supportive of corporal punishment, beating the child and non-corporal punishment.

Table 16: Variance Analysis of Parent's Experience of Being Punished as a Child and Reoccurring Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Experience in being punished in childhood			Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		Little experience	Moderate experience	Rich experience			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	685	149	35	10.31	0.0001	Considerable versus medium and light
	mean	2.91	2.78	2.44			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	683	149	35	5.26	0.0053	Light versus considerable
	mean	2.58	2.43	2.24			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	680	149	35	13.55	0.0001	Considerable versus medium and light
	mean	3.26	3.12	2.64			
Non corporal Punishment	No. of cases	690	149	35	3.0	0.0503	Light versus considerable
	mean	2.23	2.21	1.93			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	694	149	35	3.13	0.0444	
	mean	2.33	2.27	2.26			
*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)							

**Table 17: Variance Analysis of Parent's Experience of Being Punished as a Child
and Single Non-Normative Behavior of the Child**

Parent's Attitude		Parent's Experience of Being Punished as a Child			Statistical Value F	Significance P	Simultaneous Analogy*
		light	medium	considerable			
Corporal Punishment	No. of cases	679	149	35	9.3	0.0001	Considerable versus medium and light
	mean	3.21	3.11	2.81			
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	No. of cases	675	148	35	6.28	0.002	Considerable versus light
	mean	2.97	2.84	2.63			
Hitting the child with objects	No. of cases	674	149	35	11.2	0.0001	Considerable versus medium and light
	mean	3.48	3.4	2.99			
Non corporal Punishment	No. of cases	682	148	35	3.13	0.044	Considerable versus light
	mean	2.56	2.49	2.27			
Non Punishment	No. of cases	694	150	35	1.94	0.144	
	mean	2.48	2.43	2.44			
*TUKEY Simultaneous Analogy of Means According to Pairs of Groups of the Independent Variable (Significance - 5%)							

The variance analysis revealed a significant effect of parent's experience of being punished in childhood, on the dependant variables regarding most of the single, non-normative behaviors of the child, similar to the overall effect on the reoccurring non-normative behaviors of the child. This significant effect of parents' attitude toward punishing the child, was common to the following single non-normative behaviors: the child lied or spoke shamelessly; the child stole things from the house or caused damage to property; the child smoked or drank

alcohol; the child cursed his parents or other relatives; the child cursed God, religion or the prophets. Parents who experienced a considerable degree of punishment in their childhood, were more supportive of punishing the child in case of reoccurring non-normative behavior, than single one, in comparison to other parents.

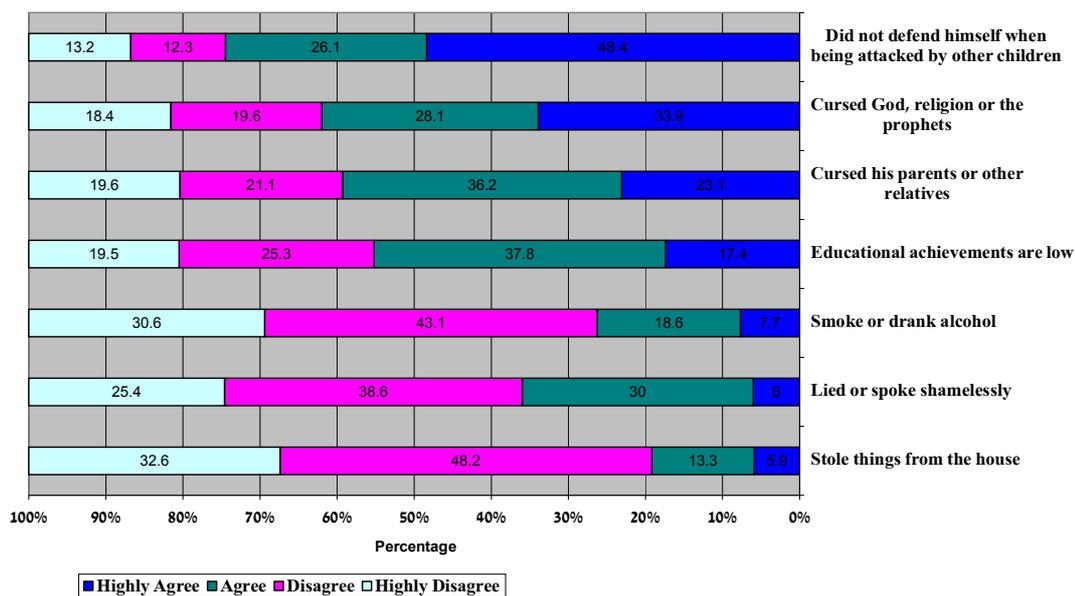
D.3.9. Severity Degree of Parent's Attitudes toward Non-Normative Behaviors

The questionnaire examined parents' attitudes toward punishing the child regarding several reoccurring as well as single non-normative behaviors which were presented to the participants. I examined which of the non-normative behaviors were seen by parents as severe, regardless of parents' characteristics. Diagrams 1-4 present the parents' support level of punishing their child, by beating or slapping him, and hitting him with an object. These two reactions were measured regarding each of the non-normative behaviors, separately, in reoccurring as well as single frequency of occurrence. The main result which was found from the analysis of these diagrams is that the participants express a high level of support to use these punishments when the child curses God, religion or the prophets. Parents tended not to agree to use these means, especially when the child lied or did not defend himself, against attack of other children.

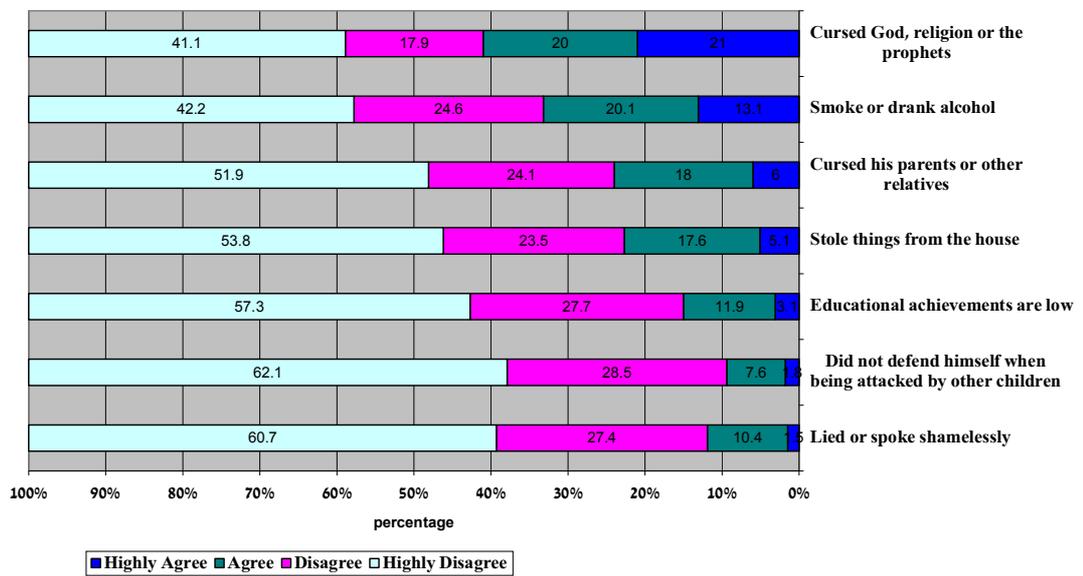
Another issue examined in this context, was the effect of frequency of occurrence of the non-normative behavior, on the support level in each of these punishment. By comparing Diagrams 1 and 3 (beating the child or slapping him, in regard to reoccurring and single non-normative behavior), it seems that parents' reaction is severe when the child does not defend himself from being attacked by others, repeatedly. Regarding such behavior, about half of the parents (48.4%) support beating the child or slapping him. In these circumstances parents' reaction is more severe than the one toward cursing God, religion or the prophets. Yet, when the behavior is single, parents tend to punish the child when he curses God, religion or the prophets. In these circumstances, their attitude toward the child's behavior of refraining from self-defence, is the most forgiving. The comparison of

Diagrams 2 and 4 suggests the effect of hitting the child with objects. In these circumstances, parents' behavior is more consistent, while parents are strict regarding a single and reoccurring cursing, yet they are consistently more forgiving in regard to two behaviors: lying or speaking shamelessly, and not defending oneself when being attacked by other children.

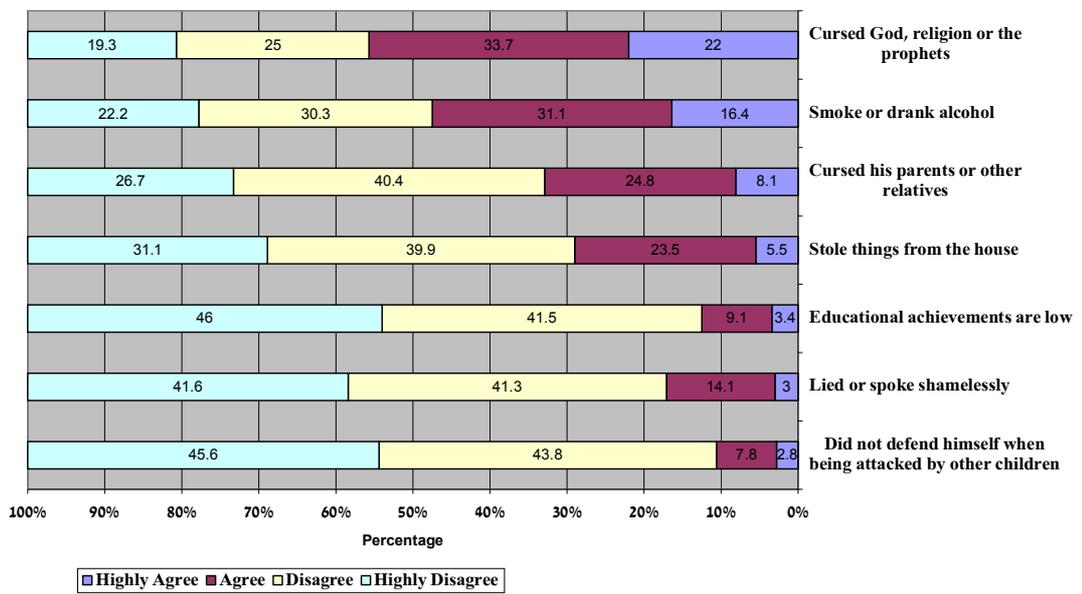
Graph 1: Level of Support of Beating or Slapping the Child – Recurring Behavior



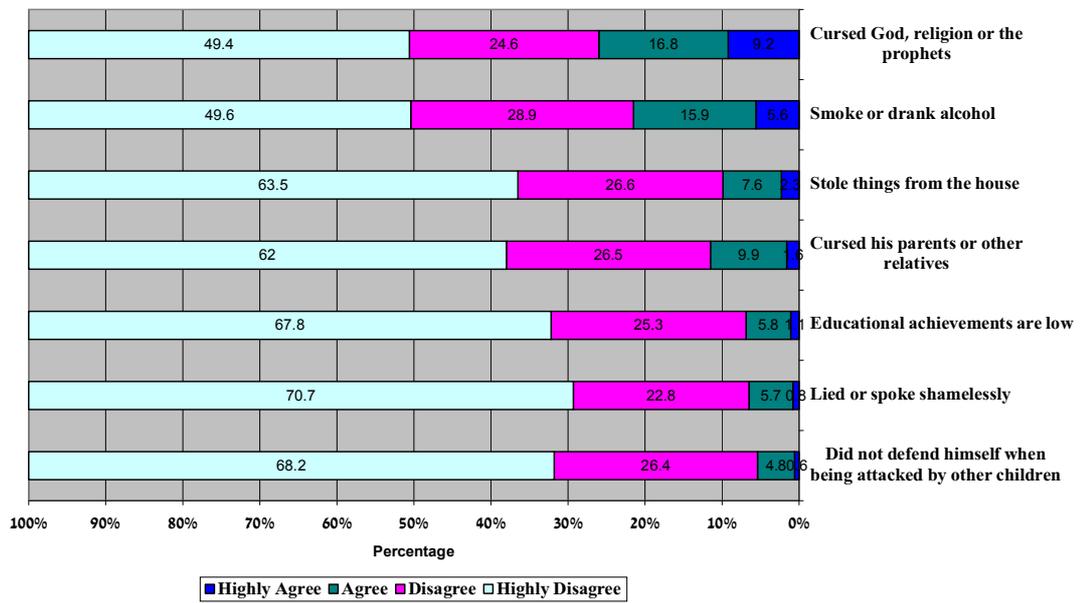
Graph 2: Level of Support of Hitting the Child with Objects – Recurring Behavior



Graph 3: Level of Support of Beating or Slapping the Child – Single Behavior



Graph 4: Level of Support of Hitting the Child with Objects – Single Behavior



D.3.10. Common Punishments Used by Parents for Punishing their Child

According to Table 18 it can be seen that the punishment most agreed upon by the participants toward a reoccurring behavior was advising the child, followed by reprimanding the child. The punishment which was the least supported by parents was ignoring the child's behavior, followed by beating the child with objects. Regarding the single behavior, the punishment patterns are identical. The punishment which was the least supported was hitting the child with objects, followed by ignoring the child.

Table 18: Parents Support Level of Using Various Punishments Regardless of the Non-Normative Behavior of the Child

Type of Punishment	Reoccurring Behavior		Single Behavior	
	No. of Observations	Average Level	No. of Observations	Average Level
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	876	2.54	865	2.94
Reprimanding the Child	884	1.75	883	1.99
Advising the Child	884	1.27	887	1.27
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	861	3.53	864	3.33
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	884	2.21	874	2.54
Hitting the Child with Objects	872	3.22	863	3.45

D.3.11. Parents' Attitudes Toward Slapping the Child According to Child's Sex and Age

The parents were asked separately regarding their support level of slapping the child in certain situations such as disobedience, and when the child endangers himself, according to the child's sex and age. The distribution of parents' answers to these questions is presented in Table 19.

Table 19: Parents' Attitude Toward Slapping the Child, According to Child's Sex and Age

Attitude Toward Slapping the Child, According to Child's Sex and Age	No. of Observations	Distribution (in percentage)
According to Child's Sex		
Total	871	100.0
Boys Only	52	6.0
Girls Only	4	0.5
Boys and Girls Alike	476	54.6
Don't Approve Whatsoever	339	38.9
According to child's Age		
Total	864	100.0
Only Child at the age of 5 or younger	116	13.4
Child at the age of 5-12	249	28.8
Child at the age of 12-15	50	5.8
Child at the age of 16 or older	8	0.9
Child at any age	142	16.4
Don't Approve Whatsoever	299	34.7

From the analysis of the results presented in Table 19, it seems that only about 39% of the parents did not support slapping the child, regardless of his/her sex. The rest of the participants supported slapping the child. Among the parents who supported slapping the child, 89% supported slapping boys and girls alike, while only

a small rate of the parents supported slapping girls only. About 35% of the parents refused to slap the child, regardless of his age. Among this group 44% supported slapping children between the ages of 5-12 and about 21% of them supported slapping only children younger than 5 years. Only 1% of the parents supported slapping a child who is older than 16. Among them, about a quarter supported slapping a child at any age.

D.3.12. Parent's Attitude Toward Punishment of the Child by their Spouse

I asked the participants to their attitude toward punishment of the child by their spouse. The distribution of their answers is presented in Table 20.

Table 20: Parents' Attitude Toward Punishing the Child by their Spouse

Parent's Attitude Toward Punishment of the Child by his/her Spouse	No. of Observations	Distribution (in percentage)
Total	883	100.0
Always Approve of Punishment	17	1.9
Usually Approve of Punishment	52	5.9
Parents' Attitude is Dependant on the Reason for Punishing	446	50.5
Usually Oppose Punishment	211	23.9
Always Oppose Punishment	157	17.8

According to the data presented in Table 20, it seems that the common parents' attitude (50.5%) toward the punishment of the child by their spouse, depends on the reason for punishment. About 2% of the parents always support the punishment given by their spouse and about 6% usually support it. About 18% always oppose the punishment and about 24% usually oppose the punishment.

Section E: Discussion

Introduction

In this study Palestinian parents living in the West Bank were asked to state their support level of using six different reactions regarding seven non-normative behaviors of the child, which were presented to them. The non-normative behaviors included: a lie or shameless behavior, stealing from the house or causing damage to its property, smoking or drinking alcohol, low grades at school, cursing the parents or other relatives, cursing God, religion or the Prophets and being attacked in the neighborhood or at school and not defending oneself. Regarding each of these behaviors the parent was asked to express his support level of using each of the following reactions: hitting the child with an object, hitting the child in different parts of his body, preventing from the child things he likes, reprimanding the child, advising the child, or ignoring his non-normative behavior. Regarding each of these reactions, the parent was asked to express his support level, both in case of reoccurring behavior and as a single one.

In the data processing I referred to the relation between eight socio-demographic characteristics of the parent and his support level of corporal punishment. These relations were presented in the second section of the study, as eight hypotheses, Each relating to a different soci-demographic characteristic of the parent or his family (age, sex, religion, type of residence, family income, number of children in the family, education and personal experience as a victim in his childhood). All hypotheses were based on the relevant theoretical and empirical literature reviewed in the literature review section.

a. Effect of Parents' Sociodemographic Characteristics on Support of Corporal Punishment: Hypotheses and Findings

I hypothesized that the younger the parent is the more supportive he is of corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his children.

In general I found that the younger group of parents (24 or younger) tends to support corporal punishment of the child more than other age groups. In the variance analysis a significant effect of age on parent's attitude toward

corporal punishment of his child when he is involved in single non-normative behavior was found, as well as of parents attitude toward beating the child and slapping him in different parts of his body when he is involved in single non-normative behaviors.

I hypothesized that mothers support corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of their children more than fathers.

In contrast, I found that fathers were more supportive of beating the child and less supportive of non-corporal punishment and non-punishment.

A main issue discussed in the theoretical literature is the relation between the level of religiosity and the support level of corporal punishment. Most of the theoretical discussions relate to the religiosity among Christians and the main conclusion is that strict Christian parents are also strict regarding punishing their children.

The issue of religiosity of Muslims was not discussed in the framework of this literature. However, I hypothesized that Muslim parents are more supportive than Christian parents in corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of their children, since they are less educated and their income is lower.

The results of the study support this hypothesis. I found that Muslim parents were more supportive than Christian parents of corporal punishment and beating of the child.

I hypothesized that parents who live in refugee camps and villages are more supportive than parents who live in cities of corporal punishment of their children who are involved in non-normative behavior. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that the economic status of the refugee camps inhabitants is lower than that of the city dwellers and therefore they shall be more supportive of corporal punishment than city dwellers.

Contrary to the hypothesis I found that parents that live regularly in the refugee camps were less supportive than parents who live in other types of residence of corporal punishment beating a child and slapping him.

I hypothesized that the lower the parent's family income is his support in corporal punishment toward non-normative behaviors of his children is stronger.

The results of the present study confirm the hypothesis. I found that parents in families with a high income (more than 5,000 Shekels a month) were less supportive than parents with a lower income with corporal punishment in general and beating the child, in particular.

I hypothesized that families with more children are more supportive of corporal punishment than families with fewer children.

In the variance analysis a significant effect was found of the number of children in the family on parent's attitude toward corporal punishment, beating the child, hitting him in different parts of the body and hitting the child with objects when he is involved in reoccurring as well as single non-normative behaviors. I found that parents to one child were less supportive than parents with two or more children, of corporal punishment, in general, and of beating the child, in particular.

Researchers agree that the lower the education level of the parent the stronger is his/her support of corporal punishment in cases of non-normative behavior of his/her children.

The results of the present study confirm these findings. The support level of all types of punishment – corporal punishment, beating the child and non-corporal punishment – decreased with the rise in parent's education level. This decrease is especially apparent among parents with Master's Degree or Ph.D.

I hypothesized that parents who experienced victimization in childhood are more supportive of corporal punishment than parents who did not. I found that parents who were more severely victimized as children were more supportive of corporal punishment and of beating the child than other parents.

In summary, six of the eight hypotheses which were examined in the study were confirmed. The results of the study confirmed the hypotheses regarding the following variables: parents' age, parents' religion, parent family income, number of children in the family, parents' education level and parents' experience as victims in their childhood. The study did not confirm the hypotheses relating to parent's sex and to parents' type of residence. . It is worth noting that the empirical results regarding the difference in attitudes toward corporal punishment of fathers and mothers are inconclusive, and there is no substantial theory to explain why do fathers and mothers differ in their attitudes toward corporal punishment of their children. I can not suggest any explanation for the fact that parents who live in the refugee camps are less supportive of corporal punishment than parents who live in cities. In order to explain this result a more focused analysis is needed, which might explain differences in parental styles. between parents who live in refugee camps and those who live in cities. .

b. The Severity Parents Attach to Non-Normative Behaviors

I found that parents react in different degrees of severity to non-normative behaviors of their children. The reoccurring non-normative behavior of the child, which received the most severe reaction was cursing God, religion or the Prophets, and the behavior which got the least severe reaction was not defending oneself when attacked by other children or lying. The most severe reaction for these non-normative behaviors can be ascribed to the fact that most of the subjects are Muslims and cursing religious figures is seen by them as highly non-normative behaviors. I cannot suggest any substantial explanation to the forgiving reaction of parents to lies or avoidance of self-defence. Yet, this forgiveness is not compatible with results of studies that show that parents' reaction to children that may harm themselves physically is severe.

c. The Effect of Child's Sex and Age on Corporal Punishment

One of the questions I presented to the subjects was their support level of spanking the child as a reaction to non-normative behavior. This question was presented separately from other forms of corporal punishment, yet, it did not relate to specific non-normative behaviors . This issue was examined here separately because of the

ongoing debate in American society regarding the use of mild corporal punishment. which is discussed in the theoretical literature review section .

I found that only about 39% of the parents refused to spank the child regardless of his/her sex. The rest of the participants supported this reaction. The comparison of this result to the support level of spanking in other countries is problematic, since research findings are unequivocal. Yet, it seems that the support level of spanking in this study is lower than found in research.

I examined also the differentiation parents do in their reactions between boys and girls as well as the differentiation they do towards different age groups. I found that among parents who support slapping the child there was no significant differentiation in the use of corporal punishment between boys and girls. Yet, parents who support slapping the child differentiate the use of this reaction toward different age groups.

d. Mutual Support of the Spouses Regarding Punishment

One of the questions I presented to the parents related to the support level they grant their spouse when he/she punishes their children. I found that in most cases their support is a reserved one. Only 2% of the participants reported that they always support their spouse when he/she punishes their children and more than 40% always or usually oppose the punishment. More than half of the participants claimed that their support level is dependant on the reason for punishment. The general picture from these answers is that the cooperation between the spouses holds a potential for conflict regarding the proper reaction to the non-normative behavior of their children.

e. Implications for Practice

As a Palestinian, a social worker and a social work teacher I feel committed the welfare of Palestinian population in the West Bank. Therefore, my interest in this study and its results exceeds their theoretical contribution. Most of the theoretical and empirical studies in this field were published in Western countries, especially in the United States. However, The political, religious and social contexts of these studies differ from those in the West Bank. As a result much of the "Western" body of knowledge should be applied with utmost care.

A support for this position I found in studies published in the last years regarding cultural sensitive care intervention. From the 80s of the last century the recognition in the importance of cultural factors to the development of the practice of social work and the issue of child abuse has been established (Korbin, 1981, 1994). One of the factors which motivated the establishment of this approach was the immigration of non-Western ethnic groups to Western societies. This development and the parallel spread of views regarding cultural pluralism have encouraged researchers' and welfare policy makers' view that the educational and welfare authorities should express a greater sensitivity to the needs of immigrants and ethnic groups and develop social work which has been named "Multicultural Social Work", "Ethnic-Sensitive Social Work" or "Culturally Sensitive Social Work" (Weaver, 1998; Green, 1999; Gray, 2003; Leshem & Roer-Strier, 2003; Ben-David & Amit, 1999).

A cultural-sensitive approach in social work has penetrated also in the last decade to the research and treatment of the Arab population in Israel as well as to other populations in the Israeli society (Leshem & Roer-Strier, 2003). It is based on the premise that in spite of the changes that the Arab society in Israel has went through in the last years differences between its values and culture and those of the social work profession still exist (Haj-Yahia, 1994, 1995, 1997; Al-krenawi, 2001). These differences set a challenge to the development of social work practice and are also a source of discomfort for Arab social workers who face social changes which occur in the Arab society, yet are aware of a lack of a proper alignment of the social services in light of this new reality (Savaya, 1997; Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000; Tirosh & Ben-Ari, 2001; Duvdevany & Abboud, 2003; Azaiza & Brodsky, 1996).

Haj-Yahia and Roer-Strier (1999) found difficulties of Arab social workers who study in Israeli universities during their professional qualification. They suggest that their problems are similar to those who face social work students in the West who's origin group is different from that of the society at large (Haj-Yahia, 1997). During their academic studies incompatibilities are already created between the Western social work and values of students belonging to ethnic and religious origin which is different from that of the general society (Blum, 1986; Gray, 2003). In light of this analysis I consider the main contribution of the study as recognizing parents'

attitudes toward corporal punishment which shall allow an effective intervention of the social services in this area of intervention.

However, Palestinian parents and families face problems which are not related only to the cultural sensitivity issue. They live in difficult distress conditions and in a political and military reality which prevents them from having the kind of routine of life which characterizes most ethnic groups in Western societies. The anticipation for a change in these circumstances in the coming future is not promising. Furthermore, Palestinian society lacks an infrastructure of social and educational services. Its difficult condition is obvious especially in light of the high quality of the social services supplied for the Jewish population in the settlements which the State of Israel is committed to their welfare. It is unlikely that a fundamental change in the scope and quality of these services can be reached without a political solution in the area.

One consequence of the Israeli occupation is the weakening of the parental authority within Palestinian families. The unemployment had diminished their authority and youngsters, and sometimes even kids, prefer obedience to political and military organizations to obedience to their parents.

Paradoxically, the Hamas movement, which does not gain the support of Israel and the Western world has established and operates a comprehensive system of welfare and educational services. Their success accounts for the high support it has gained, especially in Gaza Strip, which is out of the scope of the present study. This development has brought a fundamental change in the different trends in the Palestinian society. It gave strength to religious Muslim organizations. I do not have data regarding their attitudes regarding the issue dealt with in this study. Truly they emphasize the importance of the family and the parents' authority, but other factors might undermine this policy.

f. Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Studies

I am convinced that the political factor has a primary influence on the quality of life of individuals and families here in the West Bank. However, the circumstances surrounding the present study did not allow me to examine this aspect. Thus, I regard it a basic limitation of the study. Another limitation of

the study is that it did not examine parents' rationals for preferring one penal response over the other.

In order to deal with the first problem comparative study is needed which will examine the attitudes of parents who live in different political and military circumstances. Therefore, I intend in the coming future to extend this study so that it shall examine the issue of corporal punishment by their parents among two other populations: Palestinians and Jews who live in Israel. This expansion should allow me to examine the relative explanatory power of the political factor, as well as of other variables which are derived from this variable, such as the nature and scope of the social services.

The second limitation of the present study I intend to approach by quantitative and a qualitative study, which will examine comprehensively and systematically the different considerations of parents in preferring one reaction to another. A qualitative study shall also enable me to deal with the two hypotheses which were not confirmed in the present study, especially the finding that Palestinian parents who live in refugee camps in spite of their harsh life conditions do not support corporal punishment more than parents who live in cities.

I am looking forward to carry on with my research interests.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

Part 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Questionnaire no.

Employment: 1. wage earner 2. self employed 3. unemployed
4. housewife 5. other

Sex: 1. male 2. female

Marital Status: 1. single 2. married 3. divorced 4. widower
5. separated 6. other

Currently Live: 1. alone and/or with my children
2. with my spouse and children 3. with my parents

House Ownership: 1. personal ownership 2. family ownership
3. rental 4. other

No. of Children: _____

Year of Birth: _____

Education: 1. 8 years or less
2. 8-11 years
3. High School (12 years)
4. Incomplete Bachelor's Degree, Seminar, Engineer or Technician
5. Bachelor's Degree
6. Master's Degree
7. Doctor

Religion: 1. Muslim 2. Christian 3. Other

Religiousness: 1. religious 2. traditionalist 3. secularist

Residence: 1. city 2. village 3. refugees camp 4. Bedouin tribe 5.
other

Family Income in New Shekels: 1. 1,000 Shekels or less
2. 1,001-2,000 Shekels 3. 2,001-3,000 Shekels
4. 3,001-4,000 Shekels 5. 4,001-5,000 Shekels
6. 5,001-6,000 Shekels 7. 6,001-7,000 Shekels

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he repeatedly lies to you or speaks shamelessly ?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a reoccurring behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4
Hitting the Child with Objects (a stick)	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he lies to you or speaks shamelessly only once?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a single behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4
Hitting the Child with Objects (a stick)	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he repeatedly steals things from the house or causes damages to property ?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a reoccurring behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4
Hitting the Child with Objects (a stick)	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he steals things from the house or causes damages only once?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a single behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4
Hitting the Child with Objects (a stick)	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he repeatedly smokes cigarettes or drinks alcohol ?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a reoccurring behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4
Hitting the Child with Objects (a stick)	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he smokes cigarettes or drinks alcohol only once?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a single behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4
Hitting the Child with Objects (a stick)	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he repeatedly gets low grades at school ?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a reoccurring behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if his grades at school are low, only once?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a single behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he repeatedly curses his parents and other family members?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a reoccurring behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he curses his parents or other family members, only once ?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a single behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he repeatedly curses God, religion or the prophets?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a reoccurring behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he curses God, religion or the prophets, only once?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a single behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he repeatedly does not defend himself when being attacked in the neighborhood or at school by another child?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a reoccurring behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4

To what degree do you agree to use each of the following punishment methods, toward your child **if he does not defend himself when he is being attacked in the neighborhood or at school by another child, only once?** Please circle the answer which represents your agreement degree to each of the methods. Remember that we request your opinion regarding a single behavior of the child.

Agreement or Disagreement Degree	Highly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Highly Disagree
Beating the child or slapping him in different parts of the body	1	2	3	4
Reprimanding the Child	1	2	3	4
Advising the Child	1	2	3	4
Ignoring the Child's Behavior	1	2	3	4
Preventing the Child from having Things he Likes	1	2	3	4

- a. Do you support slapping the child on his face, hands, buttocks or other parts of his body, in certain situations such as disobedience of the child, behavior which endangers the child, or violence of the child toward his surroundings:
1. boys only
 2. girls only
 3. boys and girls
 4. disagree
- b. Do you support slapping the child (a boy or a girl) on his face, hands, buttocks or other parts of his body, regularly, as a way of dealing with certain situations such as disobedience of the child, behavior which puts the child in danger, violence of the child toward his surroundings:
1. up to the age of 5 only
 2. between the ages 5-12
 3. between the ages 12-15
 4. only at the age of 16 or older
 5. at any age
 6. disagree
- c. What is your attitude when you see your spouse punishing one of your children:
1. I always support him/her
 2. I usually support him/her
 3. my attitude depends on the reason for punishment
 4. I usually oppose him/her
 5. I always oppose him/her
- d. Here is a list of sentences describing parent-child relationship characteristics. Please read them and indicate your agreement level to each. Chose one of the following four options. Please write your answer on the line. Remember, there is no right or wrong answer:
1. highly agree
 2. agree
 3. disagree
 4. highly disagree
- 1. Parents are obligated to treat their children harshly, in case they break the rules and orders of the family.
- 2. Parents are obligated to prevent their children from disobeying them or reacting in a bold and disrespectful manner.
- 3 In case one of the parents refused the request of the child, the other parent should also refuse the request.
- 4 The mother is accountable for raising the children and educating them.

- 5 There is a scientific evidence that parents should treat their children harshly and rigidly, in order to ensure their proper education.
- 6 Children should be instructed to obey their parents immediately.
- 7 Parents should insist that their children should obey them totally.
- 8 Children should obey their parents immediately, without any resistance.
- 9 Children should obey their parents without expecting any explanations from them.
- 10 In case one of the parents threatened to punish the child, he should realize his threat, without any hesitation.
- 11 Parents should not allow a disrespectful reply by their children, since it might lead to disrespect.
- 12 The obedient child doesn't need his parents to ask him to obey them, more than once.
- 13 In case the children behave improperly, it demonstrates the failure of the mother in their education.
- 14 Parents should allow their adolescents freedom in decisions which relate to their personal affairs.
- 15 It is very important to teach the child at an early age the values, norms and customs of society.

Here are a few episodes. Please read them all and state your level of experiencing such episode in your childhood. There are five possible answers. Please chose one, regarding each episode and circle the number which represents your answer.

Episode Description	Not at all	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
You have been cursed, neglected, called by names and treated harshly	1	2	3	4	5
You have been disesteemed and compared to others disrespectfully	1	2	3	4	5
You have been threatened to be beaten, slapped, yet the threats were not realized	1	2	3	4	5
You have been punished by being prevented from having things you like or by being locked up in your room	1	2	3	4	5
You have been slapped or beaten in different parts of your body	1	2	3	4	5